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# **Strength in Numbers**

## **A Social History of Glasgow's Popular Music Scene (1979-2009)**

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**for the Degree of**

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## Abstract

In 2004, US *Time* magazine named Glasgow Europe's 'capital of rock music' and likened it to Detroit in its Motown heyday (Porter, 2004). In 2008 UNESCO awarded Glasgow the title of 'City of Music' and the application dossier submitted in support of this title noted the importance of rock and pop for the city's musical reputation. Since the late 1970s a large number of bands have emerged from (or been associated with) the city, yet little academic research has been carried out to determine the factors behind this phenomenon.

This thesis, then, aims to address this deficiency. To do so, it questions the notion of the meaning of the term 'scene' and highlights the changing importance, between 1979 and 2009, of different components within Glasgow's music scene. In doing this, the thesis examines the importance and role of different 'foci' for sustaining popular music production at a grassroots level. These foci (where local music makers meet, socialise, and develop lasting connections) include record shops, studios (rehearsal and recording), live performance venues, and virtual social spaces of the Internet.

In foregrounding music making as a social practice, involving interactions between individuals in a wide variety of roles (rather than only between music makers), the study employs network theory as a means of exploring these connections. The resultant analysis highlights the importance of different forms of capital for cultural production. In particular, it argues that from the 1990s onwards, social capital played an increasing role in the development of Glasgow's music scene. Expressed in terms of high levels of trust and reciprocity between scene participants, the accumulation of social capital has influenced Glasgow music makers to cultivate a distinct 'indie' approach to music making. This approach is manifested, not in one particular style of music, but in a plethora of cross-collaborations and a desire on the part of scene participants to create music across different art forms and media.

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## **Author's declaration**

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Robert Anderson

1 June 2015

## Introduction

I remember, many years ago, walking along Carnarvon Street (in the west end of Glasgow) towards The Hellfire Club studio where my band was about to rehearse. Coming towards me, having just left the studio, was Edwyn Collins of the band Orange Juice. It is difficult to place the exact time of this event, but it would probably have been some time in 1983. I had seen Orange Juice perform live a number of times and had been drawn into the excitement that they had created through being featured in the local and national press. This, and the fact that they melded together a variety of styles, while still privileging melody and guitar, had even been an influence on my decision to take up the drums and form a band. I had heard that Orange Juice rehearsed (and recorded) in this studio, but to have that confirmed by seeing the lead singer/guitarist leave it, as I was about to enter, provided me with an important point of validation. It not only justified the choice of studio for our rehearsals (though, at that time there were few to choose from), but it also invigorated the notion that my band, through sharing the same facilities as Orange Juice, might be imbued with their critical (if not commercial) success. By rehearsing in the same studio it was possible to feel part of a larger phenomenon (even if only a small part) and share in the excitement of unrealised possibilities. Too in awe of Collins I did not attempt to engage in conversation, but felt it was sufficient to have ‘rubbed shoulders’ with him.

Since this event I have continued to be active in popular music making in Glasgow, providing custom to many of the city’s studios (both rehearsal and recording) and performing in many of its venues. I have also continued to make connections (some on a more tangible basis than just rubbing shoulders) with a variety of other people producing popular music in the city. Though the activity of music making has never provided me with the means to make a living, the impression of being part of something larger than just individual groups of musicians working and creating in isolation, is one that has remained with me. It is this notion of collective activity, herein referred to as ‘scene’, which this thesis aims to scrutinize. At the time of the encounter described above I would not have been able to define the meaning of such a term, but in hindsight this encounter contained elements which are central to the way in which the term ‘scene’ is defined and discussed in this thesis. The following chapters trace the development of both an infrastructure to support local music making, such as studios, and a social network of connections between local music makers (and other scene participants). In this way the thesis critically analyses how Glasgow’s popular music scene has developed over thirty years, between 1979 and 2009.

Personal interests aside, there are a number of other factors that act as an imperative for this study. On 20 August 2008, UNESCO awarded Glasgow the title of ‘City of Music’. Undoubtedly, this title reflects Glasgow’s diverse musical culture and prodigious musical output. The bid document, which was presented to UNESCO’s Creative Cities Network, reported that 130 musical events took place in the city in a typical week and that music businesses generate some £75 million a year for the city’s economy. More subjectively, in 2004, US *Time* magazine named the city as Europe’s capital of rock music and likened it to Detroit in its Motown heyday (Porter, 2004). Over the three decades covered by this thesis, a large number of bands have emerged from (or have been associated with) the city: from Orange Juice in 1979, through to The Jesus and the Mary Chain in 1983, Primal Scream in 1986, Teenage Fan Club in 1989, Belle and Sebastian in 1996, and Franz Ferdinand in 2003. Despite this, little research has been carried out to determine the factors that lie behind this musical outpouring.

## Aims

The thesis has three aims. First, it aims to outline the social processes that have led Glasgow to produce so many bands over a thirty-year period. In doing so, it foregrounds music making as a social practice, which involves interactions between individuals in a wide variety of roles, rather than just focusing on music makers in isolation. Specifically, it divides a music scene into various component parts. In addition to music-makers, other components include venues, studios, individuals (such as promoters and managers), press, radio, retail sectors and the Internet. This is not to say that each component can be viewed as a discrete entity. There will, of course, be an overlap and it is possible that some individuals will have more than one role - at the same time or at different times - as an individual’s role in the scene changes. Using such a scheme, the thesis explores the ways in which these components interact to construct a music scene, and provides an account of the changing relative importance of each component’s influence. By doing so, it also provides a framework for exploring music scenes that merges theoretical definitions with everyday vernacular usages.

*How Music Works*, by musician David Byrne (2012), informs and inspires the focus of this thesis. As a practitioner, Byrne offers a definition of the term ‘music scene’ that goes some way to determine its vernacular use. He argues that a music scene is defined by ‘that special moment when a creative flowering seems to issue forth from a social nexus – a clump of galleries, a neighbourhood, or a bar that doubles as a music club’ (ibid: 251).

Furthermore, Byrne recognises that for this creative flowering to take place other factors need to be involved – other elements or components: ‘it doesn’t depend entirely on the inspiration and creativity of the individuals hanging out there. A confluence of external factors helps encourage the latent talent in a community to flower’ (ibid: 253). A number of the ‘external factors’ that he identifies resonate strongly with the themes of this thesis. He argues for the importance of an appropriate venue; that artists should be able to play their own material; that there should be possibilities for casual encounters between artists (opportunities to network); and that to be successful a scene must present an alternative. All these factors (or conditions) are discussed in greater detail in the chapters that follow.

However, Byrne also stresses that for a scene to flower it is important that bands are paid fairly. This condition privileges the economic value attached to popular music production, but this thesis argues that music making activities without an attached economic value (e.g. free live performances or fanzine production, where the price of the fanzine does not cover the production cost) can be just as important for a local music scene as those that create economic value. Adopting this viewpoint helps to distinguish between the notion of music industries and the notion of a music scene. The two notions are not necessarily synonymous: a local music scene can flourish (flower) without the support of a developed music industry (industries), as was the case in Glasgow in the early 1980s. In this way the following chapters examine ‘grassroots’ local music making activity and so discusses bands and music makers that are active in Glasgow in terms of performing, rehearsing, recording or socialising (networking).<sup>1</sup>

Aside from the investigation of the music ‘scene’, the second aim of this study is to explore the impact of space and place on local music making. The bands mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, while having varied degrees of commercial success, could all be described as playing ‘indie’ music, in that while some of them share certain sounds and stylistic conventions, they all share a certain aesthetic.<sup>2</sup> This is not to say that Glasgow has not produced more ‘mainstream’ and chart-orientated bands, such as Deacon Blue, Wet Wet Wet and Texas. However, from the late 1980s onwards a marker of Glasgow’s music scene has been the great number of bands and music makers to emerge from the city who can be classified in terms of playing indie music (in that they share a certain ethos or aesthetic, rather than a musical style). It is also contended that over the time period of this

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<sup>1</sup> For a definition of ‘grassroots’ see Chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> The term ‘indie’ music is problematic and for a discussion of its definition see Chapter 2.

study, Glasgow-based bands performing music within this genre have become increasingly diverse in terms of musical style (and sounds). In many respects the term ‘popular music scene’ is used as a ‘gloss’ for a number of interrelated mini-scenes. As a result, the thesis goes on to consider the factors that influence the choice of an indie aesthetic by Glasgow music makers and focuses on the question: Why is it that so many bands from Glasgow choose to play indie music?

Although concentrating on music makers and bands playing indie music, the thesis retains the use of the term ‘popular music’ to indicate this very broad grouping of bands, as opposed to other popular music genres such as jazz or folk. In this way it follows Cloonan (2009: 4) who argues:

Intuitively one might think of popular music as being music which is popular – such as that which is in the music charts, available for sale in the high street (and over the internet) or performed before mass audiences at large festivals and gigs. However, this masks the fact that in simple numerical terms the majority of popular music released commercially is *unpopular* in that it sells relatively little.

As a means of investigating the social processes that lead music makers to choose one style over another, or to mix one style with another, the thesis draws on a number of theories, involving sociological approaches to cultural production, and the notion of different forms of capital. More specifically, it employs network theory to determine patterns of influence and describe the processes by which the different components of a scene build social capital and exercise agency.

The third overarching aim of the thesis is to provide a thirty-year social history of Glasgow’s popular music scene. In order to do this, subsequent chapters present, in a chronological fashion, detailed facts and figures relating to a variety of scene participants (both at the individual and organisational level). At the time of writing no detailed account exists that provides a similar history, and so the thesis aims to add to the body of knowledge by collecting together information from a diverse range of sources.

## **Structure of Thesis**

The thesis is divided into seven main chapters. Chapter 1 takes the form of a literature review with a particular focus on the problems raised by previous studies of ‘music

scenes'. It looks at various definitions of the term and the way the concept can interface with other sociological theories of culture. A variety of theories are discussed, all of which highlight the notion that a music scene is best represented as a network. Chapter 2 deals with methodology and provides a rationale for approaching the study from a sociological viewpoint. It also describes the general research questions that were used to inform the study and discusses the mixed research methods that were used. In addition, the chapter also provides a rationale for the choice of years that are the focus of the subsequent chapters. Chapter 3 provides a context for the study by describing popular music production in Glasgow both before and after 1979. In doing so, it highlights the city's economic and industrial background and the different influences (both from inside and outside the city) affecting music makers in the past.

The next four chapters examine different time periods between 1979 and 2009. Chapter 4 focuses directly on 1979 and provides an analysis of the various music scene components as they existed and interacted in that year. Given the under-development of other components the chapter particularly focuses on the different roles that record shops performed for music makers. Chapter 5 discusses Glasgow in the 1980s and focuses specifically on the increased interest from major record companies in the city's music makers (and the later sudden decline of their interest). This event had an impact on the local music scene in a number of ways. The chapter also focuses on the role of studios for the emerging music scene. Chapter 6 examines the development of the music scene in the 1990s; with a particular focus on the way a certain group of music makers (indie bands) began to collectively accrue high levels of social capital. The chapter also highlights the development of music venues and the role they played in propagating the music scene. Chapter 7 focuses on Glasgow's music scene in 2009. It describes the ways in which a number of the components had become consolidated (or established) over the previous decade. The chapter also focuses on the way music scene participants reacted to (and utilised) the Internet.

The last four chapters are structured in a similar way, with each one providing a description of the music makers who were active in the time period under discussion. The information that is provided in these sections allows for a detailed analysis of the connections (or 'ties') that were forged between individual music makers and between other scene participants, and so allows for an investigation of the ways in which network formation took place. Each of these chapters also provides a description of some of the other scene participants that were particularly important for the development of the

network in each period. Lastly, as indicated above, each chapter then concludes with a case study that focusing on a specific scene component from the decade under discussion.

However, the four main chapters do differ in terms of the breadth of content, as they do not all discuss each component, or type of participant, for each time period. Instead they are structured to highlight significant developments for Glasgow's music scene and the case study at the end of each chapter provides a focus on the most significant development for that time period.

Finally, the Conclusion reflects on the use and importance of the term 'scene', the production of locality within popular music making in the city, the importance of network theory for discussing music scenes, the reasons for Glasgow continuing to have a vibrant music scene, and possible areas for future research.

# Chapter 1 – Music Scenes and Popular Music Studies

## Introduction

This chapter takes the form of a literature review and considers a number of scholarly works from both the fields of Popular Music Studies and Cultural Studies. One aim of this thesis is to interrogate the concept of the ‘music scene’ and to highlight the changing importance of a music scene’s components. The first section of this chapter considers previous literature that has discussed and offered definitions of this concept. The chapter then moves on to consider previous studies of music scenes, including those in Austin (Texas), Bali, and Liverpool and Milton Keynes in the UK. The theoretical approach of each study is considered in light of the notion of the ‘music scene’ and its relevance for a study of Glasgow is reflected upon.

The chapter then moves on to examine a number of other theoretical concepts that are relevant for a study of Glasgow’s music scene. First, the notion of genre, and specifically the genre of indie music, is reviewed in terms of the problematic nature of determining a definition of the term. However, a definition (albeit, a wide one) is advanced and used in subsequent chapters. Second, the chapter then examines the ways in which a locality can impact on the sounds or styles of music produced therein. This section acknowledges that there are myths surrounding the notion of a place having a certain sound. However, it concludes by advancing the view, as discussed in subsequent chapters, that locality is expressed within Glasgow’s music scene by means of the different scene components interacting in specific ways. Third, and with relevance to this notion of indie, the chapter then discusses both the debates around the role of the music industries within the wider development of the cultural industries, and the role of arts/cultural policies for the development of Glasgow’s music scene. Finally, the discourse surrounding culture-producing systems is reviewed, with particular reference to the production of culture perspective, Becker’s notion of ‘art worlds’, Webb’s milieu cultures, and Bourdieu’s concept of the (cultural) field. This section draws on similarities between each of these approaches, with particular reference to the notion of a cultural network. Given the general acceptance of this concept within each of these approaches, this segment also advances the use of network theory as a theoretical framework for the remainder of the thesis.



## Music Scenes

The term ‘music scene’ is widely used, both in everyday vernacular and within the literature of popular music studies and cultural studies. In both cases, the term’s use is so ubiquitous as to presume a common understanding of its meaning. However, definitions, when they are provided, tend to be disparate and, on occasion, contradictory. This section examines the main definitions that have been offered by cultural theorists and considers their appropriateness with regard to a study of musical practices and relationships within a geographic space such as Glasgow.

One important source for the widespread use of the concept of a scene in Popular Music Studies is an article by Will Straw. In it he defines a musical scene as a:

cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within a variety of processes of differentiation, and according to widely varying trajectories of change and cross-fertilization.  
(Straw 1991: 373)

In providing this definition Straw makes a distinction between the notion of a ‘scene’ and the idea of a musical community. According to him the latter term refers to the idea of a population group which is specifically located in a geographic area (with its own historical heritage informing the practice of certain musical idioms). Forms of communication, building ‘musical alliances’ and drawing ‘musical boundaries’, on the other hand, determine a ‘scene’. Heritage, in this definition, also has an influence on musical practices but it is a heritage from a much wider musical culture (international rather than local).

At first, this may appear to be an argument against focusing on the importance of locality when articulating the boundaries of music scenes. However, it is clear Straw acknowledges that music scenes can develop within specific metropolitan areas and that it is the cosmopolitan nature of musical activities (that look for innovations taking place elsewhere) which gives them a unified sense of purpose ‘just as powerful as those normally observed within practices which appear to be more organically grounded in local circumstances’ (ibid: 374).

Through drawing comparisons between the cultures of alternative rock and dance music Straw argues that the pluralism evident in the former can be explained by its relationship to historic time. In this sense ‘a variety of different temporalities have come to coexist within a bounded cultural space’ (ibid: 380). Older styles may exist in a canonical form alongside

a growing number of eclectically synthesised forms. By contrast he goes on to discuss how the culture of dance music is characterised by ‘spatial diversity’ (where there are a large number of distinct local styles) and ‘temporal sequence’ (defined by the different styles gaining and losing popularity over a period of time). Indeed, it is this sense of historic change that gives the culture of dance music its sense of collective purpose. He illustrates this point by describing the shifts in popularity of styles that incorporate synthesized sounds and those that use ‘real’ human voices. The swings in popularity between these two approaches help to maintain a unity within the culture based neither on pluralism nor on a permanent dissolution of boundaries.

Straw’s definition of a musical scene then can be understood to question the notion of a clearly defined stable community and emphasises the transient, fluid, and cosmopolitan nature of musical activity. In so doing, it provides a basis for exploring Glasgow’s music scene - in terms of determining whether this scene exhibits a tendency towards pluralism or temporal sequences. Similarly, according to Straw, musical scenes draw on a wider historical context than the purely ‘local’. The question of whether or not Glasgow’s music scene draws on historical continuities and is attentive to change occurring elsewhere is also considered in this study. However, as Hesmondhalgh (2005: 29) points out, there is ambiguity present in Straw’s article and, in general, the use of the concept of a scene in popular music studies has been ‘downright confusing’. While some writers have used the term to refer to musical practices within specific geographical spaces (as is the intention within this study), other writers ‘are using the term to denote a cultural space that transcends locality’ (ibid: 29).

In contrast, O’Connor (2002: 226) argues for the relevance of using a different definition of the term ‘scene’. He argues that:

Straw is saying that the Montreal scene (for example) has a wide variety of music practices, reflecting the diversity of the city’s population and the influence of many types of recorded music on the city’s musicians. The notion of a ‘Montreal sound’ obviously makes little sense.

O’Connor uses the term ‘scene’ as it is generally used in the punk scene – mainly the active creation of infrastructure to support bands (e.g. finding places to play, building an audience, etc.). His focus then is on the social organisation of cultural contacts and how this factor can be used to explain differences between punk scenes in different cities. He looks at four cities – Washington, Austin, Toronto and Mexico City - and argues that

differences between the punk scenes in these cities can be explained through differences in social geography (venues, housing, record stores, etc.). This is quite distinct from Straw's article and indeed O'Connor explicitly argues against the usefulness of some theories: 'what emerges clearly is the complete inadequacy of theories of disembodied 'flows' or generalised accounts of cultural hybridity' (ibid: 226). However, the two approaches need not be mutually exclusive. This study aims to provide a history of the Glasgow music scene by taking account of the social organisation of cultural contacts and at the same time examining what Straw refers to as the 'logics' of different musical terrains (i.e. how alliances are formed between musical styles).

Sara Cohen (1999: 239) also notes that the term 'scene' can be 'used to refer to music activity within specific geographical areas' but that the term is used by some writers to emphasise the 'dynamic, shifting, and globally interconnected nature of music activity.' She also argues that:

Further research on local scenes could help to explain their global, mobile character, illuminating how scenes emerge; the conditions and circumstances in which they might flourish creatively . . . Some academic accounts of music scenes tend to be too abstract and generalized to adequately address such questions, which is why research of an ethnographic, comparative nature could prove particularly helpful in illuminating the nature of local scenes, their life cycles and geographical routes. (ibid: 248)

Rather differently, David Hesmondhalgh (2005: 29) feels that:

Such local musical practices are no doubt worth studying, but sometimes the term scene is used to make studies of particular locales sound more theoretically innovative than they really are.

It should also be noted that Hesmondhalgh, in addition to doubting the usefulness of the term 'scene' as an academic concept, also believes that the concept should be replaced by 'genre'. While the concept of genre is considered more fully in Chapter 5, it is relevant to cite Fabian Holt's response to Hesmondhalgh's argument here:

I find it striking that he does not deal with its [the term scene's] vernacular basis, except to mention in passing that it can be a source of further confusion. It is not particularly confusing when used as a commonsense term for a particular music culture in a city . . . It represents the immediate social space and network in which a music is experienced and articulated locally. (Holt 2007: 116-117)

Returning to definitions, one that is offered by Bennett and Peterson (2004: 8) describes a local scene as:

a focused social activity that takes place in a delimited space and over a specific span of time in which clusters of producers, musicians, and fans realize their common musical taste, collectively distinguishing themselves from others by using music and cultural signs often appropriated from other places, but recombined and developed in ways that come to represent the local scene.

This definition moves away from Straw's use of 'cultural space' and places a scene in a specific location (though this can be virtual). It takes account of the fact that scenes may borrow from other places, while it describes Straw's 'musical practices' as belonging to producers, musicians and fans. Bennett and Peterson's definition also offers more than O'Connor's by highlighting the fact that a scene can be distinguished from other scenes not just through music but through 'cultural signs' as well. All three definitions inform the notion of the 'music scene' as defined in this chapter, but in different ways. Straw's definition, though ambiguous, emphasises that change takes place within a music scene. O'Connor's, on the other hand, privileges the role of infrastructure for the development of a scene. Lastly, Bennett and Peterson foreground the role of social activity and distinguish between producers, musicians and fans.

While Bennett and Peterson's definition indicates both the local nature of musical activity within a scene and its interconnectedness with such activities elsewhere, it, like the other definitions discussed above, connotes the concept of social interaction being present but without stating the nature or mechanism for this interaction. Further, while this definition identifies producers, musicians and fans being present within a scene the following chapters aim to describe the interactions between specific components, such as between music makers and live music venues, or between music makers and fanzine writers. Identifying components of a music scene in this way reflects the different sectors of the music industries. As Williamson and Cloonan (2007: 320) note there are 'people working in a range of industries centred around music'. However, following Bennett and Peterson's definition, a scene not only requires music industries to be present but for there to be a 'realization of common musical taste' (ibid.). The following section discusses previous studies of local music scenes, highlighting the different approaches it is possible to take when defining the term 'music scene.'

## Previous Studies

In *Dissonant Identities* Barry Shank (1994) analyses the performance and (the later) recording of popular music by musicians and bands in Austin, Texas. While he describes the development of the city's music scene(s) from the 1920s until 1990 he mainly focuses on the changes that took place within Austin from the late 1970s through to 1990. Thus he documents the increasing/decreasing popularity of a number of musical styles, including country, blues, punk and the styles of music that followed punk. He does not however focus on the recording stars who have emerged from Austin, but rather concentrates on 'musicians who have not reached stardom but who continue to struggle through performance, and on the fans who identify with that constitutive struggle' (Shank 1994: xiii). For him, it is 'the musicians and the fans who embody the rock' n' roll scene in Austin' (ibid: 131). However, he takes a very narrow approach when defining the term 'scene'. Throughout *Dissonant Identities* he refers to a scene as the activities or performance/production of music at a particular club or bar and defines a scene as 'an over-productive signifying community' meaning 'far more semiotic information is produced than can be rationally parsed' (ibid: 122). Scenes then, are reliant on the performances of music that 'display more than can be understood' (ibid.). This narrow definition does not account for the roles of other elements within a music scene such as the media. Nor does it allow for an analysis of musical activities other than in a live music forum. However, such a definition is useful when discussing music such as punk, which attempted to challenge the dominant musical styles of the time through creating 'a rock' n' roll essentialism, an antimusical formalism centred upon the idea that rock' n' roll defines an attitude' (ibid: 92). Using this definition as a basis, Shank provides a close analysis of the punk scene and the 'new sincerity' scene which (according to him) more or less followed on from punk - but in separate bars/clubs in Austin. This analysis applies a psychoanalytical perspective to the processes of music-making, focusing on the construction of identity for both the musician and fan through their interaction in this process:

The struggle to develop a coherent identity derives from a complex process of developmental interactions between the primary drives of the desiring body and the diverse symbolic cultural systems. As this process occurs, desire is transformed into multiple specific desires that, in turn, are inflected, interpreted, displaced, and, finally, either satisfied or repressed. (ibid: 129)

However, it is his examination of the cowboy singer and the development of the honky-tonk, through to the progressive country scene in the late 1960s, which proves the most

satisfying in terms of providing an analysis that can be applied to other styles of music and other locations. Here he considers the economic and cultural context of how Austin's popular music has developed, discussing the nature of identity construction and projection in a wider context - not just amongst performers and fans but also amongst radio disc jockeys, night club owners and local politicians.

While a greater part of his discussion concentrates on live music performance as the main constituent of a music scene, Shank also considers the recording process in some detail. Again, rather than looking at this in a wider context, his discussion focuses on the 'new sincerity' bands who went on to record having first had some success performing live. He propounds the view that:

Success for even the most radical "rebellious" bands is conceived of as freedom from the constraints of the day job, from the social constrictions that interfere with sincerity and spontaneity in any job. But freedom from the day job means "making it" in the music business. (ibid: 168)

Furthermore, he considers that 'having recorded, "making it" clearly shifts its meaning from "not having to work" to "making a living in the music business"' (ibid: 187) and that in order for this to happen the 'musician must accede to the structural organization of the recording industry' (ibid: 188). This may be true for the Austin musicians he interviewed but does not necessarily apply to musicians from other locations, playing other musical styles, participating in other musical scenes and at other historical times.

Shank also places great emphasis on 'sincerity' being the 'primary aesthetic value, the central element in every evaluative system, operating in the widest variety of musical styles' (ibid: 146), ascribing it as 'the quality most highly valued in Austin's rock 'n' roll aesthetic, from punk to mainstream folk-rock' (ibid: 153). Obviously he is correct to document the statements of Austin musicians who believe that sincerity is a significant marker of their music (especially perhaps in contrast to music performed in light entertainment) but by restating its importance throughout his discourse he is making it a tautology – begging the question: Is there a significant proportion of amateur/grass-roots rock music which is produced and performed insincerely?

Ultimately *Dissonant Identities* provides a detailed account of specific communities of musicians from Austin, Texas and highlights the use of a psychoanalytical approach to describe music making and the music scenes developing from this process. Its focus, particularly in relation to its definition of a 'scene' and the styles of music it documents, is

so specific as to make comparisons with other scenes difficult. However, Shank's approach, particularly in the first section of the book, is useful in terms of both foregrounding the importance of live venues within a scene and providing a model for tracing the history of a city's music. Again with reference to the first part of his book, he sources information from local press, and interviews with musicians and key individuals in order to provide a history of the development of Austin's country music.

Emma Baulch (2007) takes a similar approach to her research for *Making Scenes: Reggae, Punk, and Death Metal in 1990s Bali*. It is the decline of President Suharto's New Order regime and the move towards reform in Indonesia that forms a backdrop to her ethnography of three distinct music scenes in Bali. This is not to say that discussion of these scenes and the way they have been constructed is related solely to the political circumstances of the times, far from it. Baulch develops a broad analysis regarding identity, subcultures and the impact of global media on the music makers that she features.

In fact, of the book's six chapters, it is really only in Chapter 1 that the author focuses on Indonesia's political regime – setting the context for a discussion of Balinese regionalism and local identity politics, involving contestations between the cultures of a 'centre' (Jakarta) and a 'periphery' (Bali). The next three chapters then specifically focus on individual scenes: death metal, reggae and punk respectively. The chapter on death metal develops the centre/periphery argument further, through a discussion of the ways in which Balinese death thrashers, in the mid 1990s, orchestrated their own marginality. They were eager to identify the genre as oppositional and marginal, but at the same time were preoccupied with the global extreme metal scene (which, it is argued, had reached Bali, not through the Anglo-American route, but through Malaysia and Surabaya). Through singing in English and using illicit, but obscure, symbols Balinese enthusiasts of death metal avoided overtly challenging the regime. Yet, their deliberate coveting of a marginal status was in opposition to a Jakartan led development of the tourism industry. In contrast, Chapter 3 discusses the Balinese reggae scene, which emerged out of the tourist beachside bars. It focuses on the way in which the scene was transformed from one in which reggae had retained its associations with resistance and anti-colonialism, to one in which it became ordered in the service of the commercial tourist industry (primarily to the exclusion of local youths).

The chapter on the punk scene focuses on Balinese youth's negotiation of their identities around images of alternative concerts broadcast by a deregulated media. Here too, the

notion of centre-periphery dynamics is important, as the ‘alternapunks’ (Baulch’s term for the youths who conflated the alternative, punk and grunge genres in the early years of the scene) idealised Jakarta as the centre of disorder. Thus, at one and the same time, they subverted the official notion of the capital as a centre of cultural order and provided themselves with an ‘Other’, a margin at which they could gesture.

The last two chapters deal with the way in which the punk and death metal scenes came together in the latter part of the 1990s to form a Balinese underground scene. The punk scene evolved as enthusiasts gained more spaces where they could hang out and, more importantly, as they gained more control over resources of cultural production. Baulch also argues that the metal scene devolved home territories (in and near the villages) and that this led to devolution of power with concert organising taking place on a smaller scale.

As an analysis of the way in which music scenes are constructed *Making Scenes* provides a rich account of how the three musical genres were received and reworked in Bali and, in particular, the importance of territorialisation to their enthusiasts. Throughout the book there is considerable focus on space: space for musicians to meet and perform and space for fans to meet and interact. Also, equally fascinating, is the fact that the scenes are of a size small enough that it is possible for Baulch to identify and assign key roles to a number of specific music-makers. Thus, she is actually able to attribute the beginning of the Balinese reggae scene to the coming together of two individuals in the late 1980s.

Overall, Baulch provides valuable insights into a number of debates within popular music studies and cultural studies. In terms of subculture, her book highlights the way enthusiasts of different genres use dominant discourses in order to authenticate marginality and so are not simply expressing opposition as a response to this domination. In further contrast to the Birmingham School’s highly politicised approach to subcultural style, Baulch also points to the way in which the Balinese metal scene lacked a political consensus. Its enthusiasts’ expression of alternative communality was actually based on interaction and intimacy rather than politics.

In a similar way, Baulch’s discussion of centre-periphery dynamics contests Arjun Appadurai’s (1996) argument that discourses of the nation state are weakly expressed at a local level through consumption of global electronic media. It is Jakarta and not the ‘West’ to which the scenes’ participants primarily look. Equally, the cases presented in the book also attest to the importance of acknowledging the complex interplay that can take



place at the local level between consumers of the media, the state and market forces. Both centre-periphery dynamics and the interplay of these different forces are relevant to a study of Glasgow's music scene. In terms of the former, the following chapters consider the ways in which Glasgow both acted as 'peripheral' to London's 'centre' and as a centre (of music making) in its own right. Accompanying this notion of a push and pull between the two cities is a discussion of the ways in which media, strands of public policy and private (but often social) enterprise interacted to foster and maintain a prodigious music scene.

Focusing attention on the UK, two major studies of local music scenes have been undertaken in the past: in Liverpool and Milton Keynes. Both focus on the musical practices and activities that take place at a local level and both follow a similar methodology – providing, for the most part, a qualitative analysis of musicians at a particular point in time. What follows is a discussion of the approaches these studies took, potential areas of research which they overlooked and a consideration of how they may inform an exploration of a popular music scene in Glasgow.

Ruth Finnegan (2007) provides a very comprehensive overview of a wide variety of music making in the Milton Keynes area in the early 1980s. This covers not only rock/pop music but also the traditions of classical, folk, jazz, music theatre, brass band and country and western music. Her study is mainly ethnographic in nature and describes the activities (such as composing, rehearsals, performances) that take place within each tradition through case studies and general summaries. She goes on to compare these activities between different types of musicians and finally provides some reflection on the implications of her findings for society as a whole. Of particular relevance for a proposed study of Glasgow are the terms she uses to describe these different traditions and the careful analysis she provides to substantiate their use.

Before discussing these further it is also relevant to note that Finnegan's study raises questions about a number of other terms. For example, though her study is concerned with 'amateur musicians' she points out that the term 'amateur' is ambiguous – especially when applied to musicians at a local level: 'the concept of 'amateur' music is a relative, partly arbitrary, and sometimes disputed label rather than a settled division' (2007: 18). Instead of an absolute divide she proposes that there is an amateur/professional continuum upon which 'the same people could be placed at different points along this line in different contexts or different stages of their lives' (ibid: 14). This is a useful concept when

considering the study of local musicians from other areas. Of equal interest is her discussion of the uses of the terms 'rock' and 'pop':

What exactly is meant by 'rock' and 'pop'? There were certainly large numbers of bands in Milton Keynes in the broad area popularly known as rock/pop; but precisely what kinds of music were involved, how to classify or subdivide them, and where the lines should be drawn (and by whom) was all extremely elusive. (ibid: 103)

Again, when attempting to examine the local popular music scene in Glasgow the same issue arises: which bands should be included and which should not? This question is discussed further in the following section on genre. Finnegan gets round this problem by considering the terms that the bands used to describe themselves. She finds that the general terms 'rock' and 'pop' are not really used by local musicians and that:

What mattered was their own style rather than general labels, and though players sometimes like to relate themselves to nationally accepted images their typical interest was to get on with creating and performing their *own* music. (ibid: 105)

At best, because of the ambiguity of the term and the heterogeneous nature of local bands, Finnegan considers that the terms 'rock' and 'pop' should be viewed in their widest possible sense (including rock 'n' roll, soul, reggae and punk but excluding both jazz and country and western).

Returning to the issue of how to describe the different musical traditions, Finnegan initially proposes the term 'musical world' and so describes the 'classical musical world' of Milton Keynes and then the 'brass band world' and so on. In some respects this term made considerable sense, particularly with reference to certain traditions such as brass bands and classical music. She presents these worlds as having very particular conventions, which are present both on a national and local level, and so have a very clear ideal model. For example with reference to music theatre she considers:

The ideal model drew on the expert and lavish productions which were known from visits to professional shows . . . and this informed both the productions of the leading societies and, perhaps through their performances in turn, the smaller-scale events in the schools and other groups. (ibid: 77)

This term, however, is not so suitable for rock and pop music partly because of the ambiguities (as mentioned above) and partly because of the lack of a clear 'ideal model'. Ultimately, through the course of her analysis, she considers that 'in the limited sense in

which the metaphor of musical world is meaningful, there is a *plurality* of such worlds in local music-making' (ibid: 190). As a result, Finnegan considers that the phrase 'musical pathways' is a much more useful term for describing aspects of musical practices.

Participants in local music followed a series of known and regular routes but

Such pathways are relative only and, despite their continuity over time, changing rather than absolute – unlike the picture conveyed by the more concrete sounding and bounded concepts of 'world' or 'community'.  
(ibid: 323)

This discussion for the most part appears to centre round the individual experience and how this experience impacts on society. While the term 'scene' is used many times in the course of the book, Finnegan only provides a short hint at a definition:

For though at one level each experience was an individual one and the overall patterns not necessarily fully perceived by many players, the extent of shared conventions and expectations among the practices of the small local performing bands was considerable. This was sometimes locally expressed as the 'local music scene', with comments about how incestuous it was.  
(ibid: 272)

Thus, although Finnegan describes the various components of a music scene, including audiences (and the nature of their participation), venues, music shops, studios, etc., there is little analysis of how these interact to produce a 'scene'. Descriptions are offered but usually in isolation and without regard to the participants' views of the relative importance of each component. For example, with regard to studios she considers that they 'were also the focus for a great deal of musical interaction and expertise, and formed part of the complex of local musical activities in the city.' (ibid: 277-278). They were part of a network of local groups and individuals involving social relationships but the nature of this network and these relationships is not explored. While the very process of documenting and describing the activities within these 'worlds' was an innovative step it is clear much deeper analysis could also follow.

Sara Cohen (1991) acknowledges that she follows Finnegan's example. Her study followed soon after and in many respects it is a logical continuation of the line of research that Finnegan pursued. Instead of looking at different musical traditions within Liverpool it focuses solely on the 'rock music 'scene'' (1991: 8), again providing a very qualitative study of, for the most part, two bands from Liverpool in the mid 1980s. Similarly, a considerable part of the book is devoted to describing and documenting the activities and processes within each band. However, by focusing on one type of music Cohen is able to

provide a much more elaborate picture of a 'music scene.' While never offering a definition of this term she does however highlight 'several features of the local music 'scene' within which the bands operated' (ibid: 47). So, there is much detailed discussion of not only how the bands rehearsed but where (in terms of rehearsal studios), music/record shops and the people who worked in them, managers of bands, audience composition and its relationship with performers, and a variety of other local music-making participants. Perhaps even more importantly, aside from a description of these features, Cohen also presents detailed analysis of the way in which these participants interacted. Thus, for example, in relation to community arts she points out that a lack 'of communication and co-operation and frequent feuding and bickering existed within and between several of those community and arts centres' (ibid: 63).

Cohen draws on this analysis to elucidate on a variety of themes including the nature of performance amongst rock bands, their aesthetics in relation to composition, their aspirations in terms of 'making it', and the relationships and tensions which exist between members of the same bands (and between members of other bands). In addition, unlike Finnegan, she enters into some textual analysis by way of mainly examining some of the bands' lyrics and also provides a discussion of the gender bias within Liverpool music making. However, by the very nature of limiting the focus to two bands, there is little scope to examine the history of rock music in Liverpool and to determine if there is any commonality amongst its rock bands in general. She does offer certain comments about the bands valuing 'authenticity, honesty, and spontaneity in music-making, in opposition to technology and commerce' (ibid: 199) but also draws attention to the fact that this was not always the case, as other bands did strive for commercial success.

Both studies then, have contributed considerably to an understanding of how 'rock' bands operate: their activities, their relationships with other participants in a local 'music scene' (and indeed who these participants are), and the way they interact with society as a whole. Neither, however, is concerned with defining the term 'music scene' (although they discuss various elements of a scene), or examining in detail the way the network of participants develop and influence each other, or determining when a 'scene' can be defined as such (as opposed to just individual elements). Using a similar analysis for Glasgow's local popular scene, this study takes a more quantitative approach (at least in terms of focusing on a wider number of bands and covering an extended period of time) in order to address these questions. It aims to define the notion of a popular music scene in Glasgow, as it has

developed over a 30-year period, and in order to do this it utilizes a number of different theories, which are discussed in the following sections.

## Genre

In researching Glasgow's popular music scene over a thirty-year period the concept of genre – a concept frequently discussed in Popular Music Studies – proved to be very pertinent to the study. The following chapters in this thesis discuss the extent to which the city's popular music scene can be defined as much by its heterogeneity as by dominant musical styles or genres. Though the term 'scene' is often used throughout this thesis, in many respects it refers to a plurality of scenes. Nevertheless, genre, and particularly that of indie music, is a concept that has strong associations with Glasgow's popular music scene, and so this section, while discussing the difficulties of defining such a term provides a broad classification for use in subsequent chapters.

According to Aucouturier and Pachet (2003: 83) 'genre is intrinsically ill-defined and attempts at defining genre precisely have a strong tendency to end up in circular, ungrounded projections of fantasies'. As a means of classifying certain styles or sounds the concept can be very unsatisfying. Hibbert (2005: 55) acknowledges that even a broad category such as rock music 'in recent years has seen itself parceled into countless categories, subject to a process of endless generation and definition that complicates the mainstream/ alternative binary to the extent of inverting its logic'. Within this broad category can be placed the genre of indie music. Fonarow (2006: 26) notes that indie music can have a number of different types of definition:

Indie music has been considered by insiders to be; (1) a type of musical production affiliated with small independent record labels with a distinctive mode of independent distribution; (2) a genre of music that has a particular sound and stylistic conventions; (3) music that communicates a particular ethos; (4) a category of critical assessment; and (5) music that can be contrasted with other genres, such as mainstream pop, dance, blues, country, or classical.

For Fonarow indie is a discourse surrounding the arguments over these different definitions, the products of this discourse, and the participants who contribute to this discourse. While acknowledging all of these definitions and the notion of indie as a discourse, this thesis foregrounds the first definition, which relates the genre's definition to a form of industrial organisation and the third definition, which views indie as an ethos or aesthetic approach to music making.

The industrial definition of indie is particularly relevant to Glasgow's popular music scene through the Eighties and early Nineties. Glasgow has developed a number of critically acclaimed small independent record labels. These labels tend to epitomise small-scale cultural production (DIY production) and therefore allusion to their practices is referred to in future discussion as 'independent'. In contrast to this are a great number of Glasgow-based music makers who can be classified under Fonorow's third definition, concerning an ethos or aesthetic approach. Within this approach this thesis argues that these music makers are typified by a great amount of heterogeneity. Given that Fonorow argues that indie is best approached as a discourse, rather than a descriptive term, she does attempt to provide a list of generic conventions that can be used to classify music makers and their products. However, she points out that 'for each of the general principles there have been bands that defy the conventions and are still considered indie' (ibid: 51). For these music makers, who are neither 'indie' in style of sound or mode of production, Fonorow points out that:

For many, indie is the spirit of *independence*, being free from control, dependence, or interference. Self-reliance, not depending on the authority of other, has been the guiding value of indie music, as has the autonomy of the artist. (ibid: 51)

Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, where appropriate, Glasgow-based music makers who can be categorised under this broad definition incorporating a 'spirit of independence' are also referred to as 'indie'. Although this may seem to be overtly rejecting Strachan's approach to the use of such terms (by continuing to utilise it), it does also accept his point that genres and sub-genres associated with the term change over time:

there is indeed a static core of valued genres within independent culture that have been consistently mined and re-mined as creative resources. However, there is also a process of expansion within independent culture whereby a limited number of new musical reference points are gradually added to these core genres over time. (Strachan, 2003: 44)

Strachan in fact relates this process to the generic change within the culture of 'alternative rock' described by Straw (1991), and discussed above. Where Strachan uses individual generic names associated with different indie styles of music this thesis retains the catch-all generic term 'indie'.

## Locality

This section considers the notion of space and place impacting on local music making activities. As John Street (1993: 53) notes

Local arrangements may provide opportunities for both producers and consumers to acquire skills and tastes in popular music, and the structure of such opportunities will vary with locality.

Specifically, the section is concerned with the concept of being able to identify the personality or character of a place gleaned from lyrics, melody, or instrumentation.

Sara Cohen (2007) examines the notion of a ‘Liverpool Sound.’ While she notes the variety of musical styles and sounds produced by Liverpool bands, she also notes that it was also possible to ‘detect certain common trends within local rock music-making’ (2007: 45). For example there was a taste among Liverpool bands to produce ‘lush, guitar-based and pop-influenced style of rock characterized by a strong emphasis on melody (ibid). However, Cohen goes on to argue that the concept of a ‘Liverpool sound’ is actually a social and commercial construct rooted in the ‘social and ideological conventions and myths of rock culture’ (ibid: 68). Ultimately she concludes that:

The relationship between a city and a musical sound is not deterministic, organic or homological and it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify within rock music sounds that are purely local. In addition, a musical sound and also a city are complex entities that can mean different things to different people. (ibid.)

While largely focusing on issues of music produced locally retaining an identity against the dominant global forms of popular music, *Popular Music and Local Identity* by Tony Mitchell (1996) also considers this notion of a local sound. For the most part Mitchell uses the term ‘local’ to mean at the national level as opposed to being more geographically specific within a country. In this way he describes rock music in the Czech Republic, hip-hop in Italy, and pop music in both Australia and New Zealand. However, within these descriptions he also provides accounts of local music at the local regional/city level. For example, he describes the development of a Dunedin music scene in New Zealand in the 1980s, a Prague music scene in the 1990s, and the emergence of a hip-hop posse in Cisternino, Italy in 1992.

Although Mitchell employs the term ‘scene’ on innumerable occasions e.g. ‘Czech underground rock scene’ (1996: 113), he does not offer a definition, except rather loosely by way of discussing John Street:

The widespread notion of the scene connotes a more amorphous local network of production and consumption of music, combining institutions and industry with distinctive regional experiences. (ibid: 89)

Admittedly Mitchell’s concern is to show how local musical forms (albeit at a mostly national level) interact with predominant Anglo-American genres to fashion local identities. In doing so, his analysis documents and explores the development of scenes by identifying the participants, including the musicians, and record store, studio and record label owners, etc. However, as with similar previous studies, he includes some participants but not others – he does not consider the role of fans/audience or the media in constructing such scenes.

Mitchell’s analysis of the aforementioned Dunedin music scene to an extent mirrors Cohen’s comments about the Liverpool sound. Like her, he also points to the relevance of a ‘mythology of place, assembled by fans, artists, critics, promoters and industry personnel’ (ibid: 224) in accounting for the construction of the ‘Dunedin sound’. However, he also goes on to document detailed analysis of the sound of different Dunedin bands and highlights certain identifiable elements common amongst them. A jangly guitar driven sound, limited musicianship, a disregard for musical fashions, and a ‘do-it-yourself’ ethos are all terms used to describe these bands. More importantly, the bands shared an aesthetic that he attributes to Dunedin’s isolation and the fact that ‘the main influences on these bands were each other’ (ibid: 228).

In relation to Glasgow, the following chapters provide a detailed examination of the way the city’s popular music scene has developed over a thirty-year period. Although this notion of a place exerting influence on the sounds and styles of music being produced there is a seductive one, there was little evidence of this effect on Glasgow’s music makers. Instead, the effects of Glasgow’s locality are much more related to the way the different scene components combine and re-combine to produce a heterogeneity of styles and sounds.



## Cultural Policy and the Development of the Music Industries

Though the following chapters mainly focus on music making activities at a grassroots level (where funding – or profit – is not the main driving force), the development of industrial activities around music production, and the cultural policies that have influenced their development, are also discussed in relation to their impact on the notion of a Glasgow music scene. In this respect the city's experience is not dissimilar to many other UK cities. As Brown, O'Connor and Cohen (2000: 437) describe, a 'sea change' in British cultural policy making has taken place where:

this shift had long been prepared at sub-national level by city authorities using the cultural industries as part of local economic strategies. In this music has gained increasing prominence, with local authorities attempting to create or promote a 'local music industry'.

Elsewhere, O'Connor (2000: 17) notes that 'the very term cultural industries is contentious' (and fluid) but argues for a fairly wide definition by stating that the 'cultural industries are those activities which deal primarily in symbolic goods – goods whose primary economic value is derived from their cultural value' (ibid: 19). For O'Connor this definition encompasses both commercial activities and activities which might receive public funding. Goods produced through either system deal in symbolic value and, with relevance to some of the activities discussed in the following chapters, notes that those 'involved in contemporary cultural production increasingly move between these systems, though for many, they receive money from neither, relying on 'investment' from social welfare or second jobs' (ibid: 19).

In the UK the first use of cultural policy as an economic strategy at a local level has been credited to the Greater London Council's work between 1981 and 1986 (Bianchini, 1987; Garnham, 1990) which 'began to elaborate a cultural industries strategy involving film and video, music recording, publishing, design etc.' (Brown *et al*, 2000: 439). Following on from this, other studies have examined the economic importance of the arts (Myerscough, 1988; Landry, 1996) and the term 'cultural industries' (in the UK at least) largely became superseded by the term 'creative industries'. O'Connor (2000: 18) traces this change of terms to the creation of the Department of Media, Creation and Sport in 1997:

Nobody has been able to provide an official definition of the distinction between 'cultural' and 'creative' industries – least of all the Creative Industry

Unit at the DCMS – but it seems to revert back to the GLC distinction of cultural industries as ‘artist centred’ and the creative industries as based on technological reproduction and aimed at a mass market.

Studies such as Myerscough’s (which in fact focused on the economic importance of the arts in Glasgow) emphasise the employment possibilities of the cultural sector, both directly and in terms of the multiplier effect through audiences spending money in cafes and restaurants. In addition, as Brown *et al* note, the early 1990s also saw ‘cities linking ‘quality of life’ issues and tourism which used a wider notion of culture - the ‘feel’, the ‘atmosphere’, the bars and restaurants, the night life’ (439). This use of culture to improve a city’s image had been employed by Glasgow District Council as far back as 1983, when it launched the ‘Glasgow’s Miles Better’ promotional campaign. Paddison (1993: 346) argues that (following other similar campaigns, such as that for New York) this campaign

was premised on a well-established technique of indirect promotion used in advertising, of altering the image of a product in order (hopefully) to alter the pattern of its consumption. Subsequently, more directed forms of marketing were developed, aimed at specific types of markets, tourism and service industries, in addition to a focus on hallmark events and the arts as a means of fostering the urban economy.

This notion of changing a city’s economy through changing consumption habits has particular relevance for the following discussions regarding Glasgow’s music scene. First, it relates to the concept of post-Fordism and a move away from an economy based on mass consumption to one based on smaller niche markets (Lash and Urry, 1987; Harvey, 1989). Within the UK this change towards new fragmented consumer markets, and particularly ones that involved goods or services with a greater symbolic content, encouraged the development of small microbusinesses (O’Brien and Feist, 1995). Leadbeater and Oakley (1999) describe how these small microbusinesses or ‘Independents’ entered the cultural industries sector in the 1980s and the 1990s at a time when there were both cuts in public funding for the arts and a downsizing in larger commercial organisations. Chapter 6 discusses the rise of independent record labels in Glasgow in the 1990s, and acknowledges that these labels generally reflected a move towards a DIY ethic within local music making practices (while not necessarily representing a change in the structure of the local economy as discussed by Leadbeater and Oakley). However, Leadbeater and Oakley (*ibid*: 17) also highlight the fact that the new entrepreneurs identified in their study played ‘a critical role in promoting social cohesion’. These small businesses operated locally and fed into local cultural networks, and this function of promoting social cohesion is analogous with the role that independent labels in Glasgow played in providing a focus for network formation

between music scene participants. In a similar way Charles Landry (2008: 133) also argues that if a modern city is to develop creativity it requires a ‘system of associative structures and social networks, connections and human interactions that underpins and encourages the flow of ideas between individuals and institutions’. This ‘soft infrastructure’ of social networks and the ‘hard infrastructure’ of networked buildings and institutions together make up what Landry refers to as a ‘creative milieu’.

The importance of concepts such as ‘milieu’ and ‘network’ for music scene development is discussed in the following sections of this chapter, but such notions also relate to a further concept that has relevance for the way Glasgow’s music scene has developed. Both Florida (2002) and Landry and Wood (2003) argue that, in a global economy, cultural factors are very important for cities seeking to gain a competitive advantage over other cities. One aspect to this competitive advantage is the way in which a city can draw outsiders to it (or encourage its existent population to stay), and, according to Florida, new businesses are drawn to locations where there are ‘clusters’ of creative people. This idea is discussed further in Chapter 7, particularly in terms of the relationship between music makers and (visual) artists within Glasgow. Further, the ‘drawing power’ of a city is not divorced from its image, and therefore the marketing of a city’s image together with its tourist infrastructure and ‘vibrancy’ in terms of its night-life are also important factors in determining a city’s cultural competitive advantage (Lovatt and O’Connor, 1995).

So far this section has considered literature in respect to the development of cultural policy generally. However, in the following chapters more specific policies, both of a local and national nature focusing on the development of popular music industries, are also discussed in relation to Glasgow’s music scene. Flew (2008: 9) argues that:

The enlisting of the popular music industry to cultural policy, while a useful antidote to the ‘art versus commerce’ dichotomy, has in practice gained little traction for three reasons. First, music policy initiatives are limited by the fact that full-time musicians constitute only a fraction of those involved in music production and performance in some paid or unpaid capacity [. . .] Second, there remains little or no evidence, at least in the Australian context, of any relationship between policy initiatives and the types of music produced and distributed. Third, the problem is not only that the contemporary popular music sector has received little public funding, but those in the sector are deeply suspicious of it.

Nevertheless, as Cloonan (2006: 6) points out: ‘In the UK local authorities have long been concerned with the *regulation* of popular music in places such as pubs, clubs, concert halls,

public parks and other venues their involvement in the promotion of popular music has been more recent', and so subsequent chapters offer comments about policies that have had either a regulatory or a promotional effect on the local music scene in Glasgow.

## **The Production of Culture Perspective**

The production of culture perspective strongly associated with Richard Peterson (1990, 2000), views culture (or rather its symbols) as a product of structural, economic, organizational or economic factors. Specifically, Peterson utilizes a six-facet model of production to explain the field of symbolic production. These facets include 'technology, law and regulation, industry structure, organisation structure, occupational career, and market' (Peterson and Anand, 2004: 313). Changes in technology can create new opportunities in art and culture: 'the classic example is the role played by the invention of the printing press in overturning the world of the Middle Ages' (ibid: 314). Law and regulation 'create the ground rules that shape how creative fields develop' (ibid), and examples of changes in this facet include changes in copyright law or changes in censorship laws. The third facet of industry structure is concerned with 'the process of institutionalization' (for example) or the notions of oligarchy versus large numbers of small competing firms. In contrast organizational structure is concerned with changes in the way firms are organized regarding the division of labour and authority systems. So, for example, 'small organizations are better at scanning and exploring new fads and fashions' (ibid: 316). Changes in occupational careers involve changes in the 'networks of working relationships' or 'rewards systems' (ibid: 317). Lastly, changes in the market facet can be explained by 'the actions of cliques of producers who interact with and observe each others' attempts to satisfy consumer tastes' (ibid).

Peterson (1990) first used the six-facet model to examine the development of rock n' roll in the United States between 1954 and 1956, and so the perspective appears to have some relevance for an examination of the changes taking place within Glasgow's music scene between 1979 and 2009. Admittedly, the changes that this thesis considers in relation to Glasgow were not as rapid or as substantial as those within the three-year period examined in Peterson's study. In addition, an explanation of the way in which Glasgow's music scene has developed does not always lend itself to a reductive analysis involving these six facets. One criticism of the perspective is that it ignores analysis on a macro or societal level (Hesmondhalgh, 2002). As is discussed below, network theory and in particular the way this theory engages with different forms of capital, provides a more useful means to

theorise the changes that have taken place within Glasgow's music scene. This is not to say that the two paradigms are mutually exclusive. According to Santoro (2008: 8) Peterson 'never promoted the production of culture approach as a closed and exclusivist paradigm'. In many respects an examination of the networks formed within Glasgow's popular music scene corresponds to the 'occupational careers' facet within Peterson's model. However, network theory takes account of a wider set of relationships than those that would be classified under this facet.

Battani and Hall (2000: 140) consider that Peterson's production of culture perspective influenced the development of the sociological study of culture to the extent that:

The study of culture as socially organized action led to important transformations in our understandings of culture. In particular, the approach brings the sociological imagination to the study of culture, undermining the notion that great art is produced by the genius of lone individuals.

Interestingly Peterson first presented his perspective in 1974, at the American Sociological Association meetings, and a number of influential scholars attended, including Howard Becker and Paul DiMaggio (Santoro, 2008). Becker's *Art Worlds* from 1982, emphasises the collaborative nature of cultural production:

Members of art worlds coordinate the activities by which work is produced by referring to a body of conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in frequently used artifacts. The same people often cooperate repeatedly, even routinely, in similar ways to produce similar works, so that we can think of an art world as an established network of cooperative links among participants. (34-35)

Santoro places Becker's art worlds theory within the symbolic interactionist tradition and points out that: 'Becker has always been very careful, in his writings and pronouncements, not to confound the production of culture perspective (Peterson's own label) with his 'art world' approach' (2008: 22). However, Santoro (ibid: 9) also highlights the fact that:

As it was originally conceived, PofC [production of culture] can be described as an approach or perspective (but not a formal theory) oriented towards the study of culture, which conceptualizes the latter as a (usually incoherent) set of symbolic elements, whose content and form are understood as functions of the social contexts (or milieux) of their creation, manufacture, marketing, use and evaluation.

Though Peterson and Becker may differ in terms of the form and emphasis that their analysis takes, both stress that cultural production is influenced by a wider context of either a network of cooperative links or a social milieu.

This notion of networks and the wider influences on cultural production is also advanced in the theory of milieu cultures, as developed by Peter Webb (2007). He too acknowledges that the term 'scene' (together with neo-tribe) have become 'quite vague and non-illuminating in their ability to direct a researcher, theorist or writer' (ibid: 29). Webb feels that he needs to:

Develop a term that would more fully encapsulate the dynamic, fluid, and changing nature of particular types of music making and associations with it and fully reflect the networks of interaction, production, and influence that music makers and actors in the particular music 'scenes' were involved in. (ibid: 29-30)

He uses the term 'milieu' because it more fully illuminates the 'notion of a network that has a particular density in terms of connections, relevancies, typifications, commonalities, and aesthetics' (ibid: 30).

Drawing on the work of Durrschmidt (2000) Webb contends that in terms of a music scene milieu cultures can be thought of as having three layers: a local milieu, which 'deals with the individual actor and the person's interactions with a group of other actors in particular social spaces'; this milieu is situated within a wider context or the field of cultural production (to borrow from Bourdieu) which is the music "industry" in all its various forms'; and a third layer which is the 'dialectical relationship that the milieu and the field of cultural production have with other areas that the individuals involved inhabit or are in some form of contact with' (ibid: 37-38). Though Webb's notion of milieu stresses the relational aspect of the cultures he is studying, his work focuses on the subcultural aspects of various genres rather than on the role of geographic factors, such as infrastructure, for developing these relations. Thus, while Webb discusses global musical trends appropriated by Bristol music makers, his work concentrates mostly on the political influences that have shaped the development of neo-folk, post-industrial and hip-hop genres within this city. Rather than follow Webb's model of analysis, the research for this study on Glasgow's music scene adopted a more historical perspective; one which focuses on the social network aspects of a music scene.

## Social Networks and Music Scenes

This section discusses further implications of considering a music scene as a network. Nick Crossley (2008: 90) takes the view that a scene ‘entails a network of actors who belong to and participate in it’. In doing so, his article provides an analysis of the early punk movement in London in 1976 using the methods of formal social network analysis.<sup>3</sup> The approach he takes highlights a number of themes that are relevant to this study. For instance, he identifies ‘foci’ which have contributed to the formation of the punk network, as the interests of like-minded actors ‘draw them to the same sites of interaction: the same foci’ (ibid: 97). So, a lot of the early punks in London were in the same bands before punk took off. Another key focus was Malcolm McLaren’s shop, SEX, which drew together a lot of the people from the early punk scene. Crossley also argues that the ‘gigging circuit provided an important focus in which already active musicians came into contact with punk and were simultaneously converted and recruited’ (ibid: 98).

More importantly, Crossley employs a number of measures from formal social network analysis. While, in fact, the network he examines only has 46 actors – a point I shall return to shortly – he argues that its ‘diameter’ is low because the two most distant actors are only separated by three relationships. A short diameter is important for a network because innovations will travel quicker through the network and for a music scene it means ‘bands find the members, managers, promoters, etc., that they want, and vice versa’ (ibid: 102). Similarly, Crossley also looks at the ‘density’ of the network and argues that this was quite high because there were 246 relationships out of a possible 1035. This meant that almost ‘25 percent of all possible relations are present’ (ibid: 103). As he points out, high density is important for a network because it tends to generate social capital.

To clarify, Linn (2001) argues that there are four elements to social capital: information, influence, social credentials and reinforcement. First, social ties can ‘provide an individual with useful information about opportunities and choices otherwise not available’ (ibid: 7). In terms of influence, due to their position or location, some social ties can exercise greater power. So, ‘“putting a word in” carries a certain weight in the decision-making process regarding an individual’ (ibid: 7). Similarly, if an individual is able to access resources on the basis of their social ties or relations then these ‘social credentials’ also represent social

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<sup>3</sup> In a follow up article (2009) Crossley utilises both network analysis to map the development of the punk scene in Manchester in the late 1970s and qualitative/archive techniques to examine the mechanisms behind its formation.

capital. Finally, social relations can reinforce identity and recognition - assuring one's worthiness as an individual, providing both emotional support and public acknowledgement of one's claim to certain resources. Interestingly, Linn notes that while 'the fundamental definition of social capital is in general agreed on' (ibid: 7) there are a number of controversies surrounding the notion. In relation to Crossley's observation about the implication of high density in a network, Linn states that to argue 'that closure or density is a requirement for social capital is to deny the significance of bridges, structural holes, or weaker ties' (ibid: 10). This controversy is discussed in Chapter 6's section on music makers in the 1990s.

Returning to Crossley's article, he argues that an indicator of the high level of social capital within the early punk scene was the 'various ways in which the bands helped one another out by, for example, using one another as support acts' (2008: 103). Equally, social capital was an 'important supportive mechanism for those who took to the stage for the first time, particularly when they were musically inexperienced and inept' (ibid: 104). Such bands were able to survive on stage because the audience were supportive and sympathetic. The high density of the network meant that 'everybody knew everybody', creating safe spaces for cultural experimentation.

Another measure of social network analysis which Crossley refers to is the 'average degree' i.e. the number of connections an actor enjoys. He calculates that on average each actor was strongly tied to at least 5 others in the network. For Crossley this is important, because with this average degree (along with high density and a short diameter) the properties of the early punk movement helped to generate punk further – it was not the individual actions of the actors which were important but rather their interactions with one another.

However, as previously mentioned, this type of analysis lends itself to a small group or network. Crossley defines the network as 46 named individuals and these 'actors' were chosen on the basis of previous accounts of the early punk movement. So in fact, he has 'already identified them as an 'inner circle' in early British punk' (ibid: 92). While his analysis helps to quantify his conclusions regarding the nature of the punk movement – density, closeness, supportiveness etc., it is quite possible that these conclusions could be reached independently through analysing those initial accounts in the first place. Similarly, his analysis is limited in scope because it only takes into account strong ties or relationships and does not account for casual acquaintances. Unlike the present study,



Crossley's article deals with a small group of individual actors, does not include other types of actors such as the media, or venues or studios, and only relates to a very specific period of time. In contrast, this study aims to analyse a much larger sample and variety of actors over a thirty-year period while engaging with some of the issues raised by Crossley. Aside from the use of formal social network analysis, the overarching theory that informs his article is the notion of applying sociological understanding to the processes involved in cultural production. It is to such sociological theories of cultural production that this chapter now considers.

## Cultural Fields and Forms of Capital

Kadushin (1976) considers the structures of different circles (artistic, intellectual and scientific) through the use of network analysis. While the thrust of his argument is concerned with contrasting the aforesaid types of circle, he does make some interesting comments about the nature of networks and cultural production:

in discussing the production of culture, I shall emphasise emergent networks because they are especially apt for this field...Emergent networks in the area of cultural production also tend to be interstitial – that is, tend to link different social units such as different universities, publishers, authors, and the like. These kinds of connections also seem more dramatic than, for example, clique relations within the same structure, although both are network phenomena. (1976: 770)

It is possible to view Crossley's early punk movement as just such an example of clique relations and to view a wider music scene as an interstitial network. While Kadushin develops the argument that different types of circles have different types of social structure, he is unclear as to when a network is a 'network' or when it is a 'circle'. Nevertheless, what is clear is that he is concerned with the 'problem of the sociology of knowledge – the relationship of social structure to the content and style of ideas' (ibid: 781).

Bourdieu's notions of 'field' and capital are two concepts that are central to this notion of social structure. He argues that to 'think in terms of a field is to *think relationally*' and the 'relational (rather than more narrowly "structuralist") mode of thinking is...the hallmark of modern science...' (Wacquant 1989: 39). Interestingly, he too uses the term network in his definition of field:

I define a field as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation...in the structure of the distribution of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions... (ibid. 39)

In a cultural field, such as the music field for example, actors compete for social positions. An actor's position within this field is dependent on the overall and relative amounts of capital they have acquired. For Bordieu this is crucial:

It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory. (2004: 15)

He distinguishes three types of capital: economic, cultural and social. Economic capital is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights. Cultural capital is also convertible (in certain conditions) into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the form of educational qualifications. Lastly, social capital is made up of social obligations (or connections), is convertible (in certain conditions) into economic capital and is institutionalised in nobility titles (ibid: 16).

Linn's description of social capital, given above, reflects Bourdieu's description.

Bourdieu's definition also refers to 'credential', 'mutual knowledge' and 'recognition' (ibid: 21-22). Cultural capital on the other hand exists in a number of forms. As stated it can include educational qualifications, but it can also include long-standing dispositions acquired through the process of socialisation, and the accumulation of valued cultural objects such as paintings. Within these forms Bourdieu differentiates between 'incorporated' cultural capital, such as education and knowledge, and 'symbolic' cultural capital, represented by the ability to define or influence cultural, moral or artistic values.

In terms of researching a music scene, particularly one which is viewed as a network made up of competing actors, Bourdieu's concepts of 'field' and 'capital' are of value in determining the social structure of this network. He himself argues for constructing a social topography that will: 'map out the objective structure of the relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority...' (Wacquant 1989: 40). However, Bourdieu also argues that within a field of production there are two sub-fields: the "autonomous" field of restricted (or small-scale) production and the "heteronomous" field of large-scale production (Bourdieu 1984:

4-10). The field of restricted production is relatively free from market considerations, as actors (or producers) within this type of field, compete for cultural capital in the form of recognition and reputation, whereas in the field of large-scale cultural production, producers firstly seek market success and return in the form of economic capital. In this way, Bourdieu argues that the dominance of specific forms of capital is characteristic of different types of social field. This is not to say that the distinction between the two types of field is fixed, because he acknowledges that cultural fields may contain a range of forms between art as a commodity and as a cultural (symbolic) good.

While Bourdieu's theories may indicate a further scheme for analysing a social network, in terms of determining the dominance of capital, they are not without criticism. Jenkins points out that there is a 'problem either of ontology or definition (or both) with respect to fields' (2002: 89). Bourdieu does not tell us how a field is to be determined or how fields are to be identified. In addition, for the most part, his writings do not address popular culture and leave a question mark over the extent to which they have relevance for a local popular music scene. The question of whether this type of scene is closer to a field of restricted production or a field of large-scale production is considered in more detail in Chapter 7.

## Network Theory

The theories discussed so far all emphasise the collaborative nature of cultural or artistic production. In the case of 'social network theory', Bourdieu's concept of 'field' and Becker's 'art worlds', this emphasis is explicit. Whereas in the case of Peterson's production of culture perspective collaboration is more implicit within certain facets used to explain symbolic production. DiMaggio (2011: 286)) summarises this notion of relationality as being central to the way that Becker's, Bourdieu's and Peterson's theoretical frameworks understand cultural production systems:

Becker (1974) argues that collaborative networks ("artworlds") produce art and that these, rather than individual "artists", are the proper objects of social-scientific analysis. Bourdieu depicts artists and other creative workers (scientists, preachers, chefs) as constrained by their positions in fields (*champs*), readily reconceived as networks, that influence returns to different aesthetic strategies. The production of culture approach, developed in research on media industries (Peterson and Berger, 1971), studies how networks of collaborating organizations guide the flow of symbolic goods from creators through gatekeepers to publics.

Bottero and Crossley (2011:100) qualify the view that fields can be ‘readily reconceived as networks’ somewhat by identifying that ‘Bourdieu explicitly rejects the emphasis, found in both symbolic interactionism and social network analysis (SNA), on ‘empirical’ ties, focusing instead on the underlying ‘objective relations’ which, he claims, structure them’. They also argue that Becker’s treatment of networks is ‘impressionistic and fails to fully appreciate that networks are social ‘structures’ which generate both opportunities and constraints for their members’ (ibid). Ultimately they:

reject his [Bourdieu’s] claim that a model of social space centred upon juxtaposed ‘positions’ defined by volume and composition of economic and cultural capital is incompatible with or superior to a network model focused upon interactions and ties. Actors can simultaneously possess resources and interact and form relations with one another. There is no conflict or contradiction between these two claims. (ibid: 114)

Given the underlying emphasis on networks by the afore-mentioned theoretical approaches, and the extent to which network formation was a central concept evident in the research data, this thesis foregrounds network theory as an analytical tool in subsequent chapters.

Following Borgatti and Lopez-Kidwell (2011: 40) this thesis views network theory as ‘the proposed processes and mechanisms that relate network properties to outcomes of interest’. In other words the thesis is interested in explaining the advantages of social capital (as opposed to a theory of networks concerned more specifically with tie formation). In the following chapters a number of network theories are considered in relation to the development of Glasgow’s popular music scene, including Granovetter’s strength of weak ties theory and Burt’s structural holes theory.

## Summary

This chapter has considered various definitions of the term ‘scene’. Though acknowledging that defining the term is problematic, it privileges a definition that focuses attention on the social geography within a city (such as that offered by Bennett and Peterson). Building on this definition subsequent chapters of this thesis will focus on the interaction between various components of a music scene.

Previous studies of local music scenes highlighted in this chapter take very distinct approaches, from psychoanalytical and subcultural to the more phenomenological. The

studies all provide some insight into the ways in which a local music scene develops over time, but none provide a definition of what a scene means, nor analyse the changing ways in which components of a scene interact to propagate itself. Similarly, the notion of genre, and specifically the genre of indie music, is reviewed in terms of the problematic nature of determining a definition of the term. However, a definition (albeit, a wide one) is advanced for use in subsequent chapters.

Lastly, this chapter also considered various theoretical approaches that can be used to underpin an analysis of a music scene. Given that all the approaches identify the importance of the relational positions of the actors or participants within a scene (or a field or an art world), the remainder of the thesis primarily takes a network perspective in its inquiry. Viewing a music scene as a network allows for consideration of the role of social capital (and capital in its other forms) and for highlighting the changing importance of the scene's components.

## Chapter 2 - Methodology

### Introduction

The aims of this thesis are threefold: to determine the social processes that have led Glasgow to produce a large number of bands over a thirty-year period (by analysing the changing relative importance of the music scene's components); to investigate how space and place impact on local music making, and in particular to examine the factors that have led Glasgow music makers to follow an 'independent aesthetic' within their chosen musical styles; and to add to the body of knowledge by providing a thirty-year social history of Glasgow's popular music scene. This chapter provides both a rationale for the research that was undertaken and an explanation for the choice of approaches and instruments used to achieve these aims. It is divided into five sections. The first section looks at general issues relating to the historiography of popular music. The second section considers both the choice of a mixed qualitative approach and the theories that underpin this choice. The next section discusses more specifically the choice of research instruments employed in this study. The fourth section examines the interview questions that underpinned the semi-structured personal interviews. The final section addresses a number of practical issues relating to choice of years, geographical notions of Glasgow (e.g. city or conurbation), and the scope of the study.

### Issues of Historiography

This study provides a history of a city's popular music scene. As such it raises a number of issues or problems concerning both research methodology and historiography. Thornton (1990: 87) describes four strategies 'of bringing historical order to the popular past: listing, personalising, canonising and mediating'. The first provides a history in the form of lists e.g. who's who and encyclopedias. The second involves history around an individual e.g. biographies. The third strategy of structuring the popular past is to discuss only excellent work and Thornton compares this strategy to the approach that histories of art take. Finally, the fourth strategy relies on certain documents (e.g. music magazines), to establish the scope of the history. Admittedly Thornton acknowledges that it is reductive to think of writing history using only these four techniques, and that these descriptions may belie the complexity behind written histories which have used such strategies. However, Simon

Frith (2011) expands on this notion by proposing that there are five narrative models commonly used in popular music history: historic, art history, business, musicological and sociological. Both the historic and the art history narratives are very close to two of the strategies outlined by Thornton. The historic narrative concerns origins (the search for a founding moment) and lives (in the form of biographies). While the art history narrative involves the strategy of canonising. The business model however, is concerned with making sense of popular music as an industry, with a particular focus on the intersection of popular music and the histories of technology and fashion. Musicological narratives, on the other hand, give an account of popular music history in terms of music styles emerging, developing and declining. The last narrative proposed by Frith, the sociological, takes the view that ‘the history of music must be understood as an aspect of social history; musical changes reflect changes in society’ (ibid: 16).

Aside from the plethora of strategies/narratives for understanding the history of popular music there are other issues concerning historiography (the writing of history or the theory of writing history) that impact on this study of Glasgow’s popular music scene. Negus (1996: 138) takes the view (following George Lipsitz) that popular music history must be understood as a dialogic process, where ‘new music and new cultural dialogues are made within the context of the possibilities provided by existing social relations . . . technological means . . . and aesthetic conventions’. As a result he argues that the writing of history should be approached with an awareness that this involves a process of re-presentation’ (ibid: 137). In addition, Michelsen (2004: 19) points out that although ‘a host of rock histories now exist, few are academically grounded and there is even less work on the theoretical background for producing such histories. In the time in which popular music studies has developed into a theoretically rich field, the historiography of popular music has lagged behind’. Like Negus he also takes the view:

At given moments specific histories seem to be in dialogue with the present giving rise to new histories. Bands, audiences, media and the music industry constantly reference and take into consideration histories of what has happened before. Such histories are produced, reproduced and circulated in everyday life among individuals, but they are also produced, reproduced and circulated in written form. (ibid: 33)

Michelsen concludes that a ‘main point is to study what was going on in the everyday practices between “highlights” or canonical moments (that is, records and concerts) in order to complexify the overall picture and to puncture the canon’ (ibid: 34). Such a view makes the possibility of producing a ‘grand’ history, which explains everything, obsolete.

Instead, it encourages the production of smaller histories that are aware of their omissions. Unfortunately, a problem of constructing smaller (or any) histories of popular culture is that they depend largely on non-scholarly accounts – either journalistic in nature, or of a more personal (but equally partial or un-reflective) nature. As Thornton (1990: 87) argues the ‘first (often unspoken) difficulty encountered by historians of popular culture concerns its heterogeneous, informal and unofficial character: it is difficult to distinguish cause and effect and ascribe agency’. There is no easy answer to this problem and Frith (2011: 12) maintains that popular music histories have either ‘approached the past through the lens of other kinds of social scientific methodology, or, more commonly, and certainly in terms of any grand historical narrative, that writers more or less critically use non-scholarly accounts’.

## **Methodological Approach**

Given the preceding discussion from the last chapter regarding the notion of a music scene, and the way that a number of theoretical perspectives highlight the importance of relationality within the field of cultural production, this thesis, for the most part, draws on a sociological perspective (eschewing, to a lesser or greater extent, Frith’s other proposed narrative models). This approach is also concomitant with both the aims of thesis and the previous studies discussed in the last chapter. Similar to the other studies, for the most part, this study is also qualitative in nature, in that it gathered data through interviews and by analysing documents (though it also incorporates some quantitative data concerning releases of recorded music on music labels). A qualitative approach is most suited to this study as its central aim is to determine the social processes that have led to Glasgow’s music scene developing over time in the way that it has. In this respect Gilbert (2008: 35) notes that ‘qualitative data often makes it easier to follow cause and effect, since one can track people through their lives or ask them to tell their life histories’.

Following a qualitative approach the main forms of gathering data for this study were through personal interviews and desk-based archival research. By its very nature, qualitative research involves selection (and therefore also omission) of the data set being researched and the selection of research instruments is discussed in the following section. However, it was necessary to conduct interviews because, as noted in the aims of this study, the research was concerned not only with music makers at a grassroots level but also with music scene participants who are not necessarily the subject of written histories. As the focus of the study was over a thirty-year period, involving a variety of participants,



with different lengths of involvement and experiences, the approach to interviewing was very much informed by that of oral history. Oral history is described as ‘the interviewing of eye-witness participants in the events of the past for the purposes of historical reconstruction’ (Grele, 1996: 63) and by its nature it is involved in collecting oral accounts of events that have taken place (sometimes after a long period of time has lapsed). As a result the trustworthiness of these accounts may be called into question, particularly in terms of their validity and reliability. However, Portelli (1998: 67) argues for the importance of subjectivity in oral history:

The first thing that makes oral history different, therefore, is that it tells us less about events than about their meaning [ . . . ] Oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did.

As for the problem that oral sources are distant from the events they relate to, Portelli also points out that ‘this problem exists for many written documents, which are usually written some time after the event to which they refer’, and that oral sources ‘might compensate chronological distance with a much closer personal involvement’ (ibid: 69). Oral testimony may benefit from the fact that it has been told over and over again and discussed with members of the community. Equally, oral sources are not objective and the resulting written document is a product of a relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. In order to avoid the distortions which this relationship sets up the interviews conducted for this study were undertaken following Portelli’s requirement that ‘the researcher ‘accept’ the informant, and give priority to what she or he wishes to tell, rather than what the researcher wants to hear, saving any unanswered questions for later or for another interview (ibid: 71). As a further consequence the analysis of data (in terms of written or transcribed spoken words) took an inductive approach; where the purpose of the research was open-ended, flexible and dependent on emergent themes informing the direction of further research. This approach is reflected in the structure of the following chapters, with each one taking a different focus, whilst still following a linear narrative.

Furthermore, the qualitative and open-ended character of this interviewing method also draws upon an ethnographic approach to research (in the broadest anthropological sense of the term). Kruger (2008: 18) considers that:

In ethnography, the researcher is the primary tool for data collection, using methods of cultural participant-observation and open-ended interviewing, while becoming a cultural insider among the people studied. The ethnographic

process typically includes the collection of text-based data including fieldnotes, transcribed audio- and video recordings and images during fieldwork, which is an active, interpretative and subjective method that distinguishes ethnography from other approaches, specifically quantitative methods.

This study however, did not fully employ all these conventions of ethnography. It is true that, to an extent, the author may have been considered a cultural insider by some of the participants who took part in interviews (whilst for others this would not be the case).<sup>4</sup> On the other hand most interviews were conducted in a neutral space, away from the interviewees' natural setting and participant observation was not employed. Furthermore, whilst in-depth interviewing constituted an important generator of data, these interviews were of a semi-structured nature and utilised an interview guide that consisted of similar questions for all participants (irrespective of their role within the music scene). To this end and while conversational in tone, the interviews were conducted in a similar fashion regardless of the interviewees' knowledge of the interviewer and with a focus on the questions being presented.

A qualitative approach drawing, but not exclusively, on ethnographic methods is appropriate for this type of social history because, as Cohen (1993: 123) argues, to fully understand popular music production (and consumption) an approach that emphasises music as a social practice and process is required. In her opinion such an approach should also be

comparative and holistic; historical and dialogic; reflexive and policy oriented. It should emphasise, among other things, the dynamic complexities of situations within which abstract concepts and models are embedded, and which they often simplify or obscure. The social, cultural and historical specificity of events, activities, relationships and discourses should also be highlighted.

To this end, this study considered a wide range of phenomena, not only social relationships and processes (the traditional focus of ethnographic research), but also the changing social structures impacting on the participants within Glasgow's music scene. As a result it not only examines their culture, but also looks at events, activities, media discourses and products surrounding it. It is for this reason that a large part of the research also relies on a library-based examination of secondary material, mainly journalistic in nature.

Whilst Chapter 1 considered the definition of the term 'popular music scene' and specific issues surrounding the scope and breadth of the study are examined in the last section of

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<sup>4</sup> The author personally knew some of the interviewees before the interviews took place.

this chapter, it is apposite at this point to consider the general issue of ‘what’ or ‘who’ to include as the subject of research. Over the last three decades many popular music makers have lived and worked in Glasgow and its environs. These musicians vary considerably in terms of their commercial success, the amount of time they have been active within the city (in the broadest sense of living, socialising, performing or recording) and the amount of their musical output. The same holds true for the activity of other scene participants within the city. For instance producers of fanzines may have had a short period where they carried out this activity, while others may have then gone on to produce other media or cultural products with greater or lesser commercial success. The intention of this study is not to discriminate between commercial/mainstream activities with longevity and short-lived or non-profitable ventures. Rather, its aim is to critically consider the impact of scene participants and their activities for the notion of a local Glasgow music scene. As a result the following chapters examine a wide range of phenomena, including those generated by professional, established and commercially successful musicians, alongside amateur or non-commercial ‘producers’ of music (and indeed other cultural artefacts).

As a means of focusing on this notion of a ‘local impact’ each chapter primarily discusses ‘grassroots’ activities. This term is in itself problematic. A dictionary definition considers ‘grassroots’ to mean ‘involving the ordinary people in a society or an organization’.<sup>5</sup> While Caslin and O’Brien (2005: 5) view cultural activities as being on a continuum where ‘a space used by children to skate may give one boundary for the definition, whereas a multi-national chain store, such as HMV, or a government funded cultural venue, such as the Liverpool World Museum may provide the other.’ Specifically they identify grassroots activities as having three interrelated understandings: a DIY ethic, a sense of the people involved making decisions (rather than being made from the ‘outside’), and that the activities are not dependent on funding. In this way this study focuses on, for example, independent record shops (rather than chains such as the aforementioned HMV), independently produced music (rather than music released on major, non-Glasgow based labels) and smaller music venues (rather than large venues such as The Apollo theatre, which catered for national and international touring acts). This is not to say that larger, more commercial and national/international ventures were without influence on Glasgow’s music scene – where relevant, comment is proffered on their impact. Rather, primarily, a sense of the local within a music scene is generated through activities at a grassroots level.

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<sup>5</sup> [http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/grassroots\\_2](http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/grassroots_2).

## Research Instruments

As mentioned above the author possessed a considerable amount of ‘insider’ information about Glasgow’s music scene before undertaking the research. This had implications for conducting some of the personal interviews, as noted in the last section, but this knowledge also had a bearing on the selection of research instruments, both in terms of interviewees and desk-based research. Having lived, studied, worked and performed as a musician in Glasgow throughout the period of the study (1979-2009) the author was aware of many of the sources of archival data that could inform the study (local press, fanzines, radio programmes, etc.). This knowledge assisted in the prioritising and, at least initial, choice of data sources (other sources were then identified from these initial ones – in a snowball effect).

As a site of popular music production Glasgow is a city that has been neglected (at least until recently) in terms of academic research. While a number of journalistic books (Harvey, 2005; Fields, 2009) have been published in recent years, they mostly document the city’s music makers in an impressionistic/biographic manner, without providing much in the way of verifiable detail. Nevertheless, such publications were useful in providing insight into the discourse surrounding the city’s musical output. Hesmondhalgh and Negus (2002: 3) argue that (from the 1960s onwards) rock journalism was ‘particularly important in circulating knowledge and mediating values about the creation, characteristics and influence of recorded music’. In this way, but with a broader sweep, including both music production and consumption, this study references biographies connected to or about Glasgow, in order to both highlight such discourse, and where there is contradicting evidence, to challenge it.

In a similar way, library based documentary research for this study also focused on a number of other journalistic sources. These include the national music press, local music press, local press (specific to Glasgow, but which provided some local popular music commentary) and fanzines. All these sources maintain elements of the discursive conventions of biography and therefore are of interest in terms of analysing the historical narrative that has built up around the city’s music scene. However, they are also useful in terms of providing background information and establishing (as much as possible) historical details concerning dates and events (which would otherwise be lost to individual scene participants’ memories). Such details were not just available from feature articles or reviews, but gig guides and adverts in newspapers also provided useful sources of

information. In addition to print journalism, where extant, research was also conducted into other media products such as radio programmes. Over the last thirty years a number of such programmes produced in Glasgow have featured locally produced music (usually alongside music from further afield), which in turn have had a positive impact on the further production of popular music within the city. Of course, as with biographies, nothing could be taken for granted and, in order to achieve validity, data from one source was checked (wherever possible) with another source.

A further source of both background information and discourse surrounding Glasgow's music scene was on-line documents, including forums, fan pages, blogs, social networking sites and individual artist/band sites. Considered in isolation, and by their nature, they are less reliable in terms of providing factual information. It can be difficult to assess their credibility due to the fact that their origin is not always explicit and many authors/contributors on-line use pseudonyms. However, when considered in conjunction with other sources, either through primary research or from other secondary material, many Internet sites also provided useful commentary. This was particularly true when attempting to reconstruct a narrative of events that took place a considerable time period ago. Equally, in the more recent past, the Internet has played its own role within the city's music scene (and Chapter 7 considers this notion in more detail).

As a means of supplementing personal interviews, and a source for cross-checking both factual information and scene participants' views, approximately fifteen online published interviews were also consulted. As previously noted, because the study is concerned not only with music makers at a grassroots level but also with other music scene participants, who are also not necessarily the subject of written histories (even journalistic in nature), this study also employed data generated through twenty-seven personal interviews.<sup>6</sup> The interviewees were chosen on the basis of a number of interacting factors. First, as with the selection of desk-based research sources, the author was able to use his insider's knowledge to inform his selection of (at least initial) interview respondents. In some instances this knowledge extended to having already made personal contact or, at least, having contact details of initial interviewees. Bennett (2002: 460) points out that this type of prior knowledge was not always viewed as an advantage by sociologists:

For many years the notion of field-based research being carried out by a person with native or near native knowledge of the subject matter of their research was

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<sup>6</sup> A list of interviewees is provided in Appendix 1.

deemed unethical given the need for objectivity and detachment, qualities considered central to the social-scientific rigour of bona fide ethnographic sociological work.

However, Bennett also adds that more recently ‘such knowledge of and familiarity with local surroundings has substantially assisted researchers both in their quest to gain access to particular social groups and settings’ (ibid: 460). In terms of this study, of the twenty-seven interviews conducted, the author personally knew eleven interviewees prior to the start of the research. Four other interviewees were contacted through being suggested by initial interviewees (as in a snowball effect) and the remaining interviewees were chosen on the basis of the following factors.

A second factor was a desire to provide an illustrative sample from across all the music scene components (as described in Chapter 1). While interviewees included music makers, studio owners, radio personnel and journalists, audience members were not interviewed. However, the thesis acknowledges the important role that audience members/fans perform in the development of a local music scene, but it also acknowledges that many other scene participants e.g. music makers, are also at times members of the audience too.

Due to limited resources it was also expedient to interview scene participants who were (or had been) involved in different roles e.g. a musician who was also a record shop worker. In order to avoid focusing the study too much on a certain decade there was also a need to interview participants who had been involved in the music scene at different times over the last three decades. Further, consideration was given to interviewees’ gender and while the majority of people interviewed were male (reflecting the historical gender imbalance found within Glasgow’s music scene), a number of females were also interviewed. Finally, these considerations were also balanced with interviewees’ availability and willingness to participate in the study (not all requests for an interview were accepted, or at least not all were successfully converted into an actual interview).

Interviews were carried out using a semi-standardised format, on a one-to-one basis and usually within a neutral public place (e.g. cafe). For the most part all interviewees were asked the same principal questions in the same way. However, due to the heterogeneous nature of the interviewee group, it was not always appropriate to ask the same questions of each interviewee. The semi-standardised interview also allowed for probing and prompting, and given the subject matter of the interview, focusing as it does on people’s life histories, this meant it was possible to clarify ambiguous statements. Care was

however required to ensure that probing did not involve leading questions that would then result in bias

## **Interview Questions**

As stated above this thesis is concerned with the issues of what constitutes Glasgow's popular music scene, and how and why it has developed the way it has over a thirty-year period. While the research for the most part was open-ended, allowing for themes to be identified that could then change the direction of enquiry, a number of broad areas of investigation initially focused the research. These were concerned with identifying:

- Factors specific to Glasgow's musical production
- How the city has developed/changed over the last three decades, with specific reference to musical production
- The meaning of the term 'music scene', particularly for scene participants
- Factors specific to Glasgow in each decade.

These areas informed both the library based documentary research and interviews. Regarding the latter, a typical interview guide included major questions such as:

- Does Glasgow encourage the production of popular music?
- How attached do you (did you) feel to Glasgow's music scene?
- Has Glasgow changed as a place for music makers over the last 30 years (or appropriate time period)?
- What events in Glasgow, or bands from the city, stand out as being significant and why?
- If you were to pick certain years as being significant for the city's musical production what would they be and why?
- Does Glasgow have a music scene? If so, what makes up the scene?

## Issues of Scope

This thesis examines the ways in which a music scene has developed. To this end it required to make explicit decisions regarding both the time period and the geographical boundaries marking the area to be studied. This latter point is even more significant when viewed in terms of popular music history and the notion of a collective entity being from a specific locality. There are various geographic definitions of Glasgow, including that for the City Council (previously District Council) and the Greater Glasgow urban area (which takes in the surrounding conurbation). Figure 1 displays the boundaries of Glasgow's Central Area (city centre), as defined by Glasgow District Council's Local Plan for 1979. However, while such distinctions are useful for examining changes to the built environment (for example), they are not so helpful in identifying a band (for example) being 'from Glasgow'. There are many individual issues surrounding this notion. Relatively speaking the city centre has few domestic residents (compared to the city's surrounding burghs) and therefore the vast majority of bands that consider themselves as being from Glasgow do not live in the city centre. How far from the city centre can the members of a band reside and still view themselves as being from Glasgow? Over the last three decades a number of bands have emerged from Glasgow's environs where their members have lived (e.g. East Kilbride, Bellshill, Coatbridge etc.), but such bands have been active within Glasgow's centre in terms of performing, socialising, recording etc. Furthermore, some bands comprise of members who originate from much further afield, but have located to Glasgow, where they have formed a band. Are these bands to be considered as 'being' from Glasgow? Ultimately, such considerations are at worst irresolvable and at best reductive, and therefore this study utilises the notion of 'grassroots' activity (as described above) to determine inclusion, or otherwise, in this study. In this way, a band who has been active in the city (i.e. performing etc.), and therefore has some impact locally, is considered to fall within the remit of this study.

Returning to the former issue of the scope of the study's time period, 1979 was chosen as an entry point for a number of reasons. First, this year was significant because it represented a time when the DIY ethos of the punk movement was beginning to have an influence on popular music production in Glasgow.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, the general election of that year resulted in a Conservative government being elected – a government whose policies exacerbated the economic and social changes that were taking place within the city.

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<sup>7</sup> See Chapter 5 for a more detailed discussion.



Finally, national government policy aside, at a local level Glasgow was undergoing changes in terms of its built and cultural environment, which would also impinge on its popular music sector. That said, this thesis is careful not to over-periodise the city's musical history. Though its chapters are divided up by time periods (or years) and allusions are made to general periods of time throughout (e.g. the 1980s), it recognises that these are only convenient markers, useful for the purpose of analysis. Taking this into account Chapter 4, for example, ostensibly focuses on Glasgow in 1979, but makes specific reference to events in years around this time period and also general reference to the years either side of 1979. However, focusing on a specific year, and on specific decades, does allow for comparisons to be drawn and to be able to gauge the extent to which the various scene components have changed in terms of their relative significance for the scene. An alternative approach to presenting this information would have had each of the following chapters examine a theme's development separately (e.g. venues) over the same thirty year time period. This non-chronological approach would take account of Negus' view that 'while pinpointing historical tendencies and understanding social change is important, we should be wary of attempts to draw neat boundaries around musical eras' (1996: 136). Nevertheless, the following chapters present information chronologically because, in addition to providing a basis for understanding how the various scene components have changed relative to each other over the time period, this format also suits the over-arching aim of providing a social history; a history which examines the growth and overall development of popular music production within Glasgow.

Finally, one other issue relating to scope requires comment. In Glasgow, like many other cities, there is more than one popular music scene: there are a number of scenes (or worlds or fields or communities). As examples, the city has its own jazz scene and country music scene. Venues where both these types of music are performed tend to be quite separate from each other and distinct from the venues that are discussed in this thesis. Similarly, music makers from these scenes will meet and socialise in places quite different from those under discussion here. There may of course be some overlap – all types of musicians use the city's rehearsal and recording studios. However, while this thesis considers a number of musical styles with an indie aesthetic, it views this general popular music scene as being quite distinct from other genre scenes.

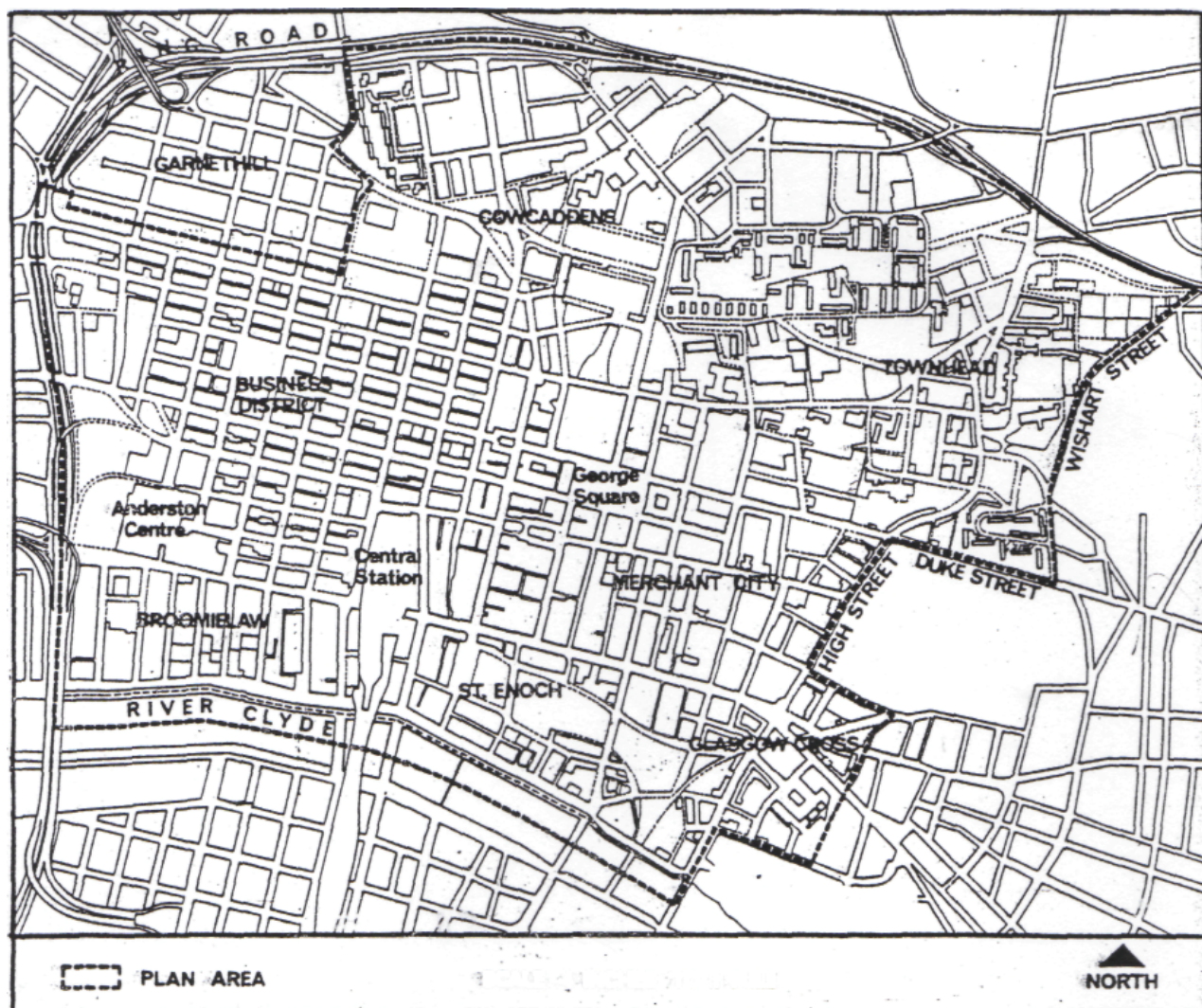


Figure 1 - Glasgow Central Area from Council Local Plan 1979

## Chapter 3 – Glasgow and its Music Scenes

### Introduction

In order to provide a context to the information and analysis presented in subsequent chapters this chapter examines the ways in which Glasgow, alongside popular music produced in the city, has developed in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> and first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. In particular, it both looks at how the social, economic, political and cultural characteristics of the city have changed over this time period and how these changes have been concurrent with wider national and international developments. Such changes are also considered in terms of their impact on the development of different types of popular music produced within the city.

Following the structure of the remainder of the thesis this chapter discusses these developments in a chronological manner. The chapter is divided into sections that look at the development of different musical styles and genres over a time period that stretches from the 1960s to the 2000s. It first examines the way Glasgow developed up until the 1970s and then looks at each subsequent decade separately. Though the focus for other chapters is local musical activity at a ‘grassroots’ level (whether for profit or not), the development of such activities is very closely allied to the development of an infrastructure, both in terms of a network of ties between scene participants and the development of a variety of scene components. This chapter examines how the growth of this infrastructure is closely related to wider changes that took place, including Glasgow’s urban regeneration and the cultural ‘turn’ that this regeneration involved. It then focuses on the reasons behind the outward looking nature of a large number of Glasgow’s music makers and discusses how the development of different genres (e.g. folk and progressive rock) outside of the city created opportunities for local music makers.

### Dance Bands

In little over a hundred years, and by 1900, Glasgow’s industry had expanded to such an extent that it became known as the Second City of the British Empire (Moss and Hume, 1977). Its industrial image is, of course, tightly bound with shipbuilding, but in fact this was only one of its heavy engineering activities. Oakley (1967: 174) argues that this was due to the fact that having to supply ships with every kind of equipment meant that

Glasgow manufacturers were able to turn ‘their hands to an infinite variety of things’. This rapid expansion in industrial activity was only able to take place because of a sufficient movement of labour resources to the city. In the 19th century the city had the fastest population growth in the whole of Europe (Damer, 1990: 41) and between 1871 and 1914 the population almost doubled to that of a million. (Checkland, 1976: 8) This massive expansion in the working class was brought about through labour movements from rural areas in Scotland and Ireland, and also through Jewish immigrants from countries such as Russia and Poland. Sarah Lowndes (2010), in her book *Social Sculpture*, argues that this continental influx resulted in both European style bakeries and delicatessens opening in the south side of the city, and a notable rise in public entertainments. She notes that ‘between 1862 and the outbreak of the Great War, 18 major theatres were built in Glasgow to satisfy demand’ (ibid: 17). The majority of these theatres provided music hall entertainment, but it was the development of the dance hall, also brought about to entertain Glasgow’s large working class, which had a lasting impact through to the Sixties. Damer (1990: 93) argues:

Glasgow has always been a dancing mad city. Before the advent of the big dance-halls at the turn of the century, dances were organised in back-courts, on the pavement, in houses, in church-halls, in attics and cellars – anywhere where a musician or two could belt out a tune and people could dance.

By the inter-war years commercial dance halls had become well established and Lowndes (2010: 27) notes that in 1946 ‘Glasgow had 93 dance halls, almost three times as many as London per head of population’. She goes on to argue that the ‘dance hall was a place where young people could elevate their social standing through their dancing skills alone, which may account for the popularity of the pastime amongst working-class people in the city’ (ibid). In Glasgow, up until the 1960s, this form of working class entertainment involved dancing to dance bands (of the small orchestra variety) and following the steps of a strict tempo dance, with partners in close contact. Of course, through the 1950s such dance bands also had to accommodate changing tastes in dance: skiffle and jive for example. Glasgow musician Rollin’ Joe takes the view that:

It’s important to realise rock’n’roll was a dance culture – it was about a band playing and people dancing. It wasn’t really around for long. It was only 1960 or 1961 that ballrooms started taking on what you’d call rock’n’roll groups. There were the Sabres, the Chaperones, the Red Hawks from Dunfermline, and one or two others. Before that it was traditional dance bands who might play a bit of rock’n’roll for the jivers. (Quoted in Tobin and Kielty, 2010: 50)

So by the beginning of the next decade live, non traditional, popular music was beginning to be produced specifically to accommodate the trend in new, less formal dances (e.g. the twist). However, one band that Rollin' Joe fails to mention is the Kansas City Counts (which by 1960 had changed its name to 'The Alex Harvey Soul Band', billed sometimes as the Big Soul Band). In a biography of Harvey, John Neil Munro (2008: 33) recounts that 'the Kansas City Counts did have the distinction of being one of the first ever touring Scottish rock bands, and had the dubious honour of triggering Scotland's first ever rock'n'roll riot after a gig at Paisley Town Hall'. Alongside the Ricky Barnes All-Stars, the Soul Band was also one of the first groups to use amplification. Nevertheless, Harvey's band, like the others cited by Rollin' Joe, was still essentially a show band playing cover versions of well known songs from the time (Munro cites songs by Ray Charles, Elvis Presley and Bo Diddley).

## Beat Music

The development of this new type of band playing American R&B, which then emerged in the Sixties under the gloss of 'beat combo' is often romantically attributed to an influx of American records brought to the UK by American sailors. Like Liverpool, Glasgow was a major port and in her autobiography Lulu (2000: 49) attributes the spread of blues, soul and country and western in both cities to these very seamen. This belief is perpetuated in a scene from *Nowhere Boy* (Sam Taylor-Wood, 2009), the film biopic of John Lennon's early life prior to The Beatles' first visit to Hamburg, where the young Lennon receives a copy of Screamin' Jay Hawkins' *I Put a Spell on You* from a 'Cunard Yank' seaman on the Liverpool docks. However, other writers question the pivotal role of such figures (Hogg, 1993; Brocken, 2010) and while indeed that was one possible route for new American recordings to reach the UK, the truth is that a large number of such records were available to buy from shops. Jimmy Grimes, who played bass with the Alex Harvey Soul Band but had also been a merchant seaman, describes both bringing home recordings from his trips and seeking them out in Glasgow shops (Wilkie, 1991: 36-37). Similarly, Alex Mair, a bass player with another Glasgow group, The Beatstalkers, describes hunting down more obscure recordings:

I stumbled across a shop in Battlefield – Gloria's Record Bar – which was run by a soul fanatic. I had already heard 'Gypsy Woman', but he was importing Otis Redding, the Tams, Don Covay, the list goes on and on. I just stood there – "What's this? Can I hear that?" – and he kept playing more and more. If there was one song that started the Beatstalkers' obsession it was the

Impressions' 'It's Alright'. From that moment we were in the shop every week, ordering from *Billboard*. (Quoted in Hogg, 1993: 77)

The change in dance fashions, the rise in teenage incomes (and of teen culture) and the stricter licensing laws in Scotland (compared with England), which meant dance halls were by and large unlicensed, had the effect that by the early Sixties dance halls went into decline. Bill Gracie, another local musician, took the view that:

The beginning of the end for big bands had started in 1961. The whole scene changed and it wasn't long before dance halls started closing, just like a lot of bands did. . . I clearly remember being told by management that a beat group would be playing the second half of one of our nights. And I don't remember any of us being in any way annoyed about it. (Quoted in Tobin and Kielty, 2010: 72)

This is not to say that some of the older established bands were not resistant to the new trends in music. Ronnie Simpson, a younger local musician in the 1960s, remembers that:

Ballroom owners in west-central Scotland came to an agreement with the Musicians' Union that a band had to have at least seven members. Most combos of the time were four or five strong, and maybe the odd six. So we were out in the cold. (ibid: 76)<sup>8</sup>

The agreement also served those dance halls who did not want to lose their established clientele and who associated trouble and violence with a younger crowd. As a result, and in order to satisfy a growing demand, the younger beat groups would perform in community centres, municipal halls and youth clubs, etc. Ultimately however, dance halls, in ignoring the new trends, began to see a downturn in door-takings and were forced to designate certain nights of the week as 'beat' nights, while maintaining other nights for ballroom dancing.

Increasing demand for American influenced popular music (and places to dance to it) also led to new venues opening. A number of clubs opened (or realigned their business) to take advantage of the growing interest in 'beat' music. Hogg (1993: 24) argues that by 'the early 60s the balance between dancehalls and smaller venues was changing [. . .] These smaller venues were often open into the early hours, flourishing at the dance halls' expense'. Examples of these venues included the Lindella Club in Union Street (which had initially been a jazz club), the Elizabethan Club in Clyde Street, the Maryland Club in

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<sup>8</sup> Minutes of the Glasgow branch committee of the Musicians' Union from 20 April 1961 notes that twelve was the minimum number of players for a band engaged at a dance hall.

Scott Street and La Cave (an all night venue) in a side lane off Jamaica Street. The Lindella had a regular band performing on a Sunday evening called The Gleneagles, and Lulu (or Marie Lawrie as she was then known) was their lead vocalist. In 1963 her move from singing at dance venues to a recording contract was facilitated by entrepreneurial support gaining her exposure in the local press. Tony Gordon, a nightclub owner, was visiting Glasgow (to explore the possibility of opening up a discotheque type club in the city) when he was invited to watch Lulu perform at the Lindella by her then manager. Gordon proceeded to make efforts to gain her exposure in the local press and one writer in particular, Gordon Reed, a journalist with the *Scottish Daily Express*, began to champion her in his column. At the same time, the *Express* had been behind a competition, held at the Locarno Ballroom on Sauchiehall Street, to find Scottish musical talent to equal that from English cities. On the basis of this competition a representative from the EMI record label came to Glasgow and although Lulu was not an entrant in the competition, the representative saw her perform at the Lindella Club. As a result The Gleneagles were invited to audition in London, principally for EMI, but then also for Decca (who signed a contract with the band after EMI turned them down). The change of name from 'The Gleneagles' to 'Lulu and the Luvvers' came before the release of her first single, *Shout* (Decca, F11884), in 1964.

Lulu's story is indicative of the lack of music industry infrastructure in Glasgow in the 1960s (as it was with other cities outside London). Shortly after the release of her first single, and at the age of fifteen, she moved to London, where her manager, press agent and record label were all based. In the run up to the release of *Shout* she had to make a number of trips for recording and publicity purposes and once it was released she had to make even more journeys for TV appearances, photo shoots, magazine interviews and performances.

If recording artists looked towards London then it is also notable that live performers from Glasgow were also looking elsewhere, and not only for material. *Shout*, originally recorded by the Isley Brothers, was actually the signature song of Alex Harvey's Soul Band when Lulu saw them perform it. At this point in time Harvey had just returned from Hamburg, where the Soul Band had played residencies at both the Star Club and the Top Ten Club (he had followed the aforementioned Ricky Barnes to the German city in 1962). Munro (2008: 44) argues that the Hamburg music scene was much more attractive to British musicians than, for example, the conservatism of Glasgow. In addition, as there was ample work in the city's clubs, musicians could also earn a steady wage without needing to constantly tour. In actual fact, Harvey found himself in Hamburg through

looking to move to London. He had travelled down to the city for an audition at the '2 i's' coffee bar in Soho, but had then been offered live work in Germany. From this move the Soul Band won a contract with Polydor and went on to record an album (of non-original material) in the recording studio at the back of the Top Ten Club. This was eventually released in the UK as *Alex Harvey and his Soul Band* (Polydor, LPHM46424) in March 1964 (though due to contractual reasons not all of the Soul Band plays on it). An album of blues standards, *The Blues* (Polydor PLHM46441), was released in the UK in November 1965. However, by 1965 the band had moved back to London and eventually split up later that year. For a short time Harvey returned to Glasgow, where he performed in the house band at the Dennistoun Palais. On returning to London he spent most of the remainder of the Sixties playing guitar in the musical, *Hair*.

## Blues and Pop

It was not until the 1970s that Alex Harvey, with the 'Sensational Alex Harvey Band', achieved critical and commercial success performing and recording his own self-penned material. In the 1960s Glasgow bands may have sought a recording contract, but they would do it through performing and recording songs from elsewhere. There was one exception: when Harvey joined the Dennistoun Palais house band in 1966, George Gallacher was the other vocalist (along with Isabel Bond). Previously, Gallacher had formed a band in 1961 called The Poets and they were distinctive at this time for writing their own material. Of course they did not solely play their own songs – they also played blues standards. Up until 1964 they played regularly at the Flamingo Ballroom on Paisley Road West (as well as at other venues throughout the city). However, they gained the attention of Andrew Loog Oldham (at that time the Rolling Stones manager) and he signed them to the Decca record label. Their first single, the self-penned *Now We're Thru'* (Decca, F11995) was released in October 1964 and got to Number 30 in the UK singles chart. On the basis of this they were able to tour extensively throughout the country and to go on to release a further five singles between 1964 and 1967 (though none of them had the same chart success). George Gallacher left the band in 1966.

While The Poets' success had been built on original material there are plenty of examples of Glasgow music makers seeking a recording contract through performing non-original material. Dean Ford and the Gaylords were one of the successful bands that secured a record contract in 1964 through pitching a cover version of a song – Chubby Checker's *Twenty Miles*. They had been successful in the competition held at the Locarno ballroom



and Columbia released it as their debut single (DB 7264). They released two further singles under the same name before they, like other groups mentioned, moved to London (where they decided to change their name to 'The Marmalade'). As a marker of the band's popularity in Scotland, Brian Hogg (1993: 77) recounts how in 1965 a series of open air lunch time concerts were held in George Square and that Dean Ford and the Gaylords attracted a crowd of six or seven hundred to their concert. However, this was completely upstaged by the following day's concert that featured the aforementioned Beatstalkers. This time thousands of fans descended on the city centre area and the concert had to be abandoned due to what was considered to be a small riot. Newspaper coverage at the time called the band the 'Scottish Beatles' because of the mayhem they could cause, and this helped them secure a recording contract with Decca. As with Dean Ford and the Gaylords, none of the songs they released were actually written by members of the band. On the back of their recording deal the Beatstalkers also made the move to London.

The Poets aside, up until the late Sixties the production of popular music by Glasgow based music makers was very much dependent on music trends perceivable in other locales, whether it be Liverpool, London or further afield. The reasons are manifold. The desire to succeed, attain the elusive record contract and escape from the city took precedence over a desire to innovate, whilst the tradition of producing live popular music as an aid to dancing, with the attendant duties of 'pleasing the crowd', meant that Glasgow bands were attuned to recreating what was already popular. More importantly still, the 1960s in Glasgow was marked by several major trends. The most prominent and documented of these was the decline of its traditional industries:

Shipbuilding on the Clyde had reached a point of crisis. So too had locomotive building [. . .]. The making of machine tools was in sad decline. In chemicals, the old Glasgow ascendancy had totally disappeared; Tenant's Stalk was felled and the site of the St. Rollox works became a high-rise housing development. The ending of Dixon's Blazes removed from the scene a celebrated iron works. (Checkland, 1976: 48)

As a result, social stratifications which had developed since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and which were manifested in a large working class population, were now in a state of flux. To add to this was the other major trend of dispersing the city's population elsewhere. Between 1961 and 1975 the overall population of Glasgow fell from 1,055,017 to 825,688, a reduction of more than one-fifth (ibid: 72). New towns, such as East Kilbride and Cumbernauld, were developed, but they also drew skills away from Glasgow, and the city was left with a comparatively large unskilled or semi-skilled labour force. Ultimately, these were not

conditions to foster a creative culture in the city. Lowndes (2010: 29) takes the view that there 'is some justification for the belief that the forced relocation of much of the inner city population of Glasgow during the '50s and '60s significantly contributed to the 'low' cultural status of the city in the post-war period'. As evidence she points to the lack of a Glasgow literary scene – at least before the works of writers such as Alexander Trochhi, Archie Hind and William McIlvanney began to be published. Further, Lowndes (ibid: 34) argues that Hind's *The Dear Green Place* (1966) 'articulated the idea (still prevalent in Scotland) that creative activity is a luxury'.

While the decline in both Glasgow's heavy industries and its inner city population impacted negatively on the creative psyche of its inhabitants, it also had a more tangible impact for popular music production. Housing schemes such as Easterhouse and Drumchapel, had been built to accommodate the migration away from the city centre, but their creation also helped to foster a gang culture amongst the city's competing discontented youth. George Gallacher believed that the gang problem 'caused so much trouble in the clubs that half of them closed down' (quoted in Hogg, 1993: 86). Certainly through the 1960s Glasgow did not have a consistent club scene, and this was a further factor preventing the cultivation of creativity amongst the city's musicians. However, the new housing schemes also lacked many community facilities, including public houses, and therefore one side effect of their creation was to increase demand for city centre public houses. In the 1970s, with the decline in dance halls and a lack of a club scene, public houses (alongside student unions) would continue to provide Glasgow musicians with a source of income and a performance outlet.

## Heavy Rock

Andy Lothian, a promoter and record label owner at the time, believed that in the late '60s the 'music scene changed completely' (quoted in Hogg, 1993: 102). Several large promoters, who had organised dances across Scotland, ceased operating and, in line with musical fashion, new Glasgow bands formed and began playing progressive rock. Various bands from this time went on to sign record contracts, including Tear Gas, Beggars' Opera and Power (having changed their name to 'Stone the Crows'). Power included Alex Harvey's brother, Leslie, and the singer Maggie Bell. In contrast with the earlier Glasgow bands seeking a career in pop music, the progressive rock genre fostered a more creative atmosphere, in which bands had the confidence to seek a record contract on the basis of their own material. It was also the case that the aforementioned bands all included

musicians who had been active in the earlier 'beat' period, and had therefore experienced the proclivities of the recording industry. Brian Hogg also argues that this new generation of bands had a different ethos from earlier dance bands. For him, the fact that they wore t-shirts or rugby jerseys was a 'uniform showing a calculated disinterest, which proudly proclaimed their mistrust of pop's demand for petty styles' (ibid).

The more informal presentation and performance style of these new rock bands is also reflected in the venues where they performed. In 1968 the aforementioned Power became the resident band at The Burns Howff public house in West Regent Street (previously it had been on Paisley Road West and called 'The Burns Cottage'). The venue became a focal point for local heavy rock bands throughout the 1970s.

## **Folk Music**

Heavy rock was not the only genre of popular music performed in Glasgow public houses in the 1960s. The Scottish folk revival also saw folk artists playing in such venues. Robert Fields (2009: 17) recounts that it 'wasn't until 1968 that I was lucky enough to see my first live gig. I was smuggled into the Scotia bar to see a very eccentric trio of gentlemen playing a brand of folk-pop music: Tam Harvey, Gerry Rafferty and a young and rather abrasive lad called Billy Connolly'. However, similar to the 'beat' clubs that both opened and closed very quickly in Glasgow, 'folk' also had its own clubs in the city. In fact the Glasgow Folk Club (which later became known as the Glasgow Folk Centre) in Montrose Street opened in 1959. Folk singers that appeared there included Hamish Imlach, Ewan MacColl and Martin Carthy (Munro, 1996: 36). Another club that only opened for a very short period of time in 1966 was 'Clive's Incredible Folk Club' on Sauchiehall Street. This was run by Ian Ferguson but fronted by Clive Palmer and featured the Incredible String Band (Heron, Palmer and Williamson) as the resident band. It was distinctive because it was open all night, from Saturday at 10.00pm to 6.00am on Sunday morning. However, after 6 months it was shut down due to a problem with fire regulations (the only way to enter the club was using a small lift). Brian Hogg (1993: 93) describes how despite 'its short lifespan, the club was a magnet to Glasgow's folk subculture. Among those appearing was Iain McGeachy, better known as John Martyn, who had learned to play under Hamish Imlach's tutelage'. Similar to many of Glasgow's other musicians at the time, Martyn soon after also made the move to London.

While Glasgow folk musicians and pop/rock musicians shared a similar club culture, and a core of the regular performers at the aforementioned Glasgow folk clubs also wished to move on to the larger London scene, that was where similarities ended. The Glasgow folk scene in the 1960s was largely non-commercial and the majority of folk musicians were not looking to make a living from performing their music (McKerrel, 2011: 3).

Furthermore, although folk music also had a strong tradition of performers reinterpreting other performers' material, song writing was also very much part of the folk performer's creative activity. Ailie Munro (1996), in her book *The Democratic Muse*, cites a large number of Glasgow folk musicians who both performed at the clubs and also wrote their own songs. Amongst them was Matt McGinn, whose songs, Munro argues, interwove 'all the varied strands of the *[folk]* revival' (ibid: 36). Though he wrote about a wide variety of topics, and (like Woody Guthrie) a number of children's songs, McGinn's compositions also included political commentaries such as *We Ain't Gonna Dig*, *Rich Man's Paradise* and *On the Road from Aldermaston*. For Munro, McGinn's left-wing political commitment derived from impoverished childhood experiences that were then channelled 'partly by his father's socialism and partly by the influence of the socialist 'University'' (ibid) (situated near the Trongate area of Glasgow).

McGinn's topical songs reflected the way in which the Scottish folk revival had developed since the 1950s. Satirical by nature and sung in a local vernacular, McGinn's work represented a move away from the earlier American folk revival. Munro acknowledges such changes, but also points to the popularity of American music in Scotland which 'made people aware that they had their own tradition, just as rich and exciting, and on their very doorstep' (ibid). The success of the folk revival in 1950s and 1960s Scotland is also often attributed to this renewed sense of nationalism (McKerrel, 2011: 2) and Munro (1991: 152) argues that the development of protest songs in Scotland was also nationalistic in origin:

The common theme shared between the three groups of protest songs already noted here - the 'Sangs of the Stane', the 'E II R' songs, and the anti-Polaris songs - was a nationalist theme, and this marks the clearest difference between the English and the Scottish revival situations.

Thus, in contrast to other forms of popular music produced in Glasgow, the non-commercial nature of the city's folk scene in 1960s allowed for the development of original compositions, but more importantly these songs could be political in nature, such as those protesting against the establishment of American submarine bases in Scotland.

It is also important to note that mediation of both local ‘beat’ type music and folk music merged in a very specific localised fashion when pirate Radio Scotland began broadcasting on New Year’s Eve, 1965. The station did not broadcast for very long, as it became a victim of the Marine Offences Act, which came into force on 14 August 1967 prohibiting pirate radio stations broadcasting from UK waters. Over its short lifespan the station did however provide a platform for newly recorded music by Scottish musicians because new singles were practically played in rotation. That said, because the station programmed the playing of a wide variety of music, including ceilidh, jazz and religious music, popular music only accounted for a fraction of its output.

More significantly, the station impacted on the production of music through two offshoots: the Clan Balls and the Alp record label. The station had a fan or supporters’ club, known as the Clan, and Clan Balls were held in a variety of venues throughout Scotland, including the Locarno ballroom on Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. The bill would normally comprise a number of live bands, usually all Scottish, but on occasion touring bands also performed (when local bands would provide support). However, Hogg (1993: 57-58) notes that while initially the Clan Balls involved both traditional/folk and pop performers, a split developed and latterly the events focused solely on pop/beat music. Nevertheless, in interview (2009) he argued that for the production of local popular music ‘Radio Scotland was important, Radio Scotland was very important . . . Radio Scotland as a media was probably the most influential one over TV and the press’. It promoted much greater contact between musicians and this led to collaborations where acts were increasingly termed ‘Scottish’, rather than from a specific city such as Glasgow or Dundee. In a similar vein the Alp record label also stimulated the notion of a specific local (but national in scale) music scene. The label released 11 singles in 1966, including traditional/folk releases such as Peter and Alison’s *Mingalay* (ALP 595009) and the more contemporary sound of The Vikings’ *Bad News Feeling* (ALP 595011). Andy Lothian, who managed the label, took the view that he ‘wanted to promote a truly Scottish label [. . .] and use the support the ship could provide. We were keen to capture the best pop and soul music in the country as well as working in traditional areas’ (quoted in Hogg, 1993: 58). Though it was short-lived; the record label (along with its associated radio station) belies the notion that Scotland in the 1960s was unable to foster an active and dynamic locally based popular music scene.

## Punk and Post-Punk

Chapter 5 examines the development of popular music production in Glasgow around the late 1970s (specifically 1979), and provides details of music makers and bands that were active in Glasgow in this period. However, here it is important to stress that the move around this time towards producing a more independently minded style of music, one less dependent on following mainstream styles elsewhere, was concomitant with wider changes taking place both within the city itself and outside of it.

Sabin (1999: 3) argues that punk:

originated in America, due to the existence there pre-1976 of bands such as Television and the Ramones and antecedents going back to the garage bands of the 1960s. Specifically, the start-point is usually given to be around 1973–74, and the place of origin New York (primarily due to the existence there of the club CBGB's). The look, the music, the *idea*, is then said to have been imported into Britain—with help from Malcolm McLaren. This has been the line taken by a number of high-profile histories (in book and TV form) in recent years.

As Chapter 5 discusses however, moves by the City Council in 1977 effectively banned punk rock performances from taking place in Glasgow (at least for short periods) and these 'moves against punk dislocated the Glasgow punk and post-punk scene to Paisley' (Williamson, Cloonan, and Frith 2003: 27). Nevertheless punk rock, as a subculture, did have its adherents in Glasgow and, in terms of reception, Mickey Rooney (who managed a record shop in the city centre in the mid to late 1970s) remembered that a lot of the punks who came into his shop 'would come from difficult backgrounds . . . it was pretty much a working class kind of thing'. His comment reinforces what Fryer (1986: 1) describes as the 'rhetoric of punk which has always insisted that both the music and the style were strictly working-class, the expression of the dispossessed and the economically downtrodden'. Sabin (*ibid.*: 3) also adds that punk had certain identifiable attitudes including "an emphasis on negationism (rather than nihilism); a consciousness of class-based politics (with a stress on 'working class credibility'); and a belief in spontaneity and 'doing it yourself'". Certainly in the 1970s Glasgow's image was one that was consistent with the notion of punk being the 'direct result of crumbling schools, of falling job prospects, of failed governmental policies (Fryer, *ibid.*: 2). The Department of the Environment in 1975 commented that 'the national picture is dominated by Scotland, whose cities, particularly Clydeside, apparently contain areas of severe urban deprivation

on a scale not matched in England and Wales' (quoted in McCrone, 1991: 921). The deprivation is further described in relation to Glasgow's built environment:

Many of the buildings were in a neglected and decayed state, unkempt and filthy from over a century of one of the most smoke-polluted air environments in Britain. Slum clearance had emptied parts of the central areas and the closing down of 19th-century warehouses and other businesses had left a large number of buildings standing empty. (ibid: 931)

These changes were also mirrored by the housing policy of the time and, in particular, the efforts of the local council to rehouse the working class away from the slum tenements and into municipal housing on the city's periphery. As Booth and Boyle (1993: 28) note 'the resulting social and physical environment was devoid of the life and soul of Glasgow made famous by its tenemental history'.

If the live performance of punk music was being discouraged by the city council (and public houses), its influence on local music makers should not be downplayed. Hugh Carter, who had been performing with rock bands in Glasgow pubs around this time noted that when 'punk came in it just mushroomed – everyone started a band (personal interview, 2009). Similarly, John Milarky, who managed to perform live in what was considered a punk band at the time, Johnny and the Self Abusers, also argued that the advent of punk helped to move the focus of young local popular music makers away from reproduction of cover songs to original composition:

when the punk bands started – they were all playing their own songs and you could play them as well because there were only two or three chords – but then you knew we've got to write our own songs because we don't want to be like these people just playing cover versions. So that's how it started and then Jim and Charlie [later of the band Simple Minds] started writing stuff. (personal interview, 2009)

Chapter 5 discusses this shift towards original composition in more detail, but it is also important to stress that such a change was concurrent with recognition by public planners that urban regeneration was strongly linked to culture. Popular culture, in the form of original compositions of music, would also develop with other forms of culture.

## **Commercial Pop/Indie-Rock**

Writing in 1993 Bassett (p.1773) notes that:

Over the past decade or so there has been a remarkable proliferation of urban cultural strategies in the United Kingdom. This rapid growth echoes an earlier pattern of development in the United States, and is paralleled by similar developments in many European cities. These strategies often involve a radical rethinking and broadening of traditional concepts of culture, including the dismantling of traditional divisions between high art and popular culture.

In the UK the Greater London Council's work between 1979 and 1986 is credited with first initiating a cultural industries strategy at a local level (O'Connor, 2010), but Tretter (2009: 113) argues that:

Glasgow is a primary example of an industrial city that has reinvented itself through the exploitation of its cultural resources, and its experience continues to be held up as a significant symbol of success throughout the professional literature on urban renewal.

In McCrone's view (1991: 931) it was 'hard to establish what the trigger was or who was primarily responsible' for the regeneration that took place in Glasgow. However, both he and Booth and Boyle (1993) point to the importance of initiatives to improve property across the city. In the latter's opinion it is 'difficult to underestimate the importance to the new Glasgow of the Scottish Development Agency' (ibid: 30). Funded by the Scottish Office this agency was created in 1975 and operated until 1991, and it co-ordinated/initiated/funded a number of projects which were important for the regeneration which took place in Glasgow over this time period. Principal among these was the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) project, started in 1976, and which was concerned with the economic and social regeneration of an area lying immediately east of the city centre. McCrone argues that 'during the 10-year life of the project there is no doubt that it had a formidable impact for good, as is apparent to anyone who visited the area before and afterwards' (1991: 926-927). The SDA also addressed problems in the city centre through commissioning a report by management consultants McKinsey and Company:

The report attempted to diagnose the source of Glasgow's economic problems and to provide ideas for improvement. Its central conclusion was that Glasgow ought to plan for a post- industrial future and to use place marketing projects as the central policy tool through which post- industrial investment could be lured. (Boyle and Hughes, 1994: 457)

As a result of this report the SDA helped to set up a new body, Glasgow Action, which 'brought together leaders from the business community and the local authorities [. . .] to



implement the ideas in the consultants' reports by promoting the city and supporting the programme of improvements (McCrone, 1991: 931).

The SDA and Glasgow Action were not the only government agencies involved in promoting the idea of a new Glasgow: a Glasgow based on an image of culture and tourism. The city's district council had also developed urban regeneration projects, and in 1983 launched a municipal marketing campaign to promote the city and its businesses, using the slogan 'Glasgow's Miles Better'. Booth and Boyle (1993: 31) consider that the 'early 1980s was a period when a series of individual projects and events matured at the same time, producing an important critical mass of cultural activity'. They point to the opening of the new art gallery to house the Burrell Collection (in 1983), proposals to construct a new concert hall, and plans for a new Royal College of Music and Drama as all contributing to the notion that culture was at the heart of promoting a new post-industrial Glasgow.

This 'critical mass' had also extended to Glasgow's popular music production in the early 1980s. In terms of the UK as a whole, Hesmondhalgh (1999: 38) takes the view that by 1986

post-punk's status as the most prestigious branch of alternative music in Britain was under threat. At the same time, the term 'indie' was becoming widely used to describe a new phase in the cultural politics of alternative pop/rock in Britain. Rather than the *mélange* of experimental influences covered by the umbrella term 'post-punk', 'indie' described a narrower set of sounds and looks. The 'whiteness' of the genre was the subject of much music press comment in the mid-1980s. While many musicians, fans and journalists had increasingly turned to pop and black musical traditions, such as electro and hip hop, as fresh sources of inspiration in the early 1980s, indie was constructing a canon of white, underground rock references. The mainstream pop charts were dominated by funk figures and rhythms, but indie records turned to 'jangly' guitars, an emphasis on clever and/or sensitive lyrics inherited from the singer/songwriter tradition in rock and pop, and minimal focus on rhythm track.<sup>9</sup>

Chapter 6 discusses the different styles of popular music that were being produced by Glasgow music makers in the 1980s and this description by Hesmondhalgh of general UK trends could equally apply to Glasgow in the midst of this decade. The re-imagining of Glasgow as a post-industrial city provided opportunities for music makers to produce music that could be valued for more than its ability to entertain the working classes in a

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<sup>9</sup> Here Hesmondhalgh is referring to indie as a genre of music with a particular sound and stylistic conventions.

dance hall. New ‘style’ bars had opened in the city centre, attracting office workers and tourists alike, and these bars would often act as venues for new bands to play new compositions (of varying musical styles). More than this though, the Conservative government of the 1980s promoted both an enterprise culture and, through its policies aimed at restructuring the economy, swelled the ranks of the unemployed. In Glasgow, as elsewhere, unemployed musicians would use their social security benefits to support their creativity:

The take up of Thatcher’s ‘enterprise allowance scheme’ was famously highest amongst cultural businesses; and ‘Thatcher’s children’ were those forced to become entrepreneurs because there were no other options. Or rather, there were other options and they chose a cultural one. (O’Connor, 2010: 43)

The UK’s economic recession of the early 1980s in particular provided a backdrop to the development of popular music making in Glasgow. Chapter 6 describes the extent to which the major music companies based in London were drawn to Glasgow to seek out and sign a contract with what they hoped would be the ‘next big thing’ in popular music.

## **Dance/Indie/Hybrid**

Similarly, the UK-wide economic recession of the early 1990s also provided a backdrop to the changes that took place within Glasgow’s music scene at the start of that decade. This recession exacerbated the major record labels’ declining support for music makers in Glasgow but also provided an impetus for further entrepreneurial effort from music makers and other scene participants (at least in terms of recording, producing and releasing music without the support of a major label). Chapters 7 (and 8) discuss the increasing heterogeneity of musical styles that are evident in the recorded music being released from Glasgow-based music makers (on Glasgow-based labels). Amongst these styles was dance music, which had become popular again in Europe and North America (after the demise of disco) with the rise of house music in the 1980s. Straw (2001: 170) also argues that in the 1980s and separately from house music:

Punk splintered into dozens of new styles and movements, and several of these (such as synthesiser pop and the revival of ska music) embraced dancing and dance clubs. The history of post-punk music over the next decade would be marked by a range of more-or-less danceable musical styles, from the militant funk of the Gang of Four or Scritti Politti, through to the white-boy soul of Spandau Ballet or Dexy’s Midnight Runners, the gothic of Siouxsie and the Banshees or the Cure, the quirky danceable pop of the B-52s or Yello, and the

stark industrial electronics of such groups as Cabaret Voltaire or Test Department.

In the 1980s bands from Glasgow that had similarly developed a danceable style of rock music included Love and Money and Wet Wet Wet, and Chapter 7 discusses the ways in which dance music and other styles of music cross-fertilised in 1990s' Glasgow.

As with the previous decade, the growth in activity that took place in Glasgow's music scene in the 1990s and the 2000s was also accompanied by further changes in both the immediate local economic environment and wider national policy changes. In respect of the former, in 1990 Glasgow was designated European City of Culture (though the submission for this title took place in 1986). Booth and Boyle (1993: 44-45) however, take the view that there is 'little evidence to support the argument that Year of Culture 1990 made a clear contribution to local economic development' and that Glasgow gaining the title was 'primarily concerned with the use of culture for urban marketing and tourist promotion'. They also argue that it was used as a 'mechanism for urban unification' (ibid), through hosting such events as 'The Big Day', which was a free city-wide rock concert that included a plethora of local music makers as well as internationally known acts from outside Glasgow (and Scotland).

In terms of national developments (as in Scotland-wide) in the 1990s the SDA launched three initiatives designed to develop Scottish popular music (Symon and Cloonan, 2002). One was a short-lived Scottish pop chart. The other two SDA projects involved a New Music World seminar, which took place in Glasgow in September 1990, and the launch of the Scottish Record Industry Association. The latter was intended to address the interests of record labels in Scotland, but SDA funding for the SRIA ended in the early 1990s and the association's demise was 'apparently not lamented by many in the industry' (ibid: 106). A more important agency for grassroots music making activity was the Scottish Arts Council, which launched a new policy for contemporary popular music in 2001 and Chapter 8 discusses some of the direct support that Glasgow music makers received from the SAC in the 2000s. In addition, Symon and Cloonan point out that: the SDA's successor, Scottish Enterprise (SE), 'has been one of the main economic development policy actors in the popular music field, being active in (i) research, (ii) business advice, (iii) events, (iv) tertiary education, and (v) business finance' (ibid: 111). One final national development that had relevance for Glasgow's music scene was the UK Labour government's launch of a programme for young musicians aged 18-24, where they were 'given advice and guidance from experienced musicians and music industry consultants

(MIC)’ and were ‘able to undertake a programme of open learning study (provided by Music Open Learning Providers – MOLPs) whilst being able to claim state benefits’ (ibid: 112).

## Summary

While the production of live popular music in 1960s Glasgow was both a product of the ways in which the city had developed industrially, and the ways in which its music makers were, to some extent, in the thrall of music fashions elsewhere, it also displayed a heterogeneity arising from commercial and non-commercial pressures alike. Brian Hogg (1993: 74) is of the view that ‘where most of Edinburgh’s beat musicians were content to follow trends, those in Glasgow preferred to set them’. However, this preference wouldn’t be fully realised until the late 1970s and onwards when, buoyed by the DIY ethic and openness of the punk movement, Glasgow music makers would take advantage of both the economic changes moving the city towards a post-industrial future, and an increased confidence to engage in cultural production. The chapters that follow discuss in more detail the various factors (i.e. music scene components) that have interacted with each other to produce the heterogeneous music scene that has developed in Glasgow.

## Chapter 4 - 1979

### Introduction

This chapter focuses on popular music making in Glasgow at the end of the 1970s and for the most part examines different components of the city's music scene, following the discussions in Chapter 1. Previous studies of music scenes have focused on the identity of a place with a particular style of music or 'sound' (McLeay, 1994; Mitchell 1997) or have taken a more ethnographic focus, analysing the musical practices within different places (Cohen, 1991; Finnegan, 2007). However, while these studies inform this, and the following chapters, the intention here is to examine the wider context within which popular music making at a grassroots level was taking place in 1979.<sup>10</sup> In this way it provides a base-line examination of the music scene's components in that year, which can then be used to compare the scene as it developed, and is discussed in subsequent chapters. This chapter explores the main factors driving changes in Glasgow's popular music making and in this respect it draws inspiration from both the 'production of culture' perspective (Peterson, 1990; Peterson and Anand, 2004) and the 'cultural-economy' perspective (Amin and Thrift, 2007). In tandem with these perspectives this chapter also utilises the notion of identity formation within localised spaces (Lefebvre, 1991).

The production of culture perspective is useful with regard to informing an analysis of Glasgow's music scene, and more specifically, the way it has developed, because it offers a six-facet framework with which to explore changes in cultural production. Peterson (1990) used such a model to discuss how rock music became the dominant form of popular music in the U.S. in 1955. This is not to say that this thesis argues that the changes within Glasgow's popular music production have been as far-reaching or as rapid, as they were then. However, the six facets, including technology, law and regulation, industry structure, organization structure, occupational career, and the market, provide a means with which to explore the changes within Glasgow's popular music production. Not all these facets had equal importance for such cultural production – as will be noted in this, and the following chapters. In this respect, the other perspective mentioned above, relating to cultural-economy, foregrounds the importance of culture for economic life and it is this theme that will be explored more fully with regard to Glasgow's development. As Gibson

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<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of grassroots culture see Chapter 2.

(2009: 61) considers: ‘Music is a constitutive part of economic and cultural change; it is an industry embedded in places (growing and declining with a mix of microeconomic and demographic factors, which it itself contributes to)’ but also it is ‘an embodied ‘cultural’ pursuit through which place identities are performed’. Such place identities are also considered later in subsequent chapters, but given the underdevelopment of other scene components in 1979, this chapter focuses on the role of independent record shops in the formation of individual identity; a process congruent with Peterson and Anand’s description of the autoproduction of culture where ‘people produce identities for themselves from elements of traditional and mass-mediated symbols’ (2004: 324).

## Music Makers

What follows is not intended to be an exhaustive account of all the music-makers that were creating and performing in Glasgow in 1979. However, this section provides a snapshot of the ‘field’ in which various actors within Glasgow’s music scene were interacting to produce popular music. The field, then as now, was not homogenous. However, it was certainly smaller and this allows for an examination of the majority of bands who were performing within the city centre that year. An article from an unknown magazine (possible fanzine) in 1979 gives a summary of the different bands that were playing live that year.<sup>11</sup> It is titled ‘Glasgow . . . The Changing Sounds’ and the writer believes that changes are taking place within the live Glasgow music scene. The article begins:

It is really quite refreshing to go into a Glasgow pub that caters for its customers with live music, and see that a fair percentage of the bands are playing original material. Gone or at least going, it seems, are the days of the “Human Jukebox” bands continuously churning out the popular tunes of the day with tedious repetition.

The article notes a shift from playing covers to playing self-penned or original material, with some bands playing exclusively original material and others continuing to play a mixed set (incorporating both covers and original songs). It also clearly makes a distinction between bands that are established or regularly playing in certain venues and the ‘new wave’ of bands (who are noted as playing in one particular venue – the Mars Bar). Taking a lead from this article the following section considers the musical practices of some of these bands in more detail and, by highlighting the changing nature of cultural production, draws attention to the main determinants driving this change.

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<sup>11</sup> Available at: [http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new\\_site/Cirkus.html](http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new_site/Cirkus.html).

Underhand Jones, formed in 1977, are cited as one of the first bands to play ‘original songs in the pub circuit in Glasgow’.<sup>12</sup> They performed at the Kelvingrove Rock Festival in 1978 and then went on to perform at the first Loch Lomond Rock Festival on 27th May 1979.<sup>13</sup> The previous year the band released a single, *Only Make Believe* (JRUI 1), on Glasgow based Jammy Records. John McCalman, a producer at Radio Clyde, owned the label. Underhand Jones initially started playing live as a ‘covers band’ and one blogger cites them in his explanation as to why bands found it difficult to play live if they played original material (at least before 1979):

Music pubs and most of their clientele in 1977 preferred bands like Chico, The Khyber Trifles, and Underhand Jones. They also had problems getting into pubs because the managers wanted bands to play covers of popular tunes. The Amphora, the Dial Inn, Curlers, the Maggie etc. all had bands on, and were busy with couples out for sit down night, people in their twenties/thirties. There were not that many punks in Glasgow in 1977.<sup>14</sup>

Such comments reflect live music’s traditional role in Glasgow public houses, as explained in Chapter 3: to entertain the city’s large working class population on a Saturday night.

Sneaky Pete, like Underhand Jones, mixed covers with their own original material when playing live. They too had formed in 1977 and have been described as playing a ‘Rock/Soul set somewhat reminiscent of the Average White Band’.<sup>15</sup> In 1979 they also released a single, *Night Time in the City* (Now Records, N701), on their manager’s label (again Glasgow based), and also performed at the Loch Lomond Rock festival. The three Cameron brothers from the band later went on to open Riverside Studios in the south side of the city.<sup>16</sup>

Both Underhand Jones and Sneaky Pete are representative of the type of bands who performed in the pubs of Glasgow in 1979, mixing cover versions with their own self-penned songs. They could be considered examples of the ‘pub rock’ genre as referred to by Bennett (1997: 98) as a genre which ‘does not describe a type of music or a particular

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<sup>12</sup> [http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new\\_site/Underhand\\_Jones.html](http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new_site/Underhand_Jones.html).

<sup>13</sup> The festival also took place in 1980 – for further information about festival in 1979 see section on venues.

<sup>14</sup> <http://discuss.glasgowguide.co.uk/index.php?showtopic=2605&pid=201432&mode=threaded&show=&st=0>.

<sup>15</sup> <http://45revolutions.blogspot.com/2007/11/sneaky-pete.html>.

<sup>16</sup> See following chapters.

scene but rather denotes a certain sensibility regarding the performance and consumption of popular music in the informal atmosphere of the pub venue'. Foregrounding the role of the audience, such a view emphasises the influence of local knowledge, whereby a regular contingent of the audience at a performance will both know each other, and be very familiar with the music makers and the music being performed. In this way 'certain songs and pieces of music are appropriated and reworked by local audiences to fit in with and reflect aspects of their day-to-day experiences' (ibid: 100). While this may have been the case, clearly by 1979 both Underhand Jones and Sneaky Pete had aspirations beyond the local pub circuit. Their move towards performing, recording and releasing their own songs mirrors the activities of other 'new wave' bands mentioned below. Equally, performing in a pub had been considered a stepping-stone for many bands wanting to move on and become professional musicians. Homan (2000: 34), writing about pub rock in Sydney, notes that it 'was presumed that the pub rock experience provided Australian performers with significant advantages in musicianship and an ability to perform in basic environments'. In this way Glasgow pub rock performances were not necessarily just about local music production and consumption.

In terms of the 'production perspective' it is helpful to consider developments by bands, such as Underhand Jones, in the light of changes to such facets as technology and industry structure. Regarding the former, recording facilities in Glasgow were becoming much more accessible for many music makers and some of these developments are described below. Equally, in terms of industry, on a simplistic level up until the late 70s, Glasgow's popular music scene could be described as being dominated by a small number of bands who monopolised the available public house venues (and again, evidence of this is provided below). However, by 1979 the market was changing and becoming much more diverse – as noted in the article reproduced above. In Peterson and Anand's (2004: 316) view creative industries tend to be structured in three ways:

There may be many small competing firms producing a diversity of products, a few vertically integrated oligarchial firms that mass produce a few standardized products, or a more open system of oligarchy composed of niche-market-targeted divisions plus many small specialty service and market development firms where the former produce the most lucrative products and the latter produce the most innovative.

On the micro level, Glasgow's production of popular music did begin to diversify after 1979 and Chapter 6 discusses this in further detail.



Chou Pahrot, unlike Sneaky Pete, were a band that had been playing in and around Glasgow (and much further afield) since the early 1970s. Their own website describes them as: ‘late exponents of a high-energy, in-your-face strand of early-70s long-hair music, which was overshadowed by the more bland and comfortable forms of Prog and then swamped by Punk’.<sup>17</sup> It goes on to describe their music as ‘angular’ and influenced by Captain Beefheart. In this sense they bridged the divide between the pub rock bands (who played a set full of cover versions) and the new wave of bands (who played original material) and who would become much more common in city venues. While they retained an early 1970s’ emphasis on musicianship, Chou Pahrot’s anarchic aesthetic also resonated with punk bands. Their website describes them as being favourites of the Rezillos, who they had supported at the Apollo theatre in December of the previous year.<sup>18</sup>



**Figure 2 - Front cover of Chou Pahrot's live album from 1979**

In relation to the musical boundaries that punk had been pushing, Brian Hogg (1993: 209) describes the band’s positioning thus:

Musicians struggling outside rock’s mainstream welcomed the freedom and Glasgow’s eccentric Chou Pahrot released several records bearing little relation to anything around them. Some portions resembled the obverse of Captain Beefheart’s Magic Band, others the ‘Oor Wullie’ comic strip, but their sense of adventure and fun was enthralling.

In 1979, Chou Pahrot released both a 7” EP, *Buzgo Tram Chorus* (Klub, 1979) and a live album, simply entitled *Live* (Klub, 1979) – both on the Glasgow-based Klub label (see Figure 2).

<sup>17</sup> <http://choupahrot.com>.

<sup>18</sup> The Rezillos are a punk/new wave band from Edinburgh.

Red Ellis and The Henry Gorman Band were two bands that played regularly in Glasgow through 1979 and were also on the bill for the Loch Lomond Festival(s). Unlike Chou Pahrot, both bands eschewed the punk aesthetic in favour of the older style of 1970s' rock; Red Ellis later toured with Thin Lizzy and Frankie Miller. In 1980 they also self released a single on their own label, *Pretty Polly* (R.E.P., 1980), produced by Henry Gorman. According to the *glasband80* website The Henry Gorman Band eventually moved to London because 'the Record Industry was nowhere to be seen in Scotland in those days'.<sup>19</sup>

The Jolt were another Glasgow band that moved to London, but they did so in 1977. According to an on-line biography<sup>20</sup> they started out as a four piece 'playing hard '60s-style rhythm and blues' but they then moved away from covers and by the time they made their debut as a three piece they were described as a 'punk band'. Their press release for their single, *Maybe Tonight* (Polydor, 2229 215 DJ), describes how the management of the venue (the Burns Howff) pulled out of a return gig at the last minute because of a worry that the gig might cause trouble – even though there had been no trouble at the first gig - and that this signalled 'the sort of treatment New Wave bands could expect from Glasgow City Council'.<sup>21</sup> Once the band had moved to London they appear to have re-invented themselves again and became aligned with the growing mod revival. They supported The Jam and released a cover of a song by The Small Faces: *What'cha Goin To Do About It* (Polydor, 2059 008). Possibly to avoid the comparisons with The Jam, in late 1978 they asked Kevin Key to join them as a second guitarist. Key had been working for a small chain of independent record shops in Glasgow (Listen/Bloggs) but had also been in another band, The Subs - which had split up after having one single, *Gimme Your Heart* (Stiff 6.12 274). In an interview he described how he initially played in a covers band:

I was in some kind of dodgy covers band – with a friend of mine – couple of people I knew from the south-side of Glasgow who were in various bands I think – the level of that – you could learn a few Rod Stewart songs and get a gig in a pub or something that was your aspiration in any provincial city – that was about as good as you could get – play the Eagles and Rod Stewart to the people who just wanted to hear cover versions in a pub - that was your aspiration of being a musician. The thought of playing your own stuff and writing – that was like somebody else from another planet did that kind of thing. (personal interview, 2010)

<sup>19</sup> [http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new\\_site/The\\_HGB.html](http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new_site/The_HGB.html).

<sup>20</sup> <http://punkmodpop.free.fr>.

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.boredteenagers.co.uk/joltmaybepressrelease.htm>.

Through working in a record shop in 1976 and being exposed to both new releases on the Chiswick label and the Ramones first album, he explained how he felt:

That really short little period – apart from reading about this weird punk rock thing that was going on in London – that you might notice little sniffs about in the music papers – it was just a bit: “It doesn’t really mean anything . . . it’s just some . . . what do you mean: people aren’t playing cover versions in pubs anymore?” It was kind of a strange period.

The importance of independent record shops for Glasgow’s music scene is discussed below. Aside from Key, The Subs had three other members: Callum Cuthbertson (vocals), Ali McKenzie (drums) and Derek Forbes (bass) – all of whom continued with other musical activities after the band broke up in 1978. Specifically, Ali McKenzie joined The Cuban Heels. In 1979 The Cuban Heels were a four-piece band, consisting of McKenzie, Laurie Cuff (guitar), Nick Clarke (bass) and John Milarky (vocals). They had released a single in 1978, *Downtown* (JY 1), on the local Housewives’ Choice label (although McKenzie was not in the band at that point). They then signed to Virgin, where they released an album in 1981 – *Work Our Way to Heaven* (V 2210). On fan websites and forums they are heavily associated with Simple Minds, as they are often quoted as being an offshoot of the precursor band, Johnny and the Self Abusers: ‘As the stories go, Johnny and The Self Abusers split the day their lone single was released (November of 1977). One half went on to form Simple Minds; the other, headed by Milarky, The Cuban Heels’.<sup>22</sup> In actual fact The Cuban Heels had existed before Johnny and the Self Abusers split up and had even supported them at a gig. It took place in a Glasgow night club called Zhivago’s and also included The Jolt on the bill (see Figure 3) – one example of a ‘new wave’ gig taking place in Glasgow at a time when it was rumoured to be banned by the City Council.<sup>23</sup> However, John Milarky joined the band in 1978. Aside from Milarky’s connection to Simple Minds, there are also other notable ‘ties’ between the bands that were active in 1979. First, Milarky described the competition that was felt between Johnny and the Self Abusers and The Jolt:

I mean this was pre-79 - there was that band The Jolt – as far as my memory serves me - they were the first punk band to play in Glasgow, in the Amphora. And we were furious – because it was ‘how dare they!’ – because we wanted to be that band – and that really ticked us off. (personal interview, 2009)

<sup>22</sup> <http://themerrymusesofcaledonia.blogspot.com>.

<sup>23</sup> For further discussion of the ‘difficulties that new wave bands faced in performing live see page 91.

It is possible that here he is referring to the same gig by The Jolt mentioned above, which actually took place in the Burns Howff. Disputes over venue aside, this comment does illustrate the changes that were taking place in Glasgow in the late 1970s. This is not to say that there was any direct interaction between the two bands. As Milarky went on to remark ‘I mean – there wasn’t that many bands. The Jolt were from Wishaw – you never saw them – you didn’t particularly want to see them’. However, there was also a second tie between The Jolt and The Cuban Heels (albeit a weaker one): Derek Forbes who had played with Kevin Key in The Subs (before Key joined The Jolt) joined Simple Minds, after Johnny and the Self Abusers split up.

The strength of ties between music makers in Glasgow in 1979 is considered in further detail below. Simple Minds also provide a good example of a band that successfully changed from performing in public houses to promoting their own material on a wider level (and drawing media attention to Glasgow at the same time). In April 1979 they released their first album, *Life in a Day* (ZULP 1), on the Edinburgh-based Zoom label. As a result they spent a large part of that year touring outside of Glasgow (including a support tour with Magazine) – promoting both their debut album and their second album, *Reel to Reel Cacophony* (Arista SPART 1109/ARS 39034), which was released in November of 1979. In contrast, the year before, they had played regularly (on an almost weekly basis) at the Mars Bar in the city centre.<sup>24</sup>



**Figure 3 - Poster from new wave night featuring Johnny and the Self Abusers (from 1977)**

<sup>24</sup> See following section on venues.

David Henderson, who at that time engineered the sound for the band's live performances, described them building up a buzz through playing so often:

I remember distinctly us doing that because I remember at the end of the kind of run . . . we turned up (I think the Mars Bar was on a Sunday) and before the doors opened there was a big queue right round the corner and for an unsigned band you know that was quite good. (personal interview, 2009)

Also, unusually for an unsigned band at that time, one of these shows at the Mars Bar was reviewed in the *NME* - further adding to the buzz:

Well, here they are. They're called Simple Minds, they come from Glasgow, and they create not just startlingly good rock music but a whole show, an event, all in their cramped corner of a crowded city pub, the Mars Bar. . . The six-piece line-up creates a thrilling, enthralling aural kaleidoscope of searing intros and instant riffs, tuneful aggression and sparing use of effects, brief bursts of disciplined creativity and fiery rhythm work. (Cranna, 1978)

As a result of their efforts, in December of that year the band signed to the Edinburgh based Zoom label. Their line-up at that time was Jim Kerr (vocals), Charlie Burchill (guitar), Mick MacNeil (keyboards), Derek Forbes (bass) and Brian McGee (drums). Following the release of their album a review in the *NME* (Stewart, 1979) considered that:

Collectively Simple Minds have the talent, resources and uncluttered vision to be one of the most important post-punk bands. With their uncontrived commercialism they could also be one of the most successful and hopefully an inspiration to others.

In addition to exposure in the national music press the band also made two appearances on the BBC's Old Grey Whistle Test (on 27 March and 27 November) and recorded several sessions for Radio 1. The next band from Glasgow to receive such attention from the media was Orange Juice – but this was not until the following year when they began to release singles on the Glasgow-based Postcard record label.

In 1979 Orange Juice played their first gig on 20<sup>th</sup> April in the Victoria Café of the Glasgow School of Art. However, the same line-up of Edwyn Collins (guitar and vocals), James Kirk (guitar and vocals), David McClymont (bass) and Steven Daly (drums), had actually performed on the same bill as Simple Minds, at a gig supporting Steel Pulse. They were not called Orange Juice at this point, but The Nu-Sonics, and the gig took place in Satellite City – which was a venue above The Apollo theatre. It was here that Alan Horne, who ran the Postcard label, first saw the group perform live – although it would be a few

weeks later before he would make contact with Edwyn Collins.<sup>25</sup> However, Stephen Daly, through working in a record shop, also knew Horne. Alan Horne's association with Orange Juice was firmly established in 1980 with the first release on his Postcard label of the 7" single *Falling and Laughing* (Postcard, 80-1). They would then go on to follow that up with a further three single releases on Postcard. Chapter 5 discusses the privileging of the Postcard label (and its roster) by music journalists in greater detail, but it is interesting to note here some hyperbole from the 2000s:

Postcard introduced the world to the talents of, among others, Edwyn Collins and Roddy Frame, and quickly became the coolest independent label in Britain. In the process, Horne helped to establish Scotland as the most thriving hotbed of regional musical talent since the Mersey scene blossomed with Beatle mania in the mid 1960's. (Scotland Now, 2006)

It is a label that would enter the history books along with Rough Trade, Factory, 4AD, Fast and Zoo as one of the prime movers of the post-punk era. (*Uncut*, April 2005: 78)

It flared only briefly, but so brightly that three decades on, and many years after it folded, Postcard remains Scotland's most influential label. (Didcock, 2009)

Stephen Daly briefly left Orange Juice in 1979 and played drums for The Backstabbers. He even helped finance a single by the band, *Singing in the Showers* (N.M.C., 010), which was released under the name, The Fun Four. The line-up of the band at the time was Rev Volting (vocals), Jimmy Loser (guitar), Colin Alkars (bass) and Stephen Daly (drums). Daly later reflected on his brief departure from Orange Juice and on the problems with the Glasgow music scene in the late 1970s:

There was a period when I quit the band, I was pissed off with the amateurism, and during that time I worked with this Glasgow punk band, The Backstabbers. Extremely rough people with fantastic anthemic songs. Astonishing, and if they'd come from Manchester, or even Bristol, they'd have got a record deal, but no A&R man would come near Glasgow back then. Scotland was Third World to the record business. (Daly, 2008)<sup>26</sup>

Jimmy Loser from the Fun Four later performed and recorded under the name James King and the Lone Wolves.

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<sup>25</sup> Described in an interview with Collins - reprinted in *Uncut*, April 2005.

<sup>26</sup> <http://ripitupfootnotes.blogspot.com/2008/11/footnotes-19-chapter-18-fun-n-frenzy.html>.

Aside from playing on the same bill at gigs, Simple Minds are also tied to a number of other bands who were producing music in Glasgow in 1979. In fact, another band to release an album that year on Arista (having previously released a single on Zoom) were Zones. They released *Under Influence* (Arista SPART 1095). Their line-up was Willie Gardner (vocals and guitar), Russell Webb (bass), Billy McIssac (vocals and keyboards) and Kenny Hyslop (drums). Willie Gardner later released two singles on Cuba Libre – the label started by Ali McKenzie of The Cuban Heels and Hyslop later joined Simple Minds after Brian McGee left. McGee also provides a Simple Minds connection with another Glasgow band who released a single in 1979. The Venigmas brought out *Turn the Lights Out* (GRAD 2) on Graduate Records and their vocalist Owen Paul is the brother of Brian McGee.

Before moving on to discuss venues, it is worth making a few comments regarding the preceding examination of Glasgow's music makers from 1979. First, it is notable the extent to which popular music production in 1979 was a male gendered practice. Nearly all the music makers who were performing and recording that year were male.<sup>27</sup> The following section on public policy notes a comment by the City Council's Planning Department regarding the changing (less biased) social attitudes towards women drinking in pubs, and given this, it is perhaps unsurprising then to find that these attitudes had not yet stretched to women performing in city venues. Cohen (1991: 203) in her study of the Liverpool music in the late 1980s notes that: 'Punk might have challenged images of women in popular music but it did little to change their career opportunities'. Secondly, the number of local, independently recorded and released records from Glasgow-based bands in (or about) that year is also worthy of note. The Postcard label, which began to release records in 1980, is often lauded by the popular media (as the above examples illustrate) as a quintessential example of the independent DIY ethos in popular musical production. However, it is clear that it had many other precursors from Glasgow across a number of genres. Technological advances allowed music makers to record their music (in smaller professional studios) and to then have those recordings pressed onto a small run of vinyl (500 or 1000 copies).<sup>28</sup> However, more importantly, another facet offered by the 'production perspective' had also changed: the market. One argument is that by 1979 punk had become part of the mainstream – its music and fashion having gone 'overground' (Sabin, 1999). Punk's DIY aesthetic had also been co-opted by the mainstream and

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<sup>27</sup> For a more detailed discussion of gender and Glasgow's music production see later chapters.

<sup>28</sup> See following sections.

incorporated in other youth movements e.g. the mod revival or the Two Tone scene. Peterson and Anand (2004: 317) argue that once ‘consumer tastes are reified as a market, those in the field tailor their actions to create cultural goods like those that are currently most popular as represented by the accepted measurement tools’. In this way, not only new wave bands were drawn to releasing their own recordings, but other types of bands, as described above, also saw potential in the market.

## Venues

Bands or music makers wishing to perform live in 1979 had far fewer opportunities compared to bands in succeeding years. As mentioned above, if a band was considered to be punk or new wave that restricted their choice of venue even further:

Unlike in Edinburgh, punk gigs in Glasgow are scarce for two very good reasons. Firstly, a lack of venues due to the city’s arcane licensing laws, which force most touring bands out to the adjoining town of Paisley. And, secondly, because your average Glaswegian’s tolerance for punk rock is less than zero. (*Uncut*, April 2005: 77)

The majority of venues were public houses, which had been providing live entertainment long before the advent of punk opened up the possibility for bands to play original material alongside cover versions (or even instead of). It was not unusual for such public houses to host two live performances in the one day – at lunch time and then again in the evening. Some would provide a proper stage area and others would not. More importantly, very few would supply a PA system. So bands would have to provide their own:

Venues or pubs didn’t really cater for bands as the way they do now. That’s the one good thing that venues are geared up to giving the band a proper stage and a PA. I mean in those days the first thing you did when you formed a band and you were thinking about gigging, was buy a PA. (Carter, 2009)

In addition, there were far fewer public houses (relative to subsequent decades) in the central area of Glasgow, and the ones that hosted live music had done so for years preceding the advent of punk and new wave:

Nowadays, there are all sorts of great venues dotted around the city centre of Glasgow and beyond for bands to pitch up and play. But 30 years ago, it was either the Apollo or a mere handful of pubs – all of whom had a strict door policy. The local evening paper would carry adverts every week for 5 or 6 venues (The Dial Inn and The Burns Howff are two that I seem to recall), but every week it would be the same 5 or 6 acts that appeared – and all of them had long hair and wore either cheese-cloth shirts and flares or tight fitting t-shirts



and leather trousers. In short, it was a scene dominated by really awful pub-rock and acts who wanted to be the new Led Zeppelin.<sup>29</sup>

However, by 1979 the market for independent original music had expanded to encompass live music performance in public houses. Before looking at other types of Glasgow venues, the following section discusses in more detail some of these public houses where Glasgow bands performed.

The Maggie was in Sauchiehall Street, next to the ABC cinema (which is now a music venue in its own right). Bands would play in the basement bar and, like the majority of pubs in the city centre, entry would be free. Hugh Carter (personal interview, 2009) described playing there and the difficulties that arose if a band wanted to play their own songs:

They usually had the band audition night midweek and if you got on well at that, they would put you on at the weekend – but then it was a completely different clientele at the weekend – who’d be out and want to be entertained and dance – on a Wednesday night when it was quiet and you’d be playing to your mates you could play all your own original stuff, but people wouldn’t want that at the weekend – you would have to play covers.

Not far from The Maggie, on Sauchiehall Street, and operating on similar lines was The Amphora. Campbell Forbes (2006) from Underhand Jones considered that “‘The Amphora’ in Glasgow and ‘The Victorian Carriage’ in Greenock were some of our main gigs’.<sup>30</sup> However, The Amphora would host live performances by punk bands and one review from a fanzine (albeit from 1977) remarked that:

Two weeks back in mid Nov the Subhumans played the Amphora bar in Glasgow, not an ideal gig for a New Wave band, but they carried it off. 20 or so close friends giving them support helped the situation no end. (A Boring Fanzine #3, 1977)<sup>31</sup>

This was the same band with Kevin Key on guitar, Derek Forbes on bass and Ali McKenzie on drums. They later changed their name to The Subs. Interestingly the same review also notes that they ‘played 18 nos [sic] in about an hour with a short stop for an amp that packed in; most nos were their own’. The pub was opened in 1961 and has had several name changes over the last 30 years (See Figure 4.)

<sup>29</sup> [http://thevinylvillain.blogspot.co.uk/2008\\_05\\_01\\_archive.html](http://thevinylvillain.blogspot.co.uk/2008_05_01_archive.html).

<sup>30</sup> [http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new\\_site/Underhand\\_Jones.html](http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new_site/Underhand_Jones.html).

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.boredteenagers.co.uk/SUBSABORING3LARGE.htm..>



**Figure 4 - The Amphora bar (courtesy of [www.oldglasgowpubs.co.uk](http://www.oldglasgowpubs.co.uk))**

The Dial Inn (44 West Regent St) was another similar venue to The Maggie/Amphora. If anything it was even better known as being a music venue:

The legendary Dial Inn, One of the most popular venues on the live band circuit it hosted bands every night of the week and also had afternoon performances and in its heyday was the main place to play for most of the best bands in and around Glasgow.<sup>32</sup>

Hugh Carter, used to work near to the Dial Inn and he remembers that ‘you would always get the same half a dozen bands playing and people would follow them’. In the same interview he goes on to remember:

Sneaky Pete used to play there as well. I mean I think in those days you expected to just see half a dozen bands and people were very loyal towards bands – they would come up “Oh Sneaky Pete are playing next week, we’ll go and see them.” I don’t think you have the same . . . there isn’t that type of scene nowadays – you’ve got three or four band bills and it might be six months before the same band comes round again. . . in those days it was easier to build up a following because there weren’t so many bands about and there weren’t so many venues - so you would play the same venue twice in the one week, and I think probably publicans liked to get a band that they knew were going to draw a crowd.

Figure 5 displays a press cutting advertising gigs at the Dial Inn and this gives a good indication of the frequency with which bands played there. It also highlights the fact that the same band could perform at the venue two nights in a row.

<sup>32</sup> [http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new\\_site/Venues.html](http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new_site/Venues.html).



**Figure 5 - Newspaper column advertising The Dial Inn**

The Burns Howff was the other venue in the city centre to rival the Dial Inn in terms of promoting live music. Also on West Regent Street, the Burns Howff had been well established as a music centre since the late 1960s, due to its associations with bands featuring Maggie Bell and Alex Harvey.<sup>33</sup> Rather unusually for a pub in the late 1970s it installed a small recording studio on its premises – an illustration of recording technology becoming more readily available to music makers. The Zips are an example of a new wave band that recorded there (four songs in November 1978) and then released the songs on the Black Gold label:

“I’m in Love”, “Over and Over”, “Take Me Down” and “Don’t be Pushed Around” were recorded in almost as many hours and became the basis of their eponymous EP, which was finally released in April 1979 with funding from the local record shop owner, Charlie “Hannibal” Hayes. (McNeill, 2000)<sup>34</sup>

Hugh Carter considered the Burns Howff to be slightly different from the other pub venues: ‘if you played the Howff you could get away with being almost original – whereas certainly somewhere like the Maggie you’d be expected to do a few covers’. Perhaps unsurprisingly then, this was also the venue where The Jolt played their first gig and, as a result, also gained the reputation for being the first punk band to play in Glasgow.

<sup>33</sup> See previous chapter for discussion on Glasgow’s music scene in the late 1960s.

<sup>34</sup> Quoted at <http://boredteenagers.co.uk/ZIPS.htm>.

If the Burns Howff was a venue where occasionally a punk or a new wave band was given the chance to perform, then the Mars Bar (in Howard Street) was much more open to the new wave of bands coming from Glasgow. As previously mentioned, Simple Minds had a long Sunday night residency in the bar throughout 1978. In a personal interview Dan McCahon (2009), who worked in the Graffiti record shop in Queen Street in the late 1970s, also recalled that the 'The Jolt played it regularly, the Self Abusers played it, The Subs they played there and they were a good band'. Clearly, performances by punk rock and new wave bands did take place in Glasgow's city centre even if 'the city fathers, in their role of licensees, made life uncomfortable for pubs willing to promote punk rock in the face of tabloid fury' (Hogg 1993: 159).

The above quote from Hogg and the previously mentioned performance by The Jolt highlights a widely held belief that through the late 1970s the District Council placed a ban on 'punk' bands performing in Glasgow pubs or venues. A number of interviewees referred to this 'ban':

getting gigs was impossible because of the bad press about the Sex Pistols and all that sort of stuff. (Milarky, 2009)

I think at 79 you're still looking at the 'fag-end' of punk and a kind of reticence to have venues - obviously the great punk ban - which is why the Bungalow Bar in Paisley became renowned. (Hogg, 2009)

Punk was initially banned in Glasgow, that's why we had to go to the Bungalow Bar in Paisley because Glasgow's city fathers, after a Stranglers gig at the City Halls, banned punk and wouldn't let any punk rock bands play in the city - they wouldn't grant any licenses for it. (Sloan, 2010)

Similarly, the ban is also referred to in a number of websites and blogs. Edwyn Collins in interview with Jon Savage refers to it: 'Glasgow had peculiar licensing laws, so they couldn't have the concerts in Glasgow. So we'd all commute out to Paisley to see Generation X and the Buzzcocks, and the Crabs and the Prefects'.<sup>35</sup> In fact the 'ban' was effectively in place for a short period of time and only affected venues that were licensed as theatres, such as the Apollo theatre and the Council run venue the City Halls. The *Evening Times*, the day after the Stranglers' concert (referred to above by Billy Sloan) featured an article with the sub heading 'Punk rock will never again be heard in any of Glasgow's theatres or halls' and quoted the then Lord Provost of Glasgow, David Hodge, as saying 'if these people with their depraved minds want to hear this type of thing, fair

<sup>35</sup> Interview reproduced at <http://www.jonsavage.com/punk/edwyn-collins>.

enough. But let them do it in private' (23 June 1977: 3). This position by the district council followed on from a previous decision it had taken in 1976 preventing the Sex Pistols from performing at the Apollo theatre on the 15 December. Minutes from the District Council's Licensing Board ((1/9/76-11/1/77) note that the committee:

after hearing the report by the Director of Administration, agreed to invoke Condition 2 of the Theatre Licence granted in respect of the Apollo and authorised the Director of Administration to signify to the licensed manager of the Apollo their desire that the premises should not be open on 15 December, 1976.

Following another performance by The Stranglers at the Apollo theatre on the 16 October 1977 (which had been allowed to proceed by the Council) the *Evening Times* reported that a delegation from the Council's licensing committee had attended the show and that the committee's chairman Bill Aitken considered that the 'fans were great, a credit to the city' (17 October 1977). In effect the ban on punk groups performing in Glasgow theatre venues was lifted at this point but, as indicated by Hogg's and Milarky's comments above, many publicans continued to be wary of allowing new wave bands to perform on their premises. Although, as has been noted, there were opportunities for music makers to circumvent this policy, clearly, by the number of people that recall the ban being in place, it had an influence on the consciousness of those involved in the scene at that time.

Aside from public houses, the city centre also had a number of discotheques that would promote live music performances. Two have already been mentioned: Satellite City, above the Apollo theatre, where the Nu-Sonics and Simple Minds supported Steel Pulse; and Zhivago's, which had also hosted a 'new wave' night with Johnny and the Self Abusers, The Jolt and The Cuban Heels. In addition, there was also Shuffles on Sauchiehall Street, which changed name to The Mayfair in the 1980s, and has since become The Garage.

While the Apollo theatre catered for larger touring acts playing in Glasgow, it also provided the occasional opportunity for local, lesser-known or unsigned acts to perform on a larger stage. One example of this was The Cuban Heels supporting The Stranglers on 30 September 1978<sup>36</sup> and another from 1979 was a solo Bobby Henry opening for The Police on 31<sup>st</sup> May (The Cramps were the main support act).<sup>37</sup> In addition to these venues,

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<sup>36</sup> They were one of two support acts – the other being The Valves from Edinburgh.

<sup>37</sup> Bobby Henry went on to be better known as a record producer for Glasgow musicians such as Jerry Burns and Friends Again.

Glasgow also had a number of college and university student unions that would book and promote local music makers. These included Strathclyde University Students' Union, Glasgow College of Technology Students' Union, Glasgow University's Queen Margaret Students' Union, and Glasgow School of Art's Students' Union.

Other more high profile opportunities existed for local Glasgow bands in 1979, but these were outside of the city centre. In fact, as in the case of the Loch Lomond Rock Festival, some of them were outside of Glasgow. This two-day festival took place both in 1979 and 1980. The festival on the 26<sup>th</sup> May 1979 gave Sneaky Pete the opportunity to perform on the same stage as The Stranglers and Dr Feelgood. In 1980, The Cuban Heels, Red Ellis and The Henry Gorman Band were on the same bills as The Jam, Stiff Little Fingers, Lindisfarne and Wishbone Ash. On a smaller scale the Kelvingrove Rock Festival was sponsored by Radio Clyde and organised by the afore-mentioned John McCalman of Jammy Music. This was a free festival that was held annually over one weekend in May and ran from 1978 until 1987 (initially it was held on a Sunday but latterly it was expanded to Saturday and Sunday).

In 1979, while there were a few opportunities for local music makers to perform in a venue other than a public house (where admittance was free due to licensing regulations), the majority of gigs by bands took place in these venues. Different public houses had different preferences regarding the style of music that was performed – particularly in terms of a mix between covers and original material. Some venues however, specifically catered for bands playing only original material.

## **Rehearsal/Recording Studios**

If opportunities for performing live (particularly original songs) were limited in 1979, then opportunities to rehearse and record were even more so. As noted in the following chapters, the 'studio' in later years becomes a focal point or 'hub' for music makers. However, in 1979 local music makers had to rely on other means to physically interact and meet with others. This part of the chapter discusses the limited options available to bands who wanted to rehearse and to record in a professional studio that year. While a number of writers have examined the increasing professionalisation of the music industry (Frith, 1992; Hesmondhalgh, 1999), this has usually been with regard to the recording industry, and the professionalisation of services or facilities for the 'grassroots' production of music has been relatively ignored. Subsequent chapters will illustrate that the flourishing of

rehearsal spaces in the years following 1979 illustrates both the development of spatial practices, in terms of sociality and productivity, and the professionalisation of a component of the music industries.

In 1979 few commercially let rehearsal spaces existed in the Glasgow area. As noted above, the number of bands and music makers were also far fewer compared to subsequent years, and therefore the demand for rehearsal space was not as established as it would become. Where, then, did Glasgow music makers rehearse in 1979? Neither an examination of existing publications or web-based sources provides any detailed information with regard to this question. The paucity of commercial rehearsal spaces, is however, commented upon in personal interviews by a number of music makers. Hugh Carter (2009), a musician from that period, who went on to own and manage a rehearsal and recording studio in the 1990s, noted that in the late 1970s there ‘weren’t really that many rehearsal places available - it just wasn’t a kind of going concern – the rehearsal room wasn’t a going concern in those days’. However, he did describe rehearsing, with his own band at that time, in railway arches in the Whiteinch area of Glasgow, and that these were ‘a horrible smelly hole’ but noted that they were the first in Glasgow to offer commercial rehearsal facilities, where equipment was provided. For the most part Carter described rehearsing in a number of other places including a tennis club, a church hall in the Bearsden area of Glasgow and even in a church hall as far away as Denny, Stirlingshire (approximately 20 miles outside Glasgow). Such comments reflect observations made by Williamson, *et al.* (2003: 39) about rehearsal studios in Scotland generally. They note that:

Rehearsal studios . . . can only exist where there is sufficient musical activity to sustain them as a business, hence the majority of these are located in the cities. Elsewhere, practice space tends to be either non-existent or considerably less commercialised. Bands in remote areas often have to be more resourceful and are more likely to rehearse in a local warehouse, school or community centre that is suitably accommodating.

John Milarky (personal interview, 2009), who was a member of The Cuban Heels in 1979, also reflected on the difficulties of finding a place to rehearse:

We used to rehearse in bedrooms. I used to go through to Greenock and I’d rehearse in Davy Duncan’s bedroom. No - it was really difficult – even when we were auditioning for a drummer, I think it took us two and a half months or something like that to find a place – and eventually somebody found us – I can’t remember – it was a disused house or something like that, somewhere between Glasgow and Edinburgh – and I don’t know if it was very good.

Aside from these obvious difficulties, Milarky also noted that the lack of rehearsal facilities in Glasgow in the late 1970s was a point of competition and divisiveness between music makers. He described there being a ‘caginess’ between bands and that ‘people kept things pretty close to their chest. If they found somewhere to rehearse they wouldn’t tell anybody where it was because they were like gold dust’. However, as noted there were some commercial rehearsing facilities available. While it is difficult to pin-point exact dates from interviews with music makers, John Milarky (as with Hugh Carter) was also able to remember rehearsing in two other Glasgow locations around about 1979. The first was at the eastern edge of the city centre, near to the ‘Barras’ flea market and in a second hand shop called the Mad Buyer (See Figure 6). This shop was

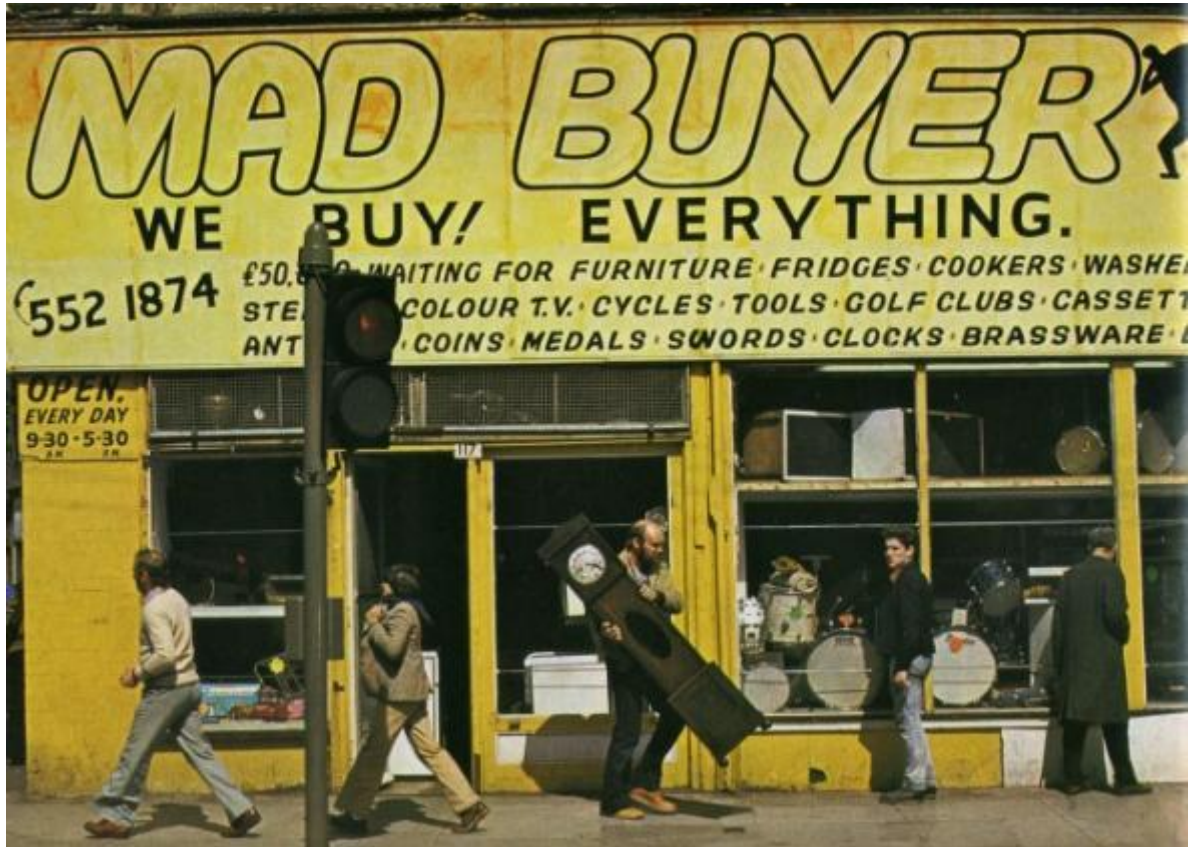
basically at the Barras and it sold musical instruments – all that kind of stuff. I’m sure it wasn’t a pawn shop but it was that kind of place, and for some reason they had a place downstairs and they used to let us – well, we had to pay for it obviously – so we used to rehearse down there – and they used to lock the door – so if there had been a fire, or something like that, forget it, and they’d come back two and a half hours later, or something like that, and let you out again. (ibid.)

The other rehearsal space was at the western edge of the city centre, near to St George’s Cross and was in a basement at the corner of Carnarvon Street and Baliol Street. Similar to the Mad Buyer, its function was not clearly as a rehearsal space. As John Milarky noted: ‘it was like an underground cavern or something like that – there was lights hanging down and wires – it was a weird place – but it was a place to rehearse – and anyway Ronnie Brown, I think he used to hire out gear as well’. The ‘Ronnie Brown’ he is referring to here was the owner or manager of this facility. Unlike The Mad Buyer however, from the outside it had no obvious commercial function – as it was hidden in a basement. This site in Carnarvon Street is notable because in 1980 Ronnie Brown rented out a basement further down the street to David Henderson and this (The Hellfire Club), according to Milarky, was ‘one of the first rehearsal studios in Glasgow’.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> The relative importance of The Hellfire Club studio for Glasgow’s music scene is discussed in the next chapter and David Henderson’s involvement in the scene is discussed in further detail in the section on record shops.





**Figure 6 - Photograph of The Mad Buyer (courtesy of [www.urbanglasgow.co.uk](http://www.urbanglasgow.co.uk))**

Very clearly then, at the end of the 1970s, dedicated rehearsal spaces in Glasgow were neither in great evidence nor playing an important role as a locus for Glasgow music makers to meet and interact. John Milarky considered that their absence detracted from a sense of social support between music makers and so detracted from the building of social capital.<sup>39</sup> In a similar vein the importance of a localised site, such as a rehearsal studio, has been discussed in terms of its importance for lifestyle and identity politics (Hetherington, 1998; Bird *et al.*, 1993), and both Ma (2002) and Fornäs *et al.* (1995) have examined the role of band rooms/spaces for the reproducing of translocal spatiality. The following section on retail spaces considers these notions in more detail.

Not surprisingly, similar comments applied to recording facilities as to rehearsal spaces. In Glasgow in 1979 there was only one commercial recording studio and that was Ca Va Studios at 201 St Vincent Street. This was, and at the time of writing still is, owned and managed by Brian Young. Opening in 1974 (and relocating to St Vincent Street in 1977), in 1979 the studio upgraded to 24 track for the cost of £45,000 (previously it had two

<sup>39</sup> This thesis takes the view that social support is a resource embedded in a person's social network and accessed through social ties and therefore has the attribute of adding to social capital (after Lin, 2001).

rooms – one for four track and the other for eight track recording).<sup>40</sup> This is not to say that other smaller (and less professional) facilities were not available. As previously mentioned The Burns Howff venue also had a small recording studio on its premises that year. The Yellow Pages for Glasgow in 1979 also lists a Shona Recordings Ltd, situated in Giffnock, in the south side of the city, but there is no other available information about it. Ultimately then, at this point in time, the production of culture's technology facet, as represented by rehearsal and recording studios, was not a major factor in the development of Glasgow's music scene. In contrast, the next section considers the ways in which the law and regulation facet, in terms of public policy, was having a negative effect on local music making.

## Public Policy

In 1979 Glasgow was considerably different from 2009 – both in terms of its urban landscape and the socio/economic activities of its residents.<sup>41</sup> Visually, the facades of the Victorian buildings in the city centre had not yet fully benefitted from the stone-cleaning programme that continued throughout the 1980s. As a result many sandstone buildings were still hidden under a black layer of soot – a legacy of the furnaces from Glasgow's heavy industrial past. Furthermore, the decline of the traditional industries since the 1960s, which had so much been at the heart of Glasgow's growth and prosperity in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, had impacted on the employment opportunities and, as a consequence, on the city's population levels. As one commentator put it:

Glasgow began the 1980's as a soot blackened dungeon, its people having lost all hope in the future, numbed by decades of what seemed near terminal decline, the once great ship building industries along the River Clyde, nothing but pale shadows of their former glory (Skyscrapernews, 2003).<sup>42</sup>

Journalistic rhetoric aside, the Glasgow Local Area Plan from 1979 notes that the 'population of the city has been falling steadily since 1939 with a loss of 195,000 people between 1951 and 1971' (Glasgow District Council, 1979). In actual fact the decline in the city's workforce had been less pronounced than its decline in population. However, Paddison (1993: 344) notes that the city's 'employment base contracted by over one

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<sup>40</sup> <http://www.cavasound.com/Cavasound/History.html>.

<sup>41</sup> The prime sources for the material in this section are the Glasgow Central Area Local Plan Draft Survey and Issues Reports for 1979 and 1982 (prepared by the Glasgow District Planning Authority).

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.skyscrapernews.com/news.php?ref=214>.

quarter between 1960 and 1980, represented by over 140, 000 jobs'. In 1979 then, the population of Glasgow was estimated at around 800,000 and, in terms of the city centre, 105,000 people were employed there.<sup>43</sup>

Aside from increasing levels of unemployment, Glasgow in 1979 was a city having to deal with a number of other changes. In preceding decades considerable redevelopment had taken place – for a large part of the city this took the form of widespread demolition of old and dilapidated buildings. The city centre had not escaped from this and over 10% of its total land area was vacant (albeit most of these sites were on the edges of the centre) – areas that were affected included Cowcaddens, Townhead, St Enoch and Anderston. Similarly, due to the changes in employment patterns, there had also been further changes in building usage. Areas such as the Merchant City, Broomielaw and Clyde Street had suffered a decline - whereas the condition of other office and education buildings within the centre had been improved. In 1979 even the District Council remarked that:

It has to be said that the general condition of the area is extremely variable. Many properties have been or are now being brought into first class condition, while at the other extreme, a number of buildings have been neglected to such an extent that they have been demolished.

Other recent improvements to the area included the pedestrianisation of large sections of Sauchiehall Street, Buchanan Street and Argyle Street. In addition, improvements to the transport system were taking place – both in terms of the rail links to outlying areas and the more central serving underground railway. However, the underground had been closed in 1977 to allow for major refurbishment and would not re-open until 1980. This is not to say that amongst these changes there have not also been constants. The District Council (1982) notes that the overall shopping area of Glasgow has not changed over the last 100 years and that:

The central shopping district then, as now, stretched a couple of miles from Glasgow Cross along Argyle Street, Buchanan Street and Sauchiehall Street to Charing Cross. Throughout the present century shopping has continued to predominate as the major land use in the 'z' shaped area.

In 1979, as at present, the retail sector was very important for the city's economy because it contributed to Glasgow's status as a regional service sector (helping to offset Glasgow's decline in other industrial sectors). In fact the Central Area Local Plan for 1979 describes

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<sup>43</sup> For an explanation of the local council's definition of Glasgow's central area see Chapter 2.

Glasgow as ‘a City of "head offices" and retailing on a scale much greater than is found in most other provincial centres’.

If the economic recession of the 1970s had taken its toll of employment prospects within the city, what leisure opportunities were available to its residents in 1979? The District Council records that within the city centre there were 2 major concert halls and 3 theatres. In addition there were 47 restaurants and 130 pubs (and 11 discotheques). However, the District Council’s Plan for that year notes that there had been a demise of ‘live entertainment’ and it lays the blame for this demise primarily on an increase in television ownership - which has reduced people’s desire to leave their homes in order to be entertained. As evidence of this demise it points to the closure of famous Glasgow theatres such as The Empire and The Alhambra (even though both of these theatres had actually closed in the 1960s). Interestingly, the Plan makes only slight reference to ‘concerts’ held in hotels or public houses, but makes more specific reference to dinner-dances and radio road shows or rather, the more theatrical and light types of entertainment.

While giving regard to a variety of different entertainments, the 1979 Plan also recognises that the city centre public house had changed in character:

The increase in pub patronage by women and the young age-groups i.e. 18-25 is a result of a general change in social attitudes, which accepts women patronising pubs, and the disposable income available to the above age group (Glasgow District Council, 1979).

The fact that the Council feels obliged to note these changes gives an indication of the extent of such changes and, as noted above, they have relevance for explaining the lack of female representation within Glasgow’s music scene in 1979.

## **Case Study: Retail Shops – Record and Instruments**

Given the limitations of the other components within Glasgow’s music scene in 1979, it is difficult to consider how the production perspective’s other facet, involving occupational career, determines the scene’s development. Peterson and Anand (2004: 317) posit this facet as being important for the way in ‘which networks of working relationships developed by creative workers make for what some have called “cultures of production”’ (after Fine, 1992 and Du Gay, 1997). Where then did music makers network?

As noted above, rehearsal and recording studios in Glasgow in 1979 were not prevalent enough to act as central points of contact for music makers and other scene participants. Similarly, the style bars that would become fashionable places for local music makers to meet in the 1980s and dedicated music venues which would act as a ‘hub’ for ‘indie’ bands in the 1990s had not yet developed. In addition, printed media, including the national music press and Scottish newspapers, provided little support in terms of either promotion or as points of contact for local music makers in 1979. However, one focus for the formation of a network has already been mentioned in previous sections: the record shop. Several writers have noted the important role of record shops – especially independent shops – for the development of a music scene (Shank, 1994; Williamson *et al.*, 2003). Specifically, these shops play a role in authenticating such scenes because they are places where ‘fans bought records, argued with the clerks about what were the most important releases (and “important” was the operative term), and posted signs asking for like-minded musicians to form bands with’ (Shank, 1994: 97). Local musicians working in such shops can also use their positions to help them gain access to a local music scene. Personal interviews with several people who had held such positions in Glasgow in the late 1970s illustrate that record shops in the city fulfilled a variety of functions – other than the main one of distributing music – and that they also created a degree of centrality for the network of music makers that frequented them.

Research on these ancillary functions of record shops, and record shopping in general is very limited. Sara Cohen (1991: 54) in her book, *Rock Culture in Liverpool*, describes the importance in the 1980s of a record shop called Probe (as it ‘became a centre for news and gossip on local music). Past employees became well-known rock stars’. However, she considers that the role performed by other records shops in Liverpool was not so important. Holly Kruse (2003: 95) in *Site and Sound: Understanding Independent Music Scenes* also gives consideration to the importance of independent record shops for local music scenes, acknowledging that often the employees of such shops are ‘musicians in local bands’ and customers are often scene participants themselves. However, she also focuses her attention on the commercial/distributive role of these shops rather than their social role. In contrast, Jones (2009) discusses the decline of the independent record shop, but in doing so mainly focuses on its commercial operations and neglects its social and cultural roles. Lastly the other main focus of research on music and shopping has been the role of music to shape consumer agency (De Nora and Belcher, 2000; De Nora, 2000). Given the under researched nature of record shops and music scenes this section discusses the variety of

ways in which the independent record shop was important for developing Glasgow's local music scene.

In 1979 the Yellow Pages for Glasgow and District (South) listed ten record shops in the Glasgow central area (most of which were independent or small chain shops local to Glasgow/Scotland – except for HMV). These included Listen at 10 Cambridge Street, Bruce's Record Shop at 37 Union Street and Twenty Third Precinct Record Shop at 23 Bath Street. David Henderson, a sound engineer who worked with Simple Minds (among other Glasgow groups) and who also managed a rehearsal studio in the 1980s was very clear, when interviewed, about why he became involved in the Glasgow music scene: 'Really through working in a record shop . . . the shop it was probably quite important I think roundabout then in the Glasgow music scene' (personal interview, 2009). The shop in question, Graffiti Records, at 63 Queen Street, had actually closed by 1979. Nevertheless, the manager, Scot MacArthur, also managed Johnny and the Self Abusers and Henderson explained that through working part-time in the shop he got involved in 'helping them kind of sorting out their sound. That was how I kind of started working with them'. Although unsure of the exact dates he thought this would have been around 1977/1978 and by 1979 Johnny and the Self Abusers had changed their name to Simple Minds (after a few changes in line-up). Henderson, proffered these comments spontaneously, and was clearly of the view that at 'that point – 78 – the punk period – I remember the sort of scene was based around record shops really'. He argued that 'the people running those shops were quite important in the scene because . . . you know that there was a couple of instances of guys that were managing shops were also managing bands . . . and you know Bruce had his own label - that he started - Zoom Records.' Here he is referring to Bruce Findlay, who was actually based in Edinburgh, but who operated several record shops throughout central Scotland. Findlay managed Simple Minds from 1978 until 1990 and released their first single, *Life in a Day* (ZUM 10), on his own record label, Zoom in 1979. Aside from the industry involvement of the people who managed record shops, Henderson also explicitly noted the 'authenticating' function of such localised sites:

Graffiti, Listen . . . it wasn't necessarily bands or musicians that would gather in these places you know . . . they served a purpose for folk of a certain age I remember at that time that were into music and into going to see bands and then . . . a certain proportion of those people were musicians . . . and they were kind of meeting places. They were the places that people would put up signs looking for . . . you know other musicians. . . you know that is one thing that is kind of sadly gone for sort of younger people . . . because like that is

how I got involved and how all the people that used to go and hang around the record shops on a Saturday . . . you would see at the gigs . . . you know at punk gigs and stuff and it was a kind of a meeting place. I don't think it's really been replaced by much. It is a shame. (ibid)

In addition to the fact that these shops provided a point of centrality for the network of music makers and other like-minded people who visited them, Henderson's observations also highlight a certain type of spatial practice taking place. Henri Lefebvre (1991) analyses three different types of spatial practice: representations of space, representational spaces and material spatial practices. Leaving aside the symbolic aspect of social space embodied in Lefebvre's concept of representational space and the plans/ physical knowledge concerning representations of space, and focusing on the third concept of spatial practice, Lefebvre considers this spatial practice as ensuring 'continuity and some degree of cohesion' (ibid: 33). David Harvey (1993: 18) illustrates the effect of such practices and their interrelation with the way places are represented and imagined by reference to Times Square. He describes how:

Times Square was, in short, created as a representation of everything that could be commercial, gaudy, promotional and speculative in the political economy of place construction . . . Yet it soon became the symbolic heart of New York City . . . *the* place where everyone congregated to celebrate, mourn or express their collective anger, joy or fear.

Aside from David Henderson, other interviewees have also noted the rituals and experiences of the customers of independent record shops. Another worker from Graffiti around the same time, Dan McCahon (personal interview, 2009), remembered that:

towards the end of 1976 when the punk thing was just kicking in, Graffiti became a place where people went and hung about – you didn't just go in and buy your record and leave – you went in, sort of hung around, waited for other punks to come in, talked away and all that stuff - got to know the staff, and eventually I just asked them if they were looking for any staff.

Like Henderson, he too argued that record shops were a 'hub' where 'guys would come in and we would put up notices – "drummer wanted", and all stuff like that, and bands would come in and put up their posters for the gigs they were playing and all stuff like that. Musicians met'. McCahon left Graffiti and then worked in Bruce's Record Shop and from this period he described a Saturday ritual similar to that mentioned by Henderson:

it was a Saturday ritual that people would come into Glasgow, come into town and come and shop in Bruce's - get their singles –because it was all seven inch singles – seven inch singles all the time – and then they would go down and

have – well say have lunch –go down and have a couple of pints and hear the lunch time sessions in the Mars Bar every Saturday.

Such spatial practices are important for the development of a music scene. According to both Shank (1994) and Hetherington (1998) the formation of identity is closely associated with space: 'In part this means that identity involves identification with particular places, whether local or national. It also means that certain spaces act as sites for the performance of identity' (Hetherington, 1998: 105). This is not to suggest that social identities are fixed but rather that we can occupy multiple social relations through identifying with gender, occupation, tastes etc. (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). Through the process of individuals trying to make sense of their cultural world and their place in it they also shape their own persona.

In terms of customers of Glasgow's record shops in the 70s, clearly some form of affirmation of taste was taking place, either positively, as Michael Rooney noted 'we would advise people - pass comment if they bought something you liked', or through opposition to the perceived views of the shop staff and the air of intimidation cultivated by some of these shops. Specifically for the local music makers that frequented Wee Bloggs, tastes were very defined as Rooney stated it was

caught up in kind of fads and cliques and groups of people – you had to like kind of Subway Sect or something – maybe anti-rock 'n' roll – because rock 'n' roll was shit – main stuff was this kind of no guitar solos, pop music, no posing – kind of the antithesis of rock 'n' roll group.  
(personal interview, 2010)

Frith (1996b: 109) also argues that 'identity is mobile, a process not a thing, a becoming not a being'. Hetherington paraphrases Cohen and Taylor (1992) when he relates the process of identity formation to 'examples of escape attempts from the routines of everyday life' and describes such an escape attempt as 'an enthused re-centering of life and one's identity around a particular, chosen and, usually, shared interest (1998: 109). Thus being a customer of a record shop can facilitate identification as a fan of alternative music or as being a part of a developing music scene. Through music shops providing a focus for such an escape attempt, which in turn allows their customers to articulate an alternative identity and a sense of belonging, then the notion of a music scene is strengthened. Dan McCahon describes this feeling of belonging: 'there was a scene and we felt part of the scene – it was . . . we would come in and use the shop as a meeting place and stuff like that and we would go to the same clubs as them and stuff . . . they were our pals'. Billy



Sloan also recalled visiting Graffiti Records where there ‘was a big social thing about that. You would go in to Graffiti on a Saturday to buy a record and there was punks and alternative people hanging about and you got talking to them and you got to know people on the scene – so that was a big, big thing as well’ (personal interview, 2010).

As indicated above, the social centrality of music shops also benefited Glasgow’s music scene through facilitating meetings between like-minded music makers. Three of the interviewees mentioned in this section were able to provide examples where musicians had met and then either formed bands or joined an existing band. John Milarky, Jim Kerr, Alan Horne, Edwyn Collins, James King, and members of The Jolt are all referenced as being customers of the shops where the interviewees worked. Stephen Daly who worked in Listen for a while recalled that he worked ‘downstairs in the part where they had badges. Badge culture was important then, one of the ways you showed your allegiances and recognised like minds. Alan Horne was downstairs one day and we got talking’ (2008).<sup>44</sup>

In addition, several references were made to additional activities carried out by record shop staff. The most prominent of these was the organisation of bus trips to various gigs. Mention was made of the bus trips that were organised by Arthur Haggerty, who worked for Bruce’s Record Shop, but who also promoted punk gigs in a venue in nearby Paisley, the Silver Thread (due to the aforementioned difficulties of punk bands getting gigs in Glasgow). The bus for these gigs would leave from Bruce’s Record Shop.<sup>45</sup>

While the customers that McCahon and Henderson are referring to may not all have been musicians, Hugh Carter (who worked in a number of music retail shops before opening a rehearsal studio) also reflected on the practices of customers of shops where he worked:

I mean it was a kind of mass exodus round the shops on a Saturday afternoon in Glasgow – you started at Sauchiehall Street in Biggar’s and then you went along to McCormack’s and Forbes’ and then down to Thompson’s and anywhere else you used to - “can I get a shot of your guitar Mister?” And one day someone would buy something, but you got to know a lot of the people – just by being nice to them and giving them a shot. As I say, there was a lot of the guys who were just on the brew – who would just hang around. So that was the main spin-off – it was almost like the old actors standing at the edge of Hollywood and Vine waiting to be picked up for the next big blockbuster.

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<sup>44</sup> Interview with Daly reprinted at <http://ripitupfootnotes.blogspot.com>.

<sup>45</sup> David Cavanagh (2000) references Arthur Haggerty’s promotional activities.

In summary, independent record shops (and music retail shops) in 1979 played an important role for Glasgow's music scene. They provided a localised site where young people (and music makers in particular) could meet to articulate both an identity as a fan or member of a scene and a sense of belonging consistent with such a scene. The role of the shop as a meeting place also facilitated social networking of like-minded music makers. In addition, such shops provided spaces for local bands to promote their gigs through placement of posters, and in some instances the shop staff also organised and promoted local gigs. Lastly, music shops also provided employment for local music makers and in some instances the staff also took on the role of manager for local bands.

## Summary

In 1979 Glasgow's music scene was characterised by a relatively (compared to present day) small number of bands whose main opportunity for performing live was a small number of city centre public houses. These public houses however, provided a very regular outlet for live performance – sometimes engaging the same band for several nights in the same week. This is not to say that the scene was particularly homogenous – musical influences of these pub rock bands are described as being very varied, including such styles as American funk and heavy rock. More importantly, by 1979 there was a growing number of what are described as 'new wave' or 'post-punk' bands vying for performance space and media attention. Due to reluctance by public houses to promote these types of performances (possibly due to fears of losing their license from the City Council or losing their established city centre customer base) this type of band had been discouraged from playing in Glasgow. The newer wave bands would typically play a set of their own material, which contrasted starkly with the type of sets that the more established 'pub rock' bands played (which consisted mostly of cover versions). At this point in time Glasgow's public houses were not able to charge entry fees for live music performances and so would look to recoup the costs of hiring a band from sales at the bar; another reason for the conservative nature of many venues.<sup>46</sup>

As a means of explaining this move by music makers towards performing more original material the production of culture perspective looks to changes that have taken place in certain facets of cultural production. In this sense, by the late 70s there had been an opening up of technology which enabled bands to record and release their own songs, an

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<sup>46</sup> By all accounts pubs in Glasgow were prevented from charging entry fees for live music by a local bye-law, but the author has not been able to verify this.

easing in the restrictions (whether real or imagined) on new wave bands playing in Glasgow and an increasing perception (by venue managers amongst others) of the potential for new markets brought about by changes in consumer tastes. These changes were evidenced in Glasgow by the numbers of local bands releasing singles (and sometimes albums) independently and the number of venues that were beginning to promote bands performing 'new wave' music (and, in the case of the Mars Bar, doing so exclusively). More significantly, it was not only new wave bands that were following these practices, but bands playing more established music were also releasing their own material on their own labels, and their live performance reflected this change as well.

In 1979 not everything was changing; music making remained a highly gendered practice with the vast majority of people involved in the music scene being male. Equally, while there were other outlets for local music makers to perform live, such as certain club nights and student unions, the majority of venues promoting live music continued to be public houses. Even more limited were the opportunities for music makers to rehearse (and record) in professional facilities and this may have been due to the fact that by 1979 demand was not sufficient to make a rehearsal studio a profitable concern. Given that opportunities to promote and advertise local music through the media were also restricted, the main outlet for music makers to mix, interact, forge relationships and publicise their practices was the independent record shop.

In 1979 the notion of a music scene in Glasgow is at an emergent phase. The network of scene participants is small, but within the newly emerging bands wishing to play their own material, there appear a great number of ties between one member and another. In terms of scene components the focus of network ties was around independent record shops. Music makers, DJs, managers, promoters and future studio owners were all associated and linked (tied) with Glasgow record shops. That said, the anecdotal evidence points to there being little accrued social capital between bands. However, the move by bands to play their own material is an important one and equates with Byrne's second external factor that helps promote a 'creative flowering' (2012: 251).

## Chapter 5 – 1980s

‘The whole Glasgow thing was like a fraternity – there were friendships between the groups and there was a link and one led you to another and to another . . . links everywhere’. (Davidson, 2009)

### Introduction

This chapter considers the ways in which Glasgow’s popular music scene changed and developed over the period from 1980 to 1989, with particular focus on the scene’s changing dynamic between (and within) its various components. Compared to 1979 this dynamic changed quite considerably: the number and variety of music makers expanded significantly, the number and type of venues increased (bolstered by changes in public policy geared towards civic boosterism), elements of the media nurtured the notion of Glasgow’s music scene, and foci (or ‘hubs’) of network formation between scene participants developed, including both public houses and studios. The latter also provided an important element of infrastructure, which supported this growing music scene, by providing opportunities for both the studio users and workers to relate to each other in a variety of other professional modes e.g. manager/client, label manager/recording artist, promoter/act, etc.

The chapter is divided into various sections, each dealing with a specific component. The section on music makers uses as a basis for discussion the releases in the 1980s by Glasgow-based music makers on Glasgow-based labels. Though only representative of a fraction of the popular musical activity that took place in the city that decade, such a focus does highlight certain significant trends and events that were important for the developing music scene. One argument advanced in this chapter is that the initial boom in independent releases at the start of the decade helped to focus attention on the city from major record companies, which in turn boosted the careers (at least for a period) of a large numbers of Glasgow bands. Equally the down turn in such releases also had an impact on the music scene as a whole. This is not to say that the section ignores the great number of bands who went on to release music on major labels, rather it discusses them within the context of a noticeable split between bands who cultivated a more commercial sound and bands who took a more ‘indie’ (in the aesthetic sense) approach.

The chapter then discusses other aspects within the overall grouping of ‘producers’ of popular music makers, including venues and individual non-musical scene participants. Concerning the former, the chapter examines the development of the public house sector within Glasgow’s city sector, the increasing diversity of venues available to music makers, and the development of venues specifically dedicated to live popular music. In terms of the section on the role of individuals, various concepts are foregrounded (which are expanded on in subsequent chapters) including the importance of patronage and the importance of individuals who act as a bridge between different groups (cliques) of music makers (or other participants).

The chapter continues by discussing various changes in public policy that affected the production of popular music in 1980s’ Glasgow, including both changes at a national and a local level. Following on from this the chapter examines some of the developments within the media (both print and radio) that have had an impact on the local music scene. Such changes include the support of local journalists writing for both the national music press and Scottish-based newspapers, and the various ways in which Radio Clyde provided support. Fanzines are also discussed in terms of their representations of Glasgow’s popular music scene, and the impact that they had on it.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of the central role of studios within Glasgow (a number of which also had recording facilities). Such studios provide a focal point and social space for music makers (much like record shops had done in the late 1970s). However, whereas record shops contributed to the formation of individual identities, such studios in Glasgow’s popular music scene play a role in the formation of group identities - particularly for the bands who use their facilities. Further, studios not only contribute to identity, but they also invigorate the notion of a local music scene through their multifarious roles, and not just the singular one of providing a rehearsal space.

## **Music Makers**

This section (and similar sections) of subsequent chapters focuses on Glasgow-based music makers who released music on locally based labels over the period of the whole decade (Appendix 2). This is not to imply that this was the only significant musical activity that took place in those years. Far from it; many bands contributed to the development of the city’s popular music scene through other activities, such as performing live, recording demo tapes (which were then played on local or national radio), attracting major record

company attention to the city (and subsequently signing a major record contract), and recording sessions for playback on local/national radio. However, through focusing attention on local independent releases this section looks at the way the music scene changed over the years, and also draws attention to the stylistic developments that took place in the 1980s. More specifically, it considers the way in which, by the middle of the decade, there was an almost bifurcation in musical style - between Glasgow-based bands that played and recorded in a sophisticated/polished (often soul influenced) style and those bands that took a more lo-fi/shambling approach to playing/performing.

The number of independent releases from Glasgow-based bands increased quite considerably from the four that had been released in 1979 to around ten in 1980. In addition, The Berlin Blondes, who had been appearing live at venues, such as The Mars Bar, a year before, released their debut single, *Science/Mannequin* (5031) on EMI. In February, Orange Juice released their first single, *Falling and Laughing/Moscow* (80-1) on Alan Horne's Postcard label. This was the first of three singles they released that year. As noted in the preceding chapter, in terms of journalistic discourse, the singles released on Postcard are considered to be very influential for Glasgow (and indeed national) do-it-yourself post-punk music production. Writing just six years later, for *Cut* magazine, the journalist Allan Campbell, describes *Falling and Laughing*, along with its successor *Blue Boy* (Postcard 80-2), as 'two of the most crucial releases as regards the development and acceptance of Scottish pop music' (November 1986: 12). However, a review in the national music newspaper, *Melody Maker* (15 March 1980: 28), at the time of its release merely describes it as 'a lovely lilting Glaswegian record'. In actual fact it was the band called 'Fun 4' who garnered more attention from *Melody Maker* in the first six months of the decade. A review of their performance, supporting Sham 69 at Glasgow University's Queen Margaret Union, very much supported the 'no mean city' image that the City Council would very soon take positive steps to change.<sup>47</sup> Under the sarcastic strap line 'Glasgow: fun city', it opens with a description of a student with blood pouring from a gash in his head and provides a quote from the band's new press release which says: 'The Fun 4 must be one of the few bands to terrorize a Sham 69 audience' (Boyle, 1980: 10).

In contrast, The Cuban Heels received rather more favourable reviews from the *New Musical Express* (albeit from a Scottish based correspondent). While both *Melody Maker* and *NME* printed full page reviews of The Loch Lomond Festival (which took place in

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<sup>47</sup> Fun Four were previously known as The Backstabbers and for review of a similar incident in the 1970s see last chapter.

June 1980), the latter describes The Cuban Heels as playing ‘a highly accomplished half hour set which quietly outclassed virtually everyone else who appeared throughout the day. Lacking any of the specific tribalist appeal practiced by certain of the other acts, the Heels must rely on the quality of their songs’ (Gibson, 1980: 42). Later in the year the *NME* also printed a favourable review of the band’s only single release in 1980, *Little Girl/Fast Living Friend* (GR 1), on their self-financed Greville label: ‘This is modern face pop with a fringe and a complete lack of respect for its elders and betters; the whole kit and caboodle probably doesn’t mean anything but it sounds great. Drove me to distraction and back’ (Bell, 1980: 17).

Aside from the bands that had received some attention from the media in previous years, the *NME* also brought attention to new emerging bands from Glasgow. In an article published at the end of 1980, Paul Morley interviewed Restricted Code (along with ABC from London and Essential Bop from Bristol). That year the Glasgow band had two tracks included in a mini-album (*Second City Statik*) released on the Statik Records label (the other tracks were provided by Positive Noise and The Alleged), and at the time of the article they were about to release a single on the Edinburgh-based Pop Aural label. Morley argues that all three bands are representative of a trend towards ‘pop’ (represented by the single) and against ‘rock’ within UK popular music production. He provides a number of quotes from the Restricted Code interview which highlight their pop aspirations: ‘we didn’t pretend to be anything other than a group who weren’t ashamed to say they wanted to make great singles . . . We are aiming for Radio One and Peter Powell’ (Morley, 1980b: 27). Interestingly, in the same article, and for the first time in the national music press (at least in terms of *NME* and *Melody Maker*), there is mention of a ‘Glasgow scene’ – albeit in the sense that Restricted Code deny that there is one: ‘There is no Glasgow scene, it must be repeated. We don’t think about it much anyway’ (ibid: 26).

In an earlier *NME* feature on the Postcard label, Morley also interviewed Alan Horne (Postcard label manager) and Edwyn Collins (lead singer and guitarist with Orange Juice), whilst they were in London arranging distribution for the label’s releases with the Rough Trade company. As with Restricted Code, Horne is very clear about his motives for running the label and producing music:

Music should always aim for the widest possible market. The charts are there . . . I consider that we’re the only punk independent because we’re the only ones doing it who are young. Everybody else has come from the back of a

record shop or are business men. We started with no money and just built it up from Orange Juice's first single. (1980a: 24)

Though somewhat obvious for a label manager, this remark does belie the plaudits that were to follow. On the release of Orange Juice's comprehensive box set, *Coals to Newcastle* (Domino, REWIGCD38X) a review from the *Guardian* (Petridis, 2010: 9) argues that the band:

brilliantly connected the agitated, trebly strum of the Velvet Underground's What Goes On to the scratchy funk guitars of disco; dragged rock music further from its primal macho roots than anyone before had ever dared . . . and singlehandedly, if unwittingly, invented what came to be known as indie music.

The reviewer, Alex Petridis, is also clear that chart success for the band was not inevitable because of the fact

that they sounded spindly and ramshackle by comparison with most early 80s pop, and looked deeply weird in their plastic sandals, cravats and tweeds: in every sense of the phrase, they offered a kind of charity-shop Chic. Collins's voice was an acquired taste: he sounded not unlike a tipsy man launching into an after-dinner speech with his mouth still full of port and walnuts. (ibid.)

The role of the press in mediating popular music production in Glasgow is discussed in more detail below. However, in discussing the popular music production that was taking place at the time of Postcard's initial releases, it is clear that national music papers viewed them in much the same way as they viewed other 'pop' singles being produced in Glasgow (and Scotland). The elevation of the label and of Orange Juice to being the founders of 'indie music' was to follow. In the same edition of the *NME* in which Restricted Code are interviewed, Adrian Thrills (1980: 44) also provides a brief overview of independently produced Scottish singles from 1980:

A remarkable range of new Scottish bands announced their arrival via independent singles in 1980, only to be casually lumped together as part of some unwieldy and unwelcome Tartan Scene by some observers . . . The activities of Alan Horne's Postcard set-up – Orange Juice, Joseph K, The Go-Betweens – have been well documented, but the Glasgow label's half dozen singles are really only the tip of the iceberg, drops in an ocean which engulf bands as diverse as FK9, The Cuban Heels, TV21 and The Hollow Men. . . Glasgow's Cuban Heels transformed themselves from a dodgy modish bunch into a far more original funk-inclined group on 'Walk on Water' (Cuba Libre).



Thrills mentions The Go-Betweens but fails to explain that they were an Australian band who had relocated to London for a short period in 1979 – 1980 and who, in that period, had also made contact with Alan Horne and Edwyn Collins. As a result of this meeting the band released one single on the Postcard label, *I Need Two Heads* (Postcard 80-4), which also featured Stephen Daily on drums (Nichols, 2003).

Appendix 2 notes that compared to 1980, the number of local independent releases from Glasgow-based music makers increased slightly in 1981: from ten in number to fourteen. The majority of these singles were released between the three labels previously mentioned: Postcard, Cuba Libre and Statik. Positive Noise are closely associated with the Statik label, and they released four separate singles (and one album) in 1981. What Appendix 2 does not take account of is the fact that The Cuban Heels' associated label, Cuba Libre, was actually much more active than the other two that year; releasing a further nine singles not noted on the table, as they were all distributed through the Virgin label.<sup>48</sup> These releases included four more from the Shakin' Pyramids and one from themselves (a re-release of *Walk on Water* (VS 440). In comparison, the Postcard label released another two singles from Orange Juice and two from Aztec Camera. Interestingly, the privileging of the Postcard label continued into radio programming, as well as the music press. In 1990 Radio 1 broadcast a two part retrospective on the previous ten years of the Glasgow scene titled *Glasgow A Go Go*.<sup>49</sup> The presenter, Tom Ferry, describes how 'Alan Horne and Postcard Records paved the way for other Glasgow bands to issue independent singles- the most successful new label in 1981 was founded by Ali McKenzie' (BBC, 1990). Such statements ignore both the fact that The Cuban Heels had actually released two previously self-financed singles (the first of which had been in 1978,<sup>50</sup> albeit without the involvement of McKenzie), and the contemporaneous activity of the Statik label in 1980.<sup>51</sup> Appendix 2 also ignores the releases on Glasgow labels by music makers from outside the city. So, it does not mention that Postcard was also involved in releasing music from bands such as Joseph K (who were based in Edinburgh) and more significantly does not provide the long list of releases on Statik from other artists. In 1981 Statik Records released music by

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<sup>48</sup> The Virgin distributed singles are denoted by a Virgin catalogue number.

<sup>49</sup> Broadcast on the 24/07/1990 and 28/07/1990.

<sup>50</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>51</sup> McKenzie is also attributed as founding the Statik Records label (see Footnote 6).

Belgian band TC Matik, Australian band The Dynamic Hepnotics, and American bands Dead Kennedys and The Dance.<sup>52</sup>

Whilst adding to the myth of the Postcard label being the originator of independent releases in Scotland, the Radio 1 programme also illuminated the outward gaze of label managers, such as Horne. In interview, he comments on the futile scene in Glasgow where there was nowhere for Orange Juice to release a single and that ‘at that time there was rumblings from Liverpool that there was going to be a Zoo label . . . and we thought let’s do something like that’ (ibid). Horne makes no reference to the other independent releases that had either preceded or were taking place at the same time as Postcard. In not acknowledging the other record labels that were operating at the time, Horne’s comments reflect either disunity between music scene participants, or a lack of awareness of other musical production in this period (or both).

Another release that took place in 1981 was *Sweet Dreams* (Hell 001) by Perfect End on the Hellfire Discs label. Though there is little reference to it in the music press of the time, this release was significant because it was recorded at The Hellfire Club rehearsal and recording studio based in Glasgow.<sup>53</sup> Commercially run rehearsal studios (particularly those that included a recording facility) were relatively new to Glasgow in 1981 and for such a studio to also be involved in the release of a record highlighted the growing multi-faceted nature and professionalisation of popular music production within the city. As noted below, booking sheets for recordings carried out at this studio between the years 1980 and 1982 provide an interesting record of Glasgow music makers active in the city at this time. Aside from the aforementioned Perfect End single, these sheets also list recordings by a number of the bands already noted for releasing singles in 1981, including Orange Juice, The Cuban Heels and The Shakin’ Pyramids. While it is likely that most of these recordings were for initial demos of songs, the sheets do note three sessions as being for the purposes of recording a single. The Shakin’ Pyramids recorded at least one of their singles there and The Dreamboys also recorded their three track single, *Bela Lugosi’s Birthday/Outer Limits/Shall We Dance* (STV1), in October 1980 for release on the St Vitus label.<sup>54</sup> The third band that is listed as recording for a single release is The Poems. Like

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<sup>52</sup> <http://www.discogs.com/label/Statik%20Records>.

<sup>53</sup> Though the label took the name of the studio, it was the band themselves that released the single. See section on studios for further discussion.

<sup>54</sup> The Dreamboys featured the actor Peter Capaldi on vocals and guitars, and the comedian Craig Ferguson on drums (though a different drummer is credited for the recording). While the inner

the other two sessions the actual song titles are not listed, but this is likely to have been for their 1981 release, *Achieving Unity* (Dot 1) on the self funded Polka Dot label.<sup>55</sup>

Appendix 2 shows that after 1981 independent releases over the next five years fell to around six or seven a year. In 1982 The Postcard label had planned to release an album by The Jazzateers, but this failed to take place before the label's demise.<sup>56</sup> Of the releases that did take place that year, there were three singles from Positive Noise on their Statik label, and two singles from two newly formed bands: The Wake released *On Our Honeymoon/Give Up* (SCN 01) on their Scan 45 label and The Pastels released *Heavens Above/Tea Time Tales* (Wham 005) on the London based Wham label (so excluded from Appendix 2). Both bands have significance for the way grassroots music production stylistically developed in Glasgow in the 1980s. Unlike the previous bands mentioned above, The Wake were not a straight forward guitar orientated post-punk band; their music foregrounded the keyboard and their rhythm section was often compared to that of New Order. In fact in December 1982 they released a mini album, *Harmony* (Fact 60) on the Manchester-based Factory label that had also signed New Order.<sup>57</sup> James Nice provides a biography of the band on the ltm label website, and considers this first album to, in some respects, represent 'the missing link between the sound of Postcard and early Factory' (Nice, 2006).<sup>58</sup> This is not to imply that there were no connections between The Wake and earlier Glasgow bands. The lead singer Caesar had played with Altered Images<sup>59</sup> and Bobby Gillespie<sup>60</sup> (who had also been a roadie for Altered Images) played bass with the group up until 1983. Similarly, The Pastels' original line-up included a drummer, Chris Gordon, who had played in Orange Juice before Stephen Daly. Like The Wake, The Pastels stood out stylistically from other Glasgow bands of the time. In the aforementioned Radio 1 programme, the lead singer and main song writer of the group, Stephen McRobbie, described how he 'didn't like a lot of the other music that was coming

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sleeve notes that the recording took place in 1980 in The Hellfire Club, there is no release date, but it is likely to have been the following year.

<sup>55</sup> The Poems featured Rose McDowall who later formed Strawberry Switchblade.

<sup>56</sup> The Jazzateers changed their name to Bourgie Bourgie before changing their name back to The Jazzateers.

<sup>57</sup> The Wake continued to release material on the Factory label up until 1988 and also toured with label mates New Order.

<sup>58</sup> [http://www.ltmrecordings.com/the\\_wake.html](http://www.ltmrecordings.com/the_wake.html).

<sup>59</sup> Altered Images formed in 1979 and in the early 1980s they rehearsed, recorded and performed live within Glasgow, but they never released any material independently before their first single for CBS.

<sup>60</sup> After leaving The Wake Gillespie played drums for The Jesus and Mary Chain, before concentrating on his own band, Primal Scream.

out of Scotland at the time – and we wanted to do something more naive’ (BBC, 1990). Brian Hogg (1993: 270) in *The History of Scottish Rock and Pop*, views them as being part of a new generation of bands emerging from Glasgow at the time ‘kicking against what they saw as stifling complacency’. In the interview, Stephen McRobbie highlighted the rudimentary style of the band’s music when he explains ‘we knew we would get laughed at because of our musical ability, but we didn’t care. We wanted to stand up and represent something quite different’ (BBC, 1990). Although The Pastels then went on to release a couple of singles for the Creation and Rough Trade labels, this move by Glasgow music makers towards a more rudimentary style of playing (sometimes termed ‘shambolic’ or ‘shoe-gazing’ by the media) was not yet evident in the independent releases of the following year.<sup>61</sup>

Ali McKenzie, one time member of The Cuban Heels and founder of the Cuba Libre label, set-up a new label in 1983 - Bogaten Records. The label’s first release was *Joined the Dance/Funtimes* (Bogaten 01) by Apes in Control, a band of which McKenzie was now a member. In 1984 the label also released *Dreaming/Waiting for the Man* (Bogaten 02) by The Wee Cherubs. Another new label also appeared in Glasgow: NoStrings Records. It released singles by Del Amitri - *Sense Sickness/The Difference Is* (NOSP 1) - and The Suede Crocodiles - *Stop the Rain/Pleasant Dreamer* (NOSP 2). When asked about his motives for setting up the label Nick Low (2011), in a personal interview, described how ‘everyone used to say we were trying to rip off Postcard, but I was a bit more influenced by Berzerkeley as a label rather than by Postcard’. Low had studied engineering at university, but his move into cultural production was partly pragmatic and partly out of passion. In the same interview he explained:

When you’ve been kicked out of university there’s nothing else to do and I couldn’t get a real job . . . I wouldn’t have got into music had I not been kicked out of university . . . I just loved music . . . I couldn’t play an instrument, so the only way I could be involved in music was in some other capacity. Having put these people on - The Suede Crocodiles, Lloyd Cole and Del Amitri - I wanted to put their records out, and I just thought I’d do it.

Reflecting on this period, Low also situated the notion of a Glasgow music scene within the geographical space of certain Glasgow bars: ‘we were never a scene we were an anti-scene - we were never part of the cool mob . . . we didn’t drink in Nico’s or The Rock

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<sup>61</sup> The Pastels released *I Wonder Why/Supposed to Understand* (RT137) in 1983, *Something Going On/Stay With Me Till Morning* (CRE 005) in 1984 and *I’m Alright With You/Couldn’t Care Less/What It’s Worth* (CRE 023T) in 1985.

Garden or The Fixx'.<sup>62</sup> NoStrings eventually decided against putting out a single by Lloyd Cole (a mutual decision, as Cole already had a publishing deal and had decided he wanted to put out a single through this means) and so The Suede Crocodiles and Del Amitri singles were released simultaneously. Low continued to manage The Suede Crocodiles but did not release another single until 1986, when Kevin McDermott, who had left that band, released a solo mini-album titled *Suffocation Blues* (NO121).

As noted in Appendix 2, from 1982 until 1988 independent releases from Glasgow bands on Glasgow-based labels continued to be in the single figures. However, the table does not take account of music makers releasing music on labels based outside Glasgow or those bands who were in a position to release music on a major label. For example, through 1984 and 1985 Strawberry Switchblade released five singles on the Korova label,<sup>63</sup> including *Since Yesterday/By the Sea* (KOW 38), and The Jesus and Mary Chain released their debut single, *Upside Down/Vegetable Man* (CRE 012), on the Creation label.<sup>64</sup> Of course independent self-releases also continued throughout this time, and Positive Noise released another two singles and an album on their Statik label. In a similar way, in 1984 The Primevals released *Where Are You/This Kind of Love* (Prime 1) on their own Raucous label and in 1985 the Snakes of Shake released both a single (GOBS 1) and an album (TBC 1) titled *Southern Cross* on their own Tense But Confident label.

It is possible to surmise that one reason for the decline in the number of releases from Glasgow-based music makers on Glasgow-based labels after 1981 was the recession that took place in the early part of the decade (and which therefore made the funding of an independent single much more difficult for a jobless musician). However, in contrast to this notion of impoverishment, was the fact that around this time period major record labels (generally) became interested in Glasgow music makers. Through attracting a major record deal Glasgow bands were able to by-pass the need to release independently on their own or other's labels. Richard King in *How Soon is Now* (2012: 73) attributes this interest directly to the national radio airplay that Orange Juice's second single, *Blue Boy* (Postcard 80-2) was receiving:

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<sup>62</sup> Nico's, The Rock Garden and The Fixx were public house popular with Glasgow musicians of the time.

<sup>63</sup> The Korova label is associated with Echo and the Bunnymen – amongst other bands.

<sup>64</sup> The Jesus and Mary Chain were from East Kilbride, just outside Glasgow, but by the time of their first single release they had relocated to London.

The single, aided by radio play secured by Rough Trade's in-house promo specialist Scott Piering, and glowing reviews across the board, meant that not only did "Blue Boy" sell enough to need several re-presses, but suddenly 'The Sound of Young Scotland' was being taken seriously as a commercial proposition. A&R men, seeing Orange Juice being profiled as a new, friendly pop sensation, started flying up to Glasgow in search of the next young thing.

King goes on to discuss the move away from Postcard by first Aztec Camera and then Orange Juice (who signed to Rough Trade and Polydor respectively) and also notes that:

The Jazzateers came to nothing, releasing a posthumous single on Rough Trade they had recorded for Horne. Quinn [lead singer Paul] regrouped and quickly turned the band into Bourgie Bourgie, one of the many bands swept up in the major-label A&R rush to Glasgow that saw them alongside Altered Images, Del Amitri, the Lone Wolves and the Bluebells, pushed towards the charts with varying degrees of success. (ibid: 79-80)

This move away from locally-based independent labels to major labels in the early Eighties was such that by 1985 a pull out supplement from *Jamming!* magazine (April 1985), focussing on Glasgow's music scene that year, discusses a large number of bands based in Glasgow and signed to major record labels (Miller, 1985). These included Simple Minds (Virgin), Aztec Camera (WEA), Lloyd Cole and The Commotions (Polydor), Sunset Gun (CBS), The Bluebells (London), Fruits of Passion (Siren), Sugar Sugar (CBS), Del Amitri (Chrysalis), One O' Clock Gang (Arista), Sideway Look (Virgin), Seven (Polydor), The Kissing Bandits (Warner Bros), Hipsway (Phonogram), White China (Island), Love and Money (Phonogram), Me and Mrs Jones (Chrysalis), End Games (Virgin), and Wet Wet Wet (Mercury/Precious). In addition, to these eighteen bands the article also lists a number of Glasgow-based bands that were signed to other significant independent (or quasi-independent labels). These included The Jesus and Mary Chain (Creation), Primal Scream (Creation), The Pastels (Creation), The Wake (Factory), The Blue Nile (Linn), James King and The Lonewolves (Swamplands), Paul Quinn (Swamplands), Memphis (Swamplands) and Kick Reaction (Precious). In addition, it also listed Glasgow bands who would go on to become signed to major labels (or their subsidiaries) and these included Strangers and Brothers (Magnet), The Painted Word (RCA), and Talking Drums (London). However, the article was by no means comprehensive and neglected Hue & Cry. They are a good example of a band that released their first single on a Glasgow-based label, *Here Comes Everybody* on Stampede (Stamp 2) in 1985, and then moved on to sign to a subsidiary of a major record label (Circa).

In contrast to the Glasgow bands signed to major labels, Stephen McRobbie of The Pastels argues that there were a different grouping of bands that took direct inspiration from the DIY ethos of the early 1980s:

Postcard and Orange Juice was inspiring for us; the bands in our situation, like Strawberry Switchblade, the Pastels, Primal Scream and the Jesus and the Mary Chain, could exist because of them, but really, in a way we made our own scene rather than joining in with one [. . .] A lot of the bands in Glasgow in the Eighties were incredibly careerist, stampeding over each other to get to the treasure chest . . . and although Orange Juice had a high level of ambition, they seemed like something else. (quoted in King, 2012: 86)

## C86 and Honey at The Core

Two quite separate and disparate compilation cassette tapes released in 1986 highlight the differences of approach by Glasgow musicians to popular music production alluded to by McRobbie. The first was a tape with the title *C86*, given away with the *NME*.<sup>65</sup> In all, the tape featured 22 different independent bands/artists, four of which were from Glasgow: Primal Scream, The Soup Dragons, Close Lobsters and The Pastels (it also featured a track from Edinburgh band The Shop Assistants). Since its release the tape has become synonymous with a style or genre of music, which can be considered akin to the aforementioned shambolic/shoe-gazing style of independent popular music. This is not to imply that all the bands featured on the tape had the same sound:

Although not all the bands featured on the compilation were stylistically similar, enough of them shared the same shambolic sound for C86 to quickly become identified as a particular genre, a movement, in independent rock. That sound is arguably twee, and definitively jangly. Although many twee pop groups do grow from C86, the genre is, strictly speaking, jangle pop. (Dorrell, 2006)<sup>66</sup>

However, as a result of the disproportionately large number of Glasgow bands being present on the tape, it is a style of popular music closely associated with the city. Hamilton Harvey (2005: 155) clearly attributes this strong association to the work of The Pastels. He argues that their ‘lo-fi’ style of music:

<sup>65</sup> The same newspaper had given away a similar compilation tape in 1981, titled C81.

<sup>66</sup> <http://mockingmusic.blogspot.com/2006/03/nme-c86-genre-movement-or-nonsense.html>.

marked a renewed relationship with American music, this time mixing echoes of much Scottish music and art, being used as a means of grasping an honesty and directness that often gets lost in more ‘sophisticated’ delivery.

In considerable contrast, the other significant compilation tape released in 1986 was called *Honey at the Core*. This was a cassette tape given away with a fanzine (of the same name) and was produced and released by John Williamson.<sup>67</sup> According to Williamson, in personal interview, the tape sold a ‘fairly colossal number of copies . . . in the thousands certainly, rather than in the hundred or so, that I’d expected to sell’ (2009). The tape was named after a song by the aforementioned Glasgow band Friends Again and featured songs by a selection of (what were considered at the time) up-and-coming Scottish music makers (plus a recording of a monologue by comedian Craig Ferguson, in his Bing Hitler persona). Of the fifteen tracks featured, the vast majority are from Glasgow-based bands, including Deacon Blue, Hue and Cry, Wet Wet Wet, The Bluebells, The Big Dish, and Kevin McDermott. Whilst some of these music makers had released independent singles before their inclusion on this tape, none of them would be considered in the ‘shambling’ style of music that was so strongly associated with the *NME*’s *C86* release. In fact it is difficult to categorise the bands on *Honey at the Core* as representing one style or genre of music, but clearly (for the most part) they represented a more ‘sophisticated’ style of delivery. Andrea Miller, in a review of *Honey at the Core* for the *NME*, compares the two tapes and in so doing illustrates that even at the time this bifurcation in Glasgow’s popular music was apparent:

This is the ’86 school of “most likely to”, with a couple of bigger bands thrown in to leaven the obscurity. As far as what is going on in the city is concerned, “Honey At The Core” has chosen only the bands who take a particular pride in their songwriting and whose smooth pop sensibilities see them lusting after the coffers of major record companies . . . Those expecting a Glasgow tape to be all Soup Dragons and BMX Bandits, Close Lobsters and second rate Mary Chain will be disappointed. (Miller, 1986b)

This notion of a bifurcation in Glasgow’s popular music, alongside the ambiguity of terms such as ‘independent’ and ‘lo-fi’, highlights the fact that genre is a problematic construct.<sup>68</sup>

In contrast to the indie bands featured on the *C86* tape, and similar in style to the bands featured on *Honey at the Core*, in 1986, Love and Money also released their first album,

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<sup>67</sup> John Williamson, following the release of the tape, worked as a local music journalist and then went on to manage a venue and bands (Bis and Belle and Sebastian), and has also a career as an academic.

<sup>68</sup> For a discussion and definition of the indie genre see Chapter 1.



*All You Need Is . . .* (MERH 89) and Hipsway released their eponymous titled album (MERH 85). Both bands were strongly influenced by American soul music and Brian Hogg (1993: 260) notes this time as a period ‘wherein several Glasgow groups assiduously courted the city’s soul traditions, albeit with original material’. The fact that a number of the bands from *Honey at the Core* went on to release material on major labels illustrates the extent to which Glasgow groups were attracting interest from the major record companies. Tam Coyle, a local DJ and promoter, strongly associated the stylist leanings of certain Glasgow bands with their commercial appeal:

I think there was between fifteen and eighteen bands that got signed in 85/86/87. I’m talking Wet Wet Wet, Hipsway, Love and Money, Texas, Del Amitri, Kevin McDermott, Big Dish, Blue Nile, etc., etc. There was hundreds, and you felt that Glasgow was the place to be. Ok, maybe it was the white soul boys and that wasn’t a thing I was particularly musically in love with, but you did feel all these A&R guys going in and out of Glasgow – going into Rock Garden and Maestros and Hurricanes – there was always a band sitting with an A&R guy. Glasgow was the place to be and, you know, Glasgow was the Seattle before Seattle was Seattle or Manchester was Manchester. (personal interview, 2009)

Nick Low (personal interview, 2011) also clearly viewed this period in the same way when he described how the major record labels looked to Glasgow: ‘I mean they were coming up, I mean if you think about it, the three first bands that I stumbled across, all got major record deals within a couple of years’. Around the same time as running the label and managing Kevin McDermott, Low also ran a cassette duplicating company based in a rehearsal/recording studio, called Centre City Sound. Low’s experience in this studio is discussed further in the final section of this chapter, highlighting both the motives and lack of resources of the musicians using Centre City Sound.

One musician who was better placed than a lot of the music makers from Glasgow at that time was Grahame Skinner. He had been the vocalist in an incarnation of The Jazzateers and had then formed a band called The White Savages. Skinner described the connections he had made whilst playing in both bands, but more importantly he detailed the approach that his next band, Hipsway, was to take:

we were really passionate about our music but we had a kind of plan . . . ‘let’s get a manager, let’s get . . .’ We could see all these other bands being successful and we weren’t anywhere near the end of that – we were right in the middle of it – we saw Orange Juice, Aztec Camera being successful – Bluebells . . . So we were seeing that and we were ‘we want a bit of that – we want to go to America’. We weren’t thinking about being rich, we were

thinking about being in a band and going to exciting places . . .  
(personal interview, 2010)

They had Gerry McElhone (former Altered Images' manager) manage them and according to Skinner they basically locked themselves 'in a room and rehearsed, till we got half decent and then we demoed'.<sup>69</sup> For Skinner there was no need for his new band to take the independent approach and release a single on its own. His plan involved attracting major label attention through producing demo tapes, and he explains that in order to attract attention from the A&R personnel the band just 'demoed a couple of tunes and they [the record company A&R personnel] got asked along to meet us - we knew just to do . . . you only want to do two – that's enough - people haven't got time to listen to like six' (ibid).

Both Skinner and Low's remarks regarding the production process highlight the difficulty of discussing genre and musical styles principally in textual terms. While it is useful to view the musical texts that were reproduced on *C86* and *Honey at the Core* in terms of their shared attributes, Jason Toynbee (2000:103) considers that 'genre is an elusive term, being neither a textual essence nor a comprehensive code'. For him, a better approach is to borrow Steve Neale's notion that genre is a social process where 'style cannot be the exclusive domain of musicians. Rather it will tend to be contested, becoming the subject of struggles for definition across the continuum from production to consumption' (ibid). Toynbee takes this notion further when he argues that genres of music represent communities, which find identity in particular styles. In doing so he also reflects Simon Frith's view (1996a: 90) that:

it is through its generic organization that music offers people, even so-called passive-at-home listeners, access to a social world, a part in some sort of social narrative, offers them what Finnegan calls "social pathways." In aesthetic terms, musical sounds, ideologies and activities, musical texts and their implied contexts, cannot be separated. The pleasures popular music offers us, the values it carries (and I include classical music as popular here), have to be related to the stories it tells about us in our genre identities.

Matthew Bannister (2006: 138) offers the example of bands from the *C86* era being fascinated with the 1960s and that 'such regression was also present in the style and apparel of some scenes'. Pointing out that the favourite garment was the anorak he quotes Stephen Pastel in Cavanagh (2000) describing how the 'anorak was a style statement . . . It

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<sup>69</sup> To 'demo a song' was to record one to three of songs, duplicate these songs on to a cassette tape, which would then allow a record company representative (most likely from the A&R department) to assess the group's commercial potential.

was saying: “we’ve got to get back. Closer to the start of things. Being children” (ibid). This then was one reaction, from the generation of music makers who came after (and were thus slightly younger than those of) the Postcard and Cuba Libre generation, to the early 1980s recession.

In contrast, James Grant (of Love and Money), who had been playing and performing since 1979, argues that ‘there was a reaction to the Postcard and post-Postcard ‘jingle-jangle’. We thought, “Let’s turn it around and do something upfront and proud”’ (quoted in Hogg 1993: 257). Pat Kane (of the band Hue and Cry) echoes this sentiment when speaking of having come through the recession:

I’m often asked in London “Why all the ‘sincere soul’ (in Scotland) and no art rock?” and I think it’s something to do with the *zeitgeist* of Scottish culture in the mid-Eighties. People are now feeling quite happy about being Scottish whereas previously they might have been regarded as inarticulate, and that went for literature as well as music. Also, money was coming up here and staying in Scotland. My theory of Scottish soul is that it’s urban folk music. And soulfulness is speaking truly about yourself and the world, and that’s also a Scottish thing. (quoted in Wilkie 1991: 144)

However, it would be misleading to assume that the lo-fi, shambling, indie approach of such bands as The Pastels was totally incongruous with that of soul orientated, relatively polished bands such as Hipsway or Love and Money. Brain Hogg (1993: 283) is also of this view too when he states ‘it is over simplistic to view 80s Glasgow pop in terms of polarisation’. To illustrate the point he provides the example of The Pastels’ guitarist, Brian Superstar, sharing a flat with Elliot Davies (who managed Wet Wet Wet).<sup>70</sup> In a similar way Grahame Skinner (2010) pointed to the shared influences of earlier bands such as Orange Juice and the do-it-yourself ethos of the Postcard label. He felt that ‘it was the Postcard scene that was the catalyst for me because there wasn’t really any bands before that from Glasgow’.

## The End of the Eighties

The two compilation cassette tapes aside, this division between the ‘shambling’ and the ‘soulful’ was also evident in several other independent releases in 1986. By this year Stephen McRobbie had established his own label (alongside David Keegan and Sandy

<sup>70</sup> Though it is difficult to establish the strength of the connection between the two flat mates, if it represented a ‘weak tie’ (in network theory terms) then this would have facilitated the development of the music scene. See page 119 for further discussion.

McLean) titled 53<sup>rd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> and among its first releases were two singles by a Bellshill<sup>71</sup> group the BMX Bandits. In May they released *Sad/E102* (AGARR 003) and in December they released *What a Wonderful World/The Day Before Tomorrow* (AGARR 006). Hogg describes the first single as having an ‘aural amateurism’ (1993: 306) which was in keeping with The Pastels’ own ethos. In between these two releases The Close Lobsters, following their inclusion on the *C86* tape, released *Going To Heaven To See If It Rains (Blaze 15)* on Fire Records.<sup>72</sup> In contrast Hue and Cry released the aforementioned soul orientated *Here Comes Everybody/From First to Last/The Success of Monetarism* (Stamp 2) and Kevin McDermott released *Suffocation Blues* (NO121).

In 1987 and 1988 independent releases again increased in number, but by this time the division was not so evident as being between the lo-fi/amateurish and the sophisticated/soulful. Rather it was between the former and a number of Glasgow-based bands who favoured a more traditional ‘heavy rock/heavy guitar’ sound. These bands included The Crows (who released six singles on a variety of labels between 1986 and 1988), Lyin’ Rampant and Glasgow (who released an album and several singles on their own 041 label). The last two bands (along with Heavy Pettin’, who were signed to the Polydor record label) are associated with the New Wave of British Heavy Metal.<sup>73</sup> They represent a style of music that, throughout the Eighties, remained popular within Glasgow but that also had remained popular in the UK as a whole (given the popularity of bands such as Def Leppard and Judas Priest at this time).<sup>74</sup> Calum McMillan argued that Glasgow musicians have a disposition towards loud and technically versatile guitar playing:

I think the Scottish outlook or the Scottish classical disposition is always quite good for heavy metal – that smiling while you are getting punched in the face sort of attitude . . . is extremely useful for the heavy metal mentality. But also I think there’s a lot of people here that really like playing loud and fast and playing guitar. There seems to be a very, very, good tradition of people loving good guitar playing in Glasgow and it’s hard to get better than a lot of heavy metal players or folk players. People love a good guitar player in Glasgow. (personal interview, 2011)

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<sup>71</sup> Bellshill is in Lanarkshire, ten miles outside Glasgow.

<sup>72</sup> The Close Lobsters were from Paisley but were active within the city in terms of rehearsing and performing.

<sup>73</sup> Both Glasgow and Heavy Pettin’ released single on the Neat record label, which the music press equates with the term New Wave of British Heavy Metal.

<sup>74</sup> For further information on Glasgow’s heavy metal bands see Fields (2009).

Paul Morley, writing in 1980, as quoted above, viewed a band like Restricted Code as a move away from 'rock' (as it had been a dominant style within 1970s' popular music) to 'pop'. In the sense of being the 'other' to the lo-fi (less technically proficient) music being produced by bands such as The Pastels, Glasgow's heavy metal bands provided another alternative to local music fans seeking loud and fast guitar playing. Nevertheless, the 53<sup>rd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> label was the single most productive label over these two years, continuing to release singles by the BMX Bandits, and then by other related Bellshill groups such as the Vaselines, Groovy Little Numbers and The Boy Hairdressers (who became Teenage Fanclub).

Looking finally to 1989, Appendix 2 notes only three entries, highlighting a decline in independent releases from Glasgow bands. One reason for this decline was the demise of a number of independent record companies, such as Red Rhino in 1989, pre-empting the collapse of the distribution network for independent record labels known as the Cartel.<sup>75</sup> Tommy Cherry from The Bachelor Pad recounts how a third single from the band never got released: 'Country Pancake was recorded in 1989 and was meant to be our third single for Mike Stout's WarholaSound. This never happened due to the collapse of the independent Cartel distribution'.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, Frances McKee also recounted the difficulties The Vaselines faced around the same time: 'we recorded the album and then the whole cartel of independent music just went under. So it looked like we had really knocked our guts off to record this album and it wasn't going to come out. It wasn't even ever to see the light of day. And that was a real blow to us actually' (personal interview, 2011).

If 1989 represented a nadir for independent releases, affecting the creative activities of those music makers from Glasgow who were taking a more lo-fi (or 'indie') approach to music making, then it is also important to point out that the more mainstream local music makers, who had courted the major record labels for a recording contract, were not necessarily fairing any better. Though there continued to be instances of Glasgow-based bands being signed to major labels, such as Texas (who released their debut album *Southside* [838 171-2] on the Mercury label in 1989), there was a relative decline in this type of activity. Nick Low (label owner, manager, and radio producer) pointed out that 'I know that there was over an eighteen-month period, there were nineteen Scottish bands

<sup>75</sup> The Cartel was made up of seven separate distributors including Rough Trade and Fast Forward Communications (based in Edinburgh). For further information see Young (2006).

<sup>76</sup> Quoted in interview at <http://www.cloudberryrecords.com/blog/?p=165>.

dropped from major record labels in the later eighties'. David Scott (whose own band Hearts and Minds was dropped by CBS before being able to release any material) considered that the major record labels in the mid 1980s were too indiscriminate in their approach to signing Glasgow based bands. He felt that bands were being offered record contracts simply on the basis that they were from the city and that:

For every ten that you sign, you're probably going to drop eight. That did happen in Glasgow, with groups like the Wild River Apples, and tons and tons of others. They were really good groups, but none of them were anywhere near ready for the platform. Personally, from my own perspective, Hearts and Minds really were ready for it, and really did have great songs. I think the reason that we didn't manage to get over the cliff were different reasons. Hopefully, the fact I have gone on to have some kind of a career. That's one thing that does bother me about that period – the fact that I ended up in the sausage machine. We got signed up and then dumped.  
(personal interview, 2012)

The repercussions for Glasgow's music scene, of both the collapse of the Cartel and the decline in major label interest/finance are discussed in the next chapter. However, before moving on to look at other components of this music scene, it is worth noting here another remark that Nick Low made comparing the Bellshill groups with the other groups seeking major record deals:

I think the Bellshill scene, which might not come in under Glasgow, but it was one of the first scenes where many musicians all helped each other, played in each others records and were supportive to each other and they all benefitted being part of the Bellshill scene. I think the Glasgow scene was far more fragmented and competitive and people weren't helping each other, you know, they'd say, "Fucks sake, they're on Top of the Pops, how did they manage that? They're shite." (personal interview, 2011)

These comments mirror Stephen McRobbie's quoted in King (2012), as noted above, and highlight the differences between the competitive natures of many of the more mainstream bands seeking major record label contracts and the newer bands to the scene (who were taking a more indie approach to music making in the mid-1980s). The role of social support for the newer bands prevailing into the 1990s (and in some cases beyond) is a notion that is examined in Chapter 6.

## Venues

In the early part of the 1980s the locus of live performance of popular music in Glasgow continued to be public houses. A number of the venues operating in 1979, discussed in

Chapter 4, carried on in this period to promote local bands and music makers playing original material. For example, H2O<sup>77</sup> in the *NME*'s Gig Guide (20 September 1980: 45-46) are advertised as playing both the aforementioned Burns Howff and Doune Castle. However, as the Mars Bar (in Howard Street) had provided both a performance and social meeting space for local musicians, with its demise in the early 1980s other public houses took over this function. Dan McCahon (who worked at Graffiti record shop) described how the Rock Garden (in Queen Street) 'became a bit of a place where a lot of musicians hung about and worked behind the bar and stuff' (personal interview, 2009). Grahame Skinner (lead singer with Hipsway) was one of those musicians who worked behind the bar, also noted that the Rock Garden was 'kind of the centre of it really' (2010). Here he would meet members of other bands, such as Altered Images and The Bluebells. For Skinner the notion of a Glasgow music scene is closely linked to the ability to meet other musicians in a social setting. He described a Friday night ritual (similar to the Saturday day time record shop ritual of the late 1970s) where 'it was a bit of a trawl . . . but you would pretty normally start in the Rock Garden, and then maybe stop off in the Rogano, and then maybe into Hurricanes and Rico's, and then end up in Maestros'. All of these pubs were meeting places for local musicians, but as noted, the Rock Garden was a point of centrality. The notion of the Rock Garden as being a 'hub' for the city's music scene in the early 1980s is also borne out by a passage from the biography of the Blue Nile, *Nileism The Strange Course of the Blue Nile*. Here, Allan Brown (2010: 3) notes that

The place was fairly low on charm, its distinguishing feature being the walls covered in rock posters and auction-house Americans. Before long, the bar would be populated by young men in bleached Levi 501s, who sported wallet chains and Arrow checked shirts, denim jackets with every button done up, streaked hair razored at the sides. Working behind the Rock Garden's bar at the time was one Paul Joseph Moore, an undergraduate reading electronics at the University of Glasgow. During one shift Moore fell into conversation with one of the many groups then forming in the city; perhaps Set the Tone (urban dance) or Friends Again (jangling pop), The Dreamboys (late punk) or The Jazzateers (Bowie-esque funk). During the discussion the aspiring musician would say something fateful: 'I'm in a band,' he said to Moore, then paused ' . . . as you probably know'.

The significance of the Rock Garden for the local music scene is not merely a product of nostalgic construction. By 1981, in a review of Glasgow and Edinburgh's music scenes, the *NME* clearly situates the pub as a place for the young and trendy 'to eat and be seen in'

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<sup>77</sup> H2O released a single on their own label in 1981, *Hollywood Dream/Children* (PARA 2) but later signed to RCA and had a Top 20 hit in 1983 with their single, *Dream to Sleep/Born to Win* (RCA 330).

(McNeil, 1981). As indicated in Skinner's comments, this is not to imply that the Rock Garden was alone in providing a focus for the young music makers of the day. In the latter part of the decade The Fixx was also considered a significant venue to be seen and to perform in. David Fagan (2010), who was a member of The Wild River Apples, considered that 'the venue which was most significant for us in the run up to being signed by Chrysalis was The Fixx on Miller Street, which at the time was quite a vibrant live music performance for up-and-coming Glasgow bands'.<sup>78</sup> John Smillie (musician and sound engineer) also echoed the significance of the venue when he described how 'you had to play The Fixx' (personal interview, 2009). Grahame Skinner, in addition, noted that 'The Fixx – that was a place that we went to quite a lot as well – and you'd get live music performances in there – not that often, but you'd get like The Primevals or something like that'.

In previous decades the discourse surrounding Glasgow's public houses was usually negative and one that reinforced the 'hard man' and 'No Mean City' stereotypes of Glasgow culture (Checkland, 1981 and Damer, 1990). The subtle change in public and private discourse regarding public houses such as The Fixx and the Rock Garden is significant in a number of ways, and reflects both the structural changes that were taking place within Glasgow (on a macro level) and within its popular music scene (on a micro level). As noted below, in the section on public policy, in the early 1980s Glasgow began to counter the effects of de-industrialisation (which had been felt UK wide) through developing its service and consumption sectors, and fostering a move away from being a centre of industry to a centre of consumption. This move was facilitated by changes in licensing regulations that impacted on Glasgow public houses in two ways. Firstly, as Damer (1990: 200) notes, there was a strong patriarchal element to a lot of Glasgow public houses and even 'in the early 1970s it was possible to go into half a dozen public houses in some neighbourhoods before finding one which would admit a woman'. With public houses also closing at 10 o'clock in the 1970s it meant that 'on Fridays, paynight, many working men would head straight into the pub and reel out steaming at 10 o'clock. There can be no doubt that horrific domestic violence was the result' (ibid: 200-201). As far as Damer is concerned, he views 'the change in the licensing laws to permit all-day opening and late closing has made Glasgow public houses more civilised places in which to drink' (ibid: 201).

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<sup>78</sup> Quoted at <http://davidfagan.co.uk/2010/02/a-few-short-memories-of-tuts/>.



The Licensing (Scotland) Act of 1976 provided for this liberalisation of pub opening hours and in 1987 the city council describes how this legislation was responsible for improvements in the city's public houses. Although there is no figure available for the number of public houses within the city centre area for that year, the Council's Local Plan Draft Statement from 1987 notes that 'there has been a transformation in the quality of public houses and restaurants' (1987: 3.59). Unlike earlier in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, Glasgow pubs were no longer purely sites of patriarchal recreational drinking, catering for the industrial working masses. Rather, their function had expanded into a wider role also catering for the new cultural workers through the advent of the 'style' bar where being 'seen' where you drank was as important as 'how much' you drank. A musician such as Grahame Skinner would drink in pubs where he knew he would meet other musicians.<sup>79</sup> The very fact that members of locally well-known bands such as The Bluebells or Altered Images would be seen drinking in certain pubs would attract other aspiring local musicians. In order to attract the 'right' clientele and as a consequence of increased competition due to an increase in their number, city centre pubs such as the Rock Garden and The Fixx (amongst others) would act as a live venue for local bands and musicians playing original material. The actor, Peter Capaldi recalled recruiting Craig Ferguson at such a live music performance: 'We recruited Craig at the Rock Garden at Queen Street. I made a stage announcement saying we were looking for a drummer. It was basically a case of if you had your own kit, you were in' (quoted in Sunday Mail, 2011).<sup>80</sup>

The second change in licensing regulations had less of an immediate impact on Glasgow's public houses. As noted above, the city's Licensing Board changed its policy to allow those public houses that had a separate room from the main bar to charge admission for live entertainment. The actual legislation that allowed for this change was the Civic Government Scotland (1982) Act. However, for Scotland as a whole, Williamson *et al.* consider that this Act 'made it increasingly difficult – depending on local interpretations – for public houses to charge on the door for admission to see live entertainment. In many instances this meant that publicans would no longer pay the fees live bands wanted' (2003: 27). In terms of Glasgow's pubs, such as The Fixx and the Rock Garden, this legislative change had little impact as they continued to provide live entertainment for free (with the intention of recouping the band or musicians' fees from takings at the bar). Nevertheless, by the end of the 1980s some pubs, such as The Buck (before it changed name to King

<sup>79</sup> In the same interview Skinner notes that the pubs that were 'designated' as places where local musicians met changed over time.

<sup>80</sup> Quoted at <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Dream%27s+over+for+Pete+the+punk.-a0255750277>.

Tut's) and The Videodrome (York Street), had made use of this change and were able to charge door entry.

## Splash One

A more significant change for Glasgow's popular music scene, and one also noted by the City Council's 1987 Local Plan, was the 'very considerable expansion in discotheques, with approximately twenty within the Central Area alone' (1987: 3.62). The previous chapter has already noted that a number of Glasgow discotheques or night clubs were promoting locally produced live popular music alongside their regular dance nights in the late 1970s. Such venues were able to charge door entry fees as they had a license to remain open after public houses had closed. It is interesting to note then that the *NME* (from 18 October 1980) describes how local band Endgames, 'are playing the second trial night at Gigi's, an innovatory (for Glasgow) experiment in rock disco. Audience remarks concern, almost exclusively, the band's clothes and appearance' (Gibson, 1980: 58). While Glasgow discotheques had been used for live performance in the past, they had usually occurred on an *ad hoc* basis, where either the band or a promoter hired a venue for a night. This live music performance, at Gigi's (on West George Street) was one of a regular Sunday night series, taking place in October and November of 1980.

The venue continued to host live musical performance through the early and mid 1980s. In 1985 through to 1986 the nightclub was used for a series of live performances by both local bands and bands from outside Glasgow (and on occasion from outside the UK). These live music performances were organised by a group of people including Bobby Gillespie, and again highlights the division that was taking place between Glasgow-based bands with a more sophisticated style and those taking a more aesthetically 'indie' approach. Both Primal Scream and The Soup Dragons performed there on the 14 July 1985 and in 1986 The Pastels and The BMX Bandits played there on 15 June (Gatolepardo, 2006). Chris Davidson (personal interview, 2009) described how he would DJ at some of these nights, alongside Stephen McRobbie from The Pastels. Echoing the above comments by Nick Low and McRobbie, Davidson considered that the Splash One events were a good example of the way in which, by the mid 1980s, Glasgow's popular music makers had become less competitive and more socially connected compared to the period of the late 1970s. He argued that:

The whole Glasgow thing was like a kind of fraternity – there were friendships between the groups and there was a link and one led you to another, to another

and then it turned out people in the Shop Assistants were pals with the Soup Dragons, who were pals with The Pastels, who were pals with Mary Chain – there's like links everywhere.

In a similar way, John Williamson (personal interview, 2009) also highlighted the Splash One events as an important indicator of the way in which Glasgow's popular music scene had developed. He considered that 'the whole kind of Splash One scene . . . and again people like Bobby Gillespie and Stephen Pastel have been kind of involved in a lot of good things . . . as a kind of catalyst . . . whether it was not necessarily always in their own music but in the kind of wider sense'. In support of this, Tommy Cherry (of The Bachelor Pad and The Oysters), also stressed the importance of these events:

I first heard The Jesus & Mary Chain and I went to a new club in Glasgow run by Bobby G called Splash One Happening...I instantly left the band I was in (The Oysters) and recorded some demos with Martin and also Graham [. . .] Splash One was amazing...the first time I walked through their doors I heard Treason by The Teardrop Explodes. I felt I had come home at last...every record they played was fantastic. It was a scene. Within a year every major town in the UK had a copy of Splash.<sup>81</sup>

The venue in West George Street was one of several discotheques or nightclubs that had also diversified into live music performance in the 1980s. Nick Low (personal interview, 2011) described promoting live music performances at two nightclubs on Sauchiehall Street – The Venue and The Mayfair - for bands including Del Amitri and The Suede Crocodiles. However, he also went on to promote live music performances by more widely known bands, including The Fall and New Order. He is quite clear about his financial motivations for doing so: 'because when you've been kicked out of university there's nothing else to do. I wasn't qualified for anything and I didn't fancy getting a real job'. However, live music promotion was not something he continued to do, as he argued that 'you need to promote ten concerts and know that you'd lose money on seven of them and hope you made a lot of money on three of them, and I was signing on and I just couldn't do that' (ibid).

Low also put on live music performances at another nightclub venue in Sauchiehall Street: Tiffany's. Sarah Lowndes (2010: 73) notes this venue as being particularly important for its size: 'it was the venue of choice for both local bands like Simple Minds and English acts like Adam Ant and Culture Club'. In her view the closure of Tiffany's in 1984 left Glasgow without a medium-sized venue for bands that were not able to draw a large

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<sup>81</sup> Quoted at <http://www.cloudberryrecords.com/blog/?p=165>.

enough audience to fill The Apollo. As a result Lowndes argues, quoting Andrea Miller writing in *The List* magazine, that it was ‘Simple Minds, starved of their regular and much-loved Tiffany’s who had the bright idea of opening up the long since closed former haunt of Bible John [Barrowlands Ballroom], especially to shoot a video’ (ibid.). Though The Barrowlands (like The Apollo theatre before it), with its nineteen hundred capacity, acts as a venue largely for touring bands from outside Glasgow, it has developed symbolic capital for local Glasgow music makers and associates. Chris Davidson described seeing live music performances in neighbouring Edinburgh and noted ‘I’ve seen lot and lots of bands there but nothing compares to Glasgow – your Barrowlands or King Tut’s’. Tam Coyle (personal interview, 2009), also reaffirmed this view and described how the city has developed a reputation for having enthusiastic audiences: ‘Going back to the days of - famously – Des O’Connor and Mike and Bernie Winters getting slaughtered at the old Alhambra onwards – you know Glaswegians either love or hate you and they want a bang for a their buck. If they’re out enjoying themselves I think that rubs off on bands’. Locally, the Barrowlands has built on this reputation and become an object of aspiration for music makers. Mike Baillie from Baillie and The Fault thinks that every ‘young musician in Glasgow, probably even the whole of Scotland, dreams of playing the Barrowlands. From an early age I watched many of my ‘heroes’ throw it down on that stage – the stars on the ceiling, the sticky, plastic cup covered floor, but most importantly the incredible atmosphere, alive with an indescribable warmth’ (2009).<sup>82</sup>

As Coyle’s quote indicates, there is a long established notion amongst musical entertainers that Glasgow audiences (and venues) are particularly receptive to live musical performance. This was further engendered by the reputation of The Apollo theatre through the 1970s. However, while The Apollo hosted performances by many of the touring ‘rock’ acts of the day (and the occasional new wave or punk act, such as The Clash) it rarely provided an opportunity for local up-and-coming bands. In part, this was because an act booked to perform at the venue would usually tour with their own support act and the requirement for a second opening act (third on the bill) was infrequent. In addition, as noted in the previous chapter, Glasgow’s popular music scene was relatively small in The Apollo’s heyday and there was not a pool of local bands, playing original material, geared to playing a seated venue its size. In contrast, the Barrowlands, a smaller, standing only venue, hosted performances from both internationally known acts and from bands based

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<sup>82</sup> Quoted at <http://www.glasgow-barrowland.com/press/undertheradar.htm>.

within the UK, throughout the 1980s.<sup>83</sup> Unlike The Apollo, the Barrowlands both embodied the notion of a renowned Glasgow venue and a place where local bands could aspire to play. While in 1980 one critic could describe Glasgow as having ‘an appalling shortage of suitable venues’ (Gibson, 1980), a number of venues with similar reputations to the Barrowlands would open over the decades that followed.

## Student Unions

In the 1980s, alongside pubs and nightclubs, the other type of venue that hosted live performances by local music makers, playing original material, was the student union. At that time Glasgow had two universities: the University of Strathclyde (situated near to the city centre) and the University of Glasgow (situated within the west-end of the city). In addition, there was also Glasgow College of Technology (situated to the north of the centre), Glasgow School of Art and The Queen’s College (again situated in the west-end of the city).<sup>84</sup> That is not to imply that all the student unions associated with these universities had similar policies to promoting local live music performance (or indeed any live music performance). Policies depended to a great extent on the individuals who had been elected or paid to be the Entertainments’ Convenor (or equivalent post). In the 1980s student unions that were most active in promoting local music were The Queen Margaret’s Students’ Union (University of Glasgow), Strathclyde University Students’ Union, Glasgow School of Art’s Students’ Union and Glasgow College of Technology’s Students’ Union. Examples of local bands playing these unions include H20 and Frenchways, separately, at Strathclyde’s Union in November of 1980, the Fun 4 at Queen Margaret’s Union (supporting Sham 69) in November of 1980 (see Page 92), and Edith and The Ladies at the College of Technology’s union in November of 1984.

The role of such student unions for the city’s music scene is important because, unlike some of the other live performance opportunities within Glasgow, these venues were able to provide a ready-made student audience (particularly on weekend nights within the universities’ term times) allowing bands the experience of playing in front of strangers and not just friends, or their usual audience. Such experiences gave a band the opportunity to develop their stage craft and hone their material. In addition student unions also served the local music scene through providing local music fans with another venue where they could attend performances from local and touring acts alike - the only requirement being that you

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<sup>83</sup> For exact dates see the venues website: <http://www.glasgow-barrowland.com/ballroom.htm>.

<sup>84</sup> The two colleges merged in 1993 to become Glasgow Caledonian University.

had either to be a student or be ‘signed-in’ by one. Tam Coyle recounted how, before he became involved in the scene himself, he would attend performances at the unions:

At the time in Glasgow you went to the QM or Strathclyde University both of which were students only and guests. So, me like everybody else in my generation can remember many times going up to Strathclyde and standing outside for hours “going to sign me in Mr, going to sign me in please?” Maybe you'd stand there an hour in the pouring rain or whatever before some student would eventually take pity on you and get you signed in. So, in the early days I can certainly remember seeing the likes of U2 with Altered Images up there. (personal interview, 2009)

Student unions also interacted with the local music scene in a further way, and one that reflected the multifarious nature of the different music scene components in the 1980s. Dave Scott, who was the Entertainments Convenor at Strathclyde University’s student union in the early 1980s also acted as a manager for a number of local bands. James Grant from Friends Again (and later Love and Money) recalls in Hogg’s *The History of Scottish Rock and Pop* that the band were able to get a publishing deal after they recorded two songs which ‘Dave Scott, the ENTS convenor at Strathclyde University, took to CBS’ (1993: 257).

The opening of a new venue dedicated to live musical performance also highlighted the 1980s trend towards Glasgow gaining a diversity of popular music venues. Night Moves (at 92 Sauchiehall Street) opened in 1981 and advertised itself as a ‘rock club’. It aimed to provide regular performances every Thursday and Friday and, initially as a club, if one became a member you would get into the Thursday night performance for free and on a Friday for a concessionary price.<sup>85</sup> It also provided for a variety of other club nights and was available for hire and private functions. Elliot Davis is an example of a 1980s’ entrepreneur who made use of this new venue, promoting a night called the ‘Wednesday Club’, which also featured live music.<sup>86</sup> In *Blue Suede Brogans* Davis describes how he would also use the club to find new talent that he could manage:

After a while I stopped running the club but it had been the intention to look for more new talent in Glasgow and three or four acts subsequently got record deals, the most successful of whom were WET WET WET. My flatmate, Robert King from Clydebank, had had a really awful tape of this band who I thought had a mediocre singer and pretty average songs! However, I decided to

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<sup>85</sup> An exact date of when the club opened, or when it changed name to Rooftops is not available, but the latter would have been around 1985.

<sup>86</sup> Elliot Davis has managed a variety of Glasgow based bands including The Wake, Sunset Gun and Wet Wet Wet. He also ran the Precious record label.

put them on and they came along and were fine . . . 17 years old.  
(quoted in Wilkie, 1991: 164)

Finally, in terms of opportunities for live popular music performance, and as noted in the previous chapter, there was also The Kelvingrove Rock Festival. This was a free festival held annually over one weekend in May, running from 1977 to 1986. In 1980, when the festival was still only held on a Sunday, the *NME* (5 April) noted that this it would feature Bite the Bullet, The Cuban Heels, The Henry Gorman Band, Kim Beacon and The Detonators, Liberty Bodice and Jim Wilkie with The Mafia. The festival was significant for two reasons. First, the article notes that it attracted an audience of around 7000 people and was therefore significant in bolstering the legitimacy of bands playing original material (rather than the ‘pub rock’ which had been prevalent in Glasgow in the 1970s). John Smillie (personal interview, 2009) considered it personally significant when he recollected ‘for me, in the early days, the Kelvingrove bandstand events and political rallies which finished up there were really important . . . that’s what partly made me want to be in a band – taken along to them - they were always well attended’. Secondly, the festivals were also significant because they were sponsored by Radio Clyde and were a signifier of the station’s commitment to supporting the growing popular music scene within Glasgow.<sup>87</sup>

## Individuals

Previous sections have made reference to the activities of various individuals (most specifically in the role of manager/promoter), and this section considers the significance of such individuals for the development of Glasgow’s music scene. This thesis is interested in network theory’s notion of individuals that connect other individuals with others (connectors) and how these ideas can be applied to the analysis of a music scene in order to illustrate the ways in which the scene has developed. Thus, in Chapter 4 a discussion of the Glasgow-based bands and music makers who were active in terms of producing original self-penned music in the late 1970s emphasised the connections between these relatively small groups of individuals. This present chapter has also noted some connections between such music makers active in Glasgow in the 1980s, and connections is a major theme of the next chapter concerning Glasgow in the 1990s. In addition, Chapter 7, which discusses Glasgow’s music scene from the perspective of 2009, examines the notion of ‘elite’ individuals within the Glasgow’s scene and how this concept also illuminates an understanding of how the city’s music scene has developed. Returning to

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<sup>87</sup> The support of local and national radio stations is considered more fully in the section on Media.

the 1980s, this section provides a few examples of individuals who have had an influence on other scene participants principally through providing forms of patronage.

Before proceeding it is important to note that within the culture of production perspective the importance of individuals is downplayed relative to structural arrangements. Peterson (1997: 8) argues that it is important to look for such arrangements ‘within which innovators work and to examine how they change structures rather than to look for the roots of innovation in the rare genius of a few select people’. While a rejection of the ‘great man theory’ of history, which privileges individual agency as the main causal factor of macro-societal changes (through for example the intervention of certain charismatic figures), this view is not incompatible with other more recent sociological theories. For example, Giddens’ theory of structuration (1984), in simple terms, takes the view that people, through reflecting on day-to-day activities, are able to influence the structure of society. As a result the theory bridges the divide between structure and individual agency. While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to consider the theory of structuration in detail, the theory does highlight the importance of the ‘few’ for causing changes to take place in society. In a similar way, and more recently, Malcolm Gladwell in *The Tipping Point* (2000: 19) argues for the importance of the few (he terms it ‘the law of the few’) for spreading social epidemics: ‘in a given process or system some people matter more than other’. More specifically, Gladwell discusses three types of individuals: social connectors, mavens and salesmen. He argues:

In a social epidemic, Mavens are data banks. They provide the message. Connectors are social glue; they spread it. But there is also a select group of people – Salesmen – with the skills to persuade us when we are unconvinced of what we are hearing, and they are as critical to the tipping of word of mouth epidemics as the other two groups. (ibid: 70)

While Gladwell addresses the causes of social epidemics, his conclusions also have relevance to the development of a music scene. As a means of illustrating the local importance of social connectors he discusses psychologist Stanley Millgram’s experiment in the 1960s and his concept of six degrees of separation (in order to connect with any other individual a person needs only five or six intermediaries to do so). Not all these degrees (or intermediaries) are equal and this means ‘that a very small number of people are linked to everyone else in a few steps, and the rest of us are linked to the world through those special few’ (ibid: 57). Connectors inhabit many different worlds or niches or subcultures and they are people that anyone can reach in only a few steps or degrees. In terms of facilitating the development of a music scene they are important for bringing



together music makers and groups of musicians who would otherwise not have made any connection. In this respect, Gladwell refers to the importance of acquaintances (or ‘weak ties’ in social network parlance) and the work of Mark Granovetter (1974) - who discovered that when it came to finding out about new jobs, acquaintances were more important than friends (or weak ties were more important than strong ties). The reason for this is because acquaintances occupy a different world from oneself and one’s friends. They ‘represent a source of social power, and the more acquaintances you have the more powerful you are’ (ibid: 54). Connectors therefore provide opportunities for people which otherwise would not be available.

In terms of Glasgow’s popular music scene in the 1980s a number of individuals fall into the category of social connectors. A characteristic of this decade was the development of scene participants who took on a variety of roles within the scene - individuals that occupied a number of worlds or niches. As noted above, Alan Horne is a good example of someone who straddled a number of worlds and roles. In the late 1970s he had frequently visited the independent record shops (as discussed in the last chapter). He had also produced a fanzine (titled *Swankers*),<sup>88</sup> then had briefly been a vocalist in his own band (Oscar Wilde), following that he managed Orange Juice, and then finally ran his own labels (Postcard and later London based, Swamplands). These roles in themselves did not endow him with a position of ‘centrality’ within Glasgow’s popular music scene. A better indicator of this was the extent to which he featured in the media coverage of the time, and also the extent to which he is referenced by interviewees within this present study. Press coverage of Postcard’s releases have already been discussed above, but it is notable the extent to which his name was synonymous with the label – invariably if the label was named in a press review or article it was described as ‘Alan Horne’s Postcard label.’ While there may be a danger in mythologizing an individual’s importance retrospectively, it is also notable that Alan Horne is mentioned on the first page of Hogg’s *The History of Scottish Rock and Pop* (1993) - alongside Alex Harvey, Jim Kerr and The Jesus and Mary Chain. In a similar vein, a number of scene participants active at that time are also clear about Horne’s importance for the scene. When discussing the significance of Glasgow music makers sharing the same flat in the early 1980s, Grahame Skinner (2011) mentioned him first:

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<sup>88</sup> See following section for discussion of the role of fanzines for the popular music scene in Glasgow.

Alan Horne lived there, Edwyn Collins, Strawberry Switchblade, Douglas and Steven, Pim out of my band, big Mark Wilcox who was in a band called - what were they called again? Eh, he was in the Jazzateers for a while and then he had another band – they all lived in there.

Horne's name even precedes that of Orange Juice's lead singer. Similarly, Dan McCahon (2011), who worked in a variety of Glasgow record shops, considered that Glasgow's musical track record was down to people like Alan Horne and The Bluebells who just 'got up and did it'. Additionally, Nick Low, another Glasgow entrepreneur from that time, reflected (unprompted) upon Horne's role as label manager and his move to London Records. He viewed this as being significant for Glasgow's music scene even though the new label did not produce any hits: 'when Alan Horne went down to do Swamplands for London Records, you know, that was big' (personal interview, 2011).

Though this chapter has already challenged the privileging of Postcard, above other Glasgow-based labels, within the media of the time (and following), it does not wish to underestimate Horne's influence on other music scene participants. Even when he re-located to London (and became part of London Record's A&R department – with his own subsidiary label, Swamplands), it is notable that he continued to support the musical activities of Glasgow-based bands:

Horne proved his A&R credentials by more or less reconfiguring the Postcard stable on Swamplands. Of its ten-odd releases, Swamplands featured either Orange Juice alumni - James Kirk with 'Memphis' and Paul Quinn - . . . or the former competition, such as the Lone Wolves, whose singer James King had previously released tracks on Fast Product. (King, 2012: 81)

Horne's continued support for local bands highlights the role that patronage played in sustaining Glasgow's music scene. In much the same way as Horne was able to use financial and industry resources to promote Glasgow bands from London, Alan McGee also carried out similar activities. McGee had been the lead singer with The Laughing Apple and had released singles on the Autonomy label (see Appendix 2), before relocating to London in 1980 and setting-up the Creation record label. Nick Low described how McGee would pay to bring bands from Glasgow down to London to perform:

Alan wasn't based in Glasgow, but by God did he represent Glasgow down in London. I think it would be unfair not to give him due credit for his bit, because he was Glaswegian and he used to bring all these bands . . . He was bringing them down from Glasgow, paying for them to go down. And he took the Jesus and Mary Chain down and paid for them to go down to play in

London and then they performed beautifully for twenty minutes and then had a riot. (personal interview, 2011)

While these are examples of patronage from afar, there are other examples of more localised patronages by managers of bands who have re-invested capital gained from major record contracts secured by one of their clients. One example of this is The Precious Organisation (run by Elliott Davis). Davis managed the band Sunset Gun and when they signed a record contract with CBS he recounted how ‘they proceeded to sack me, but it was the best thing that could have happened, because I got a financial settlement and set up the Precious Organisation’ (quoted in Wilkie 1991: 164). The Precious Organisation aimed to manage other bands and these included Wet Wet Wet, The Floor and Kick Reaction (nee Moroccan Coco). Marti Pellow (lead singer with Wet Wet Wet) recounted how Davis ‘played us off against each other to get us working’ but that whoever ‘got the deal was gonna be the band to sort out everyone on the Precious label. Use the money’ (ibid: 160). Eventually Davis helped Wet Wet Wet to secure a deal with the Phonogram record label and recalled how ‘the deal with Phonogram was one of the biggest, most comprehensive put together at that time; we did a five-album deal which gave us control over releases of records, marketing, publicity etc.’ (ibid: 166). From this record deal Davis explained that ‘we set up rehearsal and office space and now we have two 24-track studios’ (ibid: 167). The studio he is referring to was Pet Sounds, situated in Gairbraird Avenue in the Maryhill area of Glasgow. In a similar way St Clair Studios, in Osborne Street, opened in the late 1980s and was operated by Hue & Cry’s manager Allan McNeill. The studios incorporated both recording and rehearsal facilities and while Hue & Cry recorded there themselves, the studio was also used by a wide variety of other Glasgow-based musicians.<sup>89</sup> For a further discussion of the role of studios for Glasgow’s music scene see the section below.

Through acting as either social connectors, by means of performing different roles and therefore developing a great number of ‘weak ties’ or as patrons, providing support directly to other scene participants (or through investing in infrastructure), a number of individuals have had a positive influence on the development of Glasgow’s popular music scene in the 1980s. Aside from those already mentioned, the following chapters, discussing the 1990s and the 2000s, go on to highlight other individuals who also had a significant role in this development. The fact that it is possible to identify, in this way, the agency of a large

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<sup>89</sup> See McKie (1992) - <http://www.heraldscotland.com/sport/spl/aberdeen/a-story-of-truth-love-and-fidelity-1.804639>.

number of individuals over an extended period of time, is a significant factor, specific to the continued development of Glasgow's popular music scene.

## Public Policy

If it is possible to identify the agency of certain individuals as being important for the continued development of a music scene, then it is also important to consider the larger structural changes taking place in the same time period. This section considers the general economic and social changes that occurred within the Glasgow area in the 1980s, with a particular focus on the activities of the local councils.

In this respect the economic and social changes that had been evident in the late 1970s in Glasgow continued on into the 1980s. In its *Local Plan Draft Statement* for 1987 Glasgow District Council notes that 'there has been a decline in employment during the seventies and early eighties, attributable mainly to a contraction in manufacturing employment, transport and retailing' (1987: 18). In actual figures the number of people employed in the central area of Glasgow had remained steady at around 100,000: the *Local Plan Draft Statement* for 1990 quotes the central area of Glasgow as providing employment for 101,200 people (1990: 2), with around 90% of jobs being associated with services. If the trend in employment had not changed greatly over the ten years since 1979, what changes had taken place? The District Council in 1987 argued that in terms of improving the City's image 'much has already been achieved' (1987: 61) and in this respect it refers to such things as the stone cleaning of a number of prominent buildings, the building of the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre and various redevelopments, including St. Enoch Square, The Clyde Walkway and Buchanan Street/Sauchiehall Street (Concert Hall). With an eye for attracting visitors to the City, the same document also notes areas requiring further development – including poor street furniture; lack of late night dining and afternoon snacking facilities and an insufficient range of entertainments.

McCarthy and Pollock (1997: 139) attribute the urban regeneration that took place in Glasgow (and other Scottish cities) in the 1980s to the nature and role of the Scottish Office that 'enabled a great degree of coordination of urban policy than has occurred in England'. They also consider that 'the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) has played a unique and primary role in recent urban regeneration initiatives in Scottish cities' (ibid.). Through the SDA coordinating the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR), which began in 1976, a large part of the area to the east of the city centre gained from environmental,

economic and physical renewal. In addition to McCarthy and Pollock, a number of other writers also place importance on the SDA's role in developing the service sector within Glasgow (Gomez, 1998; Lee, 2003). In particular, they point to a pivotal report commissioned by the Agency in 1984 from management consultants, McKinsey and Company. The report concluded that Glasgow should plan for a post-industrial future and use place marketing products as the central policy tool to attract post-industrial investment (Gomez, 1998). In order to strengthen the city's private sector a new body was established, Glasgow Action, made up of local business interests and with a particular objective of attracting private sector corporate headquarters to the city (McCarthy and Pollock, 1997).<sup>90</sup> More specifically, the SDA encouraged this new body to

take a lead role in developing policies for the city centre, including ideas for 'image improvement' (Keating, 1988) and the City Council also launched a marketing campaign based around the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' slogan. This campaign adopted promotional images based on symbols of urban economic regeneration which, again, were largely confined to areas of the city centre such as the Merchant City. (ibid: 142)

The promotion of art and culture were central to this image improvement. An annual arts festival, Mayfest, was launched in 1982, the Burrell Art Collection was opened the following year, the aforementioned Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre was opened in 1985, the city's Jazz Festival was started in 1987, 1988 saw Glasgow housing the national Garden Festival, and finally in 1990, Glasgow saw both the opening of a new International Concert Hall and became designated as European City of Culture. Gomez (1998) directly attributes some of these developments to the implementation of the McKinsey report. This is not to say that they were solely due to the efforts of Glasgow Action. Glasgow District Council, alongside the Scottish Development Agency and Strathclyde Regional Council were also closely involved in improving the image of the city in order to attract foreign investment and tourists. Indeed, in 1986 it was Glasgow District Council that coordinated the submission for consideration as European City of Culture (Lee, 2003).

The direct effect of the various agencies work in the 1980s for local popular music makers is difficult to measure. However, the move to develop Glasgow's service and consumption sectors through improvements to the cultural infrastructure and (more importantly) the resultant private investment in housing, retailing, hotels and office space, provided an

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<sup>90</sup> In 1991 Glasgow Action was replaced by the Glasgow Development Agency.

important addition to the potential audience with a significant disposable income seeking live entertainment. As McInnes points out, Glasgow has made itself into ‘an attractive location not only for the tourist for a short stay but for the senior manager or public official for their working lives’ (1994: 18). As noted below, throughout the 1980s Glasgow music makers benefitted from private investment providing an increased number and variety of potential live venues within which they could perform.

Regarding this last point, Glasgow District Council in the 1987 Local Plan document claims that leisure and entertainment facilities have ‘over the past 10 – 15 years been radically improved in quantity, quality and diversity’ (1987: 35). The Council does not give a figure for the number of public houses in the city centre in 1987 but it does mention that there were 20 discotheques (up from 11 in 1979). Of greater interest for this study it also notes:

the growth or potential growth in pub based entertainment especially in relation to popular music, rock, jazz, folk and traditional music. This particular category of entertainment (the patrons of which prefer a pub venue) has been restricted until recently in the Central Area and throughout Glasgow due to the local byelaws which prevented charging on entry. Glasgow Licensing Board had changed its policy in this regard. Where public houses have rooms or facilities separate from main public bars it will now be possible to charge on entry for live music. (ibid: 35)

This change to licensing laws is discussed above in the section on venues, and highlights the role of the law and regulation facet of Peterson’s culture of production perspective for Glasgow’s music scene. In Peterson and Anand’s view law and regulation ‘create the ground rules that shape how creative fields develop’ (2004: 315). In addition, the Council also draws attention to the market facet of Peterson’s perspective, when it describes ‘the preferences of a large proportion of the public and musicians for popular music to be pub-based’ (1987: 41). In contrast to this statement, the section on venues does point out that by 1989 venues, where popular music was performed, had become much more heterogeneous in nature and had moved away from the stereotypical public house based live music performance.

Before considering whether the media helped or hindered these public policy changes and the corresponding developments within the music scene in 1980s’ Glasgow, it is also important to reiterate one other point that has already been raised in the previous chapter. This concerns the changes that were taking place on a wider scale within the UK economy

and the move away from traditional industries to a more service-based economy. In retrospect Wilkie (1991: 192) considers that:

Perhaps something should be said about the importance of the dole (unemployment benefit) to musicians and the music scene as a whole. It is undeniable that such civilised legislation has been crucial to the economic survival of generations of young musicians and would-be managers as they built up their marketing base and the investment has frequently paid the state off handsomely in terms of taxation, job creation and so forth.

Writing seven years earlier, in an article for *NME*, Andrea Miller (1986a: 10) is very clear about the UK's changing economy (resulting from the Conservative government's policies) and its effect on Glasgow:

The main growth areas are no longer shipbuilding and steelmaking but a much more nebulous business. . . Maggie's Industry For the '80s – Leisure. She's making sure we all have time to enjoy it. . . shopping malls, food centres, restaurants, private housing schemes (the Barratt ones in the Gorbals and the luxury housing along the river bank where you can moor your yacht) and the state funding of one of Glasgow's highest growth areas. . . pop music [. . .] The young unemployed in Glasgow have little other way out, so hundreds (and this is no exaggeration) get a guitar on the never-never and save up their money for TDK46s to send to record companies locally and in London, to local rock journalists and DJs.

The notion of a Glasgow music scene that emerged in the 1980s was driven by a number of factors. As previously discussed, the activities of various music makers and other scene participants added a considerable amount to this idea. The last section of this chapter will also foreground the role of studios (rehearsal and recording) as being particularly important for the local music scene; as they provided a necessary component of infrastructure to support local musical practice. However, the following section also emphasises the role that the press and other media played in establishing the notion of a local music scene in the 1980s - both in terms of promoting locally produced music and providing a means by which local music makers could validate their activities.

## **Print Media**

### **National Music Press and Scottish Newspapers**

Prior to the 1980s printed media gave very little support to Glasgow's local music makers, or to the notion of the city having a music scene. In terms of nationally distributed music papers such as *Melody Maker* and *New Musical Express (NME)*, Glasgow-based bands

received little exposure. When they were given a mention it was limited to reviews of records released on major labels or the very occasional review of a live performance. Similarly, while both the Scottish newspapers the *Daily Record* and the *Evening Times* hosted regular popular music columns in 1979, rarely did either column discuss locally based artists.

In contrast, the more expansive presentation of Glasgow's music scene in the national music press at the beginning of the 1980s has already been discussed in the above section on music makers. Further, both Gillian Maxwell (who managed Deacon Blue) and Elliott Davis (who managed Wet Wet Wet) are quite clear about the amount of support the locally based journalists gave to local music makers around the middle of the decade:

We also got help from various journalists – Billy Sloan, Tom Morton, John Dingwall, John Williamson, Andrea Miler . . . so we didn't have to flood the record companies with demos. (Gillian Maxwell, quoted in Wilkie 1991: 139)

John Dingwall, was writing for *Sounds*, Tom Morton for *Melody Maker* and Andrea Miller for the *NME*. Three journalists working for the national newspapers. Why couldn't we get chart hits? We just needed to create the scam and we couldn't fail. (Elliott Davis, quoted in Wilkie 1991: 165)

All the journalists mentioned were based in Scotland and it is interesting to compare this with the representation of Glasgow's music scene at the end of the decade. In a possible backlash against the commercial success of various Glasgow bands in 1989, or because by this point in time journalists for these publications no longer tended to be based in Scotland, the national music press appeared to be much more negative in tone when writing about Glasgow's music scene. For example, writing for the *NME* (1989: 15) Terry Staunton argues that Texas are 'the latest bunch of twigs to fall off the post-Postcard family tree, the latest bambino offspring of the Scots guitar mafia'. Another *NME* by-line by Stuart Bailie (11<sup>th</sup> March 1989: 10) asks: 'Are Texas merely the latest cash-minded configuration of Glasgow's career rockers (see: Love and Money, Hipsway, Flesh) or the real guitar totin' McCoy?' One other example from *NME* involves Andrew Collins writing about the band Slide: 'Another young, careerist Glaswegian rock band with rolled-up sleeves is poised to take on the world' (4<sup>th</sup> November 1989: 34). It is no coincidence that the tone of this rhetoric corresponds to a time period when a large number of Glasgow-based bands were losing their record contracts with the major record companies. Compared with the plaudits, quoted in the first few pages of this chapter, relating to bands



active at the beginning of the decade, such a critical tone would not be designed to engender commercial aspirations in young Glasgow-based music makers.

In terms of Scottish newspapers, both the *Evening Times* and the *Daily Record* have provided sporadic support to Glasgow's local music scene - by means of providing a space to advertise performances and/or through variety of columns discussing local music making (usually in amongst discussion of national and international artists). One example of such a columnist is the above-mentioned Billy Sloan. He worked as a free-lance journalist for the *Sunday Mail* (sister paper of the *Daily Record*) from 1979 until 1983 and then worked as a staff member for the *Daily Record* between 1983 and 1994. Sloan described the amount of support that local media gave local popular music before he began working:

When I started doing this in '79 (on the radio) and '83 (when I worked with the Sunday Mail) the media was just so backward when it came to pop music in general – they never really catered for it in a big way. In print you would have to look long and hard to find gig reviews and album reviews. They never covered any new music. I was the only person on the radio – there wasn't anything on TV – there wasn't a dedicated music show. There wasn't that many outlets for a new and aspiring band to get any publicity – so that was why I was getting all the demos. (personal interview, 2010)

Sloan believed that he got the job writing for the *Sunday Mail* as a reaction to the *Sun* and the *Mirror* newspapers based in London taking on dedicated music writers:

They had never had a dedicated music writer ever before – I was the first in the *Record*. That then opened the doors. I was writing about all these bands I was going to see – whether it was at the Apollo, or whether it was at Maestros night club, or whether it was at the Bungalow bar in Paisley, or whether it was at the Mars Bar in Glasgow - I was writing about all these bands. I think slowly but surely all the other papers and media outlets woke up to the fact that there's something going on here – that was a turning of the tide if you like. (ibid)

Sloan's further support for Glasgow's music scene in the 1980s is considered below in the section on radio. However, in terms of printed media, one of its main forms central to grassroots popular music making in the city at this time was the fanzine.

## Fanzines

Academic discussion about fanzines tends to privilege their role in identity formation (Hebdige, 1979) or taste formation (Toynbee, 1993), principally through the notion of the fanzine as a subcultural text in opposition to mainstream culture. Previous studies have

focused on their graphic design rather than content (in terms of the written word) and have also been limited in terms of genre and historical research (Atton, 2010). Though it is not within the scope of this thesis to provide a thorough analysis of fanzine production within Glasgow in the 1980s (or indeed beyond), this section considers their wider role within a local music scene.<sup>91</sup> Specifically, fanzines provided an outlet for non-musicians (at least initially) to participate actively in the music scene – by attending and reviewing live performances, reviewing recorded material (either released on a label or a demo tape), interviewing local music makers, and by selling their fanzine to other local scene participants or audience members. While this point may seem an obvious one, it is important to highlight that such activities provided opportunities to both connect individuals together (in a direct sense and through reading a fanzine), and to develop a collective sense of the ‘local’.

A non-exhaustive list of Glasgow-based fanzines from the 1980s includes these titles:

*Stand and Deliver*

*The Ten Commandments*

*Simply Thrilled*

*Juniper Beri Beri*

*Sunset Gun*

*Honey at the Core*

*Fumes Fanzine*

*Slow Dazzle*

*Platform One*

*Pure Popcorn*

*Straight*

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<sup>91</sup> For an alternative approach to fanzine discourse see Atton, 2010.

Brian Hogg (2009) took the view that fanzines were important in that ‘quite a few people who actually did start a fanzine actually did go on and do something – it wasn’t just - here’s a fanzine and 6 months later they were back working for the civil service – quite a few of them did go on and do other things’. In this respect Alan Horne’s fanzine *Swankers* has already been mentioned – which he produced before going on to establish the Postcard label. Alan McGee also produced a fanzine titled *Communication Blur* (Cavanagh, 2000), and there are a large number of other examples where a fanzine producer went on to be involved in the music scene in other roles. John Williamson who produced both *Platform One* and *Honey at the Core* went on to be a popular music journalist, record label manager and band manager (amongst other roles). Music makers were also involved in fanzine production: Sushil Dade (of the Soup Dragons) was involved in the production of *Pure Popcorn*; Stephen McRobbie and Aggi (of The Pastels) were involved in producing *Juniper Beri Beri*, and Russell Barrie (who had been in The Venigmas) produced *Straight*. In this way fanzines provide another focus for network formation – particularly where their producers connect with scene participants in different ways depending on their role (fanzine writer, promoter, band manager, etc.). Hogg sums up this notion when he argued that ‘I think that, as a kind of communication [fanzines] were quite important, and obviously now the Internet - but printed stuff – nothing really springs to mind over and above that’. Fanzines simply provided a means by which scene participants could communicate with one another.

Stephen McRobbie extends this notion when he points out that fanzines also provided a route by which local music makers could disseminate their work:

When we started there was a ‘cassette culture’ and a network of cassette-trading and fanzines and you got your music out like that. Now, it is just different means of dissemination but it is still about networks and trying to reach people. (quoted by Freeman, 2013)<sup>92</sup>

Examples of fanzines giving away recorded material from local bands include *Stand and Deliver* which gave away a free recording of The Bluebells and Del Amitri,<sup>93</sup> *The Ten Commandments* which gave away a version of Felicity by Orange Juice,<sup>94</sup> *Fumes Magazine* which gave away a compilation cassette featuring different Glasgow bands

<sup>92</sup> <http://thequietus.com/articles/11521-stephen-pastel-the-pastels-interviewed>.

<sup>93</sup> <http://www.delamitri.com/band/>.

<sup>94</sup> <http://www.discogs.com/Orange-Juice-Falling-And-Laughing/release/1328351>.

including Aztec Camera,<sup>95</sup> and the previously mentioned cassette *Honey at the Core* was given away with a fanzine of the same name. In addition, *Sunset Gun* also had an ‘audiozine’ format, which contained both music and interviews (Easton, 1981).<sup>96</sup>

Various examples of fanzines from the 1980s highlight the extent to which this type of media developed a sense of the ‘local’. Issue 2 of *Juniper Beri Beri* (from 1983), while providing a number of articles about music produced from outside Glasgow (including a feature on the band Swell Maps and a guide to the Norwich music scene), makes extensive allusions to Glasgow and Glasgow bands.<sup>97</sup> In addition to a ‘Visitor’s Guide to Glasgow’, the issue even pastiches the notion of a ‘Glasgow scene’ by parodying a guide to art nouveau from the city and titling it ‘The Glasgow Scene 1898’. Issue 1 of *Pure Popcorn* (from 1985) is even more focused on Glasgow, with only one of its features/articles on music being to do with a non-Glasgow band (Microdisney). It includes interviews with The Pastels, Del Amitri, Primal Scream and (the author’s own band at the time) The Graduates. Chris Davidson, who produced the Inverclyde-based fanzine *Slow Dazzle*, claimed that his strategy to promote the local was very deliberate:

I decided I wanted to do one [a fanzine] myself, because I didn’t think there was enough attention getting paid to what was going on in Greenock [. . .] We did reviews of local pubs and we did reviews of local gigs and the third page was always a local band, so it was pretty much leaning towards trying to get Inverclyde promotion, but eventually I started to get copies up to Glasgow – they were talking them in some of the record shops . . . but the final copy sold 1200 copies. (personal interview, 2009)<sup>98</sup>

Davidson (who, in addition to producing a fanzine, has also been active as a promoter and a DJ) epitomises the previously discussed notion of an individual who, through taking on different roles, connects with others in a network. In interview he mentioned that he met The Pastels through their fanzine, *Juniper Beri Beri*, but more importantly he is also able to provide a concrete example of where he was introduced to another scene participant (who then facilitated his promotional activities):

it was either the first, second or third issue – I can’t remember – I got a phone call out of the blue at my home: a guy saying “Hello, you don’t know me but

<sup>95</sup> <http://surfingthe80s.blogspot.co.uk/2009/12/aztec-camera-were-scottish-new-wave.html>

<sup>96</sup> Glasgow Herald, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1981, p. 6.

<sup>97</sup> Available at: <https://www.box.com/shared/q8pxc9qdgiv>.

<sup>98</sup> Though the fanzine does feature some reviews that are specifically related to Greenock/Gourock, due to its proximity, Glasgow venues and music makers also feature.

my name is Tam Coyle. I'm just phoning you up to say 'well done'". I said "well done for what?" Well done for saying what you thought about Elliott Davis (who was the manager of Wet Wet Wet). He said I was the first person to ever have the guts to do that – everybody was scared of him for some reason. I just said his band was rubbish and he was rubbish . . . Then Tam said "next time you're up in Glasgow - I work in Night Moves – just come in to the Manager's office and say 'hello'. I did and that was it. (ibid)

This comment also highlights the fact that, while locally produced fanzines would review or discuss local bands (and other music scene participants), these comments would not always be favourable. However, the very fact these fanzines could be contentious and critical of certain locally based bands also helped to promote the notion of the local. Both the letters section of *Slow Dazzle* (called Ricochet) and the letters printed in Juniper Beri Beri would follow-up on reviews and comments on local bands (maintaining a debate on the local).

## The Development of a Scottish Music Press

The popularity of fanzines, as exemplified by the sales of *Slow Dazzle*'s last edition, emphasises the extent to which there was public interest in reading about local popular music (or at least, popular music from a local perspective) mixed in with commentary about film, TV and other forms of entertainment. This interest came to be exploited by Scottish based magazines such as *Bigwig* and *The List* in the 1990s and *Is This Music* and *The Skinny* in 2000s. A 1980s contemporary of these publications was *Cut* magazine, published monthly between 1986 and 1989.<sup>99</sup> Though produced by an Edinburgh company (Independent Design and Editorial Associates Ltd.) and taking quite a wide focus, in terms of its music content (it featured articles and commentary about both national and international music artists), it did employ a number of Glasgow-based contributors, such as David Belcher (who wrote for *The Glasgow Herald* newspaper), Craig Ferguson (actor and musician), and John Dingwall (*Cut*'s features editor). The magazine's front covers between 1986 and 1987 evidence the extent to which these contributors assisted in publicising Glasgow-based music makers. Over that period of time a large number of local bands are highlighted in articles or interviews (as noted on the front cover) including Lloyd Cole, Styng Rites, Deacon Blue, Wyoming, Hue and Cry, Close Lobsters, McCluskey Brothers, Billy McKenzie, The Pastels, Hipsway, BMX Bandits, The Bathers, and Boy Hairdressers. The inclusion of lesser-known bands within the context of a magazine with a

<sup>99</sup> Initially the publication took the format of a newspaper, but after the first year changed to a glossy large format magazine.

national/international focus and a wide national distribution (*Cut* was distributed from London) helped to maintain a public awareness of popular music activity at a grassroots level in Glasgow.

If publications such as *Cut* helped to draw attention from outside Glasgow to the city, then other more locally produced publications such as *Glasgow Now* and the longer running listing magazine *The List*, provided a resource and promotion for Glasgow music makers on a local level. Like the latter magazine, *Glasgow Now* was produced fortnightly and provided features on films and theatre, but principally discussed local popular music makers; it also provided a regular events guide and a band directory (which provided a description and a contact number for different bands).<sup>100</sup> The role of later Scottish-wide magazines (or at least those incorporating Edinburgh/Glasgow areas) is discussed in the following chapters.

## Radio

Both Radio Clyde and BBC Radio Scotland scheduled shows in the 1980s that promoted Glasgow music makers to a local audience. Percival (2009: 34) argues that ‘radio play on a respected show is a validation of a band’s music—it situates that recording in a sequence of other music, mostly commercially recorded, some perhaps with high subcultural credibility’. Here he is specifically referring to *Beat Patrol*, a show that aired on Radio Scotland between 1984 and 2000, and he also argues that for ‘much of its 16-year run the show was the only national Scottish outlet for new Scottish music (ibid: 31). However, the above mentioned Billy Sloan also worked as a DJ for Radio Clyde through the late 1970s and 1980s, and provided another means for local Glasgow bands to receive airplay on a sub-national level. This section briefly considers the opportunities that radio shows like Sloan’s offered the local music scene.

Percival is unequivocal about the role that *Beat Patrol* played in nurturing local music production within Glasgow. However, his comments relate directly to a study carried out regarding Glasgow-based bands active in the 1990s. He makes the point that bands heard about the programme through word of mouth because:

historically Radio Scotland has been ineffective in promoting its alternative music provision. A consequence of this is that the station has been perceived

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<sup>100</sup> *Glasgow Now* was published between 1988 and 1990 and boasted a circulation of 40,000 copies.

by younger listeners as a speech-dominated news, culture and sport network, with an emphasis on music intended for an established and mainstream audience in Scotland. (ibid: 33-34)

For this reason *Beat Patrol's* influence on Glasgow music makers is considered in the next chapter (in the context of the 1990s) and the comments provided below relate more to commercial radio. The view that commercial radio was more important for promoting and validating local music makers is supported by a number of sources. Williamson *et al.* (2003: 48) consider that:

Historically local radio in Glasgow and Edinburgh has been able to play a major role as a catalyst in developing a local scene, and DJs such as Mark Goodier and Bryan Burnett at Radio Clyde during the 1980s contributed substantially to the profile of some local bands.

Furthermore, manager/record label owner Nick Low also argued that relative to Radio Scotland:

getting played by Billy Sloan was far more important [ . . . ] getting played in Billy Sloan was great and he was really supportive getting gigs mentioned, he'd find you a bass player when your bass player left. There's a whole network there that all honed in. So Billy was very important in that and he was also writing about it in the Sunday Mail. (personal interview, 2009)

In addition to this notion of providing a means for local music makers to validate themselves, Low also highlighted the more mundane but equally important supportive role that local radio can play in maintaining a local music scene: DJs promoted up-and-coming live performances through a regular 'gig guide and acted as a notice board where bands could advertise for new members. Aside from Billy Sloan, Low also praised the role that the afore-mentioned Mark Goodier played:

if Kevin McDermott had a gig on and he was playing a new record, and Mark Goodier, at that point at Clyde as well, was really supportive to all these new bands in the mid-Eighties. He played The Wake all the time. The Wake weren't really getting played anywhere. And he'd go down, he'd give you a lift up the road because you were getting the bus back, there was all that kind of stuff. (ibid)

In many respects this notion of a Radio Clyde DJ providing a lift in his car to another music scene participant resonates strongly with the concept of 'grassroots culture' and the understanding of real people 'going off and doing things for themselves' outside of commerce (as discussed in Chapter 3). Comparing the role of Radio Clyde in the 1980s with 2009, Low also lamented the fact that 'Clyde totally abandoned that now, they don't

support new bands in that way at all'. Musician and studio owner Hugh Carter echoed this comment, when in interview he also noted the withdrawal of Radio Clyde's support for the annual Kelvingrove festival:

Radio Clyde used to be very good for giving bands a 'leg-up' and when they stopped really playing local bands and stopped the Kelvingrove festival – I think that was quite a big thing. It was around about 85/86 – that was something all the Glasgow bands aspired to play. So, I think round about that time a lot of bands decided 'if the local radio station wasn't going to do it then you're going to have to do it for yourself' and I think there was a sort of lull in proceedings and then gradually the second wave of bands – the likes of the Deacon Blues and the Love and Moneys and Texas – they started coming through then. (personal interview, 2009)

Carter was quite clear about the change in Radio Clyde's level of support for local music makers and his comment is also consistent with the decline in popular music making activity that took place around the late Eighties (as discussed above). Studio owner Brian Young also noted this decline in support from Radio Clyde. In interview, he remarked that:

the most upsetting one for me is the lack of media – broadcasting media we have [. . .] Radio Clyde were fantastic to begin with – wonderful place. But then as the radio authority said 'you don't have to really do Scottish stuff' - they decided not to – so their charts were entirely what Radio 1's charts were – with minimal exception. (personal interview, 2009)

John MacCalman, who was a Production Controller for Radio Clyde and was involved in organising the Kelvingrove Festival, explained the reasoning behind the station's support (and its subsequent withdrawal):

The funding of the event was possible because commercial radio had in these days (sadly, no more) an obligation to spend 3% of their net revenue on live music. This was why Radio Clyde was able to have its own recording studio and mobile. (MacCalman, 2010)<sup>101</sup>

There is a broad opinion that whilst Radio Clyde (or at least a number of its DJs) offered support to local music makers in the early and mid Eighties, this declined and in the Nineties it was publicly funded Radio Scotland that provided more of this support. This change is discussed further in the next chapter.

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<sup>101</sup> Quoted at [http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new\\_site/John\\_MacCalman.html](http://www.glasband80.co.uk/new_site/John_MacCalman.html).



## Case Study: Rehearsal (and Recording) Studios

This thesis principally views a local music scene as a network and foregrounds the importance of sites and spaces that allow scene participants to develop network links. Throughout this chapter opportunities for music makers and other music scene participants to meet and develop such links have been highlighted. The final section considers the role that rehearsal and recording facilities played in terms of providing both an important focus for network formation and an important element of a supporting infrastructure for the emergent music scene in the 1980s. Though rehearsal and recording facilities perform different functions, involving different processes, for the most part this chapter treats them as similar entities and refers to them using the general term ‘studio’. It does so for two reasons: firstly, at least in the 1980s, the vast majority of such facilities performed (at one time or another) both a rehearsal and recording function; secondly, as sites for network formation their designation was secondary.

The previous chapter has already discussed the dearth of rehearsal facilities in Glasgow in the 1970s and David Henderson who managed the city’s first commercially run rehearsal studio, The Hellfire Club, in 1980 noted that:

at that time there weren’t really many other facilities. It was before Berkeley started their rehearsal stuff. I mean we weren’t competing on the recording side with Ca-Va, who were the main ones at that time, and then Berkeley Street opened. I’m not sure what year that was. I think that would be a later on. But just to have somewhere that folk could come and rehearse . . . there weren’t many places and it was quite central. But I mean we weren’t charging much money . . . it wasn’t very business minded the way we went about it – it was quite small . . . it was a real club sort of thing I suppose . . . wee gang hut type thing. But I think if we had been a bit more business minded we might have - but you know we never didn’t start off with any money - it was just to cover the paying the rent monthly and the equipment (the recording equipment) that we rented – sort of paid monthly.<sup>102</sup> (personal interview, 2009)

By remarking on the lack of a monetary incentive and using the term ‘gang hut’ Henderson emphasises the social nature of the enterprise. The Hellfire Club studio provided both rehearsal and recording facilities, but the surviving documentation relates only to the recording sessions that took place. An example of the booking sheets for the recording studio is provided in Figure 7, and this evidences that a large number of the Glasgow-based bands discussed above made use of The Hellfire Club at one time or another. In interview,

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<sup>102</sup> The Hellfire Club was situated in Carnarvon Street between 1980 and 1983 (when it moved to the basement of Ca Va recording studio).

Henderson noted that the first recording session that took place in the studio was for the Shakin' Pyramids, and that this recording was eventually used for the band's first single on the Cuba Libre label.

A		Recordings	
BAND	DATE	YR	
1 THE SHAKIN' PYRAMIDS (SINGLE)	SEPT.	1980	
2 DREAMBOYS (SINGLE)	3 <sup>rd</sup> - 4 <sup>th</sup> OCT.	1980	
3 THE POEMS (SINGLE)	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> NOV.	1980	
4 CUBAN HEELS	1 <sup>st</sup> DEC.	1980	
5 PERFECT END	3 <sup>rd</sup> DEC.	1980	
6 STAGE	20 <sup>th</sup> - 21 <sup>st</sup> DEC.	1980	
7 AZTEC CAMERA	22 <sup>nd</sup> DEC.	1980	
8 FRENCHWAYS	9 <sup>th</sup> - 10 <sup>th</sup> JAN.	1981	
9 ANA HAUSEN	18 <sup>th</sup> - 19 <sup>th</sup> JAN.	1981	
10 PERFECT END	7 <sup>th</sup> - 8 <sup>th</sup> FEB.	1981	
11 NOISE BOYS	14 <sup>th</sup> - 15 <sup>th</sup> FEB.	1981	
12 ALTERED IMAGES	11 <sup>th</sup> MARCH	1981	
13B MELODRAMA	22 <sup>nd</sup> MARCH	1981	
14 THE BLUEBELLS	29 <sup>th</sup> MARCH	1981	
15 COLIN CUNNINGHAM	4 <sup>th</sup> - 5 <sup>th</sup> APRIL	1981	
16 THE WAKE	9 <sup>th</sup> APRIL	1981	
17 SIREN	11 <sup>th</sup> APRIL	1981	
18 DREAMBOYS	18 <sup>th</sup> - 19 <sup>th</sup> APRIL	1981	
19 AZTEC CAMERA - EDWYN COWINS	23 <sup>rd</sup> APRIL	1981	
20 LEARNING ITALIAN	25 <sup>th</sup> APRIL	1981	
21 THE BLUEBELLS	3 <sup>rd</sup> MAY	1981	
22 <del>SUNE COOKIES</del> ON A CLEAR DAY.	9 <sup>th</sup> MAY	1981	
23 JAMES KING AND THE DEATH TRIP	13 <sup>th</sup> MAY	1981	
24 THE POEMS (ALBUM) *	18 <sup>th</sup> - 27 <sup>th</sup> MAY	1981	
25 ORANGE JUICE (Album demo)	27 <sup>th</sup> - 28 <sup>th</sup> MAY	1981	
26 THE FRENCH IMPRESSIONISTS	1 <sup>st</sup> JUNE	1981	
27 DANCE WALLESEN	7 <sup>th</sup> JUNE	1981	
28 LOUIS LOUIS	13 <sup>th</sup> JUNE	1981	
29 <del>CHAR HOEY</del> FRIENDS AGAIN.	14 <sup>th</sup> JUNE	1981	
30 THE WAKE.	4 <sup>th</sup> JULY	1981	
31 ON A CLEAR DAY.	7 <sup>th</sup> JULY	1981	
32 <del>DEAD EYE</del> → IAI IAI	11 <sup>th</sup> JULY	1981	
33 SUN SUN	17 <sup>th</sup> JULY	1981	
34 SOPHISTICATED BOOM BOOM	26 <sup>th</sup> - 28 <sup>th</sup> JULY	1981	
35 BAD EXAMPLE	27 <sup>th</sup> JULY	1981	
36 DANCE MACABRE	29 <sup>th</sup> JULY	1981	
37 DREAMBOYS	31 <sup>st</sup> - 1 <sup>st</sup> - 3 <sup>rd</sup> AUG.	1981	
38 SAZZIWEERS	6 <sup>th</sup> AUG.	1981	
39 WHOLE FLESHING	9 <sup>th</sup> AUG.	1981	
40 PLACID FLYS	10 <sup>th</sup> AUG.	1981	

Figure 7 - 1st Page of Booking Sheets for The Hellfire Club Studio

In the above quote Henderson makes mention of Berkeley Street. Here he is referring to Berkeley Street studios, which opened the following year (5 May 1981). They were initially operated as a partnership between Steve Cheyne and Alan McNeill, and had both recording and rehearsal facilities (McNeil ran the recording part of the business). Cheyne explained he was looking for a way of sustaining an interest in music industries and was approached by McNeil to open a recording studio:

How can I get involved – I'm never going to be a player – I'm not really all that technical – I'm looking for a niche somewhere really – to be in amongst the people that I quite like being amongst. I did then, and even to this very day

I still like those kinds of people [musicians]. So I was prepared to take anything that came along. We thought about recording studio and did the recording studio. We realised very quickly that people record once or twice a year maximum, but they rehearse every week – so lets try and make a little bit lots of times rather than a big bit once. (personal interview, 2010)

Without necessarily detracting from the monetary motives for starting the business, Cheyne does also emphasise a social motive – he wanted to make a living from an activity that kept him in contact with music makers. Originally the studio only had one room (used for both rehearsal and recording) that could only be operated between six o'clock at night and midnight (due to it being situated underneath an architect's business). In 1984 Cheyne and McNeill also opened another studio across the street from the original and operated three rooms until 1988 – when Cheyne relocated the rehearsal facility to Washington Street.

Other rehearsal or recording studios that opened in Glasgow in the 1980s included Centre City Sound (Sauchiehall Street), Jam 22 (Jamaica Street), Tower Studios (Woodside Terrace Lane), The Complex (Woodlands Road), Arch Studios (Curle Street), Park Lane (Pollokshaws Road), Backshop (Shields Road), Sing Sing Sound (South Street) and the above-mentioned Pet Sounds (Garbraid Street).

Academic discussion regarding music studios has so far privileged the functional aspect of recording facilities, with a particular focus on technology (Hennion, 1989; Warner, 2003; Théberge, 2004; Gibson, 2005); while one study of rehearsal rooms focuses on their importance for youth subcultures (Fornas *et al.*, 1995). Of all these studies it is Gibson's (2005: 195) that is most relevant for a discussion of the network effects of studios. He considers that:

Large cities usually provide both the socio- economic context (clubs, recording studios, inner-city bohemian neighbourhoods) and, perhaps, the inspiration for musical creativity, though this may be less from urban cultural diversity or unique landscapes, and more from everyday links with audiences, other musicians and composers.

Arguing that a relational epistemological approach will assist understanding of human interactions with the built environment he concludes that 'causal relationships between musicians, audiences, city landscapes and technologies are complex and always produced and re-produced through networks of association, power and influence' (ibid: 205). For Gibson it is the network of relationships forged in studios that are of import, rather than just the way a studio's environment (and technology) directly influences the music

produced there. This viewpoint is also consistent with Törnqvist (2004: 241) who argues that ‘creative processes contain significant elements of uncertainty, unpredictability and surprise. For this reason, conversations and meetings are of strategic importance. Throughout history, the milieux of creativity have included places that facilitate meetings’. In a similar way Théberge (2004: 772), while arguing that studios have become not only a kind of ‘non-space’ in acoustical terms, but also something akin to Auge’s notion of a ‘non-place’: a more or less generic, functional place’, also points out that:

what may become the most significant issue for studios as they become more integrated with one another (whether via the Internet or by other means) is the quality of the musical and social relationships that are made with and through them. (ibid: 779)

The Hellfire Club closed in 1987, but its ‘gang hut’ ethos and the strong associations it fostered are celebrated through the interactions on a *Facebook* page: ‘Do You Remember the Hellfire Club?’<sup>103</sup> Similarly, and in almost a rebuff to Théberge’s notion of the studio as a non-place, a compilation album, *Park Lane Archives* (FREUDCD090), featuring tracks recorded at Park Lane Studios was released in 2010. It includes tracks from a variety of Glasgow-based bands (from both the 1980s and 1990s), including Texas, Del Amitri and Love and Money. Aside from a few bands, the majority of tracks are from the more commercially, sophisticated sounding bands (as represented by the *Honey at the Core* compilation tape from 1986) and the studio’s role in encouraging a competitive spirit amongst these music makers is described by Justin Currie (from Del Amitri):

Every time you went there,” Currie recalls, “Kenny or Bobby would play you things they’d just done, demos or singles, and you’d think, ‘Wow, that sounds really big and modern and commercial. Everyone was chasing each other in terms of making better and better sounding records. The other things that were going on in there definitely had an influence. (quoted in Thomson, 2010)<sup>104</sup>

The ‘Kenny’ and ‘Bobby’ refer to Park Lane’s sound engineers, Kenny MacDonald and Bobby Paterson, and on the liner notes for the CD, in contrast to engendering competition between bands, they themselves are described as provoking great loyalty for the studio. Paul Campion (of the a.c. acoustics) writes ‘we made new friends in the excellent people who worked with us in every capacity at Park Lane’. Thomson (2010) also notes that

<sup>103</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Do-you-remember-The-Hellfire-Club-in-Glasgow/106424612718364>.

<sup>104</sup> <http://www.heraldscotland.com/arts-ents/music-features/west-coast-sound-1.1003032>.

everyone ‘loved the atmosphere, too, which was friendly and creative and displayed no trace of the hierarchical pecking order that blighted the mood in many other top studios’.

Aside from the influence of a studio’s sound engineers (and other staff members) on the creativity of Glasgow-based bands, Nick Low pointed to the types of interactions taking place between bands. He argued that ‘Park Lane was very important, and there was a lot of bands that worked around Park Lane’ (personal interview, 2011). Low emphasised the extent to which bands were grouped around cliques in the early and mid 1980s, and that generally ‘most bands hated every other band’. In terms of the bands on his No Strings roster he explained that ‘everyone hated Del Amitri, they were so unfashionable and we ended up doing our wee gigs at Warzika, which was a kind of wine bar just off from Centre City Sound’. However, once Del Amitri started recording at Park Lane, Low took the view that was when they ‘maybe moved into being more accepted in the Glasgow scene.’ The cliques were based around the studios that bands frequented. So, according to Low there were ‘Berkeley Street people, there was the Centre City Sound people which were not as glam as the Berkeley Street people and it wasn’t fashionable’.

In addition to running a record label, between 1984 and 1986, Low was also involved in a tape duplication business (Chow Productions) based in Centre City Sound studio. He remembered that:

one week there was ninety bands – different bands came in recording, rehearsing. And a lot of those really didn’t have the money to pay for the rehearsal, it was only three quid an hour but it was twelve quid split four ways and that was a task to come up with it, but they would do it because they saw it as a way out. (ibid)

This comment is consistent with the above discussion regarding the extent to which, through this time period, Glasgow-based bands were securing contracts with major record companies. Bands may have chosen to rehearse at certain studios because they wanted to cultivate an image or be identified with other bands, but according to Low another important reason was that ‘record companies were in touch with these studios, in an A&R sense, and so the bands would come because they thought the A&R people would hear about them if they went rehearsing in the studios’. He felt that ‘Derek [Chalmers, studio owner] or me would be the kind of focal point maybe, of them coming in’ because ‘I used to run a list of record labels and A&R people which I used to give out to bands all the time’. Aside then from a creative influence on their clients, studio owners (and their associates) also had an influence on the way they approached the music industries.

A particular aspect to this last point relates to the number of studio owners/managers who, in the 1980s, also took on band managerial roles (and the way in which these relationships were formed). This is another point that Nick Low elaborated on:

the difference in the eighties was very few managers before that. There was old school managers and agents but I think when all these bands all came out in the eighties and these labels sprang up, suddenly there were managers and what was happening was that people at the recording studios would see all these bands coming in, they would cherry pick them and they would support the ones they thought were good and they would end up managing them. So at the Hellfire Club you had Davy Henderson managing Sophisticated Boom Boom and His Latest Flame and I am sure he worked with other bands. Then you would have at Berkeley, they would pick up Hue & Cry Alan would do Hue & Cry and Steve did the Big Dish and Centre City Sound, well we picked up people that didn't get signed. (ibid)

GR Management, who have managed Texas, was also operated from Park Lane Studios, and Low also pointed out that in the 1980s Rab and Gerry from the studio:

started doing Altered Images and then on ... well I think Gerry just did Altered Images, but then they did like your Hipsways and Gun and Slide. They managed Slide who they got a record deal for. (ibid)

Returning to the notion of studio owners being in a position to cherry pick bands they thought had potential, Steve Cheyne, from Berkeley Street studios, recounted how he first heard The Big Dish: 'They came to record in the studio. I remember Alan McNeill coming through and saying: "you've got to hear this band – they're really great"'. Cheyne managed the band from 1984 until 1989. Nick Low also remembered how he came to release a single for The Incredible Blondes:

I heard them in a session in Janice Long [BBC Radio 1 DJ] while they were in rehearsing, and I thought, 'that's The Incredible Blondes, I've got a band in at the moment called The Incredible Blondes'. I stuck my head around the corner and I said, "Are you in session on Radio One?" And they went, "Yeah." And I said, "Well I'll put your record out if you want."

Low released the band's single *Where Do I Stand* in 1986 on his No Strings label.

Though the rise of the studio sector in Glasgow was a particular characteristic of the city's music scene in the 1980s, the number of rehearsal and (to a lesser extent) recording studios continued to grow in the 1990s. Reflective of this general increase was the way in which

Berkeley 2 was able to provide additional rehearsal rooms after it moved to Washington St.<sup>105</sup> Steve Cheyne recounted that, in terms of rooms, he

had three to begin with then I built a fourth, then I built my fifth, then I built my sixth and then I built my seventh – every time I built one I thought “right I’ll never fill this but . . . lets see what happens” . . . and you always fill them, remarkable. (personal interview, 2010)

In addition new studios opened, including Carlton Studios, which opened in Carlton Place in 1990, the Practice Pad (Glasgow Media Park, Maryhill), which opened in 1993, Stuffhouse Studios (Burnbank Place), Babelfish Studios (Castlebank Street), Argyle Studios (Argyle Street) and Barrowland Rehearsal Rooms (underneath Barrowland Ballroom). In terms of recording studios offering high-end commercial quality recording Chemikal Underground’s own studio, Chem 19 (in Hamilton outside Glasgow) opened in 1997. The other studio, which opened in 1989, and provided commercial release quality recordings for a large number of Glasgow based bands was Riverside Studios (in Busby). Teenage Fancub, BMX Bandits, The Supernaturals, Superstar, and The Delgados all recorded there.<sup>106</sup>

To summarise, the development of a studio sector was important for Glasgow’s music scene in a number of ways. Though this thesis views non-monetary related (or amateur) activities as being as important for the development for a local music scene as those activities with an obvious economic value, the fact that most of these studios developed along commercial (or professional) lines was particularly relevant. First and foremost of importance was the fact that rehearsal rooms within studios provided a space for local musicians to develop and hone their song writing, playing and performing skills. These studios were not free and required payment for their services, and this would act as an incentive for local bands to also view their music making in more professional terms (so as to recoup the cost of rehearsing and at least maintain the ability to pay for future rehearsals). Following on the critical and media successes of earlier bands from the late 1970s and early 1980s – a success which had been achieved without a lot of professional support – local music makers were aware of the increased interest from major record companies and the greater opportunities to secure a major record contract. As a result they also appreciated the wider benefits from rehearsing in a studio owned and run by individuals who had various other contacts within the music industries. In tandem with

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<sup>105</sup> At the time of writing the studio is located in Lancefield Street, where it fully located in 2007.

<sup>106</sup> <http://www.riversidemusiccomplex.com/index.php?page=duncan-cameron>.

this rationale was the fact that bands wanted to rehearse in the same studios as the bands they aspired to be like (either in terms of critical/commercial success or in terms of being considered fashionable). In other words, to be able to rehearse (or record) in the same studio as a well-known band such as Orange Juice, for example, would provide newer/younger bands with a certain amount of symbolic capital.

This professionalisation of the local music scene also extended to the more expensive (in terms of hire charges) recording facilities within studios. A band, serious about securing a major record contract, would require a 'demo tape'. Studios such as Park Lane, Berkeley Street and The Hellfire Club (at its first location) would provide this service and also, as indicated above, could provide broadcast quality recordings suitable for independent (and in some cases) major label releases. These recording studios would often attract local music makers on the basis of their current (or previous clients) and, much like rehearsal rooms, symbolic cultural capital could be gained by recording in the same studio as other 'fashionable' bands – as in the example of Del Amitri. Similarly, as with rehearsal facilities, the sound engineers and other people who worked at the recording studios were also in a position to influence local music makers, both in terms of their sound/style and their approach to the music business. This influence extended into management and music releases.

The development of Glasgow-based studios nurtured the local music scene in the 1980s through providing an important element of infrastructure: a place for local music makers to rehearse (and record). However, the studios also provided other elements of infrastructure, from tape duplicating services, to management roles. These 'hubs' of activity provided music makers with a place to interact (with each other) but also to interact with other scene participants based around these studios. The network that was formed through these interactions did not disappear once the major record companies' interest in Glasgow bands had subsided. Instead these professional services would continue and support the more independent (and 'indie') focused music scene that would develop in Glasgow in the 1990s and beyond.

## Summary

This chapter has highlighted a number of important developments that took place over the period of the 1980s in Glasgow. First, the amount of popular music activity within the city increased considerably over the ten-year period. Compared with 1979, a larger number of



bands and music makers were participants in the scene and this was due to a number of factors working concomitantly. These factors included the critical success and attendant media awareness of bands, such as Orange Juice (and the earlier Simple Minds) who initially had taken a DIY/independent approach to music making. The early 1980s recession, down turn in traditional employment sectors and Glasgow's move towards developing its service and consumption sectors also encouraged young or new music makers to follow the same pathway as these successful bands. In the early part of the decade, major record company interest in Glasgow bands (bolstered by national media attention) also motivated new entrants on the scene to pursue major record contracts in a determined (and calculated) way. Also important to this process was the development of a local (or rather, Scottish-wide) music press that included such publications as *Cut* and *The List* magazines. These publications drew wider public attention to the development of local music popular music making, and also provided the music makers with an outlet to promote and advertise their activities.

The initial success of a large number of bands and music makers from Glasgow, in gaining major record contracts, also then had two further impacts on the city's music scene. Firstly, as if in response to the commercial success of these bands, younger music makers moved in the opposite direction, towards a lo-fi/unsophisticated sound - at this point the scene displayed a 'pluralism' described by Straw (1997). By 1986 this bifurcation was quite evident in the recorded music and live performances being produced by Glasgow music makers. The second impact is related to the geographic distance Glasgow is from London (and the centre of the music industries, in terms of the major record companies). While certain successful music makers felt the need to move to London, this was not the case for a large number of others. Some of the economic capital gained from major record contracts remained in Glasgow and was re-invested in infrastructure (such as studios) and in developing new music makers.

Both impacts were enduring, but the former probably most of all. Another consequence of the rapid drive by major record companies to 'sign' Glasgow-based bands and the attendant competition that then developed between them was the resultant lack of accrued social capital for the music scene (accruing economic capital was the goal for a lot of its participants). In contrast was the amount of social support and accrued social capital that developed between the bands that were taking a more 'indie' approach to music making. The formation of social capital as a resource becomes more apparent with the down turn in

both major company and independent record company releases from Glasgow music makers. This down turn and its consequences is discussed in the next chapter.

## Chapter 6 – 1990s

### Introduction

From the initial beginnings of a post-punk, independently orientated collection of bands, through to the commercial success of bands like Wet Wet Wet and Hue and Cry (and the concomitant explosion of major record label interest) the notion of a music scene began to emerge in 1980s' Glasgow. However, as argued in the last chapter, this music scene was anything but homogenous and there was a noticeable divide between bands and music makers who favoured an aesthetically independent approach to music making and those bands that sought a more commercially oriented sound. With the withdrawal of major record company interest at the end of the decade there was a growing move by local music makers towards the former aesthetic. This chapter examines how this trend developed through the 1990s and the ways in which the notion of a local music scene was furthered.

However, this is not to argue that one style or genre was more dominant over another among local musicians. The first section discusses the ways in which popular music produced in Glasgow was very varied and argues that a distinct feature of local music in the 1990s was the extent to which there were crossovers between styles. Nevertheless, by the middle of the decade there was a discernible group of music makers who favoured the 'indie' aesthetic approach (as defined in Chapter 1). What follows examines the mechanisms by which these music makers cohered into a dense network, distinguishable by a large number of interweaving ties and connections. The mechanisms themselves however, are not clearly bounded but instead are interrelated; drawn together by an increase in the number of independent labels operating from Glasgow, by the multifarious roles that individuals took on (including managing a label) and by the need to substitute the loss of economic capital (from the major labels) with other forms, such as social capital.

Subsequent sections of this chapter then examine how other music scene components developed in the 1990s, focussing particularly on characteristics that assisted this strong network formation. In particular it notes the continuing expansion of studios (particularly those with rehearsal facilities) and, in terms of the media, the increased support of Radio Scotland programmes, such as *Beat Patrol*.

Previous chapters have also highlighted the shifts in public policy that have aimed to regenerate Glasgow from a city of de-industrialisation to one based on a thriving service-sector economy, attracting investment and tourism on the basis of its culture and arts. This chapter examines more specifically popular music policy initiatives that occurred in the 1990s and their impact on Glasgow music makers.

The chapter concludes with a section focussing on the role of popular music venues in 1990s' Glasgow. Just as studios in the 1980s played an important role in both providing vital infrastructure for the emerging music scene and a social space for network interactions between scene participants, so too do venues in the following decade. More specifically, the discussion highlights the variety of venues that became available in the 1990s, particularly in relation to the needs of different music makers. At the same time the availability of different venues also illustrates the strong connections between the popular music scene and the developing art scene within the city. The fact these connections exist also support the general view of Glasgow as a changed city, a city of cultural production, and such a view in itself nurtures the more specific notion of the city's music scene.

## **Music Makers**

Relative to the 1980s, in the 1990s Glasgow witnessed a substantial increase in popular music activity. This section considers the way in which 'indie' bands have gone on to dominate Glasgow's musical production (at least compared to the more mainstream/sophisticated sounding bands of the 1980s). In considering how this domination has taken place, it looks at both the way different genres began to cross over from one another and the growth of Glasgow-based independent labels in the middle of the decade. The section highlights the supportive nature and interrelatedness of popular music scene participants (and borrows from network theory to explain this interconnectedness). Finally, it also considers the changing nature of gender participation within the popular music scene and proffers some explanations for these changes.

Appendix 3 provides a list of independent releases (on Glasgow-based labels) by Glasgow based music makers through the decade of the 1990s. In the first year of the decade, independent releases continued to be dominated by music makers from the periphery of the city. Both the BMX Bandits and The Vaselines are associated with the 'Bellshill scene',

and they both released albums that year.<sup>107</sup> While the latter were short-lived (at least until their reunion in 2009), BMX Bandits exemplify the interconnected nature of Glasgow-based bands and, as will be explored below, it is possible to trace a large number of other bands who have had members perform or record with them. As an example, both Norman Blake and Francis MacDonald from Teenage Fanclub wrote and recorded songs for the 1990 self released album, *C86* (LP 001). In addition, both John McCusker, who is more known as a folk musician performing with such bands as The Battlefield Band, and Gordon Keen, who later formed Eugenius with Eugene Kelly (from The Vaselines), also perform on the album.

## Genre Cross-over

Following a trend from the 1980s the majority of releases in 1990 were from bands performing 'indie' music. In contrast, in the following years up until 1995, recorded music released independently from Glasgow-based bands were quite mixed in terms of genre and sub-genre. There are a number of reasons for this phenomenon. First, as noted in the last chapter, by 1991, the independent distribution chain for independent labels, known as the Cartel, had collapsed. This had an impact for UK labels that looked to secure national distribution for their releases, and this is reflected in the fact that out of the three non-band related labels listed under 1990 in Appendix 3 two of them ceased to continue after 1991: 53<sup>rd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> and Egg. This decline in the number of Glasgow-based independent labels had the impact of reducing the number of releases from bands playing 'indie' music. Indeed up until 1995 (with a few exceptions) the majority of releases are either by bands putting out music on their own labels or by specialist labels such as Iona<sup>108</sup> and Soma.<sup>109</sup> Bands releasing their own music were more inclined to be involved in distributing to shops directly and to also tap into other networks less linked to traditional distribution routes (Strachan, 2003). Similarly, the specialist labels tended to have very specific distribution outlets (Soma use Rub-A-Dub Records in Paisley). In addition, the mix of genres, including the hillbilly rock of The Humpff Family and the more mainstream rock sounds of Carol Laula, can also be attributed to a more general trend in popular music as noted by Marcus Breen (1991: 193):

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<sup>107</sup> Teenage Fanclub, Groovy Little Numbers and the Soup Dragons were other bands strongly associated with the Bellshill Scene.

<sup>108</sup> Iona specialises in folk-rock and importing celtic influenced music into Scotland. While Iona Gold releases music by Scottish based rock bands (<http://www.iona-records.com>).

<sup>109</sup> Soma is a dance label (<http://www.somarecords.com>).

Increasingly, moving into the 1990s, every genre and sub-genre of popular music shares a location on the totalized map of popular music culture, where the bridges that form the industrial crossovers from one domain of the popular-music industry to the next are becoming essentially connected.

An example of this genre crossover is evident in the brief resurgence of the Postcard label in 1992 and the release of two albums by Paul Quinn and the Independent Group.<sup>110</sup> While Postcard is heavily associated with a post-punk DIY ethic and the original 1980s' releases fall within the genre conventions of 'indie', the Independent Group's releases are much more sophisticated in production and sound. Paul Quinn's voice resonates with the 'white soul' sounds associated with some of Glasgow's mainstream bands from the mid-1980s and both the instrumentations and arrangements of the songs are equally redolent of Glasgow based bands that had commercial success in the latter half of that decade.

Industrial crossovers in Glasgow were not, however, purely concerned with just aesthetic sensibilities. The folk group, Ossian, had started the aforementioned Iona label in 1978 in order to release both music by the group and attendant solo projects. The label was bought over in 1990 by Lismor Recordings (another label that specialises in releasing traditional Scottish music), and between the years 1993 and 1994, the label (on its Iona Gold imprint) released a number of albums by Glasgow based pop/rock music makers who had previously had commercial success in the late 1980s. Such bands included Love and Money, the Kevin McDermott Orchestra and the Pearlfishers (though the Pearlfishers was essentially a solo project for David Scott, who had previously gone under the names of Chewy Raccoon and Hearts and Minds).<sup>111</sup> In interview, Scott was very positive about his experience releasing his album, *Za Za's Garden (IG CD/C 204)* and the role that the label played for his and the other groups. In regard to Ronnie Simpson who runs Iona he argued that:

he spent a lot of money on the Pearlfishers. He did that album. He hired radio pluggers. He behaved like a London record company. I think it helped that I had some humility by that time, because I'd had a few kicks in the balls. I'm not sure that every other artist who put out records with him understood that they had fallen quite far, and maybe went in with a slight attitude. [. . .] it was a record company that existed when no other record companies were really looking at Scottish groups, or Scottish groups like us who had been through the wringer a wee bit. While it lasted, it was good. He did a good job with Za

<sup>110</sup> Paul Quinn was originally the singer in Bourgie Bourgie and the rest of the Independent Group included members from Orange Juice, Aztec Camera, The Bluebells and Lloyd Cole and the Commotions.

<sup>111</sup> In the 1980s both Love and Money and Hearts and Minds had been signed to the *Phonogram* label and Kevin McDermott had been signed to *Island Records*.

Za's Garden. He certainly spent money on it. I think it did as well as it reasonably could. (personal interview, 2012)

Unlike Iona, which specifically sought to release music by rock/pop groups, the other Glasgow based label, which provides another instance of a crossover between genres in the early 1990s is Soma. In 1991 it released the single *Fallen* (Soma 2) by a band called Dove.<sup>112</sup> Though the single compares to other pop-dance releases of the time (such as by Saint Etienne), the band were also notable because its members included Jim McNiven, who had been in Altered Images and Ian Carmichael, who had been a sound engineer for Glasgow indie bands, such as The Orchids. This is not to say that this was the only example of crossover records being produced by Glasgow based musicians in the early 1990s. The following year The Nightcrawlers released *Push The Feeling On* (162-530 620-1) on the US Great Jones label. More typically following within the genre of a 'house' recording (only being available on 12" vinyl) its release does highlight further connections between Glasgow's dance music and rock/pop scenes. Though not on a local label, the band's members had individually (and collectively in other aggregations) been active in various ways within rock and pop genres.<sup>113</sup> More importantly, though not being part of the performing band, Graham Wilson had jointly written the song with the other members. Aside from being a songwriter and DJ, Wilson is also known locally for creating the Sub Club (along with Allan Campbell and Sam Piacentini).<sup>114</sup> David Belcher (1995a) argues that Scottish clubland, in its current diverse and vibrant form, owes much to Wilson and it is telling that, though it is primarily a dance music venue, the Sub Club features at No. 7 in the *Guardian's* top ten music venues in Glasgow:

The intimate basement is the place to go for a hedonistic blow-out and could be considered the spiritual home of subculture in Scotland's biggest city. No genre is excluded: guitar bands as well as laptop button-twiddlers are all welcome as long as they are intent on doing something innovative.  
(Dominiczak, 2008)

A large number of non-dance performances have taken place there, both from musicians known only locally, to internationally known acts. The latter include John Martyn in 1989<sup>115</sup> and Franz Ferdinand in 2003.<sup>116</sup> However, Graham Wilson's involvement with the

<sup>112</sup> The band later released an album under the name One Dove.

<sup>113</sup> In the 1980s Ross Campbell had played in Sunset Gun and then with Hugh Brankin in the band Wyoming (see Chapter 5).

<sup>114</sup> Initially the Sub Club was an itinerant club night that was held within various other Glasgow venues, but in April 1987 it moved to a permanent location on Jamaica Street.

<sup>115</sup> <http://www.johnmartyn.info/node/990>.

Sub Club is not the only instance of crossover between Glasgow rock/pop musicians and the city's dance/club venues. It is also of interest that Bobby Patterson, who had played bass in Love and Money from 1985 to 1993, left the band to manage a number of clubs and bars in Glasgow, including the Tunnel and the Volcano.<sup>117</sup>

From the discussion so far, it would appear that connections between Glasgow's dance scene and its rock/pop scene are strongly rooted in the city's bands from the 1980s which displayed a more sophisticated and white soul style, such as Love and Money, or the Highlanders. However, jumping ahead a little to 1997, Mount Florida released *Catalyst Dubs* (TBPil2 07) on 12" vinyl. Though described as 'electronic/dub techno by the Discogs website,<sup>118</sup> the band comprising of Keith McIver (otherwise known as DJ Twitch from Optimo)<sup>119</sup> and MP Lancaster were influenced by the no-wave experimental movement. Evans (2003: 145) describes no-wave as mostly 'an attitude towards music, it was characterised by the rejection of traditional rock n' roll formats – verse/chorus/verse, or whatever – and the incorporation of influences such as free form jazz . . . contemporary (classical) music and black funk'. On Optimo's website McIver considers his no-wave influences with respect to *Contort Yourself* (ZEREC.1201) by James White and the Blacks:

The original total freaking no wave version is probably better - the first time I heard it, it electrified me like almost nothing else and along with a love for Lydia Lunch, helped kick start a whole No Wave / New York obsession [. . .] My band Mount Florida did a cover of this at one of our first ever studio sessions but after listening back, we scrapped it as it just couldn't begin to compare.<sup>120</sup>

If McIver's own music was influenced by post punk no-wave artists such as Lydia Lunch, then it is also interesting how his own label, Pi Recordings, aside from releasing the Mount Florida single and a number of more overt dance records, also released a single by The Painkillers in 1996. The Painkillers were a duo comprising Frances McKee (ex-Vaselines) and James Seenan (ex-Captain America) and the 12' *Lost in Space* (TBPi 1206) eschews any dance music influences, following very much in a similar direction to The Vaselines. However, this was not McIver's only interaction with Glasgow's indie scene and the next

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<sup>116</sup> <http://www.songkick.com/concerts/9077561-franz-ferdinand-at-sub-club>.

<sup>117</sup> Paterson died in 2006.

<sup>118</sup> <http://www.discogs.com/Mount-Florida-Catalyst-Dubs/release/17643>

<sup>119</sup> Optimo is both the name of a regular club night that ran at the Sub Club and the collective name for the two DJs who ran the night: DJ Twitch and JG Wilkes.

<sup>120</sup> <http://www.optimo.co.uk/oldsite/classics.html>.



chapter discusses the label that Optimo established in 2009 (Optimo Music) and its releases for non-dance music artists.

This general trend of diversity/crossover within Glasgow based music makers in the 1990s, is also evidenced by bands releasing music on their own labels. Dawson established the Gruff Wit Records label in 1990, with the release of their 7" single, *Romping Egos* (GRUFF 001). Over the next four years, aside from their own records, they also released music for Badgewearer and Whirling Pig Dervish. Alongside a number of other bands, such as Dog Faced Hermans and Stretchheads, Dawson and their label mates produced fast music contrasting sharply with the shoe-gazing/twee style of bands such as The Pastels and BMX Bandits. John McKeown from the band The Yummy Fur described his view of Glasgow in the early 1990s:

At that time it was split totally into two camps. On one side you had The Pastels lot, so you had like The Pastels, The BMX Bandits, The Boy Hairdressers and all that. Teenage Fanclub. Loads of ballad-merchant sort of bands, some of them were quite good, the Pastels were good, but we didn't like that so much, and then the other thing you had was really angular bands which was like us, Mondo Coyote, bands like Dawson were kicking about, The Stretchheads and Dervish and Badgewearer. These were sort of like...if anything kept them together it was that they were all into Beefheart, post-punk. Pop Group, Gang of Four. That was it - that was the Glasgow scene, those kinds of bands, ballads and post punk, spiky Fire Engines music.<sup>121</sup>

Clearly McKeown takes the view that there was a clear split or bifurcation between sub genres of Glasgow 'indie' bands, much like there had been between mainstream and indie bands in the mid to late 1980s. However, to view Glasgow's popular music scene in such binary terms is unrepresentative of the range of music being produced in the 1990s decade. In addition to the pop-dance crossovers and the music being produced by the older established Glasgow bands (who had previously been signed to major labels), there were a number of newly formed and diverse bands releasing material on their own labels. Again Appendix 3 provides examples including *Stuff Your Quiet Life* by Saidflorence from 1991, *Primary* by The Colour Wheel from 1991 and *Glass Onion* By Glass Onion from 1993.<sup>122</sup> Without wishing to bracket them within one style or genre, all three bands can be described as representing a more mainstream and less overtly punk/new wave strain within Glasgow's 1990s' scene. This is not to say that the city did not also produce a number of

<sup>121</sup> <http://www.mcgazz.co.uk/yummyfur/interview.htm>.

<sup>122</sup> Saidflorence was managed by Bruce Findlay and three members of Glass Onion went on to form Travis (who had a number of Top Twenty singles).

overtly punk influenced bands: Newton Grunts and Ex-Cathedra are two examples. In fact then, from an examination of the releases and music makers noted in Appendix 3, it is evident that throughout the period of the 1990s a wide spectrum of popular musical activity was taking place in the city (incorporating punk at one end and sophisticated balladeers at the other). However, the rest of this section considers in more detail the activities of certain groups of ‘indie’ music makers and highlights the importance of independent labels established in Glasgow in the mid 1990s.

## Growth of Independent Labels

The role of further and higher educational establishments for developing and sustaining Glasgow’s local music scene is considered elsewhere in this thesis; however, one development in 1993 is of particular significance for labels based in the city. In this year the Stow College label, Electric Honey, released their first record, *Buzz EP*, by Baby Chaos. Alan Rankine<sup>123</sup> established the label in order to provide students on the college’s HNC Music Business Administration course with experience of recording and releasing a record. In each subsequent year, for a new in-take of students, Electric Honey has released a new record by a different band. In the remainder of the 1990s these releases included ones by Belle and Sebastian and Polarbear (who later changed their name to Snow Patrol). The Belle and Sebastian release was significant because it was the first full album released by the label and it was also produced on vinyl. *Tigermilk* (EHRLP005) was also Belle and Sebastian’s first release and, although it was initially designed to be a one-off project for Stuart Murdoch,

it unexpectedly became a sensation, earning terrific word of mouth throughout the UK. As a result, the band became slightly more than a school project — it became an actual band. If You're Feeling Sinister, released on the independent Jeepster label, followed in November of 1996. By the time the album was released in America on the EMI subsidiary The Enclave, it had earned considerable critical acclaim in the U.K. — not only from music weeklies, but from newspapers like The Sunday Times and magazines like The Face — and a large cult following; by some accounts, *Tigermilk* was being sold for as much as 75 pounds. (Erlewine, 2013)<sup>124</sup>

The independent release of *Tigermilk*, an album that displays many markers of the ‘twee’ or ‘shambling’ style of ‘indie’ music prevalent in Glasgow’s popular music scene since the mid 1980s, highlights the importance of singular events that cause nebulous, yet

<sup>123</sup> Alan Rankine was one half of The Associates.

<sup>124</sup> <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/belle-and-sebastian-mn0000153565/biography>.

significant, amounts of attention for scene participants. Whitelaw (2005: 96) argues that as ‘far as the press were concerned – and they weren’t, clearly – this was just another cheapo record from another lo-fi Glasgow band; probably wouldn’t even fetch that much at the record exchange, in fact.’ However, in the same book he describes the attention the band received from record company executives at the launch of the album, in Ca-Va studios. Monica Queen, who was there on the night, recalled ‘witnessing something that was incredibly powerful, and you just knew it wasn’t going to end at Ca-Va, that it was going to go somewhere a bit further’ (quoted in Whitelaw 2005: 91). If word-of-mouth communications were more important than press coverage for Belle and Sebastian’s reputation, then the role of national radio was also important for bringing the band to wider attention within the UK.<sup>125</sup>

In between Electric Honey’s first release of the Eight Mile High single and the release of the Belle and Sebastian’s album, in 1995 the Creeping Bent label released its first single for the band Spacehopper: *Milk Metal* (bent 002).<sup>126</sup> Douglas MacIntyre owns the label and he argued that he started it as a vehicle for the Glasgow band The Leopards (they released *Burning/literally Burning* (bent 003) in June 1995). When asked about his motives for starting the label he stated ‘we just wanted to have fun’.<sup>127</sup> Aside from The Leopards and Spacehopper, through the rest of the 1990s Creeping Bent released a large number of singles for Glasgow based bands including The Secret Goldfish, Adventures in Stereo and Scientific Support Dept.<sup>128</sup> These bands represent quite a diverse range of musical styles – The Leopards play quite punk influenced rock, whereas Scientific Support Dept. play electronic music much closer to dance crossover music discussed above.

In contrast, Chemikal Underground, which was also established in 1995 by the band The Delgados, initially as a vehicle to release their own material, has a more identifiable profile in terms of the bands that are on its roster. Co-founder Alun Woodward stated that the music the label releases could be broadly called ‘alternative independent music, but a lot of things we do just don’t fit into that typical ‘indie’ bracket’ (Pollock, 2009). In a separate interview he argued that:

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<sup>125</sup> See section on media for discussion of the role of radio in developing Glasgow’s popular music scene.

<sup>126</sup> Bent 001 was an inaugural event for the label held at The Tramway Theatre on 12<sup>th</sup> December.

<sup>127</sup> Interview in <http://www.erasingclouds.com/04ap.html>.

<sup>128</sup> In 2002 Isobel Campbell (ex Belle and Sebastian) released the album *Ghost of Yesterday* (CB #00027790) in collaboration with Bill Wells on Creeping Bent.

We were all really into music and thought we could start a label, release Delgados stuff and any other bands that took our fancy. There was no plan, no surfeit of business acumen; it was just something we grew up dreaming about and then had the opportunity placed in front of us. (Dobson, 2008)<sup>129</sup>

The label's first release was *Monica Webster/Brand New Car* (chem 001) by The Delgados. However, the following year's release by Bis, *The Secret Vampire Soundtrack* (chem 003), provided a Top Thirty hit with the track *Kandy Pop* and allowed the label to develop the way it has:

With the money from that we signed Arab Strap from a demo; released The Delgados' and Arab Strap's debut albums; moved into our office in Glasgow's East End; and signed Mogwai. We've basically kept moving from there. (ibid)

In a different interview for the same website Stewart Henderson (ex of The Delgados and co-owner of the label) reiterated this notion that the group had, at least initially, no overarching business strategy:

To be honest we had no 'master plan' for Chemikal Underground when we started, shy of thinking up a name, printing letterheads and trying to get a distribution deal. Even though we didn't really have a clue what we were doing, we did have a 'how hard can it be?' mentality, a feeling that we knew what was good and what wasn't, so why not? (Hamilton, 2010a)

In a very similar vein another record label started in 1995 by Urusei Yatsura, a Glasgow-based band, was Modern Independent. A suitable description of Urusei Yatsura comes from an interview that the band did in 1996 where the interviewer (Greer, 1996) describes them as playing 'fuzzed-up guitar music not unlike a lo-fi Sonic Youth or Pavement'.<sup>130</sup> In this interview Graham Kemp from the band affirmed that they too did not have a master plan: 'Oh not at all, no! We don't have the concentration to follow one either! It's just whatever happens, happens'. From a separate interview, published in *Boa* fanzine No. 2, Kemp commented that after the label's first release, a joint single between Urusei Yatsura and The Blisters,

We actually made a success of that single which we weren't expecting to do and apparently no indie labels make any profit whatsoever on singles and we managed to so we know we can do another one and then do another one after

<sup>129</sup> Interview in [http://drownedinsound.com/in\\_depth/3150519-label-profile-16--chemikal-underground](http://drownedinsound.com/in_depth/3150519-label-profile-16--chemikal-underground).

<sup>130</sup> <http://www.oocities.org/weedbus/yatsura.html>.

that [ . . . ] Having done 2 singles that actually did alright we thought we might as well keep on doing this.<sup>131</sup>

The band however, signed to the London based Ché Trading record label and Modern Independent only went on to release two other singles for Glasgow based bands, Eska and Pink Kross.

Another Glasgow based label that began in 1995 was Vesuvius Records, and like Chemikal Underground and Modern Independent, a local musician too established it: Brian McDougall of The Yummy Fur.<sup>132</sup> The label continued on to 1998 and was distinctive in releasing two compilation albums featuring Glasgow artists and records from international artists e.g. Jad Fair. The first release, *In Spelunca* (POMP 001), was also a compilation; released on 10' vinyl it featured a number of Glasgow groups including The Yummy Fur, LungLeg, Sally Skull and Melody Dog.

## Independent Labels in the Mid-1990s

The establishment of the four labels described above: Creeping Bent, Chemikal Underground, Vesuvius and Modern Independent, is interesting for a number of reasons. First, though none of the label owners admit publicly to following an overtly business oriented model of label management, it is notable that independent releases from Glasgow-based bands on Glasgow-based labels doubled in 1995 from previous years (from around ten in 1994 to around twenty), with these four labels accounting for seven of them. By 1995, Scotland (and the rest of the UK) was emerging from an economic recession (Sentence, 2010) and Appendix 3 attests to the way in which this trend for independent releases would continue through the remainder of the decade. If this development was a sign of the economic recovery and the way in which entrepreneurial effort was focused on local popular music, then it is also interesting to note a prescient newspaper article written by David Belcher. In it he quotes four Scottish music businessmen (Ronnie Simpson, Bruce Findlay, Barry Wright and Brian Young) who argued that, although the economic recession of the early 1990s had taken its toll on a lot of Scottish bands, Scottish labels were in a much better place to succeed. The article points to a variety of factors including the fact that a business infrastructure had developed in the country and that 'chequebook label-management has led up a blind alley: there's more of an opportunity for those labels which . . . have of necessity remained attuned to fresh sounds ' (Belcher, 1993a). Whether

<sup>131</sup> Available at [http://membres.multimania.fr/yatsura/inter\\_boa.html](http://membres.multimania.fr/yatsura/inter_boa.html).

<sup>132</sup> The label was co-owned by McDougal, Pat Cook and Marc Baines.

a sign of improved economic conditions or not, J. Mark Percival (2011: 96) is clear that Urusei Yatsura's first release on Modern Independent and the subsequent attention from the national media was important for helping 'other local bands realise that they could themselves release records on their own labels'.

The development of these four independent labels in 1995 is also interesting for another reason: their activity highlights the way in which Glasgow music makers had, by this year, coalesced into an identifiable and strongly interlinked network. Granted, while all four are/were involved in releasing music identifiably aesthetically 'indie' in nature, they also represent quite divergent styles and sub genres of indie music. This divergence of styles however, is not necessarily reflected in the associations that can be drawn out from an examination of the music makers involved with each of the labels. Certainly the Creeping Bent label represented a connection with earlier bands that had been active in Glasgow in the 1980s. Its founder Douglas MacIntyre had been a member of Article 58, a band that had toured with the original Postcard label group Josef K (albeit Josef K were from Edinburgh). The association with Postcard continued with the label's releases of records by the garage punk sounding The Leopards. They are a three piece consisting of Campbell Owens, Skip Reid and Mick Slaven. Owens had been in Aztec Camera (another original Postcard signing), while Reid and Slaven had been part of The Independent Group, signed to the 1990s resurgent Postcard label.<sup>133</sup> Similarly, two ex members of Spirea X formed Creeping Bent's Adventures in Stereo: Jim Beatie and Judith Boyle. Beatie also maintained connections with 1980s' Glasgow through having been an original member of Primal Scream. The label's associations with previous bands from Glasgow also continued with releases from both Bill Wells and Sushil K. Dade (under his name Future Pilot A.K.A.).

## The Density of the Network

If Creeping Bent's artists connect with Glasgow's music makers from previous decades, then both Modern Independent and Chemikal Underground illustrate the density of connections being made within the city's musicians in the mid 1990s. The two are directly linked through both labels' founding bands releasing a joint single, *Stolen Ecstasy 45 Chapter 3* (100GM-18) on the Japanese, 100 Guitar Mania Records. However, another important link concerns the first release on the Modern Independent label, which was a

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<sup>133</sup> Mick Slaven has also played for a number of Glasgow based bands, including Bourgie Bourgie and Del Amitri. Skip Reid also played in The Big Dish.

joint single between Urusei Yatsura and The Blisters.<sup>134</sup> The connection between the two bands was solidified around a live music night that Alex Kapranos ran in the mid 1990s called The Kazoo Club.<sup>135</sup> RM Hubbert<sup>136</sup> recalled a number of prominent bands and musicians playing at the club:

Stuart Murdoch with an acoustic guitar, Mogwai's first gig, John Peel coming down to see Urusei Yatsura [. . .] Pretty much all of the Chemikal Underground bands played their first or early gigs at the Kazoo Club too. (Meighan, 2012)<sup>137</sup>

Other bands that played at The Kazoo Club included Pink Kross and Eska, and they also both released material on the Modern Independent label. The former were an all female three piece and their music has been described as a 'hybrid of surf and punk',<sup>138</sup> while reviews of the latter band compare their sound to American alternative rock bands such as Pavement and Sonic Youth.<sup>139</sup> However, the ties between Urusei Yatsura and Eska were much closer than those of simple label mates – the two groups also toured Japan together (ibid). Touring together is also not solely the province of bands sharing the same label. A further example of the closeness between bands from Glasgow at this time is illustrated by the fact that Mogwai (who released material on Chemikal Underground) toured England in 1996 with Urusei Yatsura (Modern Independent). It is also apposite to point out that Stewart Braithwaite (a founding member of Mogwai) had previously played drums for Eska; a fact that also accounts for both bands performing on the same stage on occasions.

The connections between music makers releasing material on the Modern Independent and Chemikal Underground are only one strand of an interconnected network. An examination of the linkages that Pink Kross provides with other Glasgow music makers is particularly illustrative of this point. In addition to their *Abomination EP* for Modern Independent the band also had four other releases, between 1996 and 1998, on Glasgow-based labels. As noted in Appendix 2, two were for the Flotsam and Jetsam label and two were for the Teen-C Recordings label.<sup>140</sup> However, they also have one track featured on the Vesuvius

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<sup>134</sup> The Blisters became The Karelia and then Alex Kapranos went on to form Franz Ferdinand.

<sup>135</sup> For further discussion regarding the role of live music venues for the development of Glasgow's popular music scene in the 1990s see next section.

<sup>136</sup> RM Hubbert is a musician but also mixed the sound for The Kazoo Club.

<sup>137</sup> <http://thequietus.com/articles/07831-rm-hubbert-alex-kapranos-interview>.

<sup>138</sup> <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/pink-kross-p310967>.

<sup>139</sup> <http://www.diskant.net/features/eska>.

<sup>140</sup> Teen-C Recordings was a short-lived label established in 1996 by the band Bis.

label's *Spooky Sounds of Now* compilation CD released in 1997.<sup>141</sup> Another band, which also had a number of releases on Vesuvius, was LungLeg. Like Pink Kross they were an all female band and their music is described as 'post post riot grrrl'.<sup>142</sup> Whether or not the fact that both bands being all female provided the members with a common bond, extending beyond the normal relationship provided by sharing a label, would be conjecture. However, both bands did perform together at the King Tut's Wah Wah Hut venue, on 11 April 1998.<sup>143</sup>

LungLeg extend the connections between labels further because, aside from releasing two singles and an album with Vesuvius (and having a track included on each of the label's three compilation albums), in 1998 they also released a joint single on the Flotsam and Jetsam label.<sup>144</sup> Furthermore, Jane McKeown, the band's singer, was the sister of John McKeown from the band The Yummy Fur. The Yummy Fur had released a cassette album on the Glasgow based label Destroy All Music<sup>145</sup> in 1994, but also went on to release a single and mini album on Vesuvius, and then later a joint single with the band Olympia for the Flotsam and Jetsam label.<sup>146</sup> The latter label was a joint venture on the part of RM Hubbert, who was in the band El Hombre Trajeado, Sandy Black, from the band The Poison Sisters, and Gordon Davidson from the band The Amphetameanies (and The Stanleys).<sup>147</sup> Although the Flotsam and Jetsam label did not start operating until 1996, with the inclusion of this label connections become even more dense and complex to describe.

A snapshot of the various relations between the music makers involved in these (now) five labels would include members of The Blisters, Dick Johnson, LungLeg, The Amphetameanies, Belle and Sebastian, The Yummy Fur, El Hombre Trajeado, Arab Strap<sup>148</sup>, Eska, The Poison Sisters, Macrocosmica, Teenage Fanclub, Telstar Ponies, and

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<sup>141</sup> This album is not included in Appendix 3 because it mainly features artists from outwith Glasgow.

<sup>142</sup> <http://www.jockrock.org/bands/lungleg.html>.

<sup>143</sup> Supporting Kenickie (another mostly female band).

<sup>144</sup> The other track was by El Hombre Trajeadado.

<sup>145</sup> *Destroy All Music* was a Glasgow based label which released experimental music from mainly non-Glasgow based artists and so, aside from The Yummy Fur entry, has not been included in Table #.

<sup>146</sup> The date of release for this single is disputed, but it appears to be in 2000 (and so is not included in Appendix 3).

<sup>147</sup> <http://thequietus.com/articles/07831-rm-hubbert-alex-kapranos-interview>.

<sup>148</sup> Though originating from Falkirk, Arab Strap have been musically active in Glasgow and a large number of the band's associated musicians are from Glasgow.



Mogwai. Through Mogwai's own label, Rock Action Records further connections can be traced to the James Orr Complex, Desalvo, PH Family, Fenn, Ganger, Aerogramme and Bis.

Aside from the extent to which music makers were directly connected through performing in (and with) different bands, another theme that has consistently arisen from personal interviews conducted for this study, and from published interviews, is the extent to which music makers (and scene participants in general) will help each other. This notion is clearly illustrated by Colin Hardie (band and label manager):

I think in Glasgow, in general, people tend to help each other out. I managed Mogwai for seven or eight years so I've seen that happen at all levels. Where I've been able to help people out and people have helped me out, you know if you need a tour manager or someone to drive a van, there's always lots of good people and people you could trust and could bring in to do jobs for you.  
(quoted in Harvey 2005: 129)

This was also the view of Frances McKee (of The Vaselines/Suckle):

What I think about the City is that people help each other and I notice that that's still going on now. Everyone would help each other, there's not bitchiness. Maybe there was way back before the culture that we grew up in.  
(personal interview, 2011)

Furthermore, David Scott (of The Pearlfishers) also felt that:

I sometimes sensed a competitiveness that I always thought inappropriate in music [. . .] probably the late 80s'/early 90s' [. . .] Towards the 90s I found at that point the general atmosphere among musicians to be much improved. My perception was that there was an incredible supportive network of musicians.  
(personal interview, 2012)

In network theory this notion of supportiveness (or the benefits accrued from an individual socially connecting with others) and network structural properties, such as density or clustering are strongly related (Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1973; Milgram, 1967). As indicated by the above quotes, the benefits of this supportiveness include increased levels of trust and reciprocity, and these notions are strongly associated with another concept prevalent in the literature of network theory: social capital. Unfortunately, both a definition of social capital and its relationship to network structure are contested in the literature of social theory and network analysis.

## The Accumulation of Social Capital

Social capital can firstly be viewed in terms of both the individual within a group/network and the group/network as a whole (Borgatti, Jones and Everett, 1998). In the former, an individual (or actor) can consider how making ‘connections’ can help him/her personally; whereas, in the latter, an actor can benefit from the wider group benefits of general reciprocity and trust, even though that actor did not help to produce them. Utilising this distinction, the term ‘social capital’ as used here, refers to the benefits accrued by the group/network as a whole. Aside from this dualism, there is also considerable debate about what should be considered as social capital, and what should not. Coleman (1988: 98) offers a fairly broad definition:

Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors - whether persons or corporate actors - within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible.

Halpern (2005: 10) discusses other definitions, but argues that most forms of social capital have three basic components: ‘They consist of a *network*; a cluster of *norms, values and expectations* that are shared by group members; and *sanctions* – punishments and rewards – that help to maintain the norms and network’. This definition is also consistent with the four elements or benefits of social capital postulated by Linn (2001) and described in Chapter 2. These benefits include information, influence, social credentials and reinforcement, which equate with the second component to do with the clustering of norms, values and expectations.

In terms of Glasgow’s popular music scene the dense network of ties have been described above. In addition, the elements of social capital have also been alluded to through discussion of musicians from different aggregations (or bands) helping each other in different ways (musical collaborations, sharing equipment, and appearing on the same bill are examples). However, the third component, of sanctions, has not been overtly discussed. As Halpern notes, such sanctions can be subtle and indirect, such as through gossip and reputation. Furthermore, they can also be positive, such as through praise. This component becomes more obvious in terms of Glasgow’s popular music scene in the following section relating to the media.

Returning to the other point, regarding arguments surrounding structural properties of a social network, there is debate about the effects of a dense, cohesive network<sup>149</sup> on the production or flow of social capital. Coleman (1988, 1990) and Burt (1997) take two opposing views on this issue. The former argues that a network consisting of closely-knit actors facilitates trust and cooperative exchanges:

Closure of the social structure is important not only for the existence of effective norms but also for another form of social capital: the trustworthiness of social structures that allows the proliferation of obligations and expectations. Defection from an obligation is a form of imposing a negative externality on another. Yet, in a structure without closure, it can be effectively sanctioned, if at all, only by the person to whom the obligation is owed. Reputation cannot arise in an open structure and collective sanctions that would ensure trustworthiness cannot be applied. Thus, we may say that closure creates trustworthiness in a social structure. (Coleman, 1988:107-108)

In contrast, Burt's structural hole theory argues that social capital results, not from consistent norms developed through cohesive networks, but from a diversity of information and a lack of connection in a sparsely clustered network:

The structural hole argument defines social capital in terms of the information and control advantages of being the broker in relations between people otherwise disconnected in social structure. The disconnected people stand on opposite sides of a hole in social structure. The structural hole is an opportunity to broker the flow of information between people and control the form of projects that bring together people from opposite sides of the hole. (Burt, 1997: 340)

Both anecdotal evidence and knowledge of the relationships evident in Glasgow's music scene point to a cohesive network with high levels of trust and reciprocity. This leads to the view that there is a high amount of accrued social capital present amongst the bands and music makers involved. In turn this substantiates Coleman's arguments regarding the benefits of a cohesive closely-knit network. However, this does not necessarily detract completely from the alternative structural hole theory. A local music scene is built on reputation (scene participants seek to maintain and build on their reputations with other participants). Exchanges between participants of such a scene are as concerned with cooperation and trust, as they are with the competitive advantages to be gained from new sources of information. In a more formal type of network, within a traditional business environment for example, an individual may indeed be able to increase their access to

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<sup>149</sup> A dense network is one in which all (or a large number) of potential relationships in a network are realised.

social capital through brokering information between disparate actors or clusters of actors. Within an informal and less organized network, such as a music scene, this type of benefit may not be so available. In other words, when determining the extent to which network structure engenders the availability of social capital, the nature of exchange between actors may be just as important as the network's structural characteristics. Supporting such a view Gargiulo and Benassi (2000: 194) argue that:

rather than hoping to find an ideal balance between cohesive networks and structural holes, scholars should fully assume the existence of a trade-off that is inherent to the dynamic of social structures and investigate how successful individuals and organizations actually deal with that trade-off.

If the relationship between network structure and social capital is not as deterministic as the two opposing theories would suggest, then, to understand the extent to which social capital is generated, further examination of the mechanisms behind formation of the network is required.

## **The Substitutability of Social Capital**

In relation to Glasgow's popular music scene, some of these mechanisms are discussed in both the previous chapter on the 1980s and further on in this chapter. There are, however, two additional mechanisms important for Glasgow's development in the 1990s: the substitutability of capital, and the increase in the number of scene participants with multiple roles. Given the considerable debate (as indicated above) about the nature and definition of social capital<sup>150</sup> this chapter follows the view that 'there is scope for genuine disagreement over the nature of the concept, without the need to come to a consensus' (Schuller, *et al.* 2000: 23). That said, part of the debate surrounding social capital relates to whether it shares the same qualities as other forms of capital. Robison, *et al.* (2000: 7) argue that the 'essential properties of physical capital goods are: transformation capacity, durability, flexibility, substitutability, decay, reliability, ability to create one capital form from another, opportunities for (dis)investment, and alienability.' They consider that social capital does share all these properties. More specifically, they take the view that social capital is substitutable by providing the example that sympathy can substitute for greed and obligation. Godfrey (2008: 3), who takes a similar view (and one more apposite for this discussion), argues that:

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<sup>150</sup> For a more detailed discussion and critique of the term 'social capital' see Sirven (2008).

social capital can substitute for the lack of other forms of capital. In my case, social capital provided a quick substitute for my lack of human capital. Social capital, in terms of access to supply or customer networks, can substitute for economic capital by building a reputation or brand presence. Microlenders use the group lending method as a form of social capital—peer pressure steps in for the lack of legal contracts or repayment mechanisms within a society. Moses Acquaaah shows us how a strong network, used properly, can substitute for weak human and institutional capital.

Substitution is not necessarily in both directions. If other forms of capital cannot substitute for social capital, Godfrey, and Robison *et al.*, at least take the view that social capital is fungible, where it can make up for a lack of other forms of capital.

The considerable amount of economic capital available to some Glasgow bands in the latter part of the 1980s (stemming from the major record companies) has already been discussed in Chapter 5. Colin Hardie described how this financial support had declined considerably by the 1990s: ‘compared to the early 1990s, there’s not – even the late 1980s with all those bands like Love and Money, Hipsway, Deacon Blue – there’s not as much money to throw about now’ (quoted in Harvey 2005: 132). This is a view echoed by David Scott (personal interview, 2012) when he described his understanding of record companies’ A&R strategies and his own experiences in the late 1980s:

If you decide that Sheffield is where it’s at, and you go there and there is this preconceived notion that everything you see has at least got potential, because it’s from Sheffield, then you are going to sign a lot of stuff that does not have potential, and does not have the chance of doing well. For every ten that you sign, you’re probably going to drop eight. That did happen in Glasgow, with groups like the Wild River Apples, and tons and tons of others. They were really good groups, but none of them were anywhere near ready for that platform [ . . . ] That’s one thing that does bother me about that period – the fact that I ended up in the sausage machine. We got signed up and then dumped. Ultimately, it didn’t bother me, but it did break a lot of peoples’ hearts. Young folk that care about music, and think they’re great, get signed at the wrong time, for the wrong motives, and they don’t get the right mentoring, or love and attention for their music.

It is no coincidence that this (relative) decline in major record company financial support for Glasgow music makers in the late 1980s and early 1990s mirrors a growth in their mutual levels of trust and supportiveness. This increase in levels of social capital and reduction in levels of economic capital reflects the fact that the competitive nature of a large number of the more mainstream and sophisticated sounding bands, who had vied for, received and then lost financial backing from the major record labels, was superseded in the 1990s by a more closely-knit and mutually supportive network of local bands. This

phenomenon is not, of course, mutually exclusive from the two previously discussed trends. In the early 1990s Glasgow music makers diversified (relative to the previous decade) in terms of genre production and crossing over genres. At the same time, by the mid-1990s, the number of independent record labels based in Glasgow had also increased. The substitution of social capital for financial capital supported these trends and helped free music makers from the previously pervasive lure of being signed to a major label. In this way a general increase in the number of both aesthetically ‘indie’, as well as industrially independent, bands was reinforced.

This is not to argue that in the 1990s philanthropy had replaced the desire to profit from cultural production as a main driver of Glasgow’s popular music scene. Robison *et al.* (2000: 9) are clear that motives can be mixed. As an example they point out that sympathy ‘is not expected to be found alone, but rather in complementary combinations with motives of self-seeking and fulfilling obligations’. In response to losing his record deal with CBS David Scott and his band, Hearts and Minds, started to rent a studio space in the Yorkhill Quay area of Glasgow:

I had two or three days a week in there for a hundred quid a month, and that became our base [ . . . ] We were there with other Glasgow bands at the time that shared the space. I eventually moved my eight-track gear, and a reel, and a desk and all the rest of it. We started recording there, and making demos. I actually started recording other people there too.  
(personal interview, 2012)

The sharing of studio rent with other bands, and Scott hiring out his services as a recording engineer for these bands, is a good example of the complementary nature of social capital.

This example of Scott’s leads on to the second mechanism which was particularly relevant to the development of Glasgow’s popular music scene in the 1990s: that of music scene participants playing multiple roles. In the same way as Scott diversified from composing/performing into recording his own (and additional) bands at his studio, other music makers took on different roles. As previously discussed, these included promoting performances by other bands/musicians (in conjunction with, but also separately from, their own performances) and managing record labels. Furthermore, and this is discussed below, members of Urusei Yatsura, were also involved in producing a fanzine, *Kitten Frenzy*. Similarly, the following sections of this chapter also consider the significance of other types of multifaceted participants playing different roles within the local music scene. However, in terms of the present argument, such diversification was important for

increasing network density (and therefore the flows of social capital) because it enabled the ties between actors to both be compounded in nature and to proliferate in number. Rather than one type of exchange taking place between a music maker and another, such as to do with sharing resources e.g. Scott's example of sharing rent on a studio, there was opportunity for a variety of exchanges between the same music makers (depending on the roles being assumed). Thus, for example, music makers are tied to each other not only directly through musical collaboration, but also through the record labels managed by some of these music makers. This in turn, increases opportunities for trust and reciprocity to build between these actors (scene participants). The next section considers how this diversification of roles by music makers was an important facet of female music makers' involvement in Glasgow's music scene in the 1990s.

## The Changing Gender Profile

There is a noticeable increase, from the 1980s, in the number of female actors present within the network of Glasgow's popular music scene. The previous chapter discussed the lack of female actors in the '80s, and highlighted the extent to which this was consistent with earlier research into Liverpool's music scene (Cohen, 1991). Similarly, the increase in female participation over the period of the '90s is also consistent with what Kearney (1997: 216) suggests is a reflection of wider trends outwith Glasgow:

As feminist ideology has broken free of its predominantly political grounding and become diffused throughout mainstream society, many women have become encouraged to see 'the personal as political' and have infused their cultural practices with feminist politics.

Glasgow, like any other large cosmopolitan city, is not closed to trends taking place elsewhere. As noted above, by the mid-90s there were several all female groups based in and around Glasgow,<sup>151</sup> with Pink Kross and LungLeg being the most well known. Though both groups were sometimes linked to the 'riot grrrl' movement that had emerged in 1991, their sounds are more diverse than those of the bands first associated with this movement. This is not to say however, that riot grrrl did not have an influence on these Glasgow groups as Kearney also remarks that:

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<sup>151</sup> This was not however a completely new phenomenon because in the early 1980s there had been two other all female groups: Sophisticated Boom Boom (later His Latest Flame) and Strawberry Switchblade.

representations of riot grrrl in the mainstream press note this community's ties to feminism and several make a more specific reference to its connections with the radical feminism that was dominant in the early years of the 'second wave' women's liberation movement . . . (ibid: 218)

Indeed LungLeg are included in the study of the movement, *Riot Grrr: Revolution Style Now* (2007:67), and it notes that the band 'considered themselves to be privileged in living in a city that was welcoming towards girls in bands'. However, from the mid-1990s onwards and compared to all-female bands, the number of mixed gender bands were much more prevalent. Aside from Bis, these included Belle and Sebastian, Delgados, Secret Goldfish, Urusei Yatsura, Adventures in Stereo, Suckle and The Amphetameanies (to name but a few).

Studies of rock, and guitar music in particular, have marked this music out as male territory (Bannister, 2006) and Glasgow's experience in the 1980s would bear out such studies. However, a change had taken place by the late 1990s – no longer were the female members of bands limited to being vocalists or only gaining membership through familial/romantic ties. In this respect it is notable that while the bassist and drummer in Urusei Yatsura were brother and sister, it was Elaine Graham who joined the band first and her brother, Ian, joined later. Such changes are as much a reflection of the other structural changes described above as they are of the influence of a wider feminist movement. Amanda MacKinnon (Manda Rin) of Bis (and later of Data Panik), acknowledged a debt to other female musicians and the feminist movement:

Feminism and Riot Grrrl were especially influential to me. I was so inspired by Corin Tucker, Beth Ditto and Kathleen Hanna, and probably wouldn't have had the courage to [be in] a band if it weren't for people like that.  
(Glynn, 2007)

However, from an interview quoted in 2006, MacKinnon also acknowledged that the changes that have taken place are not across the board: 'People just involved in music – and who go to like, Sleazy's and Mono . . . and Tut's to a degree, are much more accepting and you get loads of female bands playing, but then you'll go to the rock gigs, and em . . . nothing' (quoted in MacLennan, 2006: 20).<sup>152</sup> In other words, the Glasgow venues that had established themselves as places where the alternative or 'indie' bands performed were much more accepting of women as equals than the venues where more mainstream sounding 'rock' bands played.

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<sup>152</sup> The three venues mentioned by MacKinnon are discussed in more detail below.



The study by MacLennan that the previous quote was taken from, interviewed two other female Glasgow based musicians, one of whom was also active in the 1990s: Natasha Noramly (of Ganger and then Fuck-Off Machete). Admittedly, this study was carried out in the middle of the 2000s, but it is interesting that the participants considered that:

firstly, they are received with more respect by audiences in local alternative music venues; secondly, that they are more confident in organising their own events in alternative venues; and thirdly, that they are granted the freedom and respect to contribute fully to the creative music making process when dealing with trusted local professionals (e.g. studio networks and engineers).  
(ibid: 20)

Such comments reinforce the notion that the increase in the density and cohesiveness of the network of 'indie' music makers in the 1990s also represents an increase in the flow of social capital, equating to an increase in general supportiveness. Furthermore, MacLennan discusses the additional roles that the three women play in their bands e.g. press and promotion work and event management etc. While such work may both be critiqued as being the traditional role of women in the music industries and a political statement informed by a punk-orientated DIY ethic (ibid: 22), it can also be viewed as a further example of scene participants increasing network cohesiveness through taking on multiple roles.

## Public Policy

Previous chapters have discussed the ways in which, from the late 1970s, Glasgow, via the city council and other agencies, has attempted to regenerate itself through cultural activity. In the 1980s the city witnessed considerable change in terms of the refurbishment of city centre areas, investment in the arts (particularly with the introduction of the annual Mayfest festival) and the 'Miles Better' promotional campaign. These efforts culminated in the city hosting the 1988 Garden festival and winning the title of European City of Culture in 1990.

In the 1980s there were however few public initiatives directed specifically at encouraging the development of popular music in the city. As has been pointed out above, The Big Day in 1990 was a spectacle led event, funded as part of the City of Culture celebrations, and while it mainly comprised of internationally known acts (not all from Scotland) it did help to valorise popular musical culture alongside other more established art forms. More generally, David Scott felt that the Year of Culture award did create benefits:

There are definitely tangible benefits from the City of Culture. I think people are aware of the possibilities that exist. When you say something like, “Glasgow is the City of Culture,” and you put a few big things on, then people can tag on to that. (personal interview, 2012)

However, it was not until the 1990s that there were a number of publicly funded initiatives aimed at developing grassroots popular music.

The first of these was the New World Music Seminar, which took place in September 1990, sponsored by the Scottish Development Agency. Symon and Cloonan (2002: 7) consider that ‘it aimed to provide a forum in which to discuss issues of common concern to Scotland's independent rock music sector and a platform from which to sell their wares. Craig Tannock (venue owner) remembered that:

There was an international cast of music worthies there to talk shop, from all over Europe and America. We had Bill Drummond talking about manipulating the media, and a guy from The Farm and Tony Wilson from Factory – he was there to steal ideas for In the City, which took place later on in Manchester. (quoted in Lowndes 2010: 153)

The Sound City convention followed in 1994, and then subsequently The Ten Day Weekend, both of which ‘received substantial financial support from Glasgow District Council, where key politicians and officers were very supportive of popular music in the early 1990s’ (Symon and Cloonan, *ibid*). The Ten Day Weekend ran for three years (1995-1998) and one of the organisers, Julie McCaskill, described the use of council funding:

Glasgow District Council's Performing Arts Department have funded us with £100,000, which we're using as a subsidy in three ways: to reduce ticket prices at bigger gigs; to ensure that smaller bands get paid properly at their gigs; and to market the smaller gigs properly so that the smaller bands will actually be playing to bigger audiences. That way, everybody wins. (quoted in Belcher, 1995b)

Of the local bands that performed in the first year, among them were Urusei Yatsura, AC Acoustics and Bis. However, like the previous events, The Ten Day Weekend aimed to stimulate the development of local popular music through a variety of ways. The same *Herald* article also mentions that:

Along with practical workshop sessions offering advice and instruction in musicianly technique, there's a two-day music business training course, run in conjunction with the Musicians' Union. There's Glasgow Film Theatre's music-

movie season, while the GFT is also home to the Ten Day Weekend's daily seminars. (ibid)

Such events were not the only way that prospective young Glasgow musicians could learn about the music industries. Stuart David and Stuart Murdoch from Belle and Sebastian both met on a Beatbox course in 1994. The course was funded through Training for Work<sup>153</sup> and Whitelaw (2005: 28) describes how it was 'designed to offer budding musicians a chance to become familiar with various aspects of the music business. What interested Stuart David the most, however, was the opportunity it offered to record your own songs in the studio'.

A further source of funding which could impact on local music makers was from community arts projects. David Scott also drew attention to the organisation Impact Arts, which was established in 1994:

The other thing I should have mentioned was the proliferation of community music projects within Glasgow. Impact Arts very early on realised there was money available from council and local government, if you could pitch yourself as a provider of community, or collaborative, or participatory arts practice within a community. The council steadily funded projects like that right the way through the 90s and the 2000s. (personal interview, 2012)

However, not all changes to public policy in the 1990s would benefit grassroots popular music making in Glasgow. In 1997 council funding was withdrawn from the annual Mayfest festival. Although it supported a variety of cultural activities, some from further afield than Glasgow, the festival did also provide direct funding for local popular music makers.<sup>154</sup> More importantly, for the three weeks of the year it ran, the festival also brought later opening hours for public houses and clubs. An indirect benefit of this change was that there was more opportunity for popular music performance, as more public houses actively sought to exploit the festival atmosphere and gain more patronage through providing live music. With the loss of Mayfest pubs would have less impetus to support local music. In a similar manner, in 1993 more restrictive licensing laws came in to effect in Glasgow. These new restrictions meant that clubs were barred from allowing entry to

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<sup>153</sup> Training for Work was a scheme operated by the Job Centre.

<sup>154</sup> An example of this is the 'Class of '89' open air concert at Kelvingrove Bandstand on 30 April 1989.

their premises after midnight,<sup>155</sup> and licensing hours were also limited for some public houses.

In all, Glasgow popular musicians, and the notion of the city's music scene, have both benefited from public policy initiatives and also been disadvantaged by them. High profile events, such as The Ten Day Weekend, helped to draw attention to the city as a place for popular music, particularly with the added input of local and national radio. Given the withdrawal of major label interest at the beginning of the decade, these types of events helped to disseminate popular musical production at the grassroots level.

## Printed Press

### Local Newspapers

As has been remarked in previous chapters, newspapers that were local to Glasgow, such as the *Evening Times*, *Daily Record* and *The Herald* have all provided coverage of local popular music, albeit on an inconsistent basis, in the form of reviews, pre-reviews, more in-depth short articles and free adverts through a 'what's on' column. This remained the case through the 1990s. Examples from the type of article that appeared in *The Herald* have appeared above and they have usually been supportive to the point of providing free publicity.

In addition *The List*, a magazine aimed at publicising events and entertainment in both Glasgow and Edinburgh, and which began publication in 1985 continued through the 1990s – being published on a fortnightly basis. In the absence of a consistent and comprehensive listings section in the local newspapers, *The List* became an important journal at a local level, providing publicity for both live performances and independent releases.<sup>156</sup>

### National Press

*Cut* magazine, which had been the principal Scottish music and popular culture journal in the late 1980s, stopped publication in 1989. However, *M8* magazine, which had begun publication in 1988, continued through the 1990s. In contrast to *Cut*, it had a much wider focus, covering both fashion and reviews of films and music with national distribution. It

<sup>155</sup> Over time the limit was gradually moved to 2.00 am before it was finally lifted in 2004.

<sup>156</sup> For examples of the way *The List* supports local music makers see Chapter 7.

also developed more of a focus on dance music, as that genre gained popularity through the decade. For example, Volume 3, Issue 2 from 1991 provides a Scottish album chart run-down (by Our Price Music) and also provides a dance singles chart (and a review of newly release dance singles) covering international acts. The editorial does have a focus on Scotland and there are two articles on Scottish acts - The Shamen and The Wendys - but this aside, the focus of the edition is geographically wide.

In contrast, *Tennets Live! News (TLN)* was another publication that continued into the 1990s. Though specifically more music orientated than *M8*, its content was much more weighted towards Scottish musicians and bands. An issue from the same year, March 1991, while featuring articles on American acts The Throwing Muses and Robert Cray, also has articles on Glasgow based groups The Silencers, Wild River Apples and Kevin McDermott.

*Bigwig* magazine began publication in 1994, and its format and coverage was similar to that of the now defunct *Cut*, albeit in a slightly more populist tabloid style of writing. Issue 3 from February 1995 includes, alongside features on bands from outside Scotland, such as Suede and Reef, articles on the Creeping Bent label, and interviews with Del Amitri and Simple Minds. The magazine also had regular sections for reviews covering live performances, albums and even demos. As a result there was significant scope for discussion of local acts.

## Fanzines

In the 1980s a number of fanzines produced by both musicians and non-musicians were important for solidifying the notion of a local Glasgow music scene. These were discussed in the previous chapter. However, popular music fanzine production did not disappear in 1990s Glasgow. In the period 1993-94 Graham Kemp of the band Urusei Yatsura produced a fanzine called *Kitten Frenzy*. In style and content it was very similar to the fanzines produced in Glasgow in the 1980s. As well as providing a platform to publicise the various activities of Urusei Yatsura, the fanzine also published feature articles on bands closely tied to it (see above for details of these connections). It also publicised the events taking place at the 13<sup>th</sup> Note venue, a venue where the band frequently performed (and which is discussed in the following section).

## Radio

The previous chapter also discussed the extent to which Radio Clyde, compared to Radio Scotland, supported the local music scene in the early to mid 1980s. This support was tied to commercial radio licensing rules<sup>157</sup> and when these rules changed the level of support (at an institutional level) fell away. One example of this decline was the withdrawal of funding for the annual Kelvingrove Festival in the late 1980s.

Percival (2009: 31) foregrounds the role of BBC Scotland radio programmes in the 1990s, when he refers to the *Beat Patrol* programme: ‘For much of its 16-year run the show was the only national Scottish outlet for new Scottish music, but at times it had company in the schedule in the form of my own shows, *Bite the Wax* (1989–93) and *Electronica* (1997–2000)’. Percival argues that the show had an influence on local music makers in four separate ways: listening as fans, hearing the first demo on the programme, hearing the records on the programme, and having an interview broadcast. In terms of local music makers listening as fans he provides a quote from John Clark (from *Bis*) that also highlights Linn’s (2001) information element of social capital:

It was around about the time of our first gigs...we were aware that *Beat Patrol* did sessions, and that it was a down-to-earth, cool programme to listen to. [I heard about it from] bands and people who go to see bands (John Clark, *Bis*). (ibid: 33)

Clark depended on other scene participants to tell him about the programme and Percival remarks on this fact: ‘Both Steven [Clark, also from *Bis*] and John point to the role of social networks in circulating useful information that will assist in career development’ (ibid).

The notion that local music makers, hearing their music being played on a national (or even a local) radio station, receive validation for their activities has been raised in the previous chapter. Percival makes this point too, in respect of local bands hearing their first demo being played on *Beat Patrol*, but contrasts it with a time when they hear their first record being played on radio:

Radio thus has two evaluative roles for these musicians: first, it allows self-evaluation in terms of technical achievement and production value; secondly, it

<sup>157</sup> Radio Clyde, as an independent local radio, was initially tasked with a public service duty – the Broadcasting Act 1990 relieved independent radio of this duty – see Starkey and Crisell (2008: 18).

validates the music, both in *Beat Patrol*'s implicit approval of the band (through association with other records in the segment) and in the show's explicit evaluation of the band (the presenter's comments). (ibid: 36-37)

Lastly, as Percival (ibid: 37) argues, bands having an interview broadcast on *Beat Patrol* also receive 'a significant form of validation: the show is not only interested in the music, it is interested in the musicians themselves and what they have to say about their music'. Nick Low also remarked upon this notion of validation that local music makers would receive from *Beat Patrol*:

if you talk to Alex Kapranos and the Yummy Fur and all these kind of people, they were all played on Radio Scotland. And it's important to them and they'll come out, and like Beat Patrol finished and Vic [Galloway] finished there, they all came to the last show, because ... I don't know, in an international sense it makes no difference if you play on Radio Scotland or not, but in a local sense it's very important [. . .] and there was a lot of bands for them, that was enough. (personal interview, 2011)

Low's intention here was to indicate that local music makers have different goals and that not all strive to make a living from popular music production – achieving the goal of being played on national radio and the accompanying validation that it creates is sufficient in itself.

## Case Study: Venues

In interviews carried out for this thesis the most remarked upon component of a popular music scene was the live music venue. Second only to the music makers themselves, Glasgow venues were considered the most important for the scene's development and ability to thrive. Not only have venues increased in number over the period of this study, but several interviewees also noted the importance of the variety of venues available for popular music performance:

I mean now you've got a couple of good, not quite Apollo sized, but that sort of sized venue and you've got medium-sized venues and you've got sort of decent pub gigs. It just does seem to be a lot more kind of a variety of things going on. (Henderson, 2009)

From the start-up venues - there are so many bars putting on live music - bands that are just starting up and had a few rehearsals and want to do a live gig can dip their toe in the water - right up to a decent standard of venue. (Coyle, 2009)

I think Glasgow certainly is a great city for if you do want to put an event on and you do want to start a band then there's a great support network that can be used and even now loads of, even galleries are now open to performance - not just the, you know, the stereotypical, I mean we're sitting in a gallery just now, but there's music events in here and owners of such buildings and cafes really are open to, to live music being, being performed, and bands are now looking for nice spaces to play and different spaces to play. (Queen, 2009)

Such comments are useful when considering the networking function of live venues. Previous chapters have discussed various foci, which have been instrumental in promoting network formation within Glasgow's music scene. The relative importance of these foci for such network formation has changed over time. While in the late 1970s record shops were important in providing a social space for like minded music makers to meet, and in the 1980s studio facilities expanded considerably (serving a variety of functions), in the 1990s the increasing number of popular music venues was particularly important for providing further spaces for network formation. Furthermore, as Monica Queen noted above, not only did the numbers of dedicated venues increase, but there also continued to be an ever-increasing variety of places where popular music was performed.

One of these new venues was King Tut's Wah Wah Hut, which opened in February of 1990 (in what was formerly a public house named Saints and Sinners) on St. Vincent Street. The venue comprises of a public bar on the ground level and a separate room for performances, with a capacity of 300, on the first floor. Stuart Clumpas and his company Dance Factory were the proprietors and it was their intention to fill a gap in the market for a small capacity purpose built venue. As discussed in the previous chapter, Night Moves (latterly known as Rooftops), a venue on Sauchiehall Street, had aimed to serve this purpose, but it suffered from being several stories off the ground floor and it was licensed as a club rather than solely for live music. Tam Coyle (a DJ, manager and promoter) initially worked for Dance Factory as a booker of bands for King Tut's, and he described the problems with another venue, Fury Murry's:<sup>158</sup>

I used to put on shows for years at Fury Murry's as well. I did a lot of shows in the early to mid-80s and the people behind Fury's were great but for those who don't know it - I can't describe it - it's a curve shaped room - not even an L shaped room - and to try and get a decent sound in Fury's was legendary. There have been another two or three venues that weren't set up particularly for live music - there's two or three other venues that I've hired or anybody else has hired (to use as a venue) and the management maybe weren't gig friendly or band friendly in some respects. So, sometimes maybe you were in venues

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<sup>158</sup> See Chapter 5 for further information about Fury Murry's.



and the sound wasn't magnificent or the bar staff was not particularly up to run gigs and it wasn't a pleasant experience as purpose built venues like King Tuts. (personal interview, 2009)

According to its own website King Tut's has indeed succeeded in its efforts to improve on the failings of others:

King Tut's is an integral part of Glasgow's thriving grassroots music scene as well as bringing the most exciting new talent from across the globe to the city. Playing a gig at this three hundred capacity venue has become a seminal point in the career of an impressive array of artists leading NME to hail King Tut's in 2007 as 'quite possibly the finest small venue in the world', and Radio One to name it 'UK's Best Live Venue' three years in a row.<sup>159</sup>

Since it opened in 1990, the venue has not changed greatly in terms of its event programming. It continues to promote performances by both touring bands and artists from outside Glasgow and also by local music makers (through providing opportunities for them to support touring bands or through sharing a bill made up of local bands). However, while the venue has operated in more or less the same way since 1990, the company that owns King Tut's (now called DF Concerts) has developed quite considerably over the period. In 1994 the company staged the first T in the Park festival at Strathclyde Park, Hamilton and by 2000 was one of Scotland's most successful music businesses (Cloonan and Frith, 2010).<sup>160</sup>

In terms of contributing to the notion of Glasgow's music scene, aside from providing physical space for local music makers to meet, it is King Tut's reputation (much like the Barrowlands) that is most significant and inspires local music makers to want to perform there. However, the venue does contribute to the local music scene in other ways and these are discussed below. Just before it was bought over and became King Tut's Wah Wah Hut, the venue was known as The Buck. This was one of the venues in the late 1980s where Tower Beat (run by Tower Records) ran the demo disco to promote locally produced music.<sup>161</sup> In November 1991 Craig Tannock (and Calum Mclean), moved Tower Studios from the original premises near Park Circus in the west end of the city to a

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<sup>159</sup> <http://www.kingtuts.co.uk/history.html>.

<sup>160</sup> For further discussion of the role of DF Concerts for Glasgow's local music scene see Chapter 7.

<sup>161</sup> See Chapter 5.

basement in Renfrew Court. This new location was opposite where the Apollo theatre had stood, and so they named their new venture after the famous venue.<sup>162</sup>

The new Apollo, which operated as both a venue and studio, was short-lived. In August 1992 water damage caused by a fire above the premises meant that it had to close. However, Tannock, along with John Williamson (who had also been involved with the setting up of The Apollo) had already taken out a lease on an ailing public house on Glassford Street, called Traders (Lowndes, 2010). Opening under the name of the 13<sup>th</sup> Note in December of the same year, the pair continued to operate it as a venue similar to what they had begun as The Apollo. Mclean, for his part, continued the recording side of the operation in premises around the corner from the 13<sup>th</sup> Note in Garth Street. The new studio also incorporated a musical instrument retail business and opened as Merchant City Music. Emblematic of the times, Tower Studios' initial business of providing rehearsal studios was discontinued. Performance venues/spaces in 1990s' Glasgow were where entrepreneurial activity was focused.

Before discussing in more detail the interactions of these new venues with the city's local music scene, it is important to mention one other venue that also opened in 1991: Nice N' Sleazy, on Sauchiehall Street. Similar to King Tut's Wah Wah Hut, the venue consists of a bar and a separate performance space (this time downstairs). In terms of capacity, Nice N' Sleazy was similar in size to the 13<sup>th</sup> Note in Glassford Street, but both venues were/are slightly smaller than King Tut's.<sup>163</sup> According to the Mercury Prize Blog website

Sleazy's started with a train of thought that's been consistent over the past two decades. "There were so few bars that you could go into where you knew you were going to hear good music" said music booker Mig in an interview in 2008. "Most of them just had a chart CD behind the bar. When we first got a jukebox we told the company we didn't want any of their CDs and put all our favourites in instead." The same approach applied to the type of bands that were booked to play at the venue. From the outset Sleazy's set out to provide a platform for bands that mightn't have got much of a look in anywhere else in town.<sup>164</sup>

As it is smaller Nice N' Sleazy (or Sleazy's) has traditionally provided a performance space for local, i.e. West of Scotland, music makers. However, it has also hosted performances by touring bands from further afield.

<sup>162</sup> The basement had already been used as a café/bar/venue/rehearsal room called The Shelter.

<sup>163</sup> In 1998 the 13<sup>th</sup> Note relocated to King Street.

<sup>164</sup> <http://mercuryprize.com/blog/?p=619>

## Venues Engendering Social Interactions

The importance of different types of space(s) for a music scene has been discussed in previous chapters. In terms of developing identity (Shank, 1994; Hetherington, 1998) and in terms of building cohesion through certain types of practice (Lefebvre, 1991), space and place play an important role. This chapter argues that the proliferation of venues (and particularly venues used by the previously identified ‘indie’ musicians) was important for maintaining and developing the sense of scene that had first taken root in the late ‘70s/early ‘80s. A rather long quote from local musician Jo Mango<sup>165</sup> sums up a number of factors relating to Glasgow musicians’ use of public houses/performance venues:

Over my time playing in bands here – and elsewhere – I can’t escape the conclusion that it’s all about the incredibly friendly atmosphere that pervades musical endeavours and seems to be contagious amongst musicians in Glasgow. That feeling we’ve all felt at one time or another, that music is some kind of competition, to be won only by bitching and back-stabbing and elbowing small children out of the way, seems to be beaten down by the opinion that we’re all in this together, and that a wee beer and some friendly chat about what we’re up to is bound to be more conducive to creativity. At least, that’s what I hope is the answer! I’ve seen it many times – when members of Snow Patrol, Belle and Seb, Arab Strap, Astrid, met at a Lou Barlow gig, had some beers and hatched a plan to make the first Reindeer Section album. As when the Monday night Open Mic at Nice n’ Sleazy weekly hosted the most awful of amateur crooners alongside visiting stars like Elliott Smith, Stevie Jackson, Damon Gough, Gary Lightbody, and yet everyone got the same uproarious applause. Actually, it was there that I made friends with guitarist Gareth Dickson, who then made friends with Vashti Bunyan, and she eventually took us all off on tour round the world with her.<sup>166</sup>

The Lou Barlow<sup>167</sup> performance that Mango refers to was also at Nice N’ Sleazy and highlights the extent to which this venue became a ‘hub’ where local musicians could meet and interact. The quote also mentions Gary Lightbody (of the band Snow Patrol) and for a period in the 1990s, Lightbody also worked behind the bar at Nice N’ Sleazy. Just as record shops and studios provided employment for local musicians, so did venues (singer Monica Queen worked at The Apollo, drummer/sound engineer Richie Dempsey worked at the 13<sup>th</sup> Note and musician RM Hubbert later worked at King Tut’s Wah Wah). The fact that such venues had prominent scene participants working for them meant that other scene participants (their fellow band members for instance) were more likely to also frequent the

<sup>165</sup> Jo Mango was not active on Glasgow’s music scene in the 1990s, but her comments relate to that time period. For further information see <https://www.facebook.com/JoMangoOfficial>.

<sup>166</sup> <http://www.solasfestival.co.uk/author/admin/page/2/>.

<sup>167</sup> Lou Barlow is an American guitarist/song-writer, and member of the band Sebadoh.

venue, which in turn would attract other scene participants (and aspirant scene participants), and so reinforce the notion of the venue as a ‘hub’.

In addition to formal employment, the 13<sup>th</sup> Note and Nice N’ Sleazy also provided other opportunities for local music makers to both make money and to interact with other like minded musicians. Mention has already been made of The Kazoo Club, which was run by Alex Kapranos (of the band Franz Ferdinand) and RM Hubbert (of the band El Hombre Trajeado) – who sound engineered. In an interview Kapranos explained that:

Every Tuesday night in the early to mid-90s we'd do the Kazoo Club. It was free entry, and the only rule that we had for booking bands was that they weren't morally offensive to us. [Laughs]. We ended up quickly attracting this scene with loads of folk who couldn't get gigs anywhere else.  
(quoted in Meighan, 2012)

The club in turn spawned a compilation album issued on vinyl,<sup>168</sup> and this included a track by Urusei Yatsura. Harvey (2005: 75) argues that this brought the band

to the attention of the late great John Peel, who duly invited them to record a session for his Radio 1 show. With the proceeds, the band started their own label on which the first release was a joint single with the Blisters in 1995. Alex returned the favour by playing organ for the band on a subsequent recording. It was also the 13<sup>th</sup> Note that enabled the Blisters to get three of the band’s songs released on a 1995 compilation.

The Kazoo Club at the 13<sup>th</sup> Note is a good example of the way in which the venue provided a social space (free of charge) and where interactions or exchanges between scene participants (network actors) could take place. These exchanges, further developed cultural production through the performances taking place on the nights and then finally on to release of recorded music. What is equally important is that these types of exchanges, involving reciprocity and trust, increased the flow of social capital, which in turn reinforced the cohesiveness of the network. Fergus Lawrie (of the band Urusei Yatsura) expressed the importance of face-to-face interactions in a different way:

What's happening in Glasgow is very good at the moment cos there are 2 venues...not King Tuts - the 13th Note if you've just formed and basically playing for a laugh and Nice and Sleazy if you think you can get enough people there to cover the PA so obviously all the bands get to know each other

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<sup>168</sup> No catalogue number or label details are available for this release.

rather intensely cos they keep bumping into each other whether they like it or not. (quoted in *Boa* fanzine No 2, 1995)<sup>169</sup>

Lawrie's comments not only valorise performance venues as places where music makers can meet, they also highlight both the intensity of these meetings and the fact that different types of venues serve different functions.

## Popular Music Performances as Events

The opening of venues, such as King Tut's Wah Wah Hut and Nice N' Sleazy, were important for providing both performance spaces and networking opportunities for local music makers. However, as noted by Monica Queen, in addition to these dedicated performance spaces, live popular music from the 1990s onwards, was also remarkable for the growth in the number of performances that took place in non-standard venues.

Mention has already been made in previous chapters of performances taking places in cafes (Café Vaudeville) and spaces traditionally used for classical music performance (Henry Wood Hall). Nevertheless, the variety of performance spaces utilised by promoters and music makers in the 1990s reflected both the previously noted trends towards diversity (as discussed in terms of genre cross-over) and DIY ethos (represented by the growth of independent record labels). Furthermore, this use of non-standard rock/pop venues for performance also represented a broader shift in entrepreneurial effort by the city's music performance organisers. Though not paradigmatic, this shift was emblematic of three other growing trends taking place in Glasgow at that time. First, the increasing number of venues and resultant growth in competition, prompted promoters of live music performances to increasingly utilise hype and spectacle to market such events. Equally, such a shift also reflected the growing connections that were being made between producers of different cultural products. Sarah Lowndes discusses the emergence of the Glasgow art scene and in *Social Sculpture* (2010: 9) also focuses on the strong ties the scene had with the city's music makers. She argues that 'art being produced in Glasgow since the early '70s had been increasingly influenced by the parallel growth of the grassroots music scene in the city'.<sup>170</sup> Third, the shift also represented the trickle down effect of place marketing events, which publicly funded organisations were using to attract capital and investment to the city.

<sup>169</sup> [http://membres.multimania.fr/yatsura/inter\\_boa.html](http://membres.multimania.fr/yatsura/inter_boa.html).

<sup>170</sup> See Chapter 7 for a more detailed discussion of the intersection between the art scene and the music scene.

Regarding this last development, the decade began with one of the largest popular music spectacles the city had ever witnessed. The Big Day was a free event, which took place on 3 of June 1990, as part of the city's celebration of being European City of Culture.

Amongst a variety of international music makers the event also featured local bands such as Deacon Blue, Hue and Cry and Hugh Reed and The Velvet Underpants. Boyle and Hughes (1994: 462) argue that:

The presentation of Glasgow as a place of spectacular events was particularly evident in the case of the *Big Day*: a rock and pop festival held in June 1990. Over forty leading bands played in three different venues in the city in the course of one day.

In their view local councils, to attract investments and tourists to Glasgow, use events such as the Big Day. They argue that 'high profile place marketing events help to consolidate support for entrepreneurialism by cultivating a new sense of place identity rooted in the idea of inter-locality competition for inward investment' (ibid: 467). It is not surprising then, that cultural entrepreneurs working in the city have sought to emulate (albeit on a much smaller scale) such events utilising Council funded venues. One example is Douglas McIntyre who manages the aforementioned Creeping Bent label. He launched the label on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1994 by holding a live 'event' at the Tramway theatre/gallery space called "A Leap Into The Void BENT 001" It was like a mixture of film and live bands and stuff like that, a homage to Yves Klein' (Sladeckova, 2004).

The Creeping Bent launch was not solely about live music, it involved a variety of artists, and a similar event, highlighting the connections between the city's art and music scenes, took place in 1998 in the Transmission gallery (King Street). In this year the 13<sup>th</sup> Note venue relocated from Glassford Street to King Street and during "the spring of 1998 Transmission capitalised on the new proximity of the heartland of alternative music in the city, by staging Something Aaah! Nothing, an exhibition that turned the gallery into a live music venue" (Lowndes, 2010: 267). The 13<sup>th</sup> Note donated the stage from their old premises and bands that performed included Fukuyama, The James Orr Complex and Cylinder.

Neither was the Creeping Bent launch the first time an event of that type had occurred at the Tramway. In September the previous year Alan Horne's revitalised Postcard label, in association with *Blueprint* magazine, held an event at the venue involving live music, but also featuring the work of local designers, such as Timorous Beasties and Blue Peach

(Bruce, 1993).<sup>171</sup> New Postcard signings, Paul Quinn and the Independent Group and The Nectarine No 9 performed. While, at the beginning of the 1980s, previous original Postcard bands' Orange Juice and Aztec Camera performed in standard venues, such as clubs and student unions,<sup>172</sup> label manager Alan Horne chose very different venues to promote its new releases in 1993. Before the Tramway event, Horne had held 'events' at the Royal Air Force Association club (in Ashley Street) on each of the five Thursdays in July. He called the nights 'Fin de Siècle' and they clearly demonstrated his awareness of the role of spectacle and multi-media to promote popular music in a city where the art and music scenes had grown together. A preview of the performances appeared in *The Herald* (Belcher, 1993b) newspaper, the wording of which is very illuminating:

Seeking to jump start a singular, more self assured era in Glaswegian night-time revels, Postcard's sturmgruppenfuhrer Alan Horne ushers in Fin de Siècle at the Royal Air Force Association club in Ashley Street on Thursday night featuring Paul Quinn and The Independent Group "and whatever guests happen to be in town . . . Edwyn Collins, maybe"

Running on every one of July's five Thursdays, the first Fin de Siècle will also be distinguished by the presence of a Japanese film crew, people in real fur coats ("not very PC, I know", says Horne), and Lady Amber OBE, a DJ whose DJ'ing will make every other Glasgow club DJ as hip as Dave Lee Travis. Or so the supreme conceptualiser Mr Horne says.

Additionally, Alan says that Fin de Siècle will be "a piece of nonsense", that the RAFA club is straight out of Twin Peaks; that the first 120 souls paying through the door at 8.30 will be the only ones who'll get in, and that the whole shebang will be also appearing in Edinburgh and New York.

The article, while being very much a promotional tool for the events, does underline the extent to which this was a departure from the normal type of popular music performance that had taken place in Glasgow in the past. It also stresses its exclusivity by warning that only 120 people will be able to attend and that there may be competition to gain admittance.

After the Fin de Siècle and Tramway performances, Horne promoted two further events for Paul Quinn and The Independent Group. Following the Tramway performance the group also performed on 29 October. This time, eschewing both standard music venues and

<sup>171</sup> The event took place to coincide with the Design Renaissance conference being held in the city at the same time.

<sup>172</sup> See <http://www.songkick.com/artists/477518-aztec-camera/gigography> and <http://www.edwyncollins.com/forum/topics/orange-juice-gigography>.

established theatres, Horne had the group perform in the Old Athenaeum theatre in Buchanan Street<sup>173</sup> and, while it was a more conventional type of performance compared to the previous events, the newspaper preview described it in similar terms:

#### Happening accident

Described by its chief conceptualiser, Postcard supremo Alan Horne, as “a series of experiences, a lot of planned accidents, Cowboy Resonating at Glasgow’s Old Athenaeum on Friday, October 29, promises to be an evening of music, slides, and sample. Paul Quinn and the Independent Group will be providing most of the music, in two sets, and you are advised to secure your tickets forthwith. (Belcher, 1993c)

Again, it uses language to convey spectacle and eventfulness, distancing the event from standard popular music performances. In very much a similar vein, a year later, on 12 October 1994, Horne arranged for Paul Quinn and the Independent Group to perform at the Glasgow Film Theatre (GFT). This time the group would perform with scenes from different films projected onto the screen of the cinema behind them. Again, a preview of the event appeared in *The Herald* (Belcher, 1994) newspaper, where Horne described what would be taking place:

Cheap Flights designed by John Main and Paul Sorley, will be “about thinking, and doing stupid things rather than copying other people’s successes. It will be a theatrical spilling- out on to the streets . . . and an opera singer, Jane-Marie O’Brien, running through the street to the GFT from the Theatre Royal after having appeared in *Mary Stuart*, so she can sing the Flower Duet from *Lakme* in counterpoint to Paul Quinn and the Independent Group [. . .] It will be a band and films, like *The Loveless*, *The Wild One*, *Un Chien Andalou*, *Midnight Cowboy*, *Taxi Driver* . . . and a lo-tech programme like a fanzine.”

In the same article Horne described wanting to ‘do this in 1978 with Orange Juice at the Third Eye Centre, projecting *Midnight Cowboy* on to them, but we were perceived as punk-rock muck in those days’ (ibid). If this was the case then it illustrates how Glasgow had changed over the period of 15 years. In 1994 there were not only a supply of suitable venues for non-standard popular music performance but policy makers actively encouraged such events.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>173</sup> At the time of their performance Scottish Youth Theatre group used the theatre space.

<sup>174</sup> Cheap Flights at GFT was supported by Sound City - see following section on policy makers.



Before moving on to discuss other types of venues that were being used for popular music performance in 1990s Glasgow, it is also worth considering the ways Belle and Sebastian have also used non-standard venues to create events rather than simply replicate their songs performatively. As discussed above, on 6 June 1996, instead of launching their first album by performing a live concert in a music venue, they chose to perform at Ca Va studios where they recorded the album (and specially invite an audience of 300 to the event). However, before the launch they also performed at a café (Café Soma on 1 January 1996) and preceding the release of their second album, *If You're feeling Sinister* (JPRCD/LP 001), they also chose to play at the Moir Hall in Glasgow's Mitchell Library (18 October 1996). As Whitelaw (2005:118) points out the 'library wasn't used to accommodating rock 'n' roll bands, of course, so the group had to set up their own stage; in fact they set up two, one for the main body of the group and another at the opposite end of the room for Stuart David and Chris'.<sup>175</sup> In a similar to way to Alan Horne the group were concerned with creating something more than a live performance involving the routine playing of their songs. At the Moir Hall they performed the new album in its entirety, in sequence, and Stuart David (their bassist during this period) admitted to Paul Whitelaw that he was more interested in just 'the event of the thing' than the musical performance (ibid). In pursuing a policy where the band performed in unusual and small venues (smaller than demand for tickets would otherwise suggest), Belle and Sebastian were both reinforcing their word-of-mouth reputation and building an air of exclusivity to their live shows. Such a policy developed their (sub)cultural capital (Thornton, 1995), and this in turn augmented their commercial success. The DJ Mark Radcliffe considered that Belle and Sebastian have

become quite a big band without ever having become part of the music biz establishment. And it's a feeling that it's somehow a club, a private members club, and to feel really at home there you have to know everything that was going on. Which doesn't mean that we don't want it to be the biggest possible private members club. And I think Belle and Sebastian and their fans deliberately or by chance engendered that feeling, that the band is ours, and we'll never release it to the mainstream, and the band have a personal affection for the fans. (quoted in Whitelaw, 2005: 266)

A further example of the band engendering this air of exclusivity was their almost private performances at the church hall in the Hyndland area of Glasgow, where Stuart Murdoch was a caretaker. These were events that also attracted an audience through 'word of

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<sup>175</sup> Chris Geddes, keyboard player.

mouth' and their exclusivity added to their attraction.<sup>176</sup> Certainly, the event prompted other performances at the same church hall, including Glasgow band Camera Obscura<sup>177</sup> who performed there on 3 March 1998, along with another Glasgow-based band, Astrid, and Stevie Jackson (from Belle and Sebastian).

## Other Venues

Dedicated popular music venues, which charged admission prices, and church halls, were of course not the only types of venues to feature in Glasgow's musical infrastructure in the 1990s. Previous chapters have discussed the prominent role that pubs and nightclubs (discotheques) played in supporting the emerging popular music scene in the 1970s and 1980s. These types of venues continued to be important for Glasgow in the 1990s. As the quotes from scene participants provided at the top of this section highlight, Glasgow is/was able to provide music makers with a great variety of venues, catering for bands playing live for the first time to internationally recognised artists. Furthermore, venues such as clubs and public houses also serve the additional function of being foci where music makers meet to interact and network with one another.

Through the decade a large number of Glasgow's public houses acted, at one time or another, as venues for popular music performance. Aside from ones that have previously been mentioned in other chapters, and which may have continued to provide live music in the 1990s, others, which were fairly consistent in their provision, included the Halt Bar (Woodlands Road), Speaker's Corner (Charing Cross), Bar Miro (Kelvingrove Street) and McChuills (High Street). Of these, the Halt Bar provides a good example of the ways in which venues create possibilities for network formation between music scene participants. As discussed above, before joining Belle and Sebastian, Stevie Jackson was a member of The Moondials (a group that had released an EP on Stow College's Electric Honey label, a year before Belle and Sebastian's debut album). Between the years 1992 and 1995 The Moondials performed regularly at the Halt, but more significantly they were also responsible for the 'open mic' stage, which from 1994, they managed every early evening on a Saturday and a Wednesday night. *The Herald* (Richardson, 2007) views the Halt's continuing provision of an open stage as being particularly important for the local music scene:

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<sup>176</sup> Though the author was present at one of these events, it has not been possible to find specific dates.

<sup>177</sup> Until 2000 Belle and Sebastian's drummer, Richard Colburn, also played drums for Camera Obscura.

A significant factor in Glasgow's reputation as a cradle of music is the city's robust support of grassroots talent. And nowhere is this more visible than the open-mic nights of its traditional pubs. At the Halt Bar, venerable gents of indeterminate age with a penchant for dominoes and blethering at the counter mix easily with the hip, indier-than-thou students who crowd the gigs in the Halt 2 next door.

Networking websites like MySpace may have been a boon for attracting music fans to pass judgment on their peers, allowing the Halt to stage its own 32-act mini-festival last month, but the price of drinks at the pub are surely every bit as compelling. Cheap creative inspiration, such as £1 for the house vodka or whisky, was probably at least partly responsible for bands such as Astrid and Belle and Sebastian effectively forming here (leaving aside B&S singer Stuart Murdoch's teetotalism).

The reference to Belle and Sebastian's formation being connected with the Halt Bar is a good example of the networking possibilities engendered by 'open mic' events.<sup>178</sup>

Whitelaw (2005) describes how Stuart Murdoch would perform regularly at the Wednesday evening slot and how 'Stevie first encountered the two Stuarts performing together – possibly as Lisa Helps the Blind – at the Halt Bar' (ibid: 52).<sup>179</sup> Highlighting the fact that a regular open mic event can provide, over a period of time, the opportunity for meaningful connections to be made between music scene participants, Stevie Jackson described seeing Stuart Murdoch perform:

About the second or third time I saw him I thought he really had something quite special. It was Saturday afternoon and it was still quite quiet and Stuart was singing 'The State I'm In,' and I thought it was amazing. I was just so moved by it and I think I said something kinda corny to him outside the pub that night, 'I think you're going to be a huge star.' He just said, Oh, thanks very much. (quoted in Whitelaw, 2005: 53)

Such an encounter may not have been as easily formed without the regularity of the event.

Regarding the role of nightclubs in the 1990s, in the first section concerning music makers discussion was given to the ways in which venues catering for dance music and producers of the genre interacted with rock/pop musicians. Keith McIvor (DJ/musician/label owner) was identified as being a central individual in this crossover, and here it is only necessary to reiterate the significance of his club night, Optimo,<sup>180</sup> which ran on Sunday nights in the aforementioned Sub Club venue. In further support of her view that there is a strong link

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<sup>178</sup> The open mic night provided opportunities for whole bands, individuals and different aggregations of music makers to perform.

<sup>179</sup> The two Stuarts were Stuart Murdoch and Stuart David from Belle and Sebastian.

<sup>180</sup> Founded in conjunction with Jonnie Wilkes.

between the art and music scenes in Glasgow, Lowndes (2010: 253) considers that ‘the fusion of art and music in the city often found best expression not in galleries but in the nightclubs that kept running throughout the ‘90s’. She goes on to consider that:

The music of German acts like Chicks on Speed, Miss Kittin & The Hacker and Pole provided a fresh injection of skewed electronica to Glasgow’s house and techno scene, inspiring local acts like Mount Florida, Pro Forma and Bis, all of whom went on to perform at Optimo. (ibid: 254)

Aside from Optimo, The Arches (Midland Street), Soundhaus (Hydepark Street) and The Cathouse (Brown Street)<sup>181</sup> were three other club-oriented venues which opened in the 1990s, and which also provided for the occasional performances from live (and local) acts. The Arches is another example of the crossover between music and other arts in the city. Describing itself as a ‘cultural space’ its website notes that:

Andy Arnold founded the venue as a theatre space in 1991, and discovered that putting on club nights was an excellent way to help support his artistic programme. This practise continues to this day; clubbing revenue generating income for the theatre, visual art and live music programme in the building.<sup>182</sup>

Glasgow based bands that performed there in the 1990s included Mogwai (30 November 1997) and Urusei Yatsura (15 and 16 March 1998).

In contrast, Soundhaus opened in 1998 as a private members’ club and its main focus was to provide a venue for a variety of club nights. However, its main room was equipped with a stage suitable for live performance and it also interacted with the local music through providing two rehearsal rooms which bands and musicians could hire. Lastly, The Cathouse opened in 1990 and marketed itself towards fans of heavy rock and sub-genres/cultures, such as emo and goth.<sup>183</sup> However, it too provided a live performance venue for both touring and local acts alike (representing a variety of genres and sub-genres). Before being known as British headline acts The Verve and Oasis performed there together on 10 December 1993, while Mogwai performed there on both 10 December 1995 and 26 March 1996.

The opening of new nightclubs that also promoted live music, the move towards promoting live popular music events in non-standard venues, and the opening of several dedicated

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<sup>181</sup> The Cathouse opened in Brown Street in 1990 but moved to Union Street in 1995.

<sup>182</sup> <http://www.thearches.co.uk/about-us>.

<sup>183</sup> In 1995 it relocated to Union Street.

live music venues, were all pivotal in propelling Glasgow's popular music scene on from its emergence in the 1980s. The venues discussed above all contributed to maintaining this notion of a music scene; whether through providing a focal space where music makers could meet, interact, be employed, or simply perform; or through developing connections with other cultural producers, such as local artists, thereby engendering 'mixed' cultural events; or through assisting the notion of Glasgow as a cultural city by contributing to clever, reputational enhancing, place marketing events. These developments were not sudden, but rather can be placed on a continuum that describes the arc of Glasgow's transformation from a city where popular music's sole function was to entertain the industrial working masses, to one that relies on a thriving cultural sector, encompassing the music industries, for investment and tourism. As discussed above, some policy initiatives helped to promote this gradual change. However, as noted previously, the commercial success of Glasgow popular musicians, as defined by the number of acts being signed to major record labels, had been a hallmark of the Glasgow music scene in the mid-1980s. This success did not continue and so one response was for the city's music makers to become more proactive, and the developments in music venues in the 1990s were also then a reaction to this change.

## Summary

In 1999 there were around thirty releases by Glasgow-based bands on independent labels based in Glasgow. This contrasts with the equivalent figure of nine in 1990. Although these figures represent a singular type of musical entity – not taking into account releases on other independent labels and on major labels, or even the numbers of live musical performances – it is indicative of the increase in local popular music activity that had taken place over the decade. Aside from an increase in the number of bands active in Glasgow, there also was a considerable increase in the number and variety of venues where popular music was performed.

This chapter has argued that this increase in grassroots popular musical activity can be explained by a number of interwoven factors. Firstly, the commercial and/or high profile success of Glasgow based bands in the previous decade had developed out of an initial period of post-punk DIY musical activity. By the end of the 1980s the notion of Glasgow as a place for cultural industry, as promoted by the city council and the Scottish Development Agency, also gave a strong boost to the acceptance of popular music production as a cultural industry sector. However, the gap caused by the subsequent lack

of major record company interest in Glasgow bands at the start of the 1990s was only slowly filled by independent (in the industry sense of the term) popular musical activity. This development came about for a number of reasons, but by 1995 there were a number of independent labels established in Glasgow and these all supported a move towards increased network formation. An important factor in this development was the necessity by a group of music scene participants to take on multifarious roles. For example musicians also became label managers and/or became promoters. This move helped the large number of separate musical cliques, which had been evident in the 1980s, to form a more densely connected and cohesive network. Using network theory this chapter also argued that the accompanying increase in trust and supportiveness found in such a dense network, can be explained in terms of an increase in the flow of social capital between participants (or ‘actors’ to use network theory terminology). This increase in social capital acted as a substitute for the lack of economic capital prevalent in the mid 1980s.

Furthermore, this move towards a more densely connected network was greatly enhanced by the types of venues that opened in the 1990s. Dedicated spaces for popular musical performance opened alongside the use of a growing variety of non-standard spaces. In addition, the mediation of popular music from Glasgow continued through a variety of media. All of this increased network opportunities and strengthened the notion of a Glasgow music scene.

## Chapter 7 - 2009

‘Glasgow is a village’ (Calum McMillan, 2013)

### Introduction

This chapter considers the ways in which the Glasgow music scene has developed between the years 1999 and 2009. In particular it focuses on the grassroots musical activity that was taking place in the city at the end of this period, and in so doing foregrounds (as with previous chapters) the releases of music by local musicians on local labels and local live performance by local musicians. In so doing, it highlights a number of developments that took place over the period of the 2000s, with particular reference to the ways in which some components of the scene had consolidated their position within the city while others had declined in their importance. A particular focus of this chapter is the relative increase in the importance of the Internet and the ways Glasgow music scene participants have utilised this technological development.

A number of themes, highlighted in previous chapters, continue to be of importance to Glasgow’s music scene in 2009. Not least among these is the heterogeneous nature of popular music produced in the city and the importance of network formation for this continuing diversity. The notion of a plurality of scenes rather than one scene is even more relevant to 2009 than in previous periods, and the willingness of Glasgow music makers to collaborate and cross-fertilise different styles and sounds is of particular importance to this development. Equally important is the way in which scene participants continued to carry out more than one role and how this multi-tasking provided an avenue for network ties to be developed between what would otherwise appear to be disparate elements within the music scene.

The chapter also argues that by 2009 certain features of Glasgow’s music scene had become established (in terms of operating over a long period of time). It discusses the notion of such a scene having both elites and peripheral participants, and provides examples of elements within the city’s music scene that have had considerable longevity, and which continue to operate without depending on particular individuals. In addition, the chapter also considers the growth of different music festivals in the 2000s and the way in which popular music production interacts with other types of cultural production in a

mutually nurturing manner. Finally, it highlights the role that the Internet and certain websites have played in providing a new focus for network formation between scene participants. This focus reifies the advantages of social networking for the dual trends, evident within Glasgow's music scene, of growing professionalisation and artistic collaboration.

## Music Makers

By 2009, it was quite noticeable that compared with previous years in previous decades, the number of Glasgow-based music makers active within the Glasgow area had increased considerably. Appendix 4 provides one illustration of this increase; by listing the number of music makers who released music through locally based labels in that year.<sup>184</sup> Whilst it is difficult to state with any degree of confidence that this is a comprehensive list of such releases from 2009, Appendix 4 notes 125 separate releases from 97 different artists/bands. As a comparison Appendix 3, which was compiled using similar methods, notes that for the year 1999 there were only 30 similar releases by 16 artists/bands (and, for the whole of the 1990s, a total of 228 releases for only 86 artists). These figures, of course, do not take account of other types of local popular music activity taking place in Glasgow in 2009. As well as releasing music on locally based labels, Glasgow-based bands also released music on labels based outside the city (and outside Scotland). For example the band Le Reno Amps released the album *Tear it Open* (5060135660284) on the independent Drift record label based in Devon. The Attic Lights, meanwhile, released the single *I Could Be So Good For You/Late Night Sunshine* (ATTICSCDPRO8) and the band 1990s released the album *Kicks* on the larger Island Records and Rough Trade labels respectively. Equally, Appendix 4 does not say anything about the extent of live performances by local music makers within Glasgow. Such activity is difficult to measure with any degree of accuracy and is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, a survey of listings/music magazines *The List* and *Is This Music?* from 2009 reveals that around 300 separate popular music artists or bands based in Glasgow were referenced, either in terms of reviews of recorded musical output or live performance. Undoubtedly, this figure also under-estimates the number of music makers active in Glasgow in 2009, as it neither takes account of those bands and artists who were rehearsing and/or recording in Glasgow studios and who were not (for one

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<sup>184</sup> Appendix 4 was compiled through cross-checking the Discogs and Bandcamp websites with the musicians' or labels' own websites. However, the table also includes a number of self-releases from that year. These releases took place either digitally (through various websites) or were manufactured/distributed by the musicians themselves, without the involvement of a separate label. Some musicians also released music under different artist names e.g. Adam Stafford and Y'all is Fantasy Island, and so the table also treats these as being separate artists.



reason or another) mentioned in those two magazines, nor of those musicians/bands who were involved in other types of activity, not specifically focused on promoting their own compositions e.g. performing covers of songs in public houses.

However, aside from highlighting the extent to which popular music activity, in terms of music makers releasing recorded music, had increased in Glasgow over the past three decades, Appendix 4 also provides information with regard to a number of trends evident within the city's popular music production from that year. Firstly, it provides an indication of the extent to which Glasgow's 2009 cohort of music makers was composed of older artists/bands (or rather, those who were active in previous decades) compared to newer aggregations/artists. Secondly, the table also allows for reflection on both the heterogeneous nature as well as the collaborative approach of the city's music makers in 2009. Finally, it also allows for comment on the ways in which local labels had changed over the time period of this study, and the changing nature by which Glasgow music makers distributed their recorded music.

## Elites

In respect of the first point, regarding the longevity of certain bands within Glasgow, of the ninety-one artists/bands listed in Appendix 4, it is possible to identify eight who had been active under the same name in the previous decade (Smackvan, The Starlets, Aidan Moffat, The Pastels, James Grant, Catcher, A Band Called Quinn and the Trashcan Sinatras). In addition, from the rest of the list it is also possible to identify bands with members who had been active in Glasgow in the 1990s (Peter Parker, Sans Trauma, Desalvo and Lord Cut Glass are examples). Further, from examination of *The List* and *Is This Music?* magazines published in 2009 it is also possible to identify the names of bands (or their members) that continued to be active from the 1990s (and in some cases the 1980s). The names of these music makers include Teenage Fanclub, BMX Bandits, Snow Goose, Alasdair Roberts, Manda Rin, Malcolm Middleton, The Zips, The Vaseline, The Amphetameanies, Emma Pollock, The Burns Unit, Monica Queen, Mogwai, Biffy Clyro, Franz Ferdinand, 1990s and (the Stuart Murdoch project) God Help the Girl. For the same reasons given above, this is not a definitive list of all the artists/bands who, by 2009, had been active in the Glasgow area for over ten years. However, taken all together it is likely that 15% – 20% of the total number of music makers in Glasgow in 2009 had been active for more than ten years.

This proportion of music makers with such a long history of activity within the Glasgow area is a relevant factor in explaining the continued vibrancy of the city's music scene over such an extended period of time. Previous chapters have already discussed the role of patronage/philanthropy between Glasgow bands and other participants within the city's music scene in the 1980s and 1990s, and the role it played in extending the commercial (or at least critical) success of bands from the city. While this type of patronage focused particularly on the direct reinvestment of finance into other bands and facilities within Glasgow, it is also possible to identify a more ambiguous type of patronage extended from one band or artist to another. It is in this sense that older, more experienced (and resourced) music makers from Glasgow are able to provide support to a younger generation. Examples of this type of activity from 2009 include Twin Atlantic touring with Biffy Clyro and Errors touring with Mogwai (Errors are also signed to Mogwai's own Rock Action label).<sup>185</sup> Another example, which actually took place in Glasgow, is a live performance from the Celtic Connections festival of 2009. This was a showcase for the Shoeshine Records label run by Francis MacDonald and a review in *The List* (Pollock, 2009a) argued that:

The Glasgow-based musician, producer, manager and musical entrepreneur's involvement in his home city's scene has extended from the C86 era right up until the present day, and this showcase-come-celebration will demonstrate precisely how. There will be sets from Attic Lights, who he produces and manages; BMX Bandits, whom he's a sometime member of; and Norman Blake, who he plays alongside in Teenage Fanclub.

In the same article MacDonald commented on his own career and particularly on the way that it has developed into running a record label and managing other musicians (both activities being of benefit to other music makers from Glasgow):

‘I'm very pleased with some of the special artists we've handled and albums we've released,’ says Macdonald, ‘but it's been a learning curve that I've gone through while the business of running an independent label has become harder. So it's a very natural thing for me to move towards management now, to try and use what I've learned in my time to help steer the careers of other musicians’. (ibid)

MacDonald is not alone in this type of ‘portfolio careering’. Previous chapters have discussed the development of multi-tasking by certain Glasgow music scene participants and the role that it has played in generally creating a dense social network of ties between

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<sup>185</sup> See <http://www.rock-action.co.uk/index.php?id=36> and <http://dearscotland.com/2009/11/07/interview-with-twin-atlantic>.

participants. Further, as previously argued, such a dense network is also consistent with increasing levels of social capital between the actors in the network. The distinction made here is that these additional activities by experienced local music makers add a further dimension to this notion of increased levels of social capital. Before discussing this concept in more detail, it is apposite to provide two other different, but related, examples from 2009, where experienced music makers have provided a service (albeit in a commercial manner) to other local scene participants. The first relates to the Le Reno Amps album mentioned above. As noted, it was released on a label based outside Glasgow, but of interest to the present argument, it was recorded at Chem 19 (the studio owned and managed by ex-members of The Delgados) and, more pertinently, produced by Andy Wallace from the band Sons and Daughters.<sup>186</sup> A second example involves Teenage Fanclub, who enlisted the services of Glasgow based artist Tony Paterson to create the artwork for their next album.<sup>187</sup> Admittedly, Paterson is a visual artist benefiting from the patronage of local music makers, but as argued below, the connections (or ties) between different types of artists in Glasgow had, by 2009, evolved into a particular feature of the local popular music scene.

All the examples given above are noteworthy for the fact that they feature local music makers providing some benefit to other music scene participants. This patronage is also significant because it highlights the role of music makers who have been both active in the local music scene for a long period of time and who have been able to acquire resources or experience that may benefit other scene participants. Through these acts it is possible to identify a hierarchy of scene participants – in that some participants are able to exercise a greater degree of agency than others. These differences are both reflected and intensified by the way they are mediated through the local press and radio. In addition to the above example regarding Francis MacDonald, it is not difficult to find certain local music makers being referred to with adjectives such as ‘glitterati’, ‘luminary’ and ‘dignitary’. One example from *The List* magazine (Pollock, 2009c) in 2009 concerns a performance by Edwyn Collins with Teenage Fanclub as his backing band at Mono and the event is described in these terms:

To anyone with an affinity for Glasgow’s indie music scene, this show was something beyond special. Simply surveying the local dignitaries in the crowd (Stuart Murdoch, Douglas T-Stewart, Stephen Pastel, Adele Bethel, Jackie

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<sup>186</sup> <http://www.isthismusic.com/le-reno-amps-5>.

<sup>187</sup> <http://www.isthismusic.com/teenage-fanclub-interview>.

McKeown, and more) was like looking at a map of the city's musical history.. That's before Edwyn Collins – originator of the Scots indie style – took to the stage with Teenage Fanclub as his band.

One way of discussing this notion that Glasgow's popular music scene is hierarchical in structure is through Bourdieu's 'field theory' (Bourdieu, 1989). Within this theory actors in a cultural field are assumed to compete for social positions. Bourdieu refers to the resulting social structure as a social space, where actors are positioned relative to each other depending on

the overall volume of capital they possess . . . and according to the structure of their capital, that is, the relative weight of the different species of capital, economic and cultural, in the total volume of their assets. (ibid: 17)

In this sense the dignitaries or elites (to borrow Bourdieu's term) are in a position to exercise agency in relatively greater amounts within the cultural field of Glasgow's popular music scene because, compared with other actors in the field, they possess relatively larger volumes, or relatively advantageous combinations of capital.<sup>188</sup>

## Elites and Social Capital

Continuing with this analysis, Bourdieu (1984) argues that different forms of capital (economic, social, cultural and symbolic cultural) dominate different types of social fields. Specifically, he distinguishes between two fields: the field of restricted cultural production and the field of large-scale production:

The field of production per se owes its own structure to the opposition between the *field of restricted production* as a system producing cultural goods (and the instruments for appropriating these goods) objectively destined for a public of producers of cultural goods, and the *field of large-scale cultural production*, specifically organized with a view to the production of cultural goods destined for non-producers of cultural goods, 'the public at large'. (ibid: 4)

The field of restricted production is relatively autonomous from the laws of competition, and in this sense music makers would be competing for recognition and reputation (cultural capital) rather than monetary reward. In contrast, the field of large-scale production has music makers seeking economic success (economic capital) more so than cultural capital. At the two extremes music making is either an art or a commercial process. Moving beyond this dichotomy Bourdieu acknowledges that cultural fields may

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<sup>188</sup> For discussion of different types of capital see Chapter 6.

involve intermediate positions, where, in the case of music making, cultural production is both an artistic activity and a commercial process. Given the preceding discussion regarding certain types of music produced in the city, popular music production in Glasgow over the last three decades has not wholly been about producing a commercial product (nor a symbolic good). In this sense Glasgow's popular music scene inhabits a position somewhere in between the restricted and large-scale fields of production, and given its changing nature over this time period, this position in itself changes.

A central argument of this thesis is that from the 1990s onwards Glasgow's popular music scene witnessed a move away from a position where economic capital was dominant to one where social capital was the prevailing factor. In their study of German writers, Anheier *et al.* (1995: 865) argue that Bourdieu's work 'suggests that the dominance of different forms of capital may correspond to distinct configurations in the social topography of cultural fields'. To explore the relations between forms of capital and social structure they posit that social structure is not only segmented in terms of both the commercial/non-commercial divide, but also in terms of a hierarchy between prominent writers (elites) and 'struggling' writers (periphery). Anheier *et al.* further hypothesise that different forms of capital will generate different structural patterns and that a

A predominance of social capital leads to multiple though weakly institutionalized segments that are maintained, along the lines of differentiated genres, by professional organizations and other loci of interest mediation that often take the form of complex social networks. Hierarchies are less pronounced than they would be under the predominance of economic capital, a flexibility that reflects membership participation and ranks in formal and informal associations. (ibid: 866)

In this way they would expect a cultural field embodying an accumulation of social capital to be characterised by a social structure where the actors are not strongly divided by the commercial/non-commercial dichotomy. In general actors within the field prize 'contacts' more so than economic success. This divide though, would still be present between cultural goods produced by different genre classifications within the field. Further, while this structural pattern may be typified by the presence of elites, their presence would not be as pronounced compared to a field where economic capital dominated. Lastly, Anheier *et al.* would also expect the structural pattern to exhibit a complex social network.

The way in which the social structure of Glasgow's popular music scene had developed by 2009 is strongly congruent with this hypothesis. Chapter 6 highlighted the extent to which

social capital had accumulated within the cultural field of Glasgow's popular music scene over the period of the 1990s. Comparing it to the period in the 1980s, where economic capital dominated, the chapter also established that in the 1990s local popular music production in Glasgow was characterised by a much greater heterogeneity. What follows in this chapter emphasises that this trend continued on into the 2000s. More importantly, as discussed below, the drive for economic success (or rather the influence of other drivers) is more evident in some genres compared to others. In addition, the previous chapter also argued that the social network which comprised the local music scene in the 1990s became much more dense (complex) compared with previous decades. Finally, regarding the notion of elites being less pronounced in a cultural field dominated by social capital, Chapter 5 highlighted the role of individuals/local celebrities in the economically driven period of 1980s' Glasgow, and this contrasts markedly with the strong notion of social support offered by local music scene elites in the 2000s.

Admittedly, the study by Anheier *et al.* concerns the German literary scene, a cultural field quite distinct from that of 'popular' music production in Glasgow, a difference no doubt emphasised by their relative intermediate positions between the fields of restricted and large-scale production. Their study also employed block modelling (a social network analysis tool) and correspondence analysis in order to test its hypotheses. The authors conclude:

In general, however, we found strong support for Bourdieu's (1989, p. 17) hypothesis that actors are distributed in social space by both the overall volume and relative composition of capital [. . .] For the identified social structure among writers, cultural capital proved the dominant factor in the differentiation of social positions. The positions of elites, semielites, semiperipheries, and periphery are closely related to differences in the amounts of accumulated cultural capital. At the same time, we found that other forms of capital are important, too. We can, however, assume that the primary positioning in artistic fields happens through the accumulation of cultural capital. (ibid: 892)

The view that cultural capital is the dominant factor determining social positions amongst writers makes intuitive sense, and does not diminish the notion that the accumulation of social capital is of primary importance for a cultural field, such as a local music scene. Popular music production, by its very nature, is ostensibly concerned with producing goods for non-producers, and therefore will be closer to the field of large-scale production than that say of 'art' music (or cultural production by German writers for that matter). However, given changing economic circumstances, where there is a reduced potential for financial success, then it is quite possible for actors to be driven by the need to secure

‘contacts’ and therefore develop trust and support between themselves and others. If their accumulated social capital proves fungible for other forms of capital, then it can lead actors to achieve the more elusive goal of economic success. Although techniques such as block modelling and correspondence analysis were not suited to the present longitudinal study of Glasgow, the following comments, gleaned from other types of qualitative research, also inform this argument. James Graham from The Twilight Sad, for example, argued that:

I don't know exactly how big an impact [Glasgow] has had but I know that without [Mogwai, Arab Strap and The Delgados] I wouldn't be doing this [...] We've been lucky in that we've been able to work with and become friends with those bands and they've helped us and supported our band over the years by giving advice, working on our records with us, getting us pushed and taking the pish out of us. (quoted by Hamilton, 2010b)

## Increased Diversification

Appendix 4 as previously noted, is also useful in highlighting the diverse nature of Glasgow's popular music scene in 2009. Whereas Chapter 6 discussed how the city's music scene in the 1990s was particularly varied through a crossover between genres, by 2009 popular music produced in Glasgow took a myriad of forms. From the same *Drowned in Sound* article as the last quote, Billy Hamilton takes the view that

One notable aspect of Glasgow's music community is its strength in numbers. But these aren't bands working under a united banner, hoping that one of them makes it so the rest can jet-stream alongside. This is a varied, almost antithetical mesh of artists plying their trade in shared spaces while creating widely differing music.

Similarly, Jack from the band Be a Familiar thought that the ‘current music scene in Glasgow is as good as it's ever been, if not better. There's a lot of very good bands out there, so much so that people are spoilt for choice’ (quoted by Drever, 2009a). By way of an explanation, Jonathan Muirhead (2009) from the *Is This Music?* website believes that this variety stems from a characteristic of Glasgow audiences who ‘by their very (unreligious) Catholic nature take in all musical genres and boundaries as one and respond to them accordingly. They listen to music for the sheer joy of it, not because of what label it might (or does) fall under’.

As a way of illustrating this diversity it is interesting to note some of the ‘tags’ that the bands listed in Appendix 4 use to describe their music in each of their Myspace pages.

Taking this information at ‘face value’ it includes quite general descriptions that one would expect from bands based in Glasgow. These include ‘alternative/pop’ (The Starlets), ‘acoustic/folk/indie’ (Beerjacket), ‘indie/other/pop’ (The Pastels) and ‘experimental/folk/rock’ (The Phantom Band). In addition, however, there are a large number of other descriptions used in a wide variety of combinations including: ‘indie lounge/pop/surf’ (Bricolage), ‘disco/house/electronica’ (Den Haan), ‘experimental/progressive/psychedelic’ (Remember Remember), ‘gothic/minimalist/pop’ (Y’all is Fantasy Island), ‘Japanese pop’ (Nadsroic), ‘death metal/indie/rock’ (Calacas), ‘industrial/metal/rock’ (Black Sun), ‘black metal/experimental/jazz’ (Seppuku) and ‘alternative/punk’ (Grozny). Such descriptions are insightful, if only because they are indicative of the way in which the bands or artists wish to market themselves to a potential audience. Nevertheless, the variety of these tags also highlight the extent to which, by 2009, Glasgow’s popular music scene had split into a number of different scenes. As has previously been discussed, the notion of a singular popular music scene in Glasgow is a useful abstraction for discussing the ways in which over time popular music production in the city has changed. In reality Glasgow’s music scene was never a monolith and it was possible to detect different groupings and cliques within the city’s music makers, even in the 1970s and 1980s. By 2009 such groupings were much more evident and even popular music websites such as *Drowned in Sound* were referring to ‘scenes’ in plural. Simon Ward from the band Errors pointed out that:

There are lots of scenes in Glasgow, but this is because a lot of people live here [. . .] I think the geography of the city has a lot to answer for. The city centre area feels small and compact and since this is where almost all the venues, pubs and clubs are it becomes inevitable that bands and artists from different scenes will meet and form new bands. (quoted by Hamilton, 2009b)

This comment is telling because it both refers to the notion of different scenes within Glasgow and at the same time highlights the cross-fertilisation that takes place between them – a characteristic of the city’s music makers discussed in the last chapter. For Ward it is the spatial characteristics of the city centre that help to foster this collaboration. This is a notion that has been discussed in previous chapters, specifically in terms of spatial practices relating to live performance venues, studios and record shops.

This cross-fertilisation between genres, and between musicians and other artists, is an important factor in explaining the diversity of popular music produced in Glasgow. The clustering of music makers around certain genres, and in relation to particular local labels, is discussed in greater detail below. However, given that music not only expresses



differences, but also contributes to the way in which individuals and groups define themselves and others (Grenier, 1989), then this trend towards increasing diversity within Glasgow's grassroots popular music production can also be attributed to differences and changes taking place in wider society. Simon Frith (1987: 134-135) posits that 'different groups possess different sorts of cultural capital, share different cultural expectations and so make music differently - pop tastes are shown to correlate with class cultures and subcultures; musical styles are linked to specific age groups; we take for granted the connections of ethnicity and sound'. In addition, Frith also acknowledges the role that music technology plays in determining the variety of possible sounds and styles that are available to music makers.

Regarding the point about age, though not necessarily a characteristic specific only to Glasgow, some of the city's popular music makers had, by 2009, been active in producing music for over ten and (in some cases) even over twenty years. The Zips for example, were active in 1979 and, having taken a break, active again in the 2000s. At the time of writing they continue to perform and record music in a 'punk' style very close to the style they originally performed. Age then also plays a part in explaining the continuing popularity of older musical styles alongside styles which have become popular in Glasgow more recently e.g. electronica. Furthermore, in relation to Frith's point about tastes also being related to class cultures, it is also relevant to highlight that Glasgow, like many UK cities, has experienced over the last few decades an accelerating changing pattern of consumption. Bassett (1993: 1777) notes the 'emergence of a distinctive 'postmodern' pattern of cultural consumption, characterised by a transcendence of divisions between high and low culture, a breaking of traditional aesthetic codes, a 'depthless' and eclectic sampling of different cultural forms, and the rejection of the 'aura' of the traditional, modernist art work.' This broader societal trend also informs the notion of greater hybridity and diversity amongst popular music production in Glasgow.

## **Collectives and the DIY Ethic**

The trend towards greater diversity of musical production through increased collaboration and cross-fertilisation of ideas/styles between music makers and other types of artists is well illustrated in Appendix 4. Aside from the more traditional commercial releases of music by labels such as Chemikal Underground and digital self releases by individual music makers e.g. Beerjacket, the table also includes a great number of releases from the labels Winning Sperm Party, Wiseblood Industries and LuckyMe. These labels represent a

further shift towards a DIY ethic, eschewing a profit motive in favour of a mode of equitable distribution. Adam Stafford, who runs Wiseblood Industries pointed out that he does not make a profit from releasing music and that all the bands on his label retain the copyright of the recordings. He argued that he runs ‘more of an online distribution service for artists who have approached me because they like the music on the label, or they like the ethics behind it’ (Peenko, 2010).<sup>189</sup> Originally from Falkirk, where he performed in a number of bands before moving to Glasgow, Stafford is another example of a musician/artist moving his base to Glasgow. In addition, aside from being a musician and running a label, he also works as a film-maker and so provides another instance of a career portfolio worker based in the city.<sup>190</sup>

Stafford cited Winning Sperm Party as an influence and Robert Alexander from that collective described their venture as being:

based on free downloads of lots of Scottish ‘alternative’ – sorry to use the word! – bands. We do bring out limited CD releases, but CD-Rs in handmade sleeves – we’re against the whole jewel-case thing, and bands being pushed into taking 1000 copies of a CD when they don’t need that many. There’s no real fixed team behind what we do, it’s all done by anyone who has the time and is willing to get involved. (quoted by Pollock, 2008)

Though Winning Sperm Party also arrange and promote live performances (where they do charge an entrance fee) they also claimed to help ‘out other labels and bands who want to make free downloads available, because we have the bandwidth – we’ve been doing stuff for Dead or American, Y’all Is Fantasy Island’s upcoming album, a promotion company in Glasgow who do compilations called Cry Parrot’ (ibid). This collective approach to music making cuts across musical styles. Where Stafford considered Wiseblood Industries to be quite diverse in the style of bands on its roster, the releases from Winning Sperm Party are described as being from ‘many weird and wonderful Scottish artists’.<sup>191</sup> Its website describes Groaner as making ‘atmospheric ambient music’, Ultimate Thrush as being ‘celebrated for their live performances, often featuring theatricals and costume’, The Ballad of Mable Wong as ‘an instrumental rock band’, and Monoganon as a ‘progressive pop rock band’.<sup>192</sup> What is also evident from the website is the extent to which most of the bands on Winning Sperm Party’s roster are interrelated, in terms of sharing members and

<sup>189</sup> <http://www.peenko.co.uk/2010/09/scottish-diy-labels-1-wiseblood.html>.

<sup>190</sup> <http://nicolameighan.wordpress.com/2012/05/18/from-the-archives-adam-stafford-interview/>.

<sup>191</sup> <http://www.updatescotland.com/labels2.htm>.

<sup>192</sup> <http://www.winningspermparty.com/>.

live performances. For example, Rory McIntyre is listed as playing in three bands: Monganon, The Ballad of Mable Wong and Blood of the Bull. The extent to which collaboration is also a feature of the label's involvement or promotion of live performances is discussed below in the section on venues.

Before looking at the elements of collaboration and cross-fertilisation of musical styles engendered by the LuckyMe collective, it is also relevant to note that the band Divorce brought out a single on the Optimo label in 2009. The band would also share a release of a cassette single with Ultimate Thrush on the Winning Sperm Party la

bel in 2010. More importantly they are a band that highlight both the continuing nature of dense ties between bands from Glasgow and also the fact that by 2009 some of the city's music makers were rejecting a certain stylistic hegemony evident within the scene.

Divorce are tied to a number of bands: drummer Andy Brown was a member of Bricolage (who also released a single on Creeping Bent in 2009); bass player Victoria Henderson (or VSO as she is known) was previously a member of Pro Forma;<sup>193</sup> and Hilary Van Soy from Blood of the Bull also played guitar for Divorce. Noticeably, these preceding bands were quite stylistically distinct from Divorce. Bricolage are described as playing 'pop music heavily influenced by the Postcard sound' and Pro Forma are described as a 'dark electro outfit . . . crafting a post-punk-influenced sound'.<sup>194</sup> In contrast, in an *NME* article (Dosanjh, 2009), Divorce are described as playing 'caustic ear-splitting dirge of frenetic noise goblins'. Furthermore, along with Ultimate Thrush, Golden Grrrls and Big Ned, the article described Divorce as being part of the 'nae wave' community – 'a community of not so much like-minded individuals who've stuck two proverbials up at the twee niceness of their musical surroundings' (ibid). This clearly suggests that these bands saw their 'noisier' styles of music as being in opposition to a certain style of Glasgow band that had developed since the 1980s. The term 'twee' is a label that has been applied to a large number of bands from the city, including Belle and Sebastian, The Pastels and Teenage Fanclub, and, very generally, is synonymous with bands playing 'indie pop'.<sup>195</sup> Although the term is not solely connoted with Glasgow bands, it is a term that has strong connections with the 'C86' musical movement and with bands from Glasgow that featured on the *NME*

<sup>193</sup> Pro Forma also featured Paul Thomson from Franz Ferdinand and the band also released a 12" EP (OSC 005) on Optimo's OSCarr label in 2002.

<sup>194</sup> <http://www.allmusic.com>.

<sup>195</sup> See <http://www.twee.net> and Chapter 5 for further discussion of this term being used to describe Glasgow music makers.

C86 compilation tape. Thus, in rejecting ‘twee niceness’, the ‘nae wave’ bands also reject a lineage of music makers, which has been present in the city for over two decades. In a separate interview from 2010 Brown argued that:

the biggest bands in Glasgow are still Belle and Sebastian and Franz Ferdinand [ . . . ] so there were a lot of bands trying to follow their lead. But that died a death after a while and now there are a lot of people doing what they want. It’s refreshing. (Rowe, 2010)

Van Soy even argued that:

We’re from a lineage of . . . bands who try to please themselves [ . . . ] who don’t want to make ‘accepted’ things. And I think it’s good that we’re not setting down any kind of stones in history. It’s just up for grabs whatever happens. (ibid)

Aside from illustrating the diversity of, and tensions between, the city’s popular musical styles, Divorce also provides a good example of the variety of local music promoted by the Optimo label and club night. In addition to Divorce’s eponymous four track E.P. (OM 005), Appendix 4 also lists the label’s four other releases from Glasgow based music makers in 2009. The aforementioned Big Ned accounted for two of these: the single *Bad Angel* (OM 001), and an eponymous album (OM 003). According to the *Discogs* website Big Ned play ‘Goth Rock’ or ‘Indie Rock’.<sup>196</sup> In a similar vein, Keith McIver (DJ Twitch), who runs the Optimo label, described the band’s music as ‘swamp rock’ (Wilson, 2012). Both Divorce and Big Ned’s music contrast with the other two releases from 2009. Older Lover’s music on its eponymous E.P. (OM 006) is described as being in the style of ‘Alternative Rock’ or ‘Leftfield’, and Den Haan is described as playing ‘Italo-Disco’ or ‘Electro’.<sup>197</sup> The eclecticism of the label in 2009 is unsurprising given the policy of the club it takes its name from, and also the history of its previous incarnation as Oscarr (Optimo Singles Club and Related Recordings).<sup>198</sup> As mentioned above the latter label had released music from Pro Forma, but between 2000 and 2008, aside from more dance orientated music, it also released music from a number of different Glasgow bands, including the vocal choir The Parsonage, the electro-pop band Bis, and Park Attack (who

<sup>196</sup> <http://www.discogs.com/Big-Ned-Big-Ned/release/1732088>.

<sup>197</sup> <http://www.discogs.com/Older-Lover-The-Older-Lover-EP/release/1975397> and <http://www.discogs.com/Den-Haan-Release-The-Beast/master/94524>.

<sup>198</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of Optimo’s club night.

describe themselves as 'Black Metal/Jam Band').<sup>199</sup> McIver argued that this assortment of styles, present in both labels' rosters, reflects the variety of musical styles generally being produced in Glasgow:

There's so much musical talent in Glasgow – and there's musical talent everywhere – but it's something that's very characteristic of this city in particular. For example, when Britpop was at its peak, you wouldn't really have found any Britpop bands here – people were always trying to do their own thing, and I just wanted to help support that. (quoted in Wilson, 2010)

In an earlier interview (Petridis, 2002) McIver reiterated this view:

"I don't think there's a Glasgow sound, but there's definitely a Glasgow attitude," explains McIvor. Which is? "This," he grins, raising his middle finger.<sup>200</sup>

This notion of Glasgow music makers pleasing themselves rather than following particular trends directly echoes the above quotes from the NME article on 'nae wave'.

Optimo is also regarded as influenced by members of the LuckyMe collective (Pollock, 2012), the third label from Appendix 4 noted as highlighting the DIY and collaborative nature of popular music production in Glasgow in the 2000s. Like Optimo, the collective's label originated out of a club night that began in 2002 (ibid). In 2009 its releases for Glasgow-based artists included a 12" vinyl version of *Ooops!* (LMWB001) for Hud Mo (Hudson Mohawke) and a 12" vinyl E.P. - *Room Mist* (LM002) - for Nadsroic. While LuckyMe's roster may not be quite as eclectic as Optimo's (both Hud Mo and Nadsroic are described as being in the Electronic or Hip Hop genre by the *Discogs* website),<sup>201</sup> Dominic Flannigan, one of the collective's founders, explained their ethos behind finding new artists:

So far it's been guys we placed on mixtapes - off the back of their music. We might have met them through shows or social networks have allowed us to meet in person. Then when it's clear they are dedicated to music, are improving, and get that music isn't about their one genre or favourite band - it usually means they get what we're about. Then we sign them up as part of the roster and we all use a little private forum to swap music and ideas. (quoted in Mitchell, 2010)

<sup>199</sup> <http://www.myspace.com/parkattack>.

<sup>200</sup> <http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2002/may/03/shopping.artsfeature>.

<sup>201</sup> <http://www.discogs.com/label/LuckyMe>.

Other members of the collective included the group American Men and Flannigan's own group The Blessings. The former are described as being a 'synthetic rock band'<sup>202</sup> and the latter as a 'melting pot of 90's kid influences: New Jack Swing, Post Punk, Garage & Deep House all getting processed by the innovative new beat sound of Hip Hop'.<sup>203</sup> In a separate interview, Flannigan is even more insightful about the calculated nature of the collective and its desire to break away from being a trend follower. At Glasgow School of Art he wrote a dissertation on 'cool' and the way in which sub-cultures merged from one to another. He observed that through the process of doing so:

I found it fascinating and I had the usual pipe dream about starting a record label. I guess the obsession with sub-cultures merging into one another gave me an idea of how I wanted to work. I realized that every subculture follows a similar trend and that we could, by fusing all genres together, stand to break the cycle. Do something unique and modern.<sup>204</sup>

Flannigan's deliberations on what would make a successful record label are concomitant with the above comments of both Divorce and Keith McIver from Optimo, regarding the individualistic nature of some of Glasgow's music makers. However, unlike the outward sentiments expressed by the people that run the Wiseblood Industries and Winning Sperm Party labels, Flannigan was quite open about the commercial aims of his label. He argued that 'when we started, we realised everything was there for us to turn this into a full-time job. It was an exciting time for electronic music in Glasgow' (quoted by Mitchell, 2010). He thought that LuckyMe 'could become a leader in a couple of industries which are normally very London-centric' and that he 'looked at things like Seattle's rock scene, for example, in that we wanted to make something out of strength in numbers' (quoted by Pollock, 2010).<sup>205</sup> Commercial considerations aside, like the other labels that take a collective approach to music production, there are members of LuckyMe who also wish to subvert the notion of a Glasgow music scene. Stuart Turner from the band American Men argued:

I don't like the idea of a scene generally because it implies an element of exclusivity or cliqueiness that I'm not interested in [ . . . ] That was really true of the music I was into as a teenager, kinda post-rock stuff. Y'know, the idea that there's some kind of hierarchical Glasgow music scene [ . . . ] The great thing

<sup>202</sup> <http://thisisluckyme.com/music/american-men/>.

<sup>203</sup> <http://www.lastfm.biz/music/The+Blessings>.

<sup>204</sup> <http://www.hugocreate.fr/dominic-flannigan-creative-director-lucky-me-records>.

<sup>205</sup> <http://edinburghfestival.list.co.uk/article/27825-luckyme-decamps-to-cabaret-voltaire-for-the-festival/>.

about this is, a lot of people do think it's cool and that's good, but even if nobody thought it was cool, the people who wanted to listen to it would still get to hear it. That's what's meaningful to me, because I want to be able to listen to stuff, regardless of what some gatekeeper of culture says. (quoted in Mitchell, 2010)

In acknowledging the hierarchical nature of Glasgow's music scene, Turner's comments both reinforce the notion of an elite group within the city's music makers and highlight the fact that others on the periphery of the scene may feel excluded. He is not alone in this view. Erik Sandberg from the band Wake the President, We Can Still Picnic DJs, and who also runs Say Dirty Records (along with brother Bjorn), felt that they do not 'really fit into anything' and that 'the Glasgow music scene isn't anything special'. He went on to say that 'there's good bands like De Rosa and The Phantom Band' but that he is 'more interested in American acts like The Pains of Being Pure at Heart at the moment' (quoted by Porter, 2009). A further reflection of this viewpoint is provided by Andy Reilly (2009), from the *is this music?* website, when he argues that:

To outsiders, one of the best things about the Glasgow music scene is the fact that it appears to be a genuine scene and that all the bands and fans hang out in the same venues every night.

That's certainly true for some acts and scenesters but the true beauty of the Glasgow music scene is that there is an almost "anti-scene" scene (and please God don't think that's a rallying call to start one) with the bands that don't quite fit in with the others. Sometimes these bands can pull together for a bit of moral support but the real quality in the great ones is that they plough their own field without needing to sound like their peers.<sup>206</sup>

This view that the Glasgow music scene is characterised by the existence of cliques amongst its music makers is not a new development and is also discussed in the previous chapter (in relation to the way the scene developed in the 1990s). What is more striking is the extent to which, by 2009, this rejection of the scene's exclusive nature by certain music makers, helps to explain the heterogeneous nature of the city's popular music production.

## The Continuing Role of Glasgow School of Art

LuckyMe may be clearly defined as a record label, but the other activities of the collective highlight the extent to which popular music production and other creative arts collaborate at a local level within Glasgow. Writing for *The List* magazine David Pollock (2010) argues that the collective broadened out 'into an Art School-affiliated group of musicians,

<sup>206</sup> <http://www.isthismusic.com/state-broadcasters-2>.

producers, DJs and artists interested in releasing records, promoting parties and art-directing for the music and fashion industries'. As noted above, Dominic Flannigan, a co-founder of the collective, attended Glasgow School of Art (along with other co-founder Martyn Flynn). Flannigan describes how the collective become involved with other arts:

I was at art school at the time, so design's always been a part of what we do . . . All our sleeves have been a collaborative effort. The fact we advertised our design background led to us doing art direction and website work for other labels and fashion brands. (quoted in Pollock, 2012)

The connections Flannigan made at art school are still important to him and he describes how the collective tries 'to include all the people who we liked at art school, incorporate their amazing work; create a 'holder' of all of that multidisciplinary work being generated by our friends'.<sup>207</sup>

The extent to which a collective like LuckyMe crosses over between music production and other types of art work is unsurprising given the close connections that have developed between the two cultural fields since 1979.<sup>208</sup> Sarah Lowndes (2010) presents a detailed examination of these connections. Though she is primarily concerned with analyzing the emergent trends within the city's contemporary art scene, Lowndes justifies including interview material from 'the network of local independent labels, live music venues, nightclubs and musician's co-operatives' because 'art being produced in Glasgow since the early '70s had been increasingly influenced by the parallel growth of the grassroots music scene in the city' (ibid: 9). Indeed the renaissance of the visual arts scene in Glasgow over the last thirty years has been described as the 'Glasgow Miracle' (a term attributed to the curator Hans-Ulrich Obrist) and is commensurate with the developments in the popular music scene.<sup>209</sup> A web blog relating to an AHRC funded project to research the reasons behind the 'miracle' argues that 'the emergence of the Glasgow art scene has its roots in the early 70s, the successes of painters in the 1980s and the growth of a DIY exhibition culture across the city through the 90s and beyond.'<sup>210</sup> Before discussing the importance of the Glasgow School of Art for this growth in an artist-led community, it is apposite to draw some further parallels with the growth in the popular music scene. David Watt (director of Glasgow Sculpture Studios) considered that the 'whole ecology of the arts infrastructure in

<sup>207</sup> <http://www.hugocreate.fr/dominic-flannigan-creative-director-lucky-me-records>.

<sup>208</sup> See both Chapters 5 and 6 for discussions of Glasgow School of Art within the local music scene in the 1980s and 1990s.

<sup>209</sup> See Brocklehurst (2012) - <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-18856538>.

<sup>210</sup> <http://glasgowmiracle.blogspot.co.uk/p/about-project.html>.



Glasgow has been based on the grass roots [sic], gritty do-it-yourself attitude' (quoted by Hartvig, 2012). In much the same way as local musicians in the early 1990s had to develop a DIY attitude in order to sustain cultural production against a back-drop of limited financial support from record companies outside the city, visual artists also had to develop their own systems of support.<sup>211</sup> Lowndes (2010: 10) takes the view that:

Until the late '90s the lack of a defined commercial market was another of the city's key characteristics, which undoubtedly influenced the nature of the music and art that is made here and the non-profit organisations that showed and distributed the work. Much of the most notable work that has emerged from the predominantly self-organised and autonomous arts infrastructure in the city since the early '90s has been deliberately non-permanent, short-term and ephemeral.

Although the lack of an established infrastructure may be one aggravating factor shared by both the music and the visual art scenes, other less tangible factors have also had similar influences on the two scenes. Issue 2 of *Flow*, the magazine of The Glasgow School of Art, sites David Harding (founder of the Environmental Art department) as acknowledging 'that a culture of drinking, singing and socialising is part of the GSA recipe' and that he believes 'that this tradition of playing and arguing together is one reason why a community of artists has assembled in Glasgow' (Luckhurst, 2003: 8). Nicola White, former Director of Exhibitions at the Centre for Contemporary Arts in Glasgow, supported this view when she said 'Parties matter. They are part of the glue that holds any artistic community together, compensation for pursuing what is, at heart, a very solitary line of work' (quoted in Lowndes 2010: 154). This notion is also reiterated by Charlotte Higgins (2011) when, in an article for *The Guardian* newspaper explaining the success of Glasgow-based visual artists, she argued that perhaps 'the most important factor, though, was the web of relationships established between those students from the late 1980s – a way of interacting that seems to have set the tone for the Glasgow art world since'.<sup>212</sup> Higgins highlighted the importance of a strong dense network for the continuing success (commercially or critically) of Glasgow-based visual artists since the 1980s and, as with the city's popular music makers, stresses the supportive nature of those working within the visual arts scene. As an example of the way visual artists help each other, she quoted the artist Nathan Coley, who noted that if a curator visits Glasgow to see an artist then there's 'an unwritten rule that you introduce them to someone else, too' (ibid). In the same way, the importance of

<sup>211</sup> For a discussion of the effects of a decline in major record company interest in Glasgow-based musical acts see Chapter 6.

<sup>212</sup> <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2011/oct/17/glasgow-turner-prize>.

socialising in pubs, clubs and privates spaces has been a theme running throughout this thesis, and musician/sound engineer John Smillie stressed their importance for the local music scene:

everyone goes to parties - that's where the scene really begins. To do that you have to drink all night, smoke all night - and that is where a lot of things are hatched for bands - the cross-fertilization of bands all happens in those parties - the scenes happen in the middle of the night at people's houses with a lot of drink or drugs - that is where the scene happens. If you don't go there you won't be 'in' any way. (personal interview, 2009)

In other words, according to Smillie, attendance at such parties (or at certain club nights) is important for less central or 'peripheral' local musicians who wish to increase their stock of social capital through networking with more 'elite' or central actors on the scene.

These networking opportunities notwithstanding, Lowndes' perspective on the intersection of the visual arts and popular music scenes in Glasgow is predicated on how the latter influences the former. As equally important are the ways in which Glasgow School of Art has impacted on local popular music production. Previous chapters have made mention of the extent to which the art school both acted as a focus, where like-minded music makers could meet and forge musical alliances (as with Flannigan and Flyn from LuckyMe) and provided a venue (through the students' union) for live performance. In the 2000s this was no different, and a list of this decade's art students who have also produced popular music includes members of Divorce, Ultimate Thrush, Dananananaykroyd, Triple School, Park Attack, Gummy Stumps, Muscles of Joy and Franz Ferdinand (Lowndes, 2010). Both Bob Hardy and Nick McCarthy of Franz Ferdinand moved to Glasgow – the former to take up a place at Glasgow School of Art and the latter to further a career in music. It is this phenomenon of artists (visual and musical) moving to Glasgow to work or study, and who then remain based in the city, that is another important factor in the maintenance (and indeed the growth) of grassroots popular musical production in the city.

Between 1996 and 2011 five Glasgow-based artists won the Turner Prize (Brocklehurst 2012) and between 2000 and 2006 three Glasgow-based artists won the Beck's Futures prize, with a total of thirteen being nominated (Lowndes, 2010). *Flow* magazine describes how 'brilliant young artists flock from all over the globe to develop their talent and grow in a thriving artistic community one of its creators describes as "the Oxbridge of contemporary visual arts"' (Luckhurst, 2003: 7). At the epicenter of this community is the Glasgow School of Art, which has produced 'several winners and nominees for the Turner

Prize through its Master of Fine Arts and Environmental programs' (Hartvig, 2012). Sam Ainsley (co-founder of the Master of Fine Arts course) pointed out that artists 'from all over the world are working in Glasgow because they think it's a fantastic place to be. They are contributing to Scottish culture but they're not all Scottish' (quoted in Luckhurst, 2003).

Alongside this in-flow of artists there has also been a migration of music makers to Glasgow. Aside from half of Franz Ferdinand, Snow Patrol are another example of a prominent Glasgow-based band whose members are not all originally from the city. Gary Lightbody of the band grew up in Northern Ireland, studied at Dundee University, and then in 1998 moved to Glasgow with the rest of Snow Patrol.<sup>213</sup> Reinforcing this notion that Glasgow popular music makers are very supportive of one another, Lightbody felt that:

There is an amazing scene here [*Glasgow*]. Quite unlike London or even Manchester. It's not like a hippie commune. But there's definitely a sense of community. When one Glasgow band does well, everybody celebrates their success. We went to see Alfie last night and 26 of the 27 people in the Reindeer Section were there to cheer them on. It's a nice place to make music. I don't think you could make a record like this in London or anywhere else.<sup>214</sup>

Although very celebratory in tone, this comment echoes a number of previous remarks made by various other music scene participants from Glasgow, highlighting the extent to which they will attend events where they can meet (and be seen) by other participants. In relation to these twin notions of mutual supportiveness and Glasgow as a lure for migrating artists, musician Michael John McCarthy, a migrant to Glasgow from Ireland, offered these observations:

I have found Glasgow to be incredibly supportive and nurturing of a young arts scene across the disciplines and that goes for the visual arts/theatre as well as it goes for music. There just seems to be a really fertile and continuous turnover of young artists across all of these disciplines. Some of them stay and some of them go elsewhere, but I think that is undeniable.  
(personal interview, 2012)

As a professional musician, McCarthy works across a range of creative industries, having been a member of Zoey Van Goey, performed with a variety of other artists including

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<sup>213</sup> In 2001 Lightbody also initiated the formation of another band, The Reindeer Section, a collaborative project between members of a number of other Glasgow-based bands, and this is discussed in further detail below.

<sup>214</sup> Quoted at <http://www.culturenorthernireland.org/article/984/gary-lightbody-and-the-reindeer-section>.

Aidan Moffat, Trembling Bells and Lord Cut Glass, and performed/composed for theatre. From his own experience he drew attention to an as yet undiscussed economic determinant: 'It is quite frankly cheaper to have a higher quality of life here than it is in Edinburgh - I think – and certainly than it is down in London - the economic factor should not be sniffed at.' Here he is specifically referring to house prices and the general cost of living, but equally he also took the view that there is more demand for cultural products, such as popular music because:

I think also you have the student population. I wonder if it is proportional – because you have Caledonian, Strathclyde and Glasgow, you also have a ton of colleges and you have the art school . . . So the city centre not only has a huge student force making stuff but also a massive student force consuming stuff. Certainly for music I would say a large proportion of gig goers are made up of the student population.

For McCarthy, Glasgow's large student population provides both an audience for popular music and for other cultural forms such as theatre. He openly admits that:

I feel a certain amount of gratitude to Glasgow, as a city. Again it is about feeling that I can make a living here that I don't think I could make anywhere else. Certainly, when I was there, I did not feel that I could make it in Cork city. I felt like that was to do with a lack of a culture consuming population proportionate to the size of the city – the numbers of people going to shows – who were going to plays – not enough people were doing that on a regular basis to make it sustainable to make a living out of doing that work in that city. And I don't think that's changed. There are a tiny, tiny handful of people that could make a living out of creative endeavours in Cork.

A large culturally consuming population – a population not just consuming music but other cultural products - has allowed McCarthy to make a living in Glasgow through both music theatre and popular music production. Not being able to engage in both forms of cultural production may have prevented this. Moreover, McCarthy was also clear about the direction of influence one has on the other when he said:

My career as a musician for theatre undoubtedly benefited from my being a member of Zoey Van Goey – it gave me a certain kind of legitimacy in the theatre world as a musician and there was a certain cache attached to the fact that 'the guy working for us is the guy from Zoey Van Goey'. It didn't even need to have been Zoey Van Goey – it was the fact that I was in a band that was putting out records – that definitely made a difference to begin with when I was trying to get theatre work.

McCarthy's observations on Glasgow, as a space where cultural consumption is nurtured and cultural producers are cognisant of other forms of cultural production, complement the

above expressed view that artists from outside the city (visual, musical, theatrical, etc.) are attracted to move to Glasgow because of an intangible, but nonetheless palpable, notion that being based in the city will be advantageous to their own cultural production. This type of self-fulfilling prophecy (whereby artists locate to a city which they view as being a supportive place for their endeavours, due to the supportive nature of other artists living there, will then participate in the same supportive behaviour they themselves assumes takes place) resonates with elements of cluster theory. According to Porter (2000: 32) clusters are

concentrations of highly specialized skills and knowledge, institutions, rivals, related businesses, and sophisticated customers in a particular nation or region. Proximity in geo- graphic, cultural, and institutional terms allows special access, special relationships, better information, powerful incentives, and other advantages in productivity and productivity growth that are difficult to tap from a distance. As a result, in a cluster, the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.

On the surface, the concept of clusters is very much concerned with economic development, the theory of the firm and competitive advantage, and less relevant for the productive practices embedded in the small-scale field of production that Glasgow's popular music scene inhabits (particularly in reference to its DIY and less profit driven participants). However, a number of studies have examined the clustering behaviour of the creative industries and of musicians in particular (Mark, 1998; Scott, 1999; Florida and Jackson 2008; and Florida, Mellander and Stolarick, 2010). Florida, *et al.* (2010: 801) find that scope economies 'that stem from colocation with and from other creative industries also seem to play a significant role'. This conclusion mirrors the comments made by McCarthy above, regarding the notion that musicians will move to locations where they 'can get involved in a number of different production processes' and so economies of scope 'are reflected in related arts and cultural disciplines for example, more dance troupes or musical theatre productions increase demand for musicians' (ibid: 789). Moreover, the same study also suggests that economies of scale also play a part in explaining the clustering of musicians in certain locations, because these economies will be 'reflected in larger markets, which can increase overall demand for music and related musical activities by providing more people, more venues, and a broader range of tastes' (ibid: 788). This opinion is also consistent with the view, as expressed by McCarthy (among others) that Glasgow has benefitted from both a large (and constantly changing) popular music consuming student population and an evolving selection of differently sized venues.

## Glasgow, A Creative City

Previous chapters have discussed cultural or creative policy initiatives by various public bodies, based both within and outside the city (particularly in relation to Glasgow's urban regeneration). Some of these initiatives have been deliberately geared towards directly stimulating popular music production e.g. The Ten Day Weekend, while others have had an indirect impact on this area. However, the above discussion regarding the extent to which Glasgow has a ready made audience for cultural products, plus the central role of Glasgow School of Art for encouraging the flow of artists into the city (including those with a interest in music) and the trend towards Glasgow as a place where creative people cluster, all relate to the notion of the 'creative city'. Much has been written on this concept (Landry, 2000 and 2006; Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Hall, 2000; Florida, 2003; Flew, 2012), but there is considerable debate around what it means. Landry (2000: xii) refers to the creative city concept as a new method of strategic urban planning and examines how people can think, plan and act creatively'. In a separate article he points out that

throughout the 1980's and into the 1990's increasingly the industrial cities in the Midlands and North of Britain developed cultural industries strategies as part of their attempt to get into the new economy seeing it as part of their economic regeneration goals. (Landry 2006: 20)

Landry's own organisation, Comedia, was important in the development of the idea and he points out that 'the first detailed study of the concept was called 'Glasgow: The Creative City and its Cultural Economy' in 1990 (ibid). In relation to the city's regeneration, Cooke (2008: 27-28) notes that 'Glasgow's loss of shipbuilding caused a searching for assets that could be built upon, and the urban fabric and cultural infrastructure created as the outward display of the wealth of the city when it was a leading centre proved to be an asset which could be built upon'. A creative city involves more than just regeneration through renewal of physical and human capital. Flew (2008: 7) points out that it is 'also in the less tangible networks of knowledge, inter-personal ties and social capital that lead to the clustering of creativity and innovation in particular geographical areas'. Cooke also argues that

Important, too, are the capabilities of actors in cultural governance to interact with others inside and beyond the city. This networking propensity, involving partnership, reciprocity, trust-building and open dialogue is equally a feature of the 'glue' which holds together the 'pieces' with respect to cultural innovation. From these interactions a synergetic surplus' may form, enabling the actions or projects of individuals to yield much more value from being part of a larger programme. (2008: 28)

Cooke's comments regarding the whole being larger than the sum of its parts, mirrors the above discussion of the role of social capital for Glasgow's music scene. Furthermore, returning to the theme of collaboration, there are many instances where Glasgow, as a 'creative city', has encouraged relations to develop, not just between artists within the city, but also with others from further afield:

The rude health of the art and music scenes has led to collaborations that simply wouldn't have happened outside Glasgow. The artist David Shrigley's cheeky, naive drawings attracted the attention of American roots musician Bonnie "Prince" Billy, who asked Shrigley to make a video for his single Agnes, Queen of Sorrow. Bonnie went on to produce the most recent album by Glasgow-based folk singer Alasdair Roberts, while Shrigley himself has been emboldened to start his own band. (Hanley, 2005)

In a similar vein, and in relation to both the notions of 'clustering' and the 'creative city', Costa (2008: 201) argues that a summary of different analyses of cultural activities and territorial agglomeration leads to three main conclusions. In addition to highlighting the 'extreme importance of economic and non-economic factors' and arguing for the relevance of certain mechanisms being embedded in the territory (such as 'access to material and immaterial resources'), he also argues for the 'relevance of networks'. Again with particular significance for the above arguments, he considers that it is 'fundamental for artist inclusion in internal and external networks, including the opportunity and the sense of belonging to specific 'art worlds', the contact with cultural intermediaries, and the domain of conventions and achievement of symbolic status' (ibid).

The previous chapter highlighted the role of the venue Nice N' Sleazy as a focus for networking between music makers, and it also noted that, for a time in the 1990s, Gary Lightbody worked there as a barman. Aside from Snow Patrol Lightbody was also a member of the band The Reindeer Section. Their formation, facilitated by the venue, provides an early example of the way in which networking had moved on, from facilitating social support and mutual trust between Glasgow music makers, to actual collaboration on a commercial project. According to Lightbody it was 'all thanks to Lou Barlow in a way. He did three gigs at Nice N' Sleazy in January and everyone was there. I went around drunkenly saying, 'I've started a band called Reindeer Section' - I've no idea where the name came from! - 'And would you like to be in it?'" (2001).<sup>215</sup> The band recorded two albums: *Y'All Get Scared Now, Ya Hear* (BSR14) in 2001 and *Son of Evil Reindeer*

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<sup>215</sup> Quoted at <http://www.nme.com/news/arab-strap/8091>.

(BSR19) in 2002 and over this time period the collaboration involved 27 different musicians:

At the core are Lightbody and Snow Patrol associate Jonny Quinn, Neil Payne, Charlie Clarke, Willy Campbell, Gareth Russell and Eva's Jenny Reeve. But others who were happy to be sectioned include Mark McLelland (Snow Patrol), John Cummings (Mogwai), Eugene Kelly (The Vaseline's), Lee Gorton, Sam Morris and Ben Dumville (Alfie), Aidan Moffat, Malcolm Middleton and Colin MacPherson (Arab Strap), Sarah Roberts (Eva), Roddy Woomble (Idlewild), Norman Blake (Teenage Fanclub), Richard Colburn, Mick Cooke and Bob Kildea (Belle and Sebastian), Iain Archer, Stacey Sievwright, Paul Fox and Marcus Mackay.<sup>216</sup>

Admittedly, not all these bands are/were based in Glasgow (Alfie were from Manchester and Idlewild are from Edinburgh), but the number and mixture of artists included in the collaboration highlights the extent to which a dense network can facilitate, on a commercial scale, collaborative popular music production (both between locally based musicians and between locals and those from outside the city).

Although The Reindeer Section was active in the early part of the 2000s, there are also a number of examples from 2009 that emphasise that this type of collaboration between Glasgow-based bands was not an isolated occurrence. A large number of these latter collaborations were based around live performances (at least initially) and so are discussed in the following section regarding venues. However, before moving on, it is important to note that, aside from those already mentioned, there were, by 2009, a number of other Glasgow-based record labels supporting local bands and musicians. In this respect Appendix 4 also includes nine separate releases by Lo-Five Records. Like many others, this label began as a vehicle for an artist to release his or her own music – in this case the artist was Jo Mango, who in 2006 used it to release her first album, *Paperclips and Sand* (5001). Mango explained the rationale behind Lo-Five:

Because Jim (my brother), Robin (my manager) and I (Jo Mango) - the partners in the record company - all work other jobs and do other things to make money we can run our label in a way that tries as much as possible to keep the music-making separate from the pressure of money-making, ie, we make good music and we think it will sell because it's good, we don't make music specifically to sell. In the end we got an EP and an album recorded, manufactured, advertised and distributed all under our own steam using the name Lo-Five records. We applied to a number of different places for funding - including the Scottish Arts Council who were very generous and helpful - pulled in a lot of favours and did an awful lot of hard work to make it all happen. . . We're now in the

<sup>216</sup> <http://www.culturenorthernireland.org/article/984/gary-lightbody-and-the-reindeer-section>.



process of trying to do the same for four other Glasgow-based acts who we think are amazing and deserve to be heard. (quoted in Cummings, 2007)

Mango's explanation regarding motives for starting her own record label is consistent with a number of previous comments made by both music makers and other music scene participants based in Glasgow. She is clear that profit was not the sole consideration when considering the policy for her record label and that patronage also played a role in the decisions regarding the label's releases. Daniel Wylie, who had been the singer/songwriter for the Glasgow-based band Cosmic Rough Riders, also expressed such a rationale. After leaving the band in 2002, to pursue a solo career, he also started his own record label, Neon Tetra Records. As noted in Appendix 4, Neon Tetra put out three releases in 2009, two for a Band Called Quinn and one for Mindset. Wylie also described his motive for starting a label in philanthropic terms:

I started up the label after I left Cosmic Rough Riders. Because I wasn't touring as much, I had more spare time to do other things. I went into Salvation Sounds record shop in Glasgow and met Jim who was working behind the counter. He had done this album. I took it home and it was brilliant. Then I went to see Ally Kerr and got his album and thought it was great . . . I had three albums and thought it was an injustice that people had amazing albums that weren't being heard. I started the label to put out these guys' records.  
(quoted in Fulton, 2006)

The under-playing of a profit motive is a common theme running through the strategies described by Glasgow-based record label owners. Another label began by music makers is Say Dirty Records, run by the above-mentioned Sandberg brothers from the band Wake the President. They argued that: 'We do stuff that excites us; it's not unknown for us to go hungry for a month just to get a record out' (quoted in Meighan, 2010). Similarly, Stephen McKee, who runs Flowers in the Dustbin, which made four separate releases in 2009, also measured success in critical, rather than financial terms: 'The label exists to promote music we believe in. So every time a track gets played or reviewed, or we see people discovering the band at gigs, we're inspired'.<sup>217</sup>

Though not negating the profit motive completely, running throughout the commentaries of music makers and bands based in Glasgow is a strong emphasis on providing support and nurture for other like-minded musicians. This notion is consolidated by the twin actions of record labels run by musicians, particularly on a collective basis, and the development of a wider community of different types of artists – drawn to Glasgow for a

<sup>217</sup> Quoted at <http://www.peenko.co.uk/2011/03/scottish-diy-labels-17-flowers-in.html>.

number of reasons, including the very fact that it is regarded as a city that provides a supportive environment for cultural production. This supportive environment draws on both the accumulation of social capital and the density of the network that developed between Glasgow music makers in the 1990s. As a result, in 2009, long-time and heavily networked participants of the Glasgow music scene are awarded a certain status by both the local media and music makers – a status that also works to embed further the notion of patronage between elites and peripheral scene participants. Furthermore, this supportive environment, by promoting collaboration and cross-fertilisation between different genres (and different types of cultural production) has promoted a continuing diversity of musical product. This diversity is further strengthened by a DIY ethic prevalent amongst a number of music makers and label managers – an ethic not rooted in pursuing musical production purely for commercial gain, and therefore not driven by the homogenising tendencies of market forces. As will be discussed below, this notion of diversity through collaboration is one that is also demonstrated in terms of live performance by Glasgow-based music makers.

## Venues

Longevity is not just a feature common to popular music makers based in Glasgow, a large number of the venues discussed in the previous chapter, and which opened in the 1990s, both remained opened and central to the city's music scene in 2009. As highlighted by the previous chapter, in the 1990s, aside from the primary function of providing a space for music makers to perform their own music, venues in Glasgow played an important role as foci for like-minded musicians and bands to meet, socialise and so assist in network formation. This function did not necessarily diminish in the decade that followed, but with the opening of additional and more varied venues, and with the changing nature of social and knowledge exchanges, live performance venues provided but one of many channels for such interactions. This section discusses some of these venues (in relation to their continuing or changed role for the local scene in 2009), examines some of the newer venues that opened in the 2000s, and finally discusses the development of a number of festivals within the city. As well as highlighting the growth in local live music performance, there also follows a discussion of the ways in which live performance has contributed to the collaborative nature of the local scene and also thus to its continuing diversity.

Louis Abbott, who is a member of Admiral Fallow (formerly The Brother Louis Collective) and The Moth and The Mirror, felt that:

moving through from Dundee four years ago for my studies really opened my eyes to the breadth of music in Glasgow. With there being so many decent venues, there's always opportunities for young and upcoming bands to develop and grow into really great artists. (quoted in Drever, 2009b)

Chapter 6 already discussed the opening of King Tut's (on St. Vincent Street) in 1990 and the fact that it had developed a reputation, amongst local music makers, as a desirable place to perform. By 2009 this reputation had not diminished and, in part, due to its longevity it is much lauded by the media as the 'iconic' and 'legendary' King Tut's' (Smith 2013: 31). The venue's longevity is due to a number of factors, and no doubt, while it has in itself added to the notion of Glasgow's music scene, it has also benefitted from a consistent available audience seeking to consume popular music. Other factors for its continued success lie in the fact that, like the heterogeneity of the popular music produced in Glasgow, the venue has been flexible in catering for different music genres. As Webster (2010: 25) points out: 'the venue is not aligned to any one particular subculture or genre. This is also reflected in the age range of its attendees: from over-14 year-olds (over-14s) for certain shows all the way up to 70 year-olds for the weekly Saturday matinee jazz gigs'. As a result King Tut's income stream is not dependent on the vagaries of popular music fashions. Moreover, and of relevance for its role within the local scene, Webster (ibid: 26) also argues that DF Concerts, who operate the venue have 'a commitment to supporting local artists'. Similarly, in response to receiving the NME award of 'Britain's Best Small Venue 2011' Geoff Ellis, CEO of DF Concerts, pointed out that the venue's ethos had always been about 'really looking after the audiences and really looking after the bands'.<sup>218</sup>

Aside from King Tut's ability to accommodate different genres of music and its ethos of being committed to developing local artists, in the 2000s the venue interacted with the music scene through a number of additional initiatives. Firstly, almost in recognition of its function as a space where network formation could take place between local music makers, in 2005 the venue launched a monthly event titled Your Sound, with the explicit aim of encouraging such networking.<sup>219</sup> The event also provided another channel by which local

<sup>218</sup> Quoted at <http://www.musicweek.com/news/read/glasgows-king-tuts-named-as-britains-best-small-venue/046004>.

<sup>219</sup> <http://www.list.co.uk/article/372-your-sound/>.

music makers could gain some exposure for their work (through being chosen to have a piece of their recorded music played in the venue's bar at the event, and also on various websites). Secondly, in 2007 the venue also established its own record label, King Tut's Recordings, and, as can be seen from Appendix 4, in 2009 it released material from Glasgow-based bands Fangs, Sucioperro, Xcerts and Wooden Box With a Fistful of Fivers. In addition, DF Concerts also organise the annual three-day festival, T in the Park, at Balado, in Perth and Kinross, and the festival's T-Break Stage specifically showcases up and coming Scottish artists. In 2009, a large number of these acts were Glasgow-based, including The Phantom Band, Maple Leaves, Sucioperro, amongst many others.

Additionally, King Tut's symbolic status as 'iconic' or 'legendary' also adds to the notion of a local music scene. Its growing reputation, cultivated since the 1990s, as a great place for musicians to perform, means that its status is not dissimilar to the one afforded elite music scene participants (as discussed above). In addition to the superlatives 'legendary' and 'iconic' another term that is used in reference to the stage in King Tut's is 'hallowed' (Pettigrew, 2010). Such a term proffers an understanding of the venue and its stage as being so worthy, in terms of cultural and artistic value, that it should be a consecrated site. Consecrated cultural sites, in relation to popular music, are usually discussed in terms of heritage and plaque awards (Roberts and Cohen, 2013), and such a concept links well with the heritage and tourism industries. In this respect (at the time of writing) there exists a commercially available downloadable app for iPhone and Android that provides a walking tour with audio commentary of a large number of Glasgow music venues (past and present).<sup>220</sup> King Tut's is one of the venues included in the tour, but what is more apposite in terms of the venue's value for the local music scene is the way in which it contributes to the idea of a popular musical lineage. Being able to perform there is, according to Radio 1 presenter Vic Galloway, 'like a rite of passage for many bands' (quoted in Pettigrew, 2013). In a similar way James Allan from the band Glasvegas described playing at the venue when Alan McGee was in the audience: 'This place has been a big part of our history. Alan being here that night captured a lot of people's imaginations. It worked for us really well, the history of it all helped' (quoted in McMonagle, 2013).<sup>221</sup> Value in being part of what has gone before is also rearticulated by the band's drummer, Jonna Löfgren, when discussing an up-coming performance at King Tut's:

<sup>220</sup> <http://www.walkingheads.net/>.

<sup>221</sup> McGee allegedly signed Oasis to the Creation Records label after seeing the band perform at the venue in 1993.

Drummer Jonna missed out on the early days of the band and, despite growing up in Sweden, is not immune to the allure of the legendary King Tut's. She said: "I don't have the heritage, I missed out on it so of course I'm excited. "It sounds so magical to hear them all talk about it so much, it will be nice to recreate the part of the history I missed out on." (ibid)

Here again, there is acknowledgement of King Tut's place within Glasgow's musical heritage and Löfgren places importance on being part of a (continuing) history. The fact that King Tut's has remained open for such a length of time, that it's ethos and the way it operates has not changed over this period, and that it has hosted performances by many local (and internationally known) acts, provides both an anchoring point and a gauge for local music makers looking for critical or commercial success. However, this celebratory view of the venue can also be tempered by acknowledging its commercial basis. Stewart Smith (2012), who writes for *The List* magazine, considers this about King Tut's:

It sells itself as a rite of passage for up and coming bands, and in fairness, if your ambitions lie in the more commercial indie mainstream a gig at Tut's can be useful. But the venue's policy of offering support acts a ticket deal is questionable. Local acts will be given tickets to sell, of which Tut's must receive at least half of the face value. With Tut's, unless they sell the tickets to friends and family at a knock-down rate, bands will not lose any money. They might even make a little and land further gigs with DF Promotions. But it does appear to mean bands who don't bring in the punters won't get asked back, regardless of merit. Perhaps that's fair enough; Tut's is a commercial enterprise and it is not in the business of taking chances on untested acts. But there are other ways of doing things, where the focus is on cooperation instead of competition and commercialism.

The afore-mentioned Louis Abbott also reflected on his positive experience at King Tut's:

I think the show we did when we opened for Twin Atlantic at King Tuts in September 2008 was the first time we became aware that people might quite like us. It wasn't our crowd by any means, mostly young emo types, but we start with a really quiet number and we managed to silence a pretty much capacity crowd who were there for the Atlantic anthems for sure. (quoted in Drever, 2009b)

Before discussing other less commercially driven opportunities for Glasgow-based musicians, it is relevant to also consider the place and role of Nice N' Sleazy's in 2009 - another venue which opened in the 1990s (1991) and which was also discussed in the last chapter. No doubt due to the length of time it has remained in business, and in a very similar way to King Tut's, in the media Nice N' Sleazy is often referred to in reverential

tones e.g. ‘Sleazy’s is a legend in this town’ and a ‘Glasgow institution’.<sup>222</sup> Like King Tut’s it too features on the above-mentioned audio walking tour of the city’s venues. Where it does differ from the other venue is the way the media perceives it as particularly catering for live performances of indie or alternative music e.g. ‘a den of alternative pop excess’ (Meighan, 2011). The statements of its programmer, Fielding Hope, also enhance this perception. He felt that:

It’s been a hub for Glasgow’s DIY, arts and independent scenes for some time,” he says. “I think the most important aspect is its feeling of open-mindedness – it isn’t by rule indie, alternative, underground, folk, electronic or anything. It’s a hub for all sorts of creativity – I think that’s what’s inspiring. (quoted in Meighan, 2011)

Through finding a specific niche catering for ‘indie’ or ‘alternative’ music Nice N’ Sleazy has differentiated itself from the larger and more generalised venue of King Tut’s. Though the former also enhances the concept of heritage and a lineage within the Glasgow’s popular music scene, it has also retained its function as a space where the city’s music makers can form networks. In this respect Michael John McCarthy was quite clear about the venue’s importance for the notion of a local music scene:

I don’t think you could say it [Glasgow] has one scene - I think it is a conglomeration of scenes and some of the scenes last for years and some of the scenes last for months. I think there is a shift in a cast of characters in amongst that – the Nice N’ Sleazy’s scene in so far as you could describe it as still going – the Open Mic night is still there, is still a really important jumping off point for a lot of people. One of the most recent and probably most successful graduates is Louis Abbot and Admiral Fallow – have their roots there. . . That scene is still going - I think that outlives any individual member. (personal interview, 2012)

McCarthy’s comments reaffirm the views expressed in Chapter 6 regarding the venue as a place where scene participants not only perform but also meet and socialise. His comments above however, both emphasise that by the 2000s it was more appropriate to speak of a plurality of music scenes rather than a singular monolithic one, and that in fact the Open Mic ‘scene’ at Nice N’ Sleazy has (for want of a better term) become institutionalised and is not dependent on individual scene participants to maintain it.

By 2009, both a plethora of new dedicated live performance venues had opened and other non-standard spaces were being used regularly for live performances. Central to a number

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<sup>222</sup> <http://www.list.co.uk/place/13995-nicensleazy/> and [http://www.theskinny.co.uk/venue/6541-nice\\_n\\_sleazy](http://www.theskinny.co.uk/venue/6541-nice_n_sleazy) respectively. Accessed: 6 February 2013.

of these new openings was Craig Tannock, who had been a partner in the 13<sup>th</sup> Note café/bar, venue and club.<sup>223</sup> In November 2001 the 13<sup>th</sup> Note (which had relocated to King Street from Glassford Street and had also opened a club venue on Clyde Street) went into receivership and the club venue became part of the Barfly chain of venues. Tannock went into a new partnership and in 2002 opened a new venue, Mono, in Kings Court opposite the café/bar venue (which remained open under new management). Since that time Tannock has opened other related venues. A sister venue to Mono, Stereo opened in Kelvinhaugh Street in the west-end before relocating in 2007 to Renfield Lane in the city centre.<sup>224</sup> At the same time Tannock also opened a new club venue, The Flying Duck, in what had been the premises of his original venue, The Apollo. Although all these venues operate on a commercial basis, Tannock's business ethos is consistent with the elements of patronage and social support that pervades the development of Glasgow's popular music scene. An article from the Scotsman in 2007 regards him as an 'unsung hero of the Glasgow music community over the last 20 years' and argues that 'Tannock has maintained an unobtrusive yet vital presence as a facilitator for all kinds of creative pursuits'. He is quoted as saying:

I've always been that wee guy in the band, trying to get gigs, so that has affected my perspective. I was never successful in bands, that's very important. I know what it's like. The simple idea was that if I could do things I knew I liked then other people would understand it too [. . .] There is very little true independence in the music business, but there has still got to be people out there doing it for the right reasons and it's nice to do anything that will help bring people together without it being another marketing ploy.<sup>225</sup>

In the same way that other Glasgow music scene participants share Tannock's 'right reasons' his business policy of diversifying is also a familiar trope recognisable within the multifarious roles and tasks of some participants. Aside from operating as a bar/music venue, Mono also has a café that serves an all-vegan menu and houses a record shop (Monorail). In 2009, in addition to hosting a large number of live music performances from touring and locally-based artists – mention has already been made of a performance by Edwyn Collins and Teenage Fanclub which took place there on the 10 September – it provides a venue for a large number of other types of events. These included Monosyllabic, a monthly spoken word event, a Glasgow Craft Mafia Market, a monthly

<sup>223</sup> See Chapter 6 for a discussion of the 13<sup>th</sup> Note and related venues.

<sup>224</sup> The original Stereo remained operating under the name 'The 78'.

<sup>225</sup> <http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/music/news-and-features/another-home-for-craig-s-undies-1-698100>.

meeting of the Glasgow No2ID campaign, and a monthly house/techno party night from the Slam club night.

Diversity, in terms of function and in relation to other scene participants, is a concept that is considered in further detail below. However, in this sense it is also useful to consider some of the other opportunities for live popular music performance that were available in Glasgow in 2009. A survey from that year of both *The List* and *Is This Music?* magazines reveals that, in and around the centre of Glasgow, forty-eight separate venues provided performance space for locally based live popular music. Some of these venues operated more than one stage or performance space, and some of them also hosted performances by acts from outside Glasgow e.g. bands on tour. Previous chapters have highlighted the advantages to a music scene of having different sized and different oriented venues available to local performers – and therefore one reason for the continued vibrancy of Glasgow’s music scene in 2009 is due to the opportunities that this plethora of venues provided local music makers. Small spaces that catered for acoustic-based and small ensemble playing included the café Tchai Ovna, and pubs The State Bar, Liquid Ship and Brel. A large number of pubs also provided for more amplified music and these included The Goat, McHuills, MacSorleys and The Halt. Venues that operated primarily as public houses but that also provided a separate dedicated performance space (facilitating the charge of an entry fee) included the aforementioned Nice N’ Sleazy, Stereo, Mono, King Tut’s, 13<sup>th</sup> Note, and also Maggie Mays, The Box, Admiral Bar, Bar Bloc, Rockers, Capitol and The Twisted Wheel.<sup>226</sup> Larger dedicated performance spaces, including those run as night clubs included The Flying Duck, The Arches, the CCA (Centre for Contemporary Arts), The Ferry, Ivory Blacks, The Cathouse, Soundhaus, Old Fruitmarket, ABC, O2 Academy and The Barrowlands. The last three venues are also notable for having two types of space – a larger hall accommodating large audiences over 2,000 and a smaller venue for audiences under 400. The smaller stages within these three venues serve as performance spaces for both lesser-known touring acts and for local music makers. When The Barrowlands 2 opened as a separate venue in 2006 a review in *The Skinny* magazine claimed that this ‘second venue, which can hold 350 people, is intent on showcasing new local talent and helping unsigned bands to enjoy the benefit of playing in such an established venue’ (Crerar, 2006). In this way all three venues are able to offer lesser-known bands the opportunity of playing at a venue associated with accommodating larger and more successful bands (both local and touring) – providing a kudos which

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<sup>226</sup> The Twisted Wheel was previously called The Rock Garden and was a ‘hub’ for Glasgow music makers in the 1980s.



performing at other small venues may not offer. Finally, in terms of adding to a diversity of venues in Glasgow, both higher education establishments and non-standard venues continued to play their part. In respect of the former, both Glasgow School of Art and Strathclyde University hosted performances by locally based musicians in 2009. Similarly that year, venues not normally associated with popular music performance included the Woodend Tennis and Bowling Club and Maryhill Community Central Halls (both venues are situated in the west-end of Glasgow).

## DIY Promoters and Festivals

The use of non-standard venues for live music performance (as distinct from public houses and night clubs) has been a feature of Glasgow's music scene since the 1980s and is a phenomenon discussed in previous chapters. However, in the 2000s the use of such venues highlights the involvement of small locally based independent promoters, working separately from the established live music venues. A company called Sound in the Suburbs, run by Alan Hendry, uses the above-mentioned Woodend Tennis and Bowling Club. Hendry argued:

My gigs are somewhat different as I use halls in sports clubs in the west end of Glasgow, which is great because families can come and the atmosphere works really well. It isn't Royston Vasey but there is a big element of "local music for local people!!" It's a huge and welcomed alternative to the standard gig and a place for genuine music fans.<sup>227</sup>

In this way Hendry has created a niche for himself, enabling him to compete amongst all the other popular live music events taking place in Glasgow. Of the other independent live music promoters working in Glasgow in 2009, Cry Parrot<sup>228</sup> are also notable because of their non-commercial ethos; a characteristic they share with the labels Winning Sperm Party and Wiseblood Industries mentioned above. In contrast to Sounds of the Suburbs their website declares: 'In keeping with a DIY ethic, door prices are kept comparatively low and all proceeds are given to the acts and used to fund future ventures'.<sup>229</sup> However, neither Sounds in the Suburbs or Cry Parrot take an insular approach towards promotion and both are responsible for promoting both local and internationally known acts. An example of a Cry Parrot organized event from 2009 involved not only the CCA but also the

<sup>227</sup> Quoted at <http://thevinylvillain.blogspot.co.uk/2007/02/simply-thrilled-honey.html>. Accessed 18 November 2012.

<sup>228</sup> Cry Parrot's director is Fielding Hope, who went on to programme music events at Nice N' Sleazy.

<sup>229</sup> <http://cryparrot.co.uk/about/>. Accessed 20 November 2012.

band Foot Village, from USA, and local bands Divorce, Ultimate Thrush and Blue Sabbath Black Fiji.<sup>230</sup>

Cry Parrot was also involved in the first year of The Glasgow Festival of DIY Culture. Though the festival involved a variety of DIY practices, the music programme of the festival included both international and local acts and was hosted at another arts space, The Studio Warehouse. *The List* writer Stewart Smith (2009) argues that without ‘wishing to play down the significance of Franz Ferdinand’s commercial breakthrough, arguably the real story of Glasgow rock in the ’00s has been the rise of the DIY gig scene’.<sup>231</sup> In saying this Smith also highlights the role of another independent music promotion organisation: Nuts and Seeds. He argues:

Nuts and Seeds were among those that got the ball rolling by booking weird, noisy and fun bands from Europe and America, all the while nurturing home-grown talent, and a number of DIY promoters have emerged in their wake, maintaining the independent non-profit ethos. (ibid)

Nuts and Seeds’ role in the Glasgow music scene in the 2000s is distinctive for a number of reasons. Aside from privileging a DIY ethos when promoting live music performance compared to a more commercial policy, they also bring together a number of strands within the scene’s on-going narrative. The collective involved a number of Glasgow-based visual artists and programmers including Louise Shelley, Kathryn Elkin, Giles Bailey, Jens Strandberg, Thomas Sander, Duncan Robertson and Susan Berridge (Lowndes, 2010). Both Shelley and Elkin worked at the CCA; the former as a programmer and the latter as an events manager (ibid). None of the collective had been born in Glasgow, but most of them had relocated to the city to attend Glasgow School of Art. Aside from being involved in the running of Nuts and Seeds, their popular music connections ran deeper, with both Giles Bailey and Duncan Robertson being members of the band Dananananaykroyd and the collective also running a separate club night at Nice N’ Sleazy’s called Meowmix. Bailey left Dananananaykroyd in 2007 and formed the band Triple School with another Glasgow School of Art graduate, Tom Varley. In 2008 Triple School released an EP on the Winning Sperm Party label and Varley explained their close connection with the band Plaaydoh, who were also strongly connected with that label: ‘Plaaydoh became something like a ‘partner band’ – we played lots of gigs with them, toured with them, released a split

<sup>230</sup> <http://www.last.fm/event/1200333+Cry+Parrot+presents:+Foot+Village+%28THIS+SHOW+MOVED+TO+CCA+!!%29>. Accessed 20 September 2013.

<sup>231</sup> <http://www.list.co.uk/article/21045-glasgow-diy-festival>.

single with them, Chris Plaaydoh did all our recording and Rob Plaaydoh released our EP through his website [winningspermparty.com](http://winningspermparty.com)' (ibid: 402). The split single that Varley refers to was released on the Nuts and Seeds label and this further highlights the diverse output of these collectives and their members. Susan Berridge explained the rationale behind Nuts and Seeds expanding into a label:

We had a club night called Meowmix in Sleazys once a month; we decided to keep it non-profit and cheap like the gigs so that it was accessible to anybody who wanted to come. We ended up with loads of money and we didn't really know what to do with it: we didn't want to take it for ourselves, we wanted to put it back in to music, so that's when we thought we could bring out the records. (quoted in Doherty, 2009)

Similarly, Winning Sperm Party also promoted live performances, particularly ones involving bands from their own roster of bands. An example of Winning Sperm Party's collaborative approach to live performance is an event they promoted at The Flying Duck on 26 February 2009. This was in collaboration with both Nuts and Seeds and another music promoting organisation, Croc Vs. Croc, and involved Ultimate Thrush, Grozny, and Divorce (amongst others) and was billed as a 'DIY Mega fest' (Bayne, 2009). Though this performance took place at the commercially operated The Flying Duck, Winning Sperm Party also 'purchased a generator and have been putting gigs outside in all sorts of spaces, like outside west street underground station and in an abandoned building near the Clyde'.<sup>232</sup> Colin from the collective argued that when you 'think about gigs you've been to and they've been really special, the ones that I can think of are the ones in spaces that aren't normal, ordinary venues' (quoted in Chrysagis, 2012). Such a policy is consistent with the ethos of a number of other Glasgow-based promoters and music makers who make use of non-standard performance spaces, as discussed above.

The Glasgow Festival of DIY Culture was only one of a number of festivals that took place in Glasgow in 2009. The number and breadth of festivals indicates the diverse nature of popular music production taking place within the city. For example, in its ninth year was the Instal three-day festival, which took place from the 20–22 March at The Arches and The CCA.<sup>233</sup> It has been described as the 'UK's leading experimental music festival'<sup>234</sup>

<sup>232</sup> [http://gildedgutterblog.blogspot.co.uk/2011/07/mr-peppermint-interview\\_25.html](http://gildedgutterblog.blogspot.co.uk/2011/07/mr-peppermint-interview_25.html).

<sup>233</sup> See <http://arika.org.uk/>. Accessed 25 September 2013.

<sup>234</sup> <http://www.medici.tv/#!/glasgow-instal-festival>.

and in 2009 its line-up included a large number of internationally recognised acts including Tetsuo Kogawa and Rolf Julius. However, it also included a few local artists such as Nackt Insecten, and Aileen Campbell and Neil Davidson (from the Glasgow Improvisers Orchestra). In contrast, and closer in spirit to the DIY festival, the Glasgow Implodes festival was organised by the At War with False Noise label and *Zero Tolerance* magazine (Cooper, 2009). In its fourth year this one-day festival is described as being originally ‘founded as a DIY alternative to some of the bigger experimental festivals’ (ibid). Held on the 28 March in the 13th Note venue, it too featured a number of acts from as far away as France (Vomir) and Italy (Fecalove Vs. Indch Libertine). However, compared to Instal, it included a relatively larger number of Glasgow-based acts. These included musicians from Noma, Black Sun and Kylie Minoise and the band Tacoma Narrow’s Bridge.

Festivals in Glasgow, in 2009, were not only concerned with experimental and DIY forms of culture. More commercially run, and specifically music-oriented festivals included Hinterland, The Stag and Dagger and The Wee Chill Festival.<sup>235</sup> In addition, publicly funded cultural festivals, that also provided a platform for local musicians, included the Merchant City Festival and the Westend Festival.<sup>236</sup> Both Hinterland and Stag and Dagger took the same format, where one ticket allowed entry to a number of venues. The latter, taking place on the 23 of May, was a one-day event, and followed on from the original event that had taken place in London in 2008. It was staged across six venues: Glasgow School of Art, Nice N’Sleazy, Captain’s Rest, Stereo, Classic Grand and ABC1, and though not exclusively featuring Glasgow-based musicians, it did provide a showcase for a number of local bands, including The Phantom Band, Elvis Suicide and Dananananaykroyd (Kerr, 2009). Hinterland took a similar approach in organisation, but took place over two days (30 April and 1 May) and involved a much larger number of artists and venues compared to the Stag and Dagger. It also featured a greater number of internationally recognised acts, including The Fall and Two Door Cinema Club, performing alongside local bands such as Desalvo and Punch and the Apostles.<sup>237</sup> The festival also involved a larger number of partners than the Stag and Dagger, including London-based Domino Records and the afore-mentioned LuckyMe collective. The collective’s involvement again reflected the close ties between Glasgow’s popular music scene and its arts community, as the festival also showcased visual and performance art

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<sup>235</sup> Triptych, a music festival sponsored by Tennent’s lager and held over three days in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow had run between 2000 and 2008.

<sup>236</sup> Celtic Connections, a folk/roots/world music festival, began in 1994.

<sup>237</sup> See [http://www.hinterlandfestival.com/hinterland\\_home.html](http://www.hinterlandfestival.com/hinterland_home.html). Accessed 25 September 2013.

from local artists. Though not new concepts (both festivals had precedents in the Camden Crawl festival which takes place in London and a similar themed Glasgow festival from 2008, called Sauchiehall Crawl) a review of the larger two day event from *The Skinny* magazine describes poor audience attendance and remarks that from ‘the outset Hinterland has an air of excess, the product of pre-recession economy multiplied by a post-recession target audience’ (Watson, 2009). Not surprisingly, the festival was reduced to a one-day event in 2010.<sup>238</sup>

The growth in music festivals in Glasgow over the period of the 2000s reflected a similar growth outside of the city:

During the summer months of 2007, an estimated 485 music festivals, covering every genre of music, were held in the United Kingdom. This figure, which does not include any of the multitude of free festivals that also occur, represents a staggering 38 per cent growth in the number of festivals in just seven years (Mintel, 2008). (Larsen and Hussels, 2012: 250)

Chapter 6 has already discussed the impact of some of the festivals that took place in Glasgow in the 1990s. This impact contributes to the notion that some of Glasgow’s regeneration since the 1970s can be attributed to policy initiatives supporting the development of arts (and in particular popular music) production and consumption in the city. However, the growth of festivals in the following decade is of continued interest because as Waterman (1998: 60-61) points out, the cultural facets of festivals cannot be divorced from the commercial interests of tourism, regional and local economy and place promotion. He also points out that an ‘additional element in the cultural politics of all arts festivals is that as well as being cultural events in their own right, they are special events’ and that ‘the promotion of festivals has now become an important attraction for private business’ (ibid: 61). In a similar way Gibson and Connell (2012: 15) argue that the growth of commercial festivals in many western countries is linked to ‘increased mobility of consumers, more sophisticated marketing in the music industry . . . the emergence of ‘alternative’ music scenes . . . and an increasingly internationalised touring circuit controlled by oligopolistic and territorially organised promotion companies’. No matter the reasons behind the growth of Glasgow’s festivals and the extent to which they have impacted on the city’s economy and regeneration, Larsen and Hussells (2012: 266) highlight a number of additional benefits that commercial music festivals can bring. They point to the enhancement of cultural awareness, preservation of cultural forms, and the

<sup>238</sup> At the time of writing Stag and Dagger continues to be held annually, but Hinterland was not repeated after 2010.

maintenance and communication of individual and community identities. It is this last point that has significance for the notion of a 'scene', as a festival can be considered a type of scene that facilitates 'social integration and community cohesion'. In an interview given before his band, Drums of Death, performed at Hinterland, Colin Bailey considered the potential for a festival of this type in Glasgow:

I think it'll work perfectly. The Camden Crawl is a little bit contrived, there's always talk of which tiny pub Amy Winehouse is going to show up in and play a set, and everyone wants to say they were there – it's very much an industry thing.

It's unfair to compare Glasgow and London, though, because they're two wholly different societies. London's almost too big to be described as a scene; it's countless people doing lots of things that you only hear about on the internet, whereas in Glasgow it's more personal. When a new band starts up, it's someone's mate and your old flatmate who started it. That's partly why Triptych had such an indelible impact. (Pollock, 2009b)

## Studios

Chapter 5 discussed the role of studios (rehearsal in particular) as both a focus for network formation by Glasgow music makers in the 1980s and as a driver of the emerging music scene. This role has continued, but as this and other chapters have illustrated, other elements (and spaces) have grown in importance. By 2009 some of the smaller Glasgow rehearsal (and recording) studios that had been open in 1990s had closed e.g. Stuffhouse Studios. However, a brief examination of the number of rehearsal studios that were open this year (and particularly the number of rooms these studios provided) offers further support to the notion that Glasgow's music scene was becoming more consolidated. Overall, since 1999 there was a considerable expansion in the number of studios providing a multiplex (i.e. over three rooms) type rehearsal provision.

As previously noted Berkeley Studios opened on May 5 1981 in Berkley Street. In 1988 it moved to Washington Street (where it offered three rehearsal rooms to begin with and then added another four rooms). Steve Cheyne, who owns the studio, explained how he started to expand into another property (in Lancefield Street):

In 2001 I started to look for alternative premises. There was space in the building, but I never go up-wards, I stay ground level all the time for my business: roadies love it and roadies massively influence bands . . . So I started

trading in 2002 – so from 2002 till 2007 I had two sets of premises. In 2007 I closed one and I developed the other to accommodate everything I had – I had four in one and seven in the other. So I had to build another seven down here (in the annexe) so I could close those seven, so I had eleven . . . And I've added another three since then. (personal interview, 2010)

By 2009 Berkley 2 Studios (as it was known after its move to Washington Street) was able to operate fourteen rehearsal rooms in its third site at Lancefield Street. The studio now markets itself as 'the UK's largest rehearsal studio facility'.<sup>239</sup> However, there were three other large studios situated in the town centre: Lo-fi Studios (situated in Anchor Lane) also operated nine separate rooms and provided a recording facility. In addition, Urban Studios provided ten rehearsal rooms between two locations in Dixon Street and Abercromby Street (and they too also offered a recording facility). Lastly, by 2009, Arc Studios (in Commerce Street) provided seven rehearsal rooms. Other rehearsal studios that have remained open since the 1990s included Carlton Studios (situated in Carlton Place), which provided four rooms and a recording facility and the Barrowland Rehearsal Studios (situated under the venue of the same name).

Recording Studios, unlike rehearsal studios, are prone to the affects of technological change, and as a result, by the 2000s a number of the recording studios that had opened in the previous decade had closed:

Many studios ceased trading during the nineties, but were replaced by smaller, computer-based set ups. If this technological advance meant anything, it was that recording could be done to a very high standard without either a huge amount of space or expensive equipment. (Williamson *et al*, 2003: 38)

Chapter 5 discussed the role of recording studios like Park Lane and Ca-Va, within the context of the local music scene, but by 2009 Park Lane had closed, 'its demise exacerbated by the changes in the industry facilitating cheaper and more convenient ways of recording' (Thomson, 2010) and Ca-Va had down-sized. However, other studios had opened e.g. Go-Go Studios, 7 Woodside Crescent (opened 2002), Terminal Music Limited 222–226 West Regent Street (opened in 2005) and The Green Door Studio Argyle Court, 1103 Argyle Street (opened 2007). Their ability to operate commercially was largely due to recognising a need to interact within the local community in a variety of different ways. Green Door was established as a community interest company and, while operating on a commercial basis, it also provides a number of initiatives including 'free music production workshops and recording opportunities for young people and unsigned musicians

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<sup>239</sup> <http://www.berkeley2.co.uk/>.

sponsored by The Scottish Arts Council'.<sup>240</sup> In this way the studio runs both a Youth Music Summer School and a Song-Crafters Production Course.

In a similar way Riverside Studios (situated in Busby on the outskirts of Glasgow) has also expanded its operation to interact with the local community through providing (initially in conjunction with Stow College) HNC and HND courses in Music Performance and Sound Production. In 2009 the Studio also ran a three month long short course called 'iPop' funded by South Lanarkshire Council.<sup>241</sup> This was also similar to a youth music programme the studio had been running for several years called the Optimus project. Local musician Calum McMillan described his experience of the project:

We got free rehearsals – we paid £70 at the start of the year and we got free rehearsals for the best part of six months (which was quite a big deal for us at the time) . . . It was classed as a part-time course – because you got NC credits for doing it and they taught you how to use Reason and some recording techniques. (personal interview, 2013)

While studios like Riverside and Green Door have exploited the growth in the music education sector, it is also important to note that some recording studios have grown within the more competitive commercial sector. In 2005 Chem 19 moved from Hamilton to Blantyre Industrial Estate, where it opened two new recording studios. This is not to detract from the studio's own community involvement because it too received funds from the Scottish Arts Council's Youth Music Initiative to offer artists under the age of 25 to record a demo.<sup>242</sup>

## Public Policy

The previous chapter has discussed the different types of contributions that further and higher education institutions, offering courses relating to music performance or the music business, made to the local music scene. In addition, the previous section has already mentioned the involvement of commercial studios within this area of music education. In

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<sup>240</sup> See <http://www.optimomusic.com/releases/the-green-door-kids-musikal-yooth>. Accessed 25 September 2013.

<sup>241</sup> See <http://www.eastkilbridenews.co.uk/lanarkshire-news/local-news-lanarkshire/local-news-east-kilbride/2009/12/09/south-lanarkshire-council-urging-ek-musicians-to-take-part-in-new-programme-68653-25349174/>. Accessed 25 September 2013.

<sup>242</sup> See <http://www.hamiltonadvertiser.co.uk/lifestyle/ml3-entertainment/2010/07/01/chem-19-awarded-arts-grant-to-offer-free-recording-sessions-51525-26759748/>. Accessed 25 September 2013.



the 2000s these types of courses also began to be offered by higher education institutions near to Glasgow:

The year 2002 also saw the development of a four-year honours degree in Commercial Music at the University of Paisley and of a BA in Popular Music at Napier University; both following the introduction of a BA Applied Music at Strathclyde University. (Williamson *et al*, 2003: 69)

As in the previous decade there also continued to be a number of initiatives geared towards stimulating the popular music industries in Scotland and some of these were focused on Glasgow. For example the Music Works conference was hosted in the city between 2002 and 2005. Funded by Scottish Enterprise, this three-day event followed similar types of conferences hosted by the city in the 1990s and provided local music makers an opportunity to visit exhibitions, seminars and live music performances.<sup>243</sup> Tam Coyle, promoter and manager, also pointed to various ways in which local music makers could seek assistance for funding their music activities:

there's various business development grants from city council direct or through Small Business Gateway (through Scottish Enterprise) to help professionalise [local music businesses]. The likes of The Prince's Trust as well being pretty good at, let's say, of getting some of the business ideas away and helping young people with a fund to start. But I know a lot of people do get . . . the paper work can get tedious and you do feel you're jumping through a hoop just to satisfy a funder or a sponsor's desire rather than your own creative ability. (personal interview, 2009)

Coyle was also Music Development Officer for Glasgow City Council at the beginning of the decade and reflecting on his time in this position he felt that

I was in there for two years and I thoroughly enjoyed the experience – it was nice to see - and I think we did help with some studios and some bits and bobs that we got off the ground. But to be honest, I did feel for the whole two years I was in a boxing ring with Mike Tyson with one hand behind my back. In that a lot of the funding rules really hamstrung what we did – I didn't have a blank canvas to work on.

Coyle's funding for this position came from the European Union and he felt that the rules applying to this type of aid were quite restrictive and inflexible. Regarding the City Council's assistance for local musicians in 2009, Alison Eales was quite unequivocal: 'The council seems to actually make it actively difficult' [to organise a live performance]. Eales

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<sup>243</sup> See <http://www.uzarts.com/music-works>.

felt that the Council's regulations regarding public entertainments' licenses were restrictive – for any form of live music events outside of the regular types of venue.<sup>244</sup>

Where both Coyle and Eales felt assistance for local music makers was most forthcoming was from The Scottish Arts Council. The former pointed to the support the Arts Council has given to local acts to attend the South By South West Conference and Festivals that take place annually in Austin, Texas:

the fact, as I said, that a lot of Scottish musicians over the last five years have went to South by Southwest – that's probably the most high profile example of Arts Council support. The fact that Arts Council give 50% funding – don't get me wrong – it's sometimes not enough and bands are still struggling - but basic brass tacks are if the Arts council didn't give that funding these artists would be in debt. (Coyle, personal interview, 2009)

Examination of the Council's 'Budget Commitments for Arts Development for 2008/2009' supports this assertion.<sup>245</sup> This document notes that in 2009 a number of Glasgow-based bands received money to support attendance at this festival, including Camera Obscura (£4,800), My Latest Novel (£4, 783), We Were Promised Jetpacks (£4,000) and The Xcerts (£2,000 to attend a show case in Japan rather than Texas). Alison Eales, on the other hand, highlighted the Scottish Arts Council's role in funding the recording of local artists' music. Speaking about her band, The Butcher Boy, she recounted that 'Creative Scotland has funded our last two albums – maybe to about the third of the cost I would say'. Again, referring to the Council's document listing grants awarded it is noted that in 2008/2009 both Lou Hickey received money towards the cost of recording, mixing and producing an album (£3,500) and The Burns Unit received money towards recording (£4,000).<sup>246</sup>

While the above comments regarding different types of financial support for local musicians privileges an economic or industrial view of popular music making in Glasgow, it does have some bearing for a more socially constructed notion of a music scene. The attendance by Glasgow bands at South By South West (and releasing a recording) receives attention from local (and national media) and this can act as a stimulus (or at least provide another goal) for other local music makers.

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<sup>244</sup> Personal interview, 2012.

<sup>245</sup> [http://www.scottisharts.org.uk/resources/publications/Annual%20reports%20&%20plans/Pdf/2008-09/voted%20grants%20lists%202008\\_09.pdf](http://www.scottisharts.org.uk/resources/publications/Annual%20reports%20&%20plans/Pdf/2008-09/voted%20grants%20lists%202008_09.pdf).

<sup>246</sup> The Burns Unit is a collaboration of well-known Scottish and Canadian popular musicians.

Before moving on however, it should also be noted that The Scottish Arts Council's budget document also provides examples of grassroots support. For example in 2008/2009 Greater Easterhouse Arts Company received £23,652 towards the cost of piloting a new touring circuit for young bands and musicians with workshop and training opportunities. Furthermore, The Scottish Arts Council (alongside Scottish Enterprise) also funded the organisation known as New Music In Scotland (NEMIS). This was 'founded in May 1999 with the aim of becoming a development agency for popular music. It offered advice, put on showcases, produced CDs for industries' conventions and came to be more of a network than a representative body' (Cloonan 2007: 23). However, in 2005 the organisation's funds expired and were not renewed. Members of the Glasgow-based band Popup, in interviewed for *Is this music?* magazine, were quite clear about how NEMIS's Development Officer, Alec Downie, provided support to local music makers: 'He works for all unsigned bands . . . Local bands doing something they love can go to Alec for objective criticism and get nudged in the right direction. For us, Alec's help was invaluable' (Nick Giudici quoted by Boyd, 2006: 12). One piece of advice Downie gave Popup relates to the discussion below regarding the role of social media sites for a music scene. Giudici is clear about how joining MySpace helped the band: 'It was around this time that the band became paid-up members of the Myspace revolution, on the advice of Alec Downie of NEMIS. One of the first things he said to us was, "You need to get a Myspace page"' (ibid).

## Radio and Television

Williamson *et al*, (2003: 49) argue that since the early nineties interest in music from BBC Scotland 'has been sporadic, save for a few documentaries in the "XS" strand and two series of "The Beat Room," which was made primarily for the digital channel, BBC Choice' and that 'in general, there is little support for Scottish music from TV' (ibid: 50).<sup>247</sup> As such, this chapter does not consider the medium to have had a significant impact for Glasgow's local music scene in 2009 (or for the previous ten years before that).

In terms of radio, Chapter 5 discussed the value of local radio for the local music scene in the 1980s but by 2003 Williamson *et al*. were also arguing that: 'Scottish music has also suffered from both Radio Scotland's conversion to a speech-dominated station during the eighties, and consolidation and homogenisation that has characterised local radio in the

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<sup>247</sup> BBC Scotland also produced *The Music Show*, which was aired on BBC 2 between 2005 and 2006.

nineties' (ibid: 52). However, there continued to be individual DJs (from both Radio Scotland and commercial radio stations) who remained supportive of local music production. Percival (2007: 35) notes examples of radio programmes that have 'become a factor in the development of local or regional production of popular music' and that these included BBC Scotland's *Beat Patrol* (1980-2000) and its successors, *Air* (2000-2007) and *The Vic Galloway Show* (2007); XFM's *X-posure* (in London, Manchester and Glasgow). Before moving on to host Radio Scotland's *Music Bed* programme Jim Gellatly hosted the *X-posure* show and Percival (ibid: 23) also argues that this sort of show often made 'community connections by playing recordings by unsigned local musicians'. Rarticulating this point, Nick Low also viewed the differences between the support local bands received from local radio in the 1980s and the more recent past:

Clyde totally abandoned that now; they don't support new bands in that way at all. And it's really sad because ... except for Billy's still doing it, Billy [Sloan] is still doing it. So as long as he's under the radar and nobody decides he's not worth the pop audience, he's still providing it. And then Radio Scotland now have got people like Vic Galloway, and he's doing his Radio One thing and that's really important. And I suspect that no new bands like Frightened Rabbit and all these kind of bands, to get played on Vic's show is really, really important. (personal interview, 2011)

In addition to providing a source of legitimization for unsigned local bands, where such individual radio DJs had more of an impact on the Glasgow music scene was in their additional or extra-curricular activities. An example from 2009 is Jim Gellatly's involvement in the aforementioned Hinterland Festival's advisory committee. Of the line-up for the festival he states that: 'I agree that some of the smaller bands on the list might make you take a step back if they were charging even a fiver for their own show . . . But mixing in a bunch of breakthrough names with bigger acts really makes for a strong line-up' (quoted by Pollock, 2009b). In a similar way, Vic Galloway contributes articles on the local music scene for various publications and websites including *The List* magazine and *Dear Scotland* websites.

## Print Media

Coverage of Glasgow's grassroots local music activity in Scottish newspapers was very much dependent on the individuals contributing reviews or columns at a particular time. Writing in 2003 Williamson *et al.* (2003: 50) consider that tabloids like the *Daily Record* and the *Sunday Mail* 'have a surprisingly detailed and authoritative section of reviews that cover a wide range of styles and sizes of venues, including some exposure for little-known

local groups'. In 2009 the above-mentioned Radio Clyde DJ Billy Sloan also had regular columns in both newspapers, and would both mention local music makers in print and also on his radio show. An example of this from 2009 concerns Emma Jane's track *Red Shoes* (2008) that Sloan describes in the *Daily Record* as showcasing 'her great voice and songwriting skills' (Sloan, 2009). The track is then highlighted as being one that will be played in Sloan's forthcoming Radio Clyde show. As discussed in Chapter 5, being broadcast on local radio play (and receiving coverage in Scottish press) provides a form of external validation for local music makers.

Aside from newspapers, by 2009 there were also a number of Scottish magazines that performed a similar function of validation for local music makers. The previously mentioned *The List* and *The Skinny* magazines also provided another important function of publicising live performances and releases of recorded music by local musicians (as well as national and international touring artists). It is not difficult to find examples of local music makers' websites highlighting reviews or mentions of their music in local magazines (and newspapers). For example, on their website Strike the Colours note that for their album *Seven Roads* (DL 002) 'the press response was unanimously glowing, with editions such as The List, Clash Magazine, The Skinny, The Scotsman, The Herald, The Line Of Best Fit and Converse Music all singing it's [sic] praises'.<sup>248</sup> In a similar way blogs and other websites commenting/reviewing on the Glasgow music scene also valorise reviews from other printed sources. In this sense the *After Dark* website discussing the band Three Blind Wolves describes how 'Scotland's answer to Time Out, The List Magazine, hailed them as a "countrified Modest Mouse" whilst The Skinny Magazine said their debut recalled "genre-defining artists like Bright Eyes and more recently Bon Iver"'.<sup>249</sup> Equally, another blog that considers Scotland's musical heritage argues that the 'music loving industry folk like Vic Galloway, Jim Gellatly, The Skinny magazine etc. are unwavering in their support for new music' (McGarry, 2013). In this way, commentators on Glasgow's music scene, in print and more recently through websites, recycle and reconnect text (and sometimes other media) in different reconfigurations; so as to create a separate network around the musical activities and production for which they themselves exist to discuss.

Before discussing the impact of the Internet and websites on Glasgow's music scene in more detail, it is also worth noting one other magazine *Is this music?*, which began printing

<sup>248</sup> <http://www.strikethecolours.com/biography.htm>.

<sup>249</sup> ([http://afterdark.co/cardiff/event/13627-THREE\\_BLIND\\_WOLVES/\\_SHY\\_AND\\_THE\\_FIGHT/\\_THE\\_ADELINES/\\_BROTHERS](http://afterdark.co/cardiff/event/13627-THREE_BLIND_WOLVES/_SHY_AND_THE_FIGHT/_THE_ADELINES/_BROTHERS)).

in 2002 (but established a website in 2006). As has been discussed in relation to other ‘participants’ within the local music scene, this magazine is notable because it diversified in terms of its role within the Scottish music scene. Aside from giving away a free ‘taster’ CD with each of its printed issues, featuring tracks from a variety of Scottish artists, it also promoted its own live performances of Scottish musicians (in both Glasgow and Edinburgh). In 2009 these included shows at The Goat (a public house on Argyle Street), the 13<sup>th</sup> Note and the Captain’s Rest.<sup>250</sup> Adam Thompson of Glasgow-based band We Were Promised Jetpacks argued that the band was signed to a record label through being able to perform at one of the magazine’s shows:

The guy from Is This Music? magazine in Scotland is a great guy, I asked him if we could play one of the monthly nights they put on and he said yes. We then found out it was with Frightened Rabbit and we got along well. Eventually they mentioned to Fatcat that we were not so bad, so they got in touch.<sup>251</sup>

Here Thompson is referring to Stuart McHugh of *Is this music?* and Fatcat refers to Fatcat Records, who signed the band. As discussed both above and below, this move by *Is this music?* magazine into a web-based format and then to also diversify into promotion of live music, is characteristic of a multi-tasking approach taken by a number of Glasgow music scene participants in 2009.

## **Case Study: The Internet – A Focus for Network Formation**

Referring to the late 1990s, Roy Shuker (2008: 22) argues that the Internet ‘has added a major new dimension to the marketing, accessing and consumption of popular music’ and that its development facilitated ‘new ways of interlinking the audience/consumers of popular music, the performers and the music industry’. This section considers the influence and impact of these new ways of interlinking Glasgow music makers in the 2000s (and in 2009 in particular). It examines the impact of the Internet on popular music production and distribution and the role of social network sites (and particularly blogs) for network development and facilitation amongst Glasgow musicians. Such sites provided another means by which Glasgow music scene participants could consolidate the network ties that they developed through face-to-face interactions taking place in other foci (such as venues and studios).

<sup>250</sup> See <http://www.isthismusic.com/category/itm-live/>.

<sup>251</sup> <http://evilspeakers.blogspot.co.uk/2009/10/agp-presents-interview-with-adam.html>.

Regarding firstly the role of the Internet for on-line distribution of recorded music, Appendix 4 notes that of the 125 releases by Glasgow-based musicians in 2009, sixteen were self/digital only releases. This means the artist provided a means for others to buy their music on-line, through either a link on their own web site, or through a music distribution site, such as CD Baby, or through a social network site, such as MySpace, or through a combination of all these sites. While most of these sites provide a way to download the music directly in digital format, some sites also provided the option to buy a physical version (CD or vinyl format for instance). The band Yahweh sold their album, *Tug of Love*, on Bandcamp.com only on CD format.<sup>252</sup> Whereas, Kochka sold their *Summer House EP* only through a digital download.<sup>253</sup> Both bands eschewed the use of a label name and indeed a catalogue/release number. Of course by 2009 digital distribution of music was not only the preserve of Glasgow music makers self-releasing music. Nearly all the labels noted in Appendix 4 also provided a means by which Internet users could either buy physical copies of music on-line or download directly through a web site. An instance of this is the eponymous Cuddly Shark album that was released on the Amellodie label and was available to buy or download through Bandcamp.com or through a link on the label's own web site.<sup>254</sup> Similarly, the larger or longer-running labels based in Glasgow also made use of distribution channels available through the Internet. By 2009, the Creeping Bent label only released music digitally. In interview in 2004, Douglas MacIntyre, who manages the label, complained that compared to the 1990s it was more difficult to sell records:

Nowadays, we could never hope to sell one thousand records, it would be amazing even to sell only a hundred. So we have decided not to do 7" singles anymore because there is less of a market. I think one of the difficulties we had was that we never had a cash cow and I think we've been a bit unlucky just in terms of timing: we've never had a Mogwai or a Belle & Sebastian to kind of act as a cash cow, yet we sold a lot of records by many Creeping Bent bands, but, nowadays, you can't do CDs that sell less than one thousand, it's too much hassle. (quoted in Battista, 2004)

MacIntyre's words emphasise both the extent to which market conditions had changed for an independent label like Creeping Bent and the notion that successful bands like Mogwai had indirectly provided support for other local bands. Specifically, his comments support the previously noted contention that profits from economically successful bands on local

<sup>252</sup> See <http://yahweh.bandcamp.com/album/tug-of-love-cd>.

<sup>253</sup> See <http://kochka.bandcamp.com/album/summer-house-ep>.

<sup>254</sup> See <http://www.armellodie.com/>.

labels had helped to support releases from other local bands on the same labels (or that their money had helped to establish other record labels, such as Mogwai's Rock Action label, that had then signed other local bands). These developments in record distribution were of course not specific to Glasgow and the changes brought about by the Internet, allowing music makers (and independent labels) greater opportunities in terms of recording music, but in a less lucrative (or more fractured) market place, were also characteristic of other music scenes outside of the city.

What is more apposite for this thesis, and the notion of a music scene, is the Internet's impact on a music scene's participants' ability to meet and interact with each other. In this respect Kruse (2010: 632) points out that 'music scene participants are now more easily able to access each other and connect with other participants, whether they are nearby or faraway, because of the Internet' and that 'the Internet helps fans be in contact not just with each other, but also with musicians'. More importantly, and with relevance to the concept of the strength of ties between actors within a network, Haythornwaite (2005: 141) takes the view that through the Internet connecting people 'weak ties can emerge based on interest, common need, or commercial enterprise' and that 'weak ties can grow into stronger ties'.

Research for this chapter involved considerable cross-referencing between different primary sources, to verify such things as band membership and location. A band's (or a musician's) MySpace web page provided one way of checking such facts. MySpace is considered a social network site:

Social network sites (SNSs) such as such as Friendster, CyWorld, and MySpace allow individuals to present themselves, articulate their social networks, and establish or maintain connections with others.  
(Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe, 2007: 1143)

The Friends section of MySpace provided a list of names of other MySpace web pages linked to the page. These could be web pages belonging to other bands, individuals or organisations and reflected the ties or connections that had been made through MySpace between these different actors. Friendship allowed MySpace users to communicate and comment on each other's pages with ease. However, this did not necessarily reflect an image of a band or individual's real life ties/connections, as not all real life ties would maintain a MySpace page (and even if they did, it did not follow that they would seek friendship through the web site). The diverse range of music styles and genres evident



within friendships not only reflected Glasgow's popular music heterogeneity, but also indicated the extent to which Glasgow musicians were forming network ties through social media. It is in this way that Haythornewaite (2005: 140) argues the 'power of the Internet lies in the way it forges connections between people where none existed, and thus in how it builds new weak tie networks'.

These weak tie networks fostered by MySpace friendships translate into real life interactions in a number of ways. Mark Baillie reflected on the changes that technology developments have brought about in Glasgow's music scene:

It's changed with the technology like MySpace – you can get to hear a lot of bands so you can actually check out stuff before you go – which is something I would frequently do. If I went to see three bands (the traditional model of a three band bill) and I was only going to see one band I would probably check out the other two bands – just to hear what they were like and have some idea and it would maybe even dictate if I would go down early enough to see them or hang around afterwards to see them. (personal interview, 2009)

Aside from these considerations, Baillie also pointed out other ways in which virtual interactions translate into real life interactions:

MySpace we have used quite a lot and we send out Facebook invites for shows. We do get a lot of offers that come through MySpace for gigs and stuff like that . . . it seems to be the first point of contact for a lot of people.

A musician who started promoting his own local performances also evidenced this type of direct networking facility provided by MySpace: 'In November 2005 I invited some unsigned Glasgow musicians: Billy Bates, Andrea Marini & Waytooblu (now The Fortunate Sons) that I had met through myspace [sic] to come along and help me out'.<sup>255</sup> In a similar way, John Smillie also pointed out that web sites such as MySpace have increased the opportunities available to Glasgow-based musicians. Specifically, he argued that such sites support participation in the music scene from older musicians because, unlike in previous decades, the advent of social network media provides a rationale for such musicians to continue being active in music production:

there is an outlet for it now through My Space etc., people see a point to writing a song - there is some point to it now - you can put it up there - put your picture up and tell the world that - you know - somewhere there is a little gallery where you can come and see my art - you know - if you haven't discovered it down the back streets of the cyber highways. And that has

<sup>255</sup> Quoted at <http://www.myspace.com/southsidesession/blog>.

changed - so there is a lot . . . in a positive way - because some success might come out of that. Some of those people, who are worthy - but just older, might actually find themselves an audience - you know. I don't think the public are ageist, it is just the industry. (personal interview, 2009)

Michael-John McCarthy also noted that MySpace was not the only important website to influence the development of Glasgow's music scene. He argued:

I think MySpace is dead. I think there is a lot happening on-line now. The blogispehere such as it is – the Scottish pop music blogging network I think probably is at the moment really influential – I think in part because those bloggers now have things like labels. So Peenko has Olive Grove. Song, By Toad has Song, By Toad Records – which gave Merseult its start. . . I think the bloggers are more than bloggers – not only are they promoting Scottish music and writing about them in a very thoughtful way – they are also putting on shows and releasing records. And it may be that there is some kind of analogy to be drawn with the fanzine – as it was. I think the Internet is hugely important in terms of Glasgow. (personal interview, 2012)

McCarthy is speaking from the perspective of someone reflecting on conditions in 2012. However, by 2009 a number of the blogs he refers to were established.<sup>256</sup> In addition to *Peenko* (<http://peenko.blogspot.com/>), there was also *The Pop Cop* (<http://thepopcop.co.uk/>) and *Glasgow Podcart* (<http://www.glasgowpodcart.com/>). *Glasgow Podcart* provides a link to a downloadable podcast and (like the other two blogs) also acts as a promoter. On 1<sup>st</sup> November 2009 it held a showcase at the Classic Grand venue for local band Yahweh (along with bands Esperri and Panda Su, who are from outside Glasgow).<sup>257</sup>

Detour (<http://www.detour-scotland.com/>) is another example of a web-based organisation that produces podcasts and also promotes live performances and events. The podcast launched on the 11<sup>th</sup> November 2009, with a live performance from Glasgow-bands Bronto Skylift and Lions Chase Tigers at bar Bloc. In another example of solidarity between different Glasgow-based music scene participants, the blog *Peenko* argues that:

If you haven't come across Detour Scotland before then you are in for a bit of a treat, to simplify it they are out there putting on live events, filming/kidnapping bands in strange places, broadcasting their own podcasts, plus a whole host of

<sup>256</sup> Olive Grove Records was launched on 15th November 2010 and Song, By Toad Records, launched on 14<sup>th</sup> June 2008 is based in Edinburgh.

<sup>257</sup> See <http://www.list.co.uk/article/22056-glasgow-podcart/>.

other amazing stuff. Basically they are out there doing the kind of things that I am sure many of us daydream about doing. These guys are giving the Scottish music scene a much-needed kick up the arse with their innovative approach to everything they do.<sup>258</sup>

The extent to which web sites and blogs such as Detour were taking on multiple roles within the local music scene is comparable to the ways in which local label managers, music makers and other scene participants took on such roles in the 1990s. The impact of individual actors within a network taking on multiple roles is discussed in the previous chapter. However, it is worth re-emphasising the benefits that such roles can provide a network. For instance, Pugliesi and Shook (1998: 222) note that:

Because roles structure relations with others, the accumulation of roles may increase the number of ties within personal networks, thus increasing the support available to the individual.

Pugliesi and Shook conclude that on ‘the whole, role combinations appear to be a more important influence on network size and interaction than single roles’ (ibid: 233). Through a number of scene participants developing and re-developing relationships in different combinations Glasgow’s music scene has benefitted in terms of remaining vibrant and maintaining a dense network of ties.

Social media sites, blogs and other web sites were not the only foci for network development in Glasgow in 2009. As Alison Eales (2012) noted, in terms of her friends on the Facebook site ‘the vast majority of people I’ve met in real life first’. Face-to-face network formation continued to take place in a number of foci, including venues and studios. Calum McMillan (2013) also noted that: ‘anybody I’ve ever met from the music scene I’ve met at gigs. I met my drummer at the Buff Club’. However, in relation to the Detour podcast, McMillan also highlighted the role of the city’s coffee shops and cafes for network formation. He emphasised that he wouldn’t have got to hear about Detour ‘unless I’d hung about coffee shops’. As someone who has worked in a number of such cafes, McMillan’s interview also highlighted the pluralistic nature of Glasgow’s music scene as he described the music makers who frequent Glasgow coffee shops:

Folk, experimental, pop/synth, the hard-core bands are amazing for it – they have got one of the best music scenes going at the minute – hard-core punk bands they are great at the minute . . . they have this amazing group that always goes to each other’s gigs, that always puts on gigs that don’t suck and it’s

<sup>258</sup> <http://www.peenko.co.uk/2010/05/community-service-9-detour-scotland.html>.

amazing. The band that I know from it are No Island . . . their bassist I know from working in the Beanscene.<sup>259</sup>

McMillan also described himself as working ‘with a guy who is a film-maker’, who then became involved with Detour Scotland. He emphasised the collaborative nature of different types of artists within Glasgow and pointed out that Detour Scotland:

all seemed to revolve around this nucleus of people and it was usually Clare that would get them all to work together . . . If people are willing to do favours for one another that’s how it seems to work – bands and videos and music for videos that how it seems to work.

Here McMillan is referring to Clare Kelly, drummer with the band Suspire and also a founder of One Creative Scotland. The latter is described on its MySpace site as:

a celebration of new music and new visual art in Scotland. Taking place just twice a year in Tollhouse Studios, Glasgow (owned by Chris Deeprose), the evening brings together the visual, musical, photographic, theatrical & filming achievements of some wonderful creative folk.<sup>260</sup>

Kelly is referred to by McMillan as a ‘nutter when it comes to networking’ and the mention of her name and that of One Creative Scotland initiative is particularly relevant when considering the extent to which Glasgow’s music scene has developed over the period of this study. Her involvement in the city’s music scene illustrates a paradigm that brings together the relevance of networking, the collaborative ties between different types of artists, the role of social capital and the role of higher education establishments in the city.<sup>261</sup> In an on-line interview Kelly argued that the One Creative Scotland events are beneficial for both Glasgow’s music makers and visual artists because:

Due to the nurturing elements, pre-night sound-checks; no need to sell tickets, etc, it has allowed creative folk to bond in a way that may not have been catered for before. The Tollhouse has a very homely atmosphere, which definitely encourages the multitude of artists to connect with each other. When the barriers are down in that sense, its apparent that mutual appreciation (for their artistic endeavours) is heightened, and communication of that is subsequently more free-flowing.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>259</sup> The Beanscene is a café (part of a chain) situated in the west end of Glasgow.

<sup>260</sup> See <http://www.myspace.com/onecreativescotland>.

<sup>261</sup> Kelly attended commercial music courses at both Stow College and the University of the West of Scotland ([uk.linkedin.com/in/kellyclare](http://uk.linkedin.com/in/kellyclare)).

<sup>262</sup> ‘The Tollhouse’ refers to a rehearsal studio. See [http://mpfennell.wix.com/bothy#!\\_\\_page-2](http://mpfennell.wix.com/bothy#!__page-2). Accessed 25 September 2013.

This paradigm is not without a monetary element however, as Kelly also stated ‘when it was clearer to me that entrepreneurial abilities fuel the music industry as much as they do: entering the music business became all the more appealing’ (ibid). This new ‘creative’ paradigm of the Glasgow music scene, as represented by the likes of Kelly, Luckyme Collective and Detour Scotland, is fuelled by scene participants recognising the benefits brought about by networking and collaboration, and yet also reflects their desire to profit from their joint cultural production.

## Summary

This chapter highlights a number of developments that took place within Glasgow’s music scene in the 2000s and which were still apparent in 2009. First and foremost among these developments was the way musical activity, in terms of local music makers releasing recorded music on local labels (or through self-release) and giving live performances, had grown when compared with previous decades. A feature of this growth was the extent to which locally produced popular music diverged in terms of styles and genres, as evidenced by the number of different descriptive terms used by media sites (and music makers themselves) to classify the music. Yet, equally, collaboration between quite diverse artists was also very evident, resulting in a wide range of cross-fertilisations between different artists and aggregations of music makers. This collaboration was also a strong feature in the way different types of locally based artists interacted with each other – in particular in the way visual artists interacted with musicians. In relation to this, this chapter also emphasises the way in which Glasgow School of Art acted as a fulcrum for these collaborations – through attracting creative individuals to study in the city, such as on its MFA course, and by also fostering a creative culture, whereby artists were able to engage in a wide variety of creative activity (including music). Parallel to these creative collaborations was a continuing trend towards greater professionalization by music makers, fostered by other higher education establishments offering courses in the business and performance of popular music.

The notion of collaboration between Glasgow-based music makers was not a recent phenomenon and Chapter 6 discussed the extent to which this was evident in the 1990s. However, whereas in the 1990s this collaboration (or support) was less formalized, by 2009 there are a considerable number of groupings that identify music makers as being connected to one another – either through the soubriquet of a particular collective or under the auspices of a record label. The support these connections garnered added to the

accumulation of social capital, but what is also evident was the extent to which these connections could be measured in terms of direct patronage; such as when more successful music makers offered opportunities to more recent participants to perform live or to release music on their own (or associated) labels. This chapter also emphasises the continuing trend within Glasgow's music scene for participants to be involved in a number of different roles, and the extent to which this characteristic has supported greater collaboration. Musicians also acting as label managers, label managers also acting as promoters, musicians acting as promoters, bloggers acting as label managers, all facilitate the formation of network connections between participants who would otherwise not have had such an opportunity.

The chapter also highlights the extent to which other components of the music scene had become consolidated within Glasgow over the period of the 2000s. In this respect live performance venues grew in number and diversity - serving different needs in terms of audience size and musical styles. A DIY ethos also prevailed alongside a more commercial business culture, and Glasgow also provided a space for a myriad number of festivals – attracting both local music makers and those from further afield. The city's pluralistic nature, in terms of the commercial and non-commercial, small-scale and large-scale, and the increasing mix (both critically and commercially) of different types of artistic activity (not just musical) encouraged musicians/artists to move to the city. The growth in the number of music makers basing themselves in the city was also supported by a growth in the availability of large multi-room rehearsal facilities.

Finally, whereas other media formats had remained fairly stagnant in terms of fostering a local music scene over the period of the 2000s, Glasgow music makers had adapted well to the use of Internet-based social network sites, such as MySpace and Facebook. These sites provided further opportunity to foster (or consolidate) network ties between music scene participants. Furthermore, the growth of Internet blog websites focusing on local music production also provided another avenue by which participants could multi-task and so engage with each other in a number of mutually reinforcing ways.

## Conclusion

‘I think there is something fundamentally nurturing about the creative life of this city’. (Michael John McCarthy, 2012)

The aims of this thesis have been threefold. First, it aimed to outline the social processes that have led Glasgow to produce so many bands over a thirty-year period. To do this the thesis foregrounded music making as a social practice involving interactions between individuals in a wide variety of roles, rather than just focusing on music makers in isolation. The second aim of this study was to explore the impact of the local on Glasgow music making. Specifically, the thesis considered the various factors that influenced the choice of an indie aesthetic by Glasgow music makers. The third aim was to provide a social history of Glasgow’s popular music scene. This involved collecting information from a diverse range of sources and presenting, in a chronological fashion, detailed facts and figures relating to a variety of scene participants (both at the individual and organisational level).

In relation to the first aim, Chapter 1 looked at the problematic and contentious nature of the term ‘scene’. With respect to a study of Glasgow’s popular music making, the chapter argued that the term is at its most useful when it is defined in relation to a geographic space (as opposed to any other type of space or a specific genre of music). As such, as a means of discussing the characteristics of a scene implicit in other more theoretical definitions, this study divided a music scene into various component parts. In this way, the previous chapters have argued that a music scene occurs when, in a geographic space, a number of these component elements combine and re-combine in such a way as to encourage a flourishing of creative musical practices.

This notion of scene components is congruent with both O’Connor’s (2002) conception of a scene as infrastructure that supports music making and Bennett and Peterson’s (2004: 8) definition of a scene involving mechanisms by which ‘musicians, producers, and fans realize their common musical taste’. Furthermore, conceiving of a scene in terms of components allows for analysis of the ways in which they, the components, have both individually, and in combination, served to develop (or sometimes impede) Glasgow’s grassroots music making. Central to this analysis is a recognition that popular music making is a social practice, and that to understand the ways in which music practice has

developed in a locale, it is vital to examine the relations between music makers, and between music makers and other scene participants. For this reason the case studies provided at the end of each of the last four chapters have focused on specific components as ‘foci’ or ‘hubs’ for network (or relational) development between scene participants.

One result of viewing Glasgow’s music scene in terms of constituent components, and through analysing their changing relationship, is that it is possible to gain an understanding of the ways in which the music scene has changed over time. A summary of the way Glasgow’s music scene has emerged and developed over the thirty-year period of this study highlights various factors. Firstly, the emergence of a music scene was very much related to the initial influence of punk and DIY culture on a relatively small number of music makers and bands at the end of the 1970s. Through both critical and commercial success these bands created interest in Glasgow from major record companies. This interest continued over a number of years and many Glasgow-based bands in the early 1980s signed major label record contracts. Some interviewees for this study have argued that Glasgow’s distance from London was another point of interest for major label personnel, as they liked to escape the familiar scenes of London. However, as if in response (and a rejection) to the sophisticated sounds of the bands vying for major label interest, an alternative approach developed, taking a more shambling/lo-fi view of popular music production. Both the apparently sudden demise of major record company interest (tied to the prevailing economic climate of the time) and the demise of the independent distribution train, the Cartel, meant that for a lot of Glasgow’s music makers there were few prospects of gaining any sort of success, mainstream or otherwise.

However, a trait of these newer indie bands based in Glasgow was that they were supportive of one another (relative to the competitive climate generated by the bands seeking major label status). This supportiveness developed in the 1990s and the attendant formation of social capital was able to act as a buffer against the withdrawal of economic capital that had been a feature of major label interest. Concomitant with these changes were other developments in Glasgow relating to various public policy initiatives geared towards stimulating Glasgow’s consumption and service industries. One aspect of this change in economic climate was the development of the entertainment sector in the city centre and the resultant move to improve the provision of public houses and other potential music venues. Seeking to enlarge their share of the profits from this growth sector, promotions companies like DF Concerts moved to open new, dedicated venues, such as King Tut’s Wah Wah Hut.



The collaborative approach that had been a characteristic of Glasgow's indie bands in the mid 1980s and early 1990s (and had been so important for the formation of social capital) continued into the late 1990s and the 2000s. The diversity of musical styles and opportunities for live music performance, which developed out of this collaboration, rather than detracting from the notion of a music scene helped to strengthen it – as it allowed various venues and music makers to establish their own niches.

In the 2000s Glasgow's music scene(s) continued to prosper for a number of reasons. The very longevity of some of the scene participants provided a point of validation and inspiration for younger music makers entering the scene. The notion of Glasgow as a hub of cultural production had achieved a great degree of legitimacy and a number of music makers and other cultural producers relocated to the city for that reason. Commercial music or business music courses, at both higher and further education institutions, were also serving to validate, legitimise and professionalise popular music production. Lastly, scene participants were able to take advantage of new developments, in the knowledge and information sectors of the economy, such that they were able diversify their creative musical practices further.

Viewing a scene as separate components, and exploring their interaction through network theory, also allows for an understanding of the distinctive nature of creative music practice within Glasgow. This leads on to the second aim of this thesis: to explore the impact of space and place on local music making. The ways in which forms of locality are produced or expressed in music making practices is a trope within popular music studies (see Street, 1995). Mitchell (1997:4) notes that 'historically, place-consciousness has been a vitally important source of popular music identity, distinction and difference', and gives examples of Nashville, Liverpool, Manchester and Seattle in support of this concept. However, through the course of this study Glasgow has not presented such a clear sense of place-consciousness. In response to questions regarding Glasgow's music makers having an identifiable sound or style, interviewees provided a variety of answers. These included the notion that the city's music makers produce a large number of songs concerned with the subject of rain – or at least with the subject in their titles (e.g. 'Rain Town' by Deacon Blue), but the general consensus was that Glasgow was not associated with one style; there has been no 'Glaschester' or 'Clyde Beat'. Instead then, this thesis argued that locality is produced in Glasgow's music making practices through the ways in which the various scene components interact to produce the notion of a scene.

One principal expression of locality in Glasgow music making over the thirty-year period of this study is the extent to which indie music has flourished over more chart-orientated music. As discussed previously, the city has produced a large number of indie bands (in the aesthetic sense of the term), but this does not mean that these bands play in an identifiably Glasgow (or even similar) style. Rather, another (and less obvious) expression of locality is the degree to which Glasgow music making is diverse in character. The mechanisms behind this diversity were discussed in both Chapters 6 and 7, but one feature that drives it is the degree to which music makers are willing to collaborate with one another (and with other types of artists). The extent to which Glasgow music makers have accumulated social capital and the extent to which this is reflected in high levels of trust and reciprocity between them, is another way in which locality is expressed in the city's music making practices.

Two other ways in which the local is produced in Glasgow's popular music making are concerned with the city's geographic setting. Though not particularly visible in the discourse surrounding the city's music (at least in recent years) Glasgow's distance from London, and therefore its distance from the centre of UK popular music industries, has also expressed itself in ways related to music making. Geographically London and Glasgow are only four hundred miles apart, and therefore, relative to greater distances between centres in other larger countries, are not physically remote from each other. However, amongst some scene participants from Glasgow there remains a perception of distance. Alun Woodward (formerly of The Delgados and co-owner of the Chemikal Underground label) argues that, in terms of the mid 1990s and the rise of Britpop bands (some of who were based in London), the bands who were signed to Chemikal Underground 'offered an alternative. It is always easier when the mainstream is looking the other way' (Dobson, 2008). Previous chapters have also emphasised the extent to which Glasgow has acted as a 'centre' in its own right and attracted both music makers and other artists to relocate to the city and pursue cultural production. In previous times it would have been to London that Glasgow artists would have relocated (see Chapters 4 and 5). A second point about locality and one which relates to Glasgow's geographic distance from London, is the extent to which economic capital moved to Glasgow through re-investment of record contract advances (and other profits). Music makers and managers (and other scene participants) who had such capital and remained in Glasgow, where they based their activities, meant that there were more opportunities for other, un-yet, successful bands to benefit through various acts of patronage (examples of which are provided in the last three chapters).

This thesis has very much taken a network approach to the study of Glasgow's music scene. Throughout previous chapters mechanisms for, and centres of, network formation have been identified and described. Behind this approach is a recognition that:

Cultural production requires a pooling and organisation of resources and enthusiasm which can only occur when actors are connected. Actors with the relevant talents and resources must find one another and connect. In addition, channels of communication are necessary if actions are to be combined and coordinated constructively, and if ideas, innovations, narratives and collective identities are to be disseminated. (Crossley, 2008: 26)

Making connections are important, particularly in regard to the formation of social capital, and the discussion in Chapter 6 expanded on how this social capital can act as a further resource for music makers. Furthermore, connections can essentially be defined by the interactions that they encourage. As Crossley points out: 'Networks are, in effect, networks of interactions. The relations of which they are composed are made and remade by way of interaction. Likewise resources are exchanged and move through networks by way of interactions' (ibid: 28). Viewing a music scene as a network allows us to map these connections and interactions and determine the network structure. So, as Chapter 6 argues, it was possible to surmise that the network structure of the bands that were active in Glasgow in the mid 1990s was particularly dense, and that a large number of potential connections between scene participants were realised. This denseness created opportunities for the formation of social capital, but it also created the possibility for some actors (participants) to create a sense of exclusivity – and so detract from the network's ability to expand. In this way different 'network configurations can have different effects and different positions in a network generate different opportunities and constraints for the actor(s) involved' (ibid: 27). For these reasons network theory contributes to an empirical understanding of popular music production.

Though the third aim of this study was to provide a social history of Glasgow's popular music scene, it raises a number of potential areas for future research. For instance, it was not possible to fully explore the role and influence of audiences for Glasgow's popular music making. Further research could focus on the role of Glasgow's audiences for live performances of popular music by Glasgow-based bands and also the consumption patterns of recorded music by fans of Glasgow-based bands. In particular, the mechanisms that influence the formation of tastes and identities by these scene participants would be of particular interest.

Further, though this study has considered a large number of Glasgow music scene participants, in terms of network theory, it has taken a qualitative approach. The study describes the connections between participants (actors) rather than provide a quantitative measure of these connections. It has not employed any of the formal techniques of social network analysis, such as those that calculate actual measures of density or centrality.

According to Hollstein (2100: 404):

The most fruitful results are achieved when qualitative measures, more standardized methods used to describe network structures, as well as quantitative measures are employed in concert.

Future research would benefit from taking a snapshot of scene participants' connections at a certain point in time and creating a visual representation or map of these connections (ties). This type of map then allows various other types of analysis, involving numerical measures to be made.

However, in conclusion, the network paradigm, through its focus on social connections, has enabled this study to examine a music scene at both the 'macro level' (e.g. the changing relative importance of different spaces for network formation), and at the 'micro level' (e.g. the importance of certain individual agency). Furthermore, alongside these concerns, the thesis has also utilised the notion of social capital to highlight the importance of social support and reciprocity, amongst scene participants, for genre development within a locale. So, in the case of Glasgow, over the period of the 1990s and 2000s, popular music making in the city has developed a style characterised by an indie aesthetic and a collaborative approach.

Though the focus of this study has also been at a grassroots level, and therefore some of the activities discussed have been amateur (or non-economic) in character, the thesis also highlights the connections between social processes and political economy. As McCarthy points out in the quote at the beginning of this section, through moving to Glasgow from Ireland he has been able to make a living from music production because the city has developed a creative life which is 'fundamentally nurturing'.

## Appendix 1

### List of Interviewees:

Mark Baillie	Glasgow musician. He has also worked in artist management.
Hugh Carter	Glasgow musician. He worked in music retail in Glasgow for many years and for several years after that he owned and managed a rehearsal/recording studio in the Maryhill area of Glasgow.
Steve Cheyne	Owns and manages Berkeley Street rehearsal studios in Glasgow. He has also worked in artist management – most notably for The Big Dish.
Tam Coyle	Glasgow promoter and DJ since the mid-1980s. He also works in artist management, (previously managing My Latest Novel) and as a music industries consultant.
Stuart Cruickshank	Radio producer (BBC Radio Scotland).
Chris Davidson	Worked as a promoter in Greenock and produced the fanzine <i>Slow Dazzle</i> in the mid-1980s.
Alison Eales	Glasgow-based musician. Member of The Butcher Boy.
Mark Ferrari	Glasgow musician, who has performed and recorded with a number of different Glasgow bands, across different genres, since the early 1980s.

David Henderson	Sound engineer. He has worked with many bands including the Simple Minds and Camera Obscura. In the 1970s he worked in a local independent record shop before opening one of Glasgow's first rehearsal/recording studios, The Hellfire Club.
Robert Hodgens	Musician and DJ. Member of The Bluebells.
Brian Hogg	Previously worked as a press officer for Simple Minds in the late 1970s. He also worked as a music journalist and author of <i>All That Ever Mattered: A History of Scottish Rock and Pop</i> .
Kevin Key	Glasgow musician and sound engineer. Previously a member of The Jolt
Nick Low	Radio producer. In the early 1980s worked as a promoter. He also owns and manages the NoStrings records label.
Dan McCahon	Worked in a number of record shops in Glasgow in the late 1970s and early 1980s.
Michael-John McCarthy	Glasgow-based musician. Previously a member of Zoey Van Goey, but has also worked with Aidan Moffat and Lord Cut Glass.
Douglas McIntyre	Musician. Owns and manages The Creeping Bent record label. He is also a lecturer at Stow College, Glasgow-teaching on the Music Industry Management course.
Frances McKee	Glasgow musician. Member of the Vaselines.
Calum McMillan	Glasgow musician.
John McNeil	Glasgow musician. Member of The Zips.

Stephen McRobbie	Glasgow musician, record label owner and independent record shop owner. Member of the The Pastels.
Monica Queen	Glasgow musician. Aside from a solo career she is also a member of Thrum and has worked with other artists including Belle and Sebastian, The Pogues and Snow Patrol.
Michael Rooney	Glasgow musician. Vocalist with The Primevals. Also worked for an independent record shop in the late 1970s/early 1980s.
Grahame Skinner	Glasgow musician (previously a member of The Jazzateers and Hipsway).
Billy Sloan	Journalist and radio presenter (for Radio Clyde).
John Smillie	Glasgow musician and sound engineer. Member of Thrum and musical collaborator with Monica Queen.
John Williamson	Since the mid 1980s has been active in the music industries in a number of different roles, including journalist, artist management, promoter and venue/studio management. He also works as a popular music academic.
Brian Young	Since the 1970s has owned and managed Ca Va Sound recording studios in Glasgow. A large number of artists have recorded there, including The Silencers, Love and Money and Belle and Sebastian.

## Appendix 2

### Glasgow-based independent releases from Glasgow music makers in the 1980s

Year	Name of Artist	Title	Label	Catalogue Number
1980	Restricted Code/Positive Noise/The Alleged	Second City Statik (mini album)	Statik Records	Statik Records 01
1980 (Feb)	Orange Juice	Falling and Laughing/Moscow	Postcard Records	Postcard 80 - 1
1980 (Aug)	Orange Juice	Blue Boy/Love Sick	Postcard Records	Postcard 80 -2
1980 (Dec)	Orange Juice	Simply Thrilled Honey/Breakfast Time	Postcard Records	Postcard 80 - 6
1980 (Aug)	Cuban Heels	Little Girl/Fast Living Friend	Greville	GR1
1980 (April)	The Zips	Radioactivity/I'm Not Impressed	Tenement Toons	Ten 01
1980 (Nov)	Cuban Heels	Walk on Water/Take a Look	Cuba Libre	DRINK 1
1980	Willie Gardner	Golden Youth/Tome to Rot	Cuba Libre	DRINK 3
1980	Red Ellis	Pretty Polly/Urban Life	R.E.P. Records	EJSP 9537
1980	The Dreamboys	Bela Lugosi's Birthday	St Vitus Records	St V1
1980	Underhand Jones/The Shops	Jammy But Nice	Jammy Records	
1981 (Jan)	Shakin' Pyramids	Reeferbilly Boogie/Wake Up Little Suzie/Harmony Lisa	Cuba Libre	DRINK 2
1981 (Feb)	Positive Noise	Give Me Passion/Ghosts	Statik Records	STAT 3
1981 (Mar)	The Laughing Apple	The Ha Ha Hee Hee! EP	Autonomy Records	AUT 001
1981 (Mar)	Orange Juice	Poor Old Soul/Poor Old Soul Pt. 2	Postcard Records	Postcard 81 - 2
1981 (Mar)	Aztec Camera	Just Like Gold/We Could Send Letters	Postcard Records	Postcard 81 - 3
1981 (April)	H2O	Hollywood Dream/Children	Spock Recordz	PARA 2
1981 (May)	Positive Noise	Charm/. . .And Yet Again	Statik Records	STAT 4
1981	Positive Noise	Love Like Property (single sided single)	Statik Records	STAT 5
1981 (May)	Positive Noise	Heart of Darkness LP	Statik Records	stat lp1



1981 (May)	The Laughing Apple	Participate!/Wouldn't You?	Autonomy Records	AUT 002
1981 (July)	Aztec Camera	Mattress of Wire/Lost Outside the Tunnel	Postcard Records	Postcard 81 - 8
1981 (Nov)	Positive Noise	Positive Negative/Energy	Statik	STAT 8
1981	Perfect End	Sweet Dreams/Natural Causes/ Puppets	Hellfire Discs	HELL 1
1981	The Poems	Achieving Unity/Shoot to Kill/Untitled	Polka Records	Dot 1
1982 (June)	Positive Noise	Waiting for the Seventh Man/End of Tears	Statik Records	STAT 15
1982 (July)	Positive Noise	Change of Heart LP	Statik Records	STAT LP 8
1982 (Sept)	Positive Noise	Get Up and Go/Tension	Statik Records	STAT 23
1982	The Wake	On Our Honeymoon/Give Up	Scan	SCN 01
1983 (May)	Friends again	Honey at the Core/Lucky Star	Moonboot	Moon 1
1983 (Jul)	Strawberry Switchblade	Trees and Flowers/Go Away	Ninety-two Happy Customers	HAPS 001
1983 (Jul)	Del Amitri	Sense Sickness/The Difference Is	NoStrings	NOSP 1
1983 (Aug)	Suede Crocodiles	Stop the Rain/Pleasant Dreamer	NoStrings	NOSP 2
1983 (Sept)	Positive Noise	When the Lightening Strikes	Statik Records	TAK 8
1983 (Nov)	James King and The Lonewolves	Teas Lullaby EP	Thrush Records	Thrush 2
1983	Apes in Control	Joined in The Dance/Funtimes	Bogaten Records	BOGATEN 01
1984	Glasgow	Glasgow's Miles Better	Clyde	CLY 001
1984 (June)	The Primevals	Where Are You	Raucous Records	PRIME 1
1984 (Aug)	Positive Noise	Million Miles Away/Shanty	Statik Records	TAK 22
1984	Positive Noise	Distant Fires/Swamp	Statik Records	TAK 32
1984 (Sept)	The Wee Cherubs	Dreaming/Waiting for the Man	Bogaten Records	BOGATEN 02
1984	Apes in Control	Pulling Strings EP	Bogaten Records	Bogaten Records 003
1984	Tonight at Noon	Tonight at Noon LP	Stretch	STR 12-1
1985	Snakes of Shake	Southern Cross//You Walk/Southern Cross Pt. 2	Tense But Confident	GOBS 1
1985 (Mar)	Snakes of Shake	Southern Cross LP	Tense But Confident	GOBL1
1985 (June)	Jazzateers	Pressing On/Spiral	Stampede	Stamp 1

1985 (June)	Positive Noise	Distant Fires LP	Statik Records	STAT LP 23
1985	The Incredible Blondes	Where Do I Stand/True	NoStrings	NOSP3
1986 (Feb)	Hue & Cry	Here Comes Everybody/From First to Last/The Success of Monetarism	Stampede Records	Stamp 2
1986 (April)	The Crows	The Sun Went In/Round and Round	Ravin' Records	7 RAVE 001
1986 (May)	Kevin McDermott	Suffocation Blues	No Strings	NO121
1986 (Jul)	BMX Bandits	E102/Sad?	53 <sup>rd</sup> & 3rd	AGARR 3
1987 (Jan)	BMX Bandits	The Day Before Tomorrow/What a Wonderful World	53 <sup>rd</sup> & 3rd	AGARR 6
1987 (Mar)	The Crows	Redman/The Love You Run/Somewhere East	Ravin' Records	RAVE 002
1987 (July)	The Bachelor Pad	The Albums of Jack/Jack & Julian	Warholasound	WS 3 MINS
1987 (Nov)	Glasgow	Zero Four One LP	Zero 41	041
1987 (Dec)	Lyin' Rampant	Up & Cumin' LP	Prism Records	VT 1
1987	The Beat Poets	Glasgow, Howard, Missouri EP	53rs & 3 <sup>rd</sup>	AGARR 9T
1987	The Vaselines	Son of a Gun/Rory Rides Me Raw/You Think You're a Man	53 <sup>rd</sup> & 3rd	AGAAF 10
1988 (Jan)	The Boy Hairdressers	Golden Showers/Tidal Wave/The Assumption as an Elevator	53 <sup>rd</sup> & 3 <sup>rd</sup>	AGARR 12T
1988 (Jan)	Groovy Little Numbers	You Make My Head Explode/Hey Hey/Windy	53 <sup>rd</sup> 7 3 <sup>rd</sup>	AGARR 13T
1988 (Jan)	Glasgow	Secrets in the Dark/meet Me Half Way	Zero 41	041 - 7
1988	Glasgow	Under The Lights	Zero 41	041 - 8
1988	Glasgow	Will You Be Mine	Zero 41	041 - 9
1988 (Feb)	The Bachelor Pad	Do It For Fun/ Oh John, She's Been A Soldier	Warholasound	WS 4 MINS
1988 (Mar)	The Vaselines	Dyin' For IT/Molly's Lips/Teenage Superstars/Jesus Wants Me For a Sunbeam	53 <sup>rd</sup> & 3 <sup>rd</sup>	AGAAF 17

1988 (June)	BMX Bandits	Figure 4/Stardate 21.11.70/In Her Hair/ C'est Le Vent Betty (Betty Blue)	53 <sup>rd</sup> & 3 <sup>rd</sup>	AGARR 18T
1988	The Beat Poets	Rebel Surf/I'm Branded	53 <sup>rd</sup> & 3 <sup>rd</sup>	AGARR 19
1988 (Aug)	The Groovy Little Numbers	Happy Like Yesterday/Shoot Me Down/A Place So Hard to Find	53 <sup>rd</sup> & 3 <sup>rd</sup>	AGARR 21T
1988	Tonight at Noon	Down to the Devils	Lismor Folk	LIFL 7016
1989 (Feb)	The Humpff Family	In The Family Way	Self release	N/A
1989	Carol Laula	Gypsy/Without You/ Angel	Burn 1 Records	BURN 001
1989	Carol Laula	Standing Proud/Without You	Burn 1 Records	7 BURN 002

## Appendix 3

### Glasgow-based independent releases from Glasgow music makers in the 1990s

Year	Name of Artist	Title	Label	Catalogue Number
1990 (Jan)	Bachelor Pad	Frying Tonight EP (live)	Egg	EGG 003
1990 (Jan)	Carol Laula	Standing Proud	Burn	7/12/CD Burn 002
1990 (Jan)	Vaselines	Dum Dum	53 <sup>rd</sup> & 3 <sup>rd</sup>	AGAS 007
1990 (Mar)	BMX Bandits	C86	Click	LP 001
1990 (Dec)	BMX Bandits	Totally Groovy Live Experience	Avalanche	CD/LP 007
1990 (Dec)	Humpff Family	Family Planning	Unknown	
1990	Hugh Reed and The Velvet Underpants	Six to Wan	Bail	Bail 001
1990	Dawson	Romping Egos	Gruff Wit	GRUFF 001
1990	Badgewearer	This Bag is Not a Toy	Gruff Wit	GRUFF 002
1991	Dawson	How To Follow So That Others Will Willingly Lead (Oh My Godley and Creme Cheese)	Gruff Wit	GRUFF 005
1991 (Jan)	Bachelor Pad	Smoothie/Do You Wanna Dance	Egg	EGG 006
1991 (May)	Bachelor Pad	Meeting the Lovely Jenny Brown	Egg	EGG 0007
1991 (Jul)	Pearlfishers	Sacred EP	My Dark Star	
1991 (Jan)	Saidflorence	Stuff Your Quiet Life	Self release	
1991 (Oct)	Dove	Fallen/A Farley&Heller mix	Soma	Soma 2
1991 (Nov)	Pearlfishers	The Hurt EP	My Dark Star	
1991	Dawson	Barf Market: You're Ontae Plums	Gruff Witt	GRUFF 003
1991	Badgewearer	F.T.Q.	Gruff Wit	GRUFF 006
1991	The Colour Wheel	Primary	Toppermost Records Inc.	TCW CD001
1991	The Colour Wheel	Goodbye Jane/Round Midnight/Reprise (Leggy Mountbatten Mix)	Toppermost Records Inc.	TCW002

1991	Perspex Whiteout	You Turn on My World	Sunflower Records	SUN 005/CD
1992 (Jan)	Pearlfishers	Woodenwire EP	My Dark Star	
1992	Hue & Cry	Profoundly Yours	Fidelity Records	CD FIDEL1
1992	Hue & Cry	Truth and Love	Fidelity Records	FIDEL CD 1
1992 (Feb)	Badgewearer	F.T.Q.	Gruff Wit	GRUFF 006
1992 (Jun)	Vaselines	All the Stuff and More	Avalanche	ONLY CD/LP 013
1992 (Sept)	Paul Quinn and The Independent Group	The Phantoms and The Archetypes	Postcard	DUBH 921/+MC/CD
1992 (Oct)	Carol Laula	Still	Iona	IRCD/IRC 020
1992 (Oct)	Humpff Family	Mothers	Iona	IG/+CD 019
1992	Hugh Reed and The Velvet Underpants	Walk on the Clydeside		
1992	BMX Bandits	Gordon Keen And His BMX Bandits	Sunflower Records	SUN 006/CD
1993 (Jan)	McCluskey Brothers	Favourite Colours	Kingfisher	KF 001CD
1993 (Jun)	Carol Laula	Child of Mine/ Restless/Old Brick Wall	Iona Gold	IGS 202-1
1993 (Jun)	Hunpff Family	Misty Again/Beaujolais Nouveau	Iona	IGS 2031
1993 (Jul)	Paul Quinn and The Independent Group	Stupid Thing/Passing Thought	Postcard	DUBH 933
1993 (Aug)	Pearlfishers	Saint Francis Songs/Sunny April Skies/Window on the World/It's Over Now	Iona Gold	IGS 2041
1993 (Sep)	Fenn	Not Jelly/Bladderhorn/Ariel	Mean	MEANX 003
1993 (Oct)	Fenn	Spanish	Mean	Mean/+CD 004
1993 (Oct)	Carol Laula	Precious Little Victories	Iona Gold	IG CD/C 205
1993 (Oct)	Pearlfishers	Za Za's Garden	Iona Gold	IG CD/C 204
1993 (Nov)	Glass Onion	Glass Onion	Own label	GLASSCD 001
1993	Baby Chaos	Buzz EP	Electric Honey	EHRCD01
1994 (Feb)	Love and Money	Littledeath	Iona Gold	IG CD/C 206

1994 (Apr)	Carol Laula	Mrs D & G/Restless/Flowing With The River	Iona Gold	IGS 205-1
1994 (Apr)	Pearlfishers	Living in a Foreign Country	Iona Gold	IGS 2042
1994 (Jun)	Kevin McDermott Orchestra	The Last Supper	Iona Gold	IGCDM/IGCM 207
1994 (Jul)	Humpff Family	Fathers	Iona	IG/+CD 208
1994 (Sep)	Ex-Cathedra	Stick Together	Tartan	TARTAN 1
1994 (Oct)	LungLeg	The Negative Delinquent Autopsy EP	Piao!	Piao2
1994 (Oct)	Paul Quinn and The Independent Group	Will I Ever Be Inside of You	Postcard	DUBH 945/+MC/CD
1994 (Oct)	Hugh Reed and The Velvet Underpants	Technodrug	Ball	
1994	Eight Miles High	Go Go	Electric Honey	EHRCD02
1994	The Yummy Fur	The Yummy Fur (cassette album)	Destroy All Music	D.A.M. 20
1995	Spacehopper	Milk Metal	Creeping Bent	bent 002
1995 (Jan)	Urusei Yatsura	All Hail Urusei Yatsura	Fine Hipster	HIP 001
1995 (Feb)	Supernaturals	Sitting in the Sun	Tourette Sounds	
1995 (Apr)	Urusei Yatsura	Pampered Adolescent/other track by The Blisters	Modern Independent	M.I.R.001
1995 (Jun)	Ex-cathedra	Watch Out EP	Tartan	TAR 002
1995 (Jun)	Leopards	Burning/Literally Burning	Creeping Bent	bent 003
1995 (Jun)	Paul Quinn, The Nectarine No 9/Jock Scott	Pregnant with Possibilities EP	Postcard	DUBH 952CD
1995 (Jun)	Secret Goldfish	Seasick/Venus Bonding (live)	Creeping Bent	bent 004
1995 (Jul)	The Delgados	Monica Webster/Brand New Car	Chemikal Underground	Chem. 001
1995 (Jul)	LungLeg	Shag the Tiger EP	Piao!	Piao5
1995 (Aug)	Bis	Disco Nation/Plastik People/Conspiracy A Go-Go	Chemikal Underground	Chem 002
1995 (Sept)	Meth O.D.	Cyberbilly EP	Human Condition (based in Edinburgh)	HCCD 0010
1995 (Oct)	Nerve	Submarine/Seeds	Strawberry	STRAWS 001

1995 (Nov)	Eska	Trucking and Paving/These are the Dry Years/ False Start	Modern Independent	M.I.R 003
1995 (Nov)	Motor Life Co.	My Mail Order Thai Bride/Fell Ill	Pendejo	PEN 01
1995	Poison Sisters	Chicane EP	Class	SMERT 002
1995	The Colour Wheel	Darwin's Waiting Room	Toppermost Records Inc.	TCW004
1995	The Colour Wheel	Mrs. Mac	Toppermost Records Inc.	TCW005
1995	The Moondials	Can You See	Electric Honey	EHRC03
1995	Various	In Spelunca	Vesuvius	POMP 001
1995	Sally Skull	The Tantivy Tracks EP	Vesuvius	POMP 002
1996 (Jan)	Pink Kross	The Abomination EP	Modern Independent	MIR 004
1996 (Jan)	Revolutionary Corps of Teenage Jesus	Frankie Teardrop EP	Creeping Bent	bent 005
1996 (Feb)	Adventures in Stereo	E.P. 2	Creeping Bent	bent 010
1996 (Feb)	Mogwai	Tuner/Lower	Rock Action	RAR 001
1996 (Feb)	Poison Sisters	Unclean/Lo-fi Girlfriend/other two tracks by Eska	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 002
1996 (Mar)	Bis	The Secret Vampire Soundtrack	Chemikal Underground	chem 003/+cd
1996 (Mar)	The Delgados	Cinecentre/Thirteen Guiding Principles/M. Emulator	Chemikal Underground	Chem. 004+cd
1996 (Mar)	Revolutionary Corps of Teenage Jesus	Protection Rat/Supermarket	Creeping Bent	bent 011
1996 (Apr)	Ganger	Half Nelson EP	Vesuvius	POMP 004
1996 (Apr)	Secret Goldfish	Come Undone/Everywhere That You Go	Creeping Bent	bent 008
1996 (May)	Speedboat	Satellite Girl/Speedboat	Shoeshine	SHOE 001
1996 (May)	Belle and Sebastian	Tigermilk	Electric Honey	EHRLP005
1996 (Jun)	Bis	Bis vs. The D.I.Y. Corps	Teen-C Recordings	SKETCH 001/+CS/CD
1996 (Jun)	McCluskey Brothers	Wonderful Affair	Kingfisher	KF 002
1996 (Jun)	Newton Grunts	No Soap in Glasgow EP	Flotsam and Jetsam	SHaG 004
1996 (Jun)	Secret Goldfish	Aqua Pet . . . You Make Me	Creeping Bent	bent 012cd – MA 19

1996 (Jul)	Adventures in Stereo	E.P.3	Creeping Bent	bent 013
1996 (Jul)	Secret Goldfish	Dandelion Milk Summer/Snowing in Mount Florida	Creeping Bent	bent 016
1996 (Jul)	Secret Goldfish	E.K.O. K. EP	Creeping Bent	bent 015cd
1996 (Aug)	The Delgados	Under Canvas/Een Telf/Bear Club/Strathcona	Chemikal Underground	Chem. 006+cd
1996 (Oct)	BMX Bandits	Help Me Somebody/Golden Teardrops	Shoeshine	SHOE 002
1996 (Oct)	The Delgados	Sucrose/Chalk/Eurospr int/ The Dirge	Chemikal Underground	chem. 008+cd
1996 (Oct)	Motor Life Co.	Be a Hero/Swerve, Then Free Reverse	Pendejo	PEN 02
1996 (Oct)	Pink Kross	The Active Dalmation EP	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 7
1996 (Oct)	Radio Sweethearts	New Memories/Beer and Whisky	Shoeshine	SHOE 003
1996 (Nov)	Astro Chimp	Draggin'/She's My Summer Girl	Shoeshine	SHOE 006
1996 (Nov)	The Delgados	Domestiques	Chemikal Underground	chem 009+cd
1996 (Nov)	Secret Goldfish	Venus Bonding EP	Creeping Bent	bent 018
1996 (Dec)	Meth O.D.	Texas God Starvation	Human Condition (based in Edinburgh)	HCCD 002
1996 (Dec)	Poison Sisters	Digitalis EP	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 009
1996	The Painkillers	Lost in Space	Pi Recordings	TBPi 1206
1996	Ganger	Half Nelson EP	Vesuvius	POMP 004
1996	Various	A Fistful of Horsepower	Vesuvius	POMP 005
1996	The Yummy Fur	Supermarket/The Career Saver	Vesuvius	POMP 008
1996	Dick Johnson	Dawn at Death Creek	Vesuvius	POMP 009
1996	The Space Kittens	Felix/other track by Skinny	Flotsam and Jetsam	SHaG 010
1997 (Jan)	PH Family	The Spilt EP (with Baby Aspirin	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 008
1997 (Feb)	Starlets	Tainted/other track by Finger Creams	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 012
1997 Mar)	Adventures in Stereo	Adventures in Stereo	Creeping Bent	bent 015+lp



1997 (Mar)	Idlewild	Queen of the Troubled Teens/Faster/Self Healer	Human Condition	HC 0017
1997 (Mar)	Leopards	Surf On/Derailed by Mad Dog	Creeping Bent	bent 007
1997 (Mar)	Lugworm	Te Lo Dir'O! EP	Teen-C Recordings	SKETCH 002
1997 (Mar)	Secret Goldfish	Tartan Envy/Rude Awakening/Allegro	Creeping Bent	bent 020
1997 (Mar)	Superstar	18 Carat	Camp Fabulous	CFAB 001
1997 (Mar)	Travis	All I Want To Do Is Rock/The Line Is Fine/Funny Thing	Red Telephone	PHONE 001
1997 (Apr)	Bangtwister	Agony Aunt/You're So Loose/Shake It	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 011
1997 (Apr)	Dick Johnson	Free Gigi EP	Vesuvius	POMP 009
1997 (Apr)	Mount Florida	Catalyst Dubs	T&B	TBPil2 07
1997 (Apr)	Secret Goldfish	Jet Streams	Creeping Bent	MA 26 – MACD 44712
1997 (May)	LungLeg	Right Now Baby/Whiskey A-Go- Go/A different Kind of Love	Vesuvius	POMP 010
1997 (May)	Mogwai	4 Satin EP	Chemikal Underground	chem 015/+cd
1997 (May)	Mount Vernon Arts Lab	Nova EP	Via Satellite	V-Sat 008
1997 (May)	Starlets	Happy Camper/How Can I Sleep Tonight?	NGM	NGM 010
1997 (Sept)	Superstar	Breathing Space/Palm Tree	Camp Fabulous	CFAB 002
1997 (Jun)	Leopards	Theme E/ other track by Adventures in Stereo	Creeping Bent	bent 019
1997 (Jun)	Leopards	They Tried Staying Calm	Creeping Bent	bent 021cd
1997 (Jun)	Radio Sweethearts	Rambling Man/Found a New Love	Shoeshine	SHOE 008
1997 (Jun)	Revolutionary Corps of Teenage Jesus	Singles Club # (other tracks by The Leopards, Adventures in Stereo, and Spacehopper)	Creeping Bent	bent 019cd
1997 (Jun)	High Fidelity	Addicted to a TV/	Plastique	FAKE 01
1997 (Jul)	Future Pilot AKA	We Shall Overcome/Night Flight to Memphis	Creeping Bent	bent 025

1997 (Jul)	LungLeg	Maid to Minx	Vesuvius	POMP CD/LP 007
1997 (Jul)	Secret Goldfish	Give Him a Great Big Kiss/other track by Policecat	Creeping Bent	bent 024
1997 (Jul)	Speedboat	Luv/A-T-O-M-I-C	Shoeshine	SHOE 007
1997 (Aug)	Adventures in Stereos	Waves On	Creeping Bent	bent 022
1997 (Aug)	Pink Kross	Scumbag/Hacksaw/Noi se Up	Teen-C Recordingz	SKETCH 003
1997 (Sept)	El Hombre Trajeado	Logo/Moonunit Manual	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 015
1997 (Sept)	Kevin McDermott	For Those in Peril from The Sea	Tula	TULAD 001
1997 (Sept)	Leopards	Cutting a Short Dog/ other track by Appendix Out	Creeping Bent	bent 027
1997 (Oct)	Fat Lip	The Sound of Music EP	U-Bahn Pro	
1997 (Oct)	Mogwai	Mogwai Young Team	Chemikal Underground	chem 018 cd/lp
1997 (Oct)	Mount Vernon Arts Lab	Talvin Stardust EP	Via Satellite	V-Satastra 1972
1997 (Oct)	Adventures in Stereos	A Brand new Day	Creeping Bent	bent016/+cd
1997 (Oct)	Fenn	Club Beatroot Part One – other track by Beatroot	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 13.01
1997 (Nov)	Scientific Support Dept.	Future Pilot aka vs. Alan Vega –Meditation Rat/Mount Vernon Arts Lab vs. Scientific Support Dept	Creeping Bent	bent 029
1997 (Nov)	Whiteout	Kickout EP	Yoyo	YOCD 02
1997 (Dec)	Bangtwister	Grounded EP	BMB Music	BMBCD 01
1997 (Dec)	Dick Johnson	Can't You Give Me Love/Bit Part Actress/Do the Trotsky	Teen-C Recordings	SKETCH 004
1997 (Dec)	Newton Grunts	Day of the Jakey	Flotsam and Jetsam	SHaG 014D
1997 (Dec)	Primevals	Club Beatroot Part Two – I want/other track by Swelling Meg	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 13.02
1997	Polarbear	Starfighter Pilot	Electric Honey	EHRCG007
1997	The Space Kittens/Trout	Club Beatroot Part Three – Pussymachine/Jet Pack	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG13.03

1998 (Jan)	Superstar	Every Day I Fall Apart/Every Second Hurts	Camp Fabulous	CFAB 0035
1998 (Feb)	Cheeky Monkey	That Kind of Girl/Free Again	Shoeshine	SHOE 010
1998 (Feb)	Mogwai	Club Beatroot Part Four – Stereo Dee (live)/other track by Ph Family	Flotsam and Jetsam	SHaG 13.05
1998 (Feb)	Mount Vernon Arts Lab	William Green EP	Via Satellite	V-Satastra 1972
1998 (Feb)	Ph Family	Club Beatroot PartFour	Flotsam and Jetsam	SHaG 13.04
1998 (Feb)	Scientific Support Dept.	Kipperlynch/other track by Secret Goldfish	Creeping Bent	bent 032
1998 (Mar)	Adventures in Stereo	Down in the Traffic EP	Creeping Bent	bent 028/+cd
1998 (Mar)	Camera Obscura	Park and Ride/Swimming Pool	Andmoresound	AND 09.45
1998 (Mar)	Cheeky Monkey	Four Arms to Hold You	Shoeshine	SHOECD 002
1998 (Mar)	The Delgados	Everything Goes Around The Water/Blackpool/The Drowned and the Saved	Chemikal Underground	chem 022+cd
1998 (Mar)	Leopards	Starlings/ V Machine: Back to Cruising Speed	Creeping Bent	bent 031
1998 (Mar)	Pink Kross	Chopper Chix from VP Hell	Teen-C Recordings	SKETCH 005LP
1998 (Mar)	Revolutionary Corps of Teenage Jesus	Who Cares Who Dies/other side by The Nectarine No. 9	Creeping Bent	bent 033
1998 (Apr)	Belles in Monica	Swingstyle EP	own label	
1998 (Apr)	LungLeg	Club Beatroot Part Six – Por que tevas/other track by El Hombre Trajedado	Flotsam and Jetsam	Shag 13.06
1998 (Apr)	Pink Kross	Club Beatroot Part 5 – Tension Toy other track by Radio Sweethearts	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 13.05
1998 (Apr)	High Fidelity	Come Again/(part 2) plus CD with (part 30, (part 4) and (part 5)	Plastique	FAKE 02
1998 (Apr)	Starlets	Give My Regards to Betty Ford/Glorious Technicolor	Illumiere	LUMIE 001
1998	Suckle	Cybilla/Sex with	Lefthand	LHR 001

(Apr)		Animals		
1998 (Apr)	Superstar	Superstar/Hey Montana San	Camp Fabulous	CFAB 0075
1998 (Apr)	Superstar	Palm Tree	Camp Fabulous	CFAB 005X CD/MC/LP
1998 (May)	Adventures in Stereo	Alternative Stereo Sounds	Creeping Bent	bent 030
1998 (May)	The Delgados	Pull the Wires from the Wall/Mauron Chanson	Chemikal Underground	chem 023
1998 (May)	Most	I Stole Your Man/	Cooler	COLLER 001
1998 (May)	Poison Sisters	Club Beatroot Part Seven – Hatchet Burial Song/other track by The Karelia	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 13.07
1998 (Jun)	Appendix Out	Lassie, Lie Near Me/other track by Leopards	Creeping Bent	bent 034
1998 (Jun)	The Delgados	Peloton	Chemikal Underground	chem 024cd
1998 (Jun)	El Hombre Trajeado	Like Quicksand/other track by The Karelia	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 019
1998 (Jun)	Mogwai	No Education=No Future (Fuck the Curfew) EP	Chemikal Underground	chem 026/+cd
1998 (Jun)	Whiteout	Big Wow	Yoyo	YOLP 01
1998 (Jul)	LungLeg	Krayola/other track by The Make-Up (USA)	Vesuvius	POMP 016
1998 (Jul)	Secret Goldfish	Somewhere in China/X-boyfriend	Issued through Creeping Bent	ER 193
1998 (Jul)	High Fidelity	Luv Dup/	Plastique	FAKE 03
1998 (Jul)	Vera Cruise	Club Beatroot Part Nine – Wasted Sounds/other track by The Amphetameanies	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 13.09
1998 (Aug)	Mogwai	Ten Rapid (collected songs 1996-1997)	Rock Action	ROCKACTCD 5
1998 (Aug)	Superstar	Superstar vs. Alan Warner (Sound Clash)	Camp Fabulous	CFAB 009XS
1998 (Sept)	The Delgados	The Weaker Argument Defeats the Stronger/A Very Cellular Song	Chemikal Underground	chem 029
1998 (Sept)	Kevin McDermott	Fair and Whole (live)	Tula	TULAD 002
1998 (Sept)	Mount Vernon Arts Lab	Gummy Twinkle	Via Satellite	V-Sat 2525

1998 (Oct)	Poison Sisters	Tarantula Rising	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 017
1998 (Oct)	Radio Sweethearts	New Memories Revisited	Shoeshine	SHOECd 003
1998 (Nov)	A.C. Acoustics	Like Ribbons EP	Yoyo	YO/+CD 3
1998 (Dec)	The Amphetameanies	Around the World in 5 ½ Minutes	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 021
1998 (Dec)	Camera Obscura	You Sound/Autumn Tides/Annawaltzerpose	Andmoresound	AND 11 45/CDS
1998	The Yummy Fur	Male Shadow at 3 O'Clock	Vesuvius	POMP012
1999 (Jan)	Fat Lip	The Sound of Lovers EP	U-Bahn Pro	
1999 (Feb)	Johnson	Tripping with the Moonlight/Flipside	Play	PLAY 001
1999 (Feb)	A.C. Acoustics	She's With Stars EP	Yoyo	YO 4
1999 (Mar)	Mogwai	Come On Die Young	Chemikal Underground	chem 033/+cd
1999 (Mar)	Secret Goldfish	Somewhere in the World/Top of the World/Pink World	Creeping Bent	bent 038cd
1999 (Apr)	The Amphetameanies	Last Night/Susiemuppet	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG/+CD024
1999 (Apr)	Future Pilot AKA	Future Pilot AKA vs. A Galaxy of Sound	Sulphur	SUL CD/LP 001
1999 (Apr)	PH Family	Shill Display/Pole	Flotsam and Jetsam	SHaG 025
1999 (Apr)	Revolutionary Corps of Teenage Jesus	Pay Tha Wreck, Mr Music King/Saturation	Creeping Bent	bent 043/+cd
1999 (Apr)	Speedboat	Satellite Girl	Shoeshine	SHOECd/LP 004
1999 (Apr)	Starlets	New Wave/Western Electric	Illumiere	LUMIE 002
1999 (May)	Johnson	Savoury Body Show/Swear I Was There	Play	PLAY 002
1999 (May)	Revolutionary Corps of Teenage Jesus	Righteous Lite	Creeping Bent	bent 045cd
1999 (Jun)	Aerogramme	Translations	Babi-Yaga	YAGA 002-7
1999	Cosmic Rough	Deliverance	Raft	RAFT 001

(Jun)	Riders			
1999 (Jul)	Secret Goldfish	Mink Riots	Creeping Bent	bent 044cd
1999 (Aug)	Fat Lip	Melodia EP	Penthouse	PH 001
1999 (Aug)	Secret Goldfish	You're Funny 'Bout That, Aren't You?/other track by Nectarine No. 9	Creeping Bent	bent 042
1999 (Nov)	Aerogramme	Hatred/The Art of Belief	Babi-Yaga	YAGA 01
1999 (Sept)	High Fidelity	2 Up -2 Down/Sugar Free	Plastique	FAKE 101
1999 (Oct)	The Amphetameanies	Treaty at Harthill	Flotsam & Jetsam	SHaG 026
1999 (Oct)	Johnson	Skin and Gold/Paradise (live)	Play	PLAY 003
1999 (Oct)	Mogwai	Mogwai EP	Chemikal Underground	chem 036+cd
1999 (Oct)	Newton Grunts	Treaty at Harthill	Flotsam and Jetsam	SHaG 026
1999 (Nov)	Aerogramme	Aerogramme EP	Babi-Yaga	YAGA 003
1999 (Nov)	Revolutionary Corps of Teenage Jesus	A Brooklyn Nightmare (mixes)	Creeping Bent	bent 051cd
1999 (Nov)	Secret Goldfish	4 Excited People/other track by Vic Goddard	Creeping Bent	bent 048
1999 (Nov)	Speeder	Hey What Do I Know/D.O.A	Creeping Bent	bent 053
1999	The Amphetameanies	Last Night	Flotsam and Jetsam	SHaG 024
1999	The Amphetameanies	Whisky/other track by The Newton Grunts	Flotsam and Jetsam	SHaG 026

## Appendix 4

### Glasgow-based independent releases from Glasgow music makers in 2009

Year	Name of Artist	Title	Label	Catalogue Number
2009	Doghouse Roses	How You've Been (All This Time?)	Yellowroom	YLLWRM-005
2009	Den Haan	Release the Beast	Optimo Music	OM 002
2009	Big Ned	Bad Angel	Optimo Music	OM 001
2009	Big Ned	Big Ned	Optimo Music	OM 003
2009	Divorce	Divorce	Optimo Music	OM 005
2009	Older Lover	The Older Lover EP	Optimo Music	OM 006
2009	Cuddly Shark	Woody Woodpecker/Bowl of Cherries	Armellodie Records	ARM05
2009	Cuddly Shark	The Sheriff of Aspen Bay	Amellodie Records	ARM06
2009	Cuddly Shark	Cuddly Shark	Armellodie Records	ARM07
2009	Sixpeopleaway	If, Then, Else/Eve	SPA	
2009	Smackvan	Sound in Space	Sans Culottes	Sans Culottes 08
2009	The Second Hand Marching Band	A Dance to Half Death	Chaffinch Records	CHAFF2
2009	Bricolage	Bricolage	Creeping Bent	Bent 097CD
2009	Xcerts	Crisis in the Slow Lane/Weather Warning	King Tuts Recordings/Xtra Mile	xcertscrisis
2009	Fangs	Sicko	King Tuts Recordings	KT6
2009	Wooden Box With a Fistful of Fivers	Hang the Noose	King Tuts Recordings	
2009	Sucioperro	I'm Not In Charge	King Tuts Recordings	KT13
2009	Punch and the Apostles	Rockefeller City	Repellent Records	
2009	Beerjacket	Animosity	Self release	
2009	Vendor Defender	Dreamphone	Self release	
2009	The Starlets	Out Into the Days from Here	Stereotone	Stereo 3301CD
2009	Sinking Cities	C Throo/End of an Era	7Digital	
2009	The Elvis Suicide	Sweethearts EP	Cowboys in Pain	
2009	Shoosh	Return of the Silver Surfer	Ambidextrous Records/Route-note	
2009	The Mixups	Pop! Go the Mixups	Self release	

2009	The Dykeenies	Sounds of the City	Moustache Music	MMCD-PROMO-001
2009	Sucioperro	Pain Agency	Maybe Records	MAYBE003
2009	Sucioperro	The Dissident Code EP	Maybe Records	MAYBE005
2009	Sucioperro	Don't Change (What You Can't Understand)	Maybe Records	Download
2009	How to Swim	A Little Orgasm of Disappointment (9 compilation album)	Personal Hygiene Recordings	
2009	The Phantom Band	Checkmate Savage	Chemikal Underground	CHEM107/CD
2009	Aidan Moffat and the Best Ofs	How To Get To Heaven From Scotland	Chemikal Underground	Chem 113
2009	De Rosa	Prevention	Chemikal Underground	CHEM115CD/LP
2009	The Phantom Band	The Howling	Chemikal Underground	CHEM117
2009	Lord Cut-Glass	Lord Cut-Glass	Chemikal Underground	CHEM118
2009	Lord Cut-Glass	Look After Your Wife ...	Chemikal Underground	CHEM119
2009	Aidan Moffat and The Best Ofs	Knock on the Wall of Your Womb	Chemikal Underground	CHEM122
2009	The Phantom Band	Throwing Bones	Chemikal Underground	PCHEM123CD
2009	Lord Cut-Glass	Big Time Teddy	Chemikal Underground	PCHEM125CD
2009	The Pastels/ Tenniscoats (from Japan)	Two Sunsets	Geographic	GEOG37LP/CD/CDP
2009	Ex-Men	The Curator	Beanstalk Records	
2009	There Will Be Fireworks	There Will Be Fireworks (album)	The Imaginary Kind	LP001
2009	Louise against the Elements	Baby Blue EP	Self release	
2009	Zoey Van Goey	The Cage Was Unlocked All Along	Left In The Dark	LITDCD001
2009	Low Sonic Drift	Shadows of the Titan	Theoretical Records	THEO001
2009	Peter Parker	Swallow the Rockets/Temper Temper	Lucky Number 9 Records / Say Dirty Records	SDD 007
2009	Wake the President/Je Suis Animal	Miss Tierney/Fortune Map	Lucky Number Nine Records	LNN012
2009	Desalvo	Mood Poisoner	Rock Action Records	ROCKACT38 CD



2009	Remember Remember	The Dancing/Imagining Things	Rock Action Records	rockact46
2009	The Viragoes	Escape from Glasgatrax	Metropolicana Records	BB003
2009	Kizzy Star	Out of Control	Flowers in the Dustbin	Flowers 3
2009	Kaleidoscope Eyes	Entheogen	Flowers in the Dustbin	Flowers 4
2009	Kizzy Star	The Last Time	Flowers in the Dustbin	Flowers 6
2009	Kick to Kill	Cut Me	Flowers in the Dustbin	Flowers 7
2009	The Whisky Works	Deficit Attention Programme	Self release (through Emubands)	
2009	Member of the Wedding	Chapter & Verse EP	Cosy Recordings	COST 022
2009	Adam Stafford	Cunt Splash	Wiseblood Industries	N/A
2009	Size of Kansas	Four or Five Loose Horses	Wiseblood Industries	WBI09
2009	Adam Stafford	Awnings	Wiseblood Industries	WBI11
2009	Burnt Island	The Moments Before	Wiseblood Industries	WB 12
2009	Y'all is Fantasy Island	Play on the Weekend's Sunny Days	Wiseblood Industries	WBI13
2009	Size of Kansas	Digital is Dead from the Beginning	Wiseblood Industries	YBI005
2009	Jocky Venkataraman	Can't Go There: An Introduction to Jocky Venkataraman	Wiseblood Industries	YBI006
2009	Radio Trees	Outside World Strategies Vol. 1	Wiseblood Industries	YBI007
2009	Smoke Jaguar	Live at The Halt	Nyali Recordings	Nyali 2
2009	Groaner	Eremitic Beast	Winning Sperm Party	wsp013
2009	Ultimate Thrush	Ultimate Thrush	Winning Sperm Party	wsp014
2009	Grozny	Gesta Francorum	Winning Sperm Party	wsp015
2009	Plaaydoh	Plaaydoh LP	Winning Sperm Party	wsp017
2009	The Ballad of Mable Wong	See Dee Are	Winning Sperm Party	wsp019
2009	Monoganon	Elephant Pregnancy	Winning Sperm Party	wsp020
2009	Blood of the Bull	Four Small Bodies	Winning Sperm Party	wsp021

2009	Mr Peppermint	Loose Lips	Winning Sperm Party	wsp022
2009	James Grant	Strange Flowers	Vertical Recordings	VERTCD089
2009	Plaaydoh/Triple School		Nuts and Seeds	
2009	Nackt Insecten	The Telepathic Jackal /split cassette with Dylan Nyoukis	Sick Head	Sick Head 22
2009	Hud Mo	Ooops!	LuckyMe	LMWB001
2009	Nadsroic	Room Mist	LuckyMe	LM002
2009	State Broadcasters	The Ship and the Iceberg	Electric Honey	EH0902
2009	Catcher	Hurricane EP	Self release (digital only)	
2009	Odeon Beatclub	Strike Me Down	Beatclub Recordings (digital only)	
2009	Be A Familiar	You'd Make a Great Ghost/split with Blunderground by Tango in the Attic	Go Listen	
2009	Maple Leaves	Kirsty/Easy Speak	Self release (digital only)	
2009	Lean Tales	Flesh and Paper EP	Bubblegum Records	BGUM002
2009	Calacas	Calacas	Self release (digital only)	
2009	Kochka	Dead Room Party/Big Mix Up	Self release (digital only)	
2009	Kochka	Dead Room Party	Self-release (digital only)	
2009	Mitchell Museum	In the Bloodwind	Self-release (cassette)	
2009	Mitchell Museum	Warning Bells	Mister Tramp Records	
2009	You Already Know	Stop Whispering	Mister Tramp Records	
2009	Kochka	Sumer House EP	Self release (digital only)	
2009	Mindset	4 EP	Neon Tetra Records	5024545581782
2009	A Band Called Quinn	DIY	Neon Tetra Records	TETRA XS14
2009	A Band Called Quinn	The Glimmer Song	Neon Tetra Records	TETRA XS12
2009	Brother Louis Collective	Those Barren Years/Gypsy Woman	Euphonios (before it relocated to London)	eup07
2009	Blacktzar	Rust	Scooter Records	

2009	Phil Campbell	Daddy's Table	Safehouse Recordings	
2009	The LaFontaines	The LaFontaines EP	Self release (digital only)	
2009	Yahweh	Tug of Love	Self release	
2009	Suspire	Legislate for Luck EP	Clay Davis	
2009	Strike the Colours	Seven Roads	Deadlight Records	DL 002
2009	El Dog	The Lamps of Terrahead	Lo-Five Records	LO5005
2009	Trashcan Sinatras	In the Music (boxset)	Lo-Five Records	LO5007
2009	Trashcan Sinatras	I Wish You'd Met Her	Lo-Five Records	LO5008
2009	Trashcan Sinatras	People	Lo-Five Records	LO5009
2009	El Dog	Let it Snow	Lo-Five Records	LO5013
2009	El Dog	A Princess, A Monkey, The Stars and The Sea	Lo-Five Records	
2009	The Seventeenth Century	The Notes Extended Player	Lo-Five Records	LO5014
2009	Ben TD	Books and Boats/Once for the Dust	Lo-Five Records	
2009	Ben TD	Leaves	Lo-Five Records	
2009	Seppuku	Dedicated to Soledad Miranda (split with English artist Culver)	At War With False Noise	atwar043
2009	Seppuku	Split cassette with Ultrashitinferno	At War With False Noise	ATWAR049
2009	Noma/Rejectamenta	Split	At War With False Noise	ATWAR052
2009	Black Sun	Code Black (b-side track by They Are Cowards)	At War With False Noise	ATWAR063
2009	Cheer	Singing Sand	At War With False Noise	ATWAR065
2009	Vom	Primitive Arts	At War With False Noise	ATWAR069
2009	Ross Clark	You Brought Evil	Instinctive Racoon Records	N/A
2009	Washington Irving	The Magician	Instinctive Racoon Records	N/A
2009	French Wives	Halloween/Dogfight	Instinctive Racoon Records	N/A
2009	Cheer	Defuse You	Self release	
2009	Cheer	Festive	Self release	

2009	Cheer and Alistair Crosbie	No Monsters	Lefthand Pressings	LHP-19
2009	Alistair Crosbie	The last Days of Summer	Lefthand Pressings	LHP-17
2009	Alistair Crosbie	Untitled	Lefthand Pressings	LHP-18
2009	Alistair Crosbie	The Eskimo Way (Songs for Christmas 2009)	Lefthand Pressings	LHP-X09

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