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**TEXTILE PRINT**

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**EXAMINING THE SECOND-HAND SHOP  
SPACES IN DUBLIN THROUGH THE LENS  
OF IDENTITY POLITICS**

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## **C O N T E N T S**

### **Introduction**

### **Chapter One**

Examining the Second-Hand Shop Spaces in Dublin

### **Chapter Two**

Shops and Shopping: Victims or Agents of Shopping

### **Chapter Three**

Second-Hand Clothing as an Element in Street Style

### **Chapter Four**

Identity: The Expression of Individuality  
Through Clothing

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Sé Sí Progressive, Fownes Street
2. Interior of Sé Sí Progressive
3. Barnardos, Lower Rathmines Road
4. Sé Sí Progressive's window display
5. Window display, Wild Child, Georges Street
6. Flyer for second-hand clothes shop Retro, 22 Market Arcade, South Great Georges Street.
7. Flyers for Dublin night club, Republica, Kildare Street, Dublin 2
8. The striking image of punk
9. Clothing by Katherine Hamnett and Betty Jackson – *The Face*, 1997
10. *The Face* magazine, which was launched in 1980
11. Article on Dublin culture 'Crack City' by Joseph O'Connor, *Cosmopolitan*, 1995.



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## INTRODUCTION

Second-hand clothing shops are spaces that have received little serious study but they are in fact outlets where much time and money is spent by many thousands of shoppers daily. The amount of organisation that is involved in the running of such small businesses is also underestimated. In this dissertation I will examine the different second-hand shopping spaces around the city of Dublin and as a result of interviews and participant observation, try to establish what cultural meanings can be found within such spaces, looking in particular at identity politics. The complex issues of identity, consumerism and the history of street style will be addressed also.

Writers such as Stuart Hall and Dick Hebdige provided valuable information on theories of identity while John Fiske and Angela McRobbie, more specifically examining the role of the second-hand market, take a populist stance on consumerist issues. Work by fashion historians Catherine McDermott and Amy de la Haye provided valuable research along with Penny Sparke's recent book, *As Long As It's Pink* (1995), concerning taste. Street style has recently been a topic for discussion amongst British sociologists and fashion historians but it was found during the course of my research that very limited information was available on the subject of Irish street style, taking into account the influence of Irish history both socially and economically on youth culture and style. As a result, subcultural history and street style in Britain were looked at and then compared with Ireland. The majority of magazine and newspaper articles used for research were also of British publication.

Consumerism will be discussed, both how it reflects social change and the influence the media plays. Thus the relationship between production, in terms of window displays, and consumption will be examined and the roles that consumer identity play will be discussed.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **Shopping and the Different Second- Hand Shop Spaces in Dublin**

Dublin, a city with one of the youngest populations in Europe, has a growing population and a thriving economy at present. It is a city which is recognised for the individuality of dress and style that embodies the people seen on the streets and for the numerous shopping areas within walking distance of each other. Dublin's streets are being filled more and more with shopping malls such as the Jervis Centre and an increasing number of British and American shops. Shops such as Debenhams and Boots have arrived recently to follow Jigsaw, Warehouse, Miss Selfridge, Monsoon from the UK and TK Maxx which came from the USA in September 1997 to Stephen's Green Shopping Centre.

Temple Bar, familiar to the 'alternative' shopper has undergone redevelopment which has brought new shops and increased the number of consumers and shoppers dramatically. These shops, which range from more upmarket down to second-hand, cater for every pocket and taste. Looking at these second-hand shops questions can be raised as to why, despite all the new shops which are constantly appearing is there still such a huge interest in 'retro' clothing? Factors such as consumerism, advertising, historical influences and identity all have to be considered. In this chapter I will examine the many second-hand shop spaces around Dublin and discuss the role that these shops still play.

*An interest in the old, the used, the overtly cheap and apparently unstylish* (Angela McRobbie, 1994, p 137). Although McRobbie is here referring to the image portrayed by The Beatles on the cover of their 1967 album, *Sgt. Pepper*, it is with this statement that I feel she sums up the curiosity and interest that revolves around the second-hand market. Along with their innovative music, it was The Beatles'





Fig 1: Sé Sí Progressive, Fownes Street

adaptation of second-hand military uniforms and old-fashioned 'granny' glasses that grabbed public attention during the late 1960's. The 'Sgt Pepper' look was very different to the neat, co-ordinated suits they had worn as a band.

This interest in second-hand clothing is still present in the 1990's especially in Britain but also in Dublin with a variety of shops to choose from. Dublin's second-hand shops can be divided into two categories: firstly, those which are commercial, e.g. The Eager Beaver and Damascus, (both in Crown Alley, Temple Bar) and the charity shops such as Oxfam, Rathmines and Cerebral Palsy, Georges Street, which belong to a chain of such shops. Within the commercial shops there is a clear hierarchy, headed by shops such as Jenny Vanders, Georges Arcade, and Sé Sí Progressive, Fownes Street (Fig 1).

What will come as no surprise to the majority of shoppers is that there are divisions between the different shops and that when questioned the owners of such stores re-emphasised their individuality and did not want to be compared to other second-hand shops. On the higher end of the market are Sé Sí Progressive and Jenny Vanders where prices can range up to £60. Jenny Vanders is one of the oldest second-hand shops, having opened in 1966. Many items date from the 1940's and 1950's. This is the only one of the shops that actually hires out clothes for parties, functions, theatre and film productions. Customers to the shop vary from young to old while the whole atmosphere and setting of the shop is colourful and nostalgic, this atmosphere being created through subdued lighting, music and the placement of period accessories around the shop. All clothes are steamed and hung neatly on the rails before sale.





**Fig 2:** The organised interior of Sé Sí Progressive with garments on display and spot lights to heighten interest.



The whole image of Sé Sí Progressive as the name suggests, is youthful and strongly influenced by the dance and club scene. Sé Sí Progressive is the only shop space examined which has both new and second hand stock on sale. It provides a valuable space for young designers from America, Britain and Ireland to build name and is the reason why Sé Sí is more expensive. Again the whole layout of the shop is highly organised so as to allow the customer to view as much stock as possible. The walls are white which gives a very clean appearance while mirrors and spot lights give an added interest, attract customer attention and give a warmer feel to the shop (Fig 2). Clothes rails are constantly kept tidy and bargains are clearly shown using signs to again attract customer attention. As will be looked at in greater detail in Chapter Two window displays and the exterior image of the shop have an enormous role to play in gaining public attention.

When a customer visits Damascus or The Eager Beaver, two of the more well known second-hand shops in Temple Bar, it is clear that the interiors are similar to an indoor market. There are numerous rails of clothes with cheaper items often placed in baskets and bins on the ground and near the main entrance. While Damascus has become more organised in terms of display since it opened, The Eager Beaver's interior structure has not changed dramatically since it opened in 1985. Again Damascus is more specific about the market they are targeting, that being the younger percentage of the population. Accessories such as jewellery, scarves and make-up are a recent addition to many shops such as Sé Sí Progressive, Damascus and Wild Child in Georges Street which echoes the popularity of accessories in recent years. This popularity has led to Irish chains of shops such as Accessorize and The Hat Shop which deal solely in accessories.

The Eager Beaver, although more expensive is similar in market level to the charity shops such as Cerebral Palsy, The Simon Community and Oxfam as they cater for everyone from old age pensioners to students. These shops are a necessity to many people who cannot afford high street prices but nonetheless the price of clothing in these shops has increased in recent years. According to employees and managers this is in line with the rise in inflation.

Oxfam is the most expensive of these charity shops and in recent years has started stocking overseas trading goods such as coffee, wood carvings and rugs which sell extremely well. Oxfam in Rathmines is planning to increase the number of overseas goods for sale in the near future (Oxfam 17<sup>th</sup> January 1998). These goods allow people in third world countries a chance to earn a living through their crafts. Practical items of clothing such as blouses, jackets and Levi's jeans are always in stock in second-hand shops on the lower end to middle market so that these shops can become a dependable place to buy such garments while new additions such as combat trousers, in the case of The Eager Beaver are stocked occasionally.

Because there is a vast range of shops around the city it is in no way surprising that there are no differences from shop to shop in how stock is sourced, priced and sometimes altered. If a market such as Summerhill, (being on the extremely low end of the market) is examined, it is presumed that no preparation has been given to the clothes before they go on sale as they are piled on the ground and unsold stock is left behind for Dublin Corporation to dispose of. In the Blackberry Fair, which is a weekend market in Rathmines, there are a number of stalls which have rails of clothes

out in the open with no attempt at stylishness or protection from the elements. These stalls are all rented out cheaply at £40 per pitch or £10 per table for the weekend.

As regards the charity shops, all the stock sold is donated by the public and is usually sorted by one person in each shop (interview, Oxfam, 18<sup>th</sup> July 1997, Cerebral Palsy, 24<sup>th</sup> July 1997). It is the sorter who actually decides what stock goes into the shop so therefore has the responsibility of catering for a broad sector of the public. Garments are then checked for stains or tears and ironed if necessary. At this stage a contrast can be made between the charity shops, which do not wash stock, and the commercial second-hand shop staff which wash or steam all garments. The staff of Oxfam and Cerebral Palsy colour code the stock so as to make it easier and quicker for the customer to choose a garment. Unwanted stock is put into rag bags and recycled, in many cases for the making of mattresses which are then exported (interview, Oxfam, 18<sup>th</sup> July 1997).

Stock for the more upmarket second-hand shops is imported, often from Germany and Holland as it is found that stock from such countries is in excellent condition.

Damascus is the only shop examined which has a factory where stock is washed and altered if necessary. Alterations are on the decrease, however, as original second-hand garments with no alternations appear to sell better. When shop staff were asked why this was so, their opinion was that the public prefer original second-hand items (interview, Damascus, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1997). It can then be presumed that this decision was not made for purely an economic reason but that consumer taste is being taken into account. After looking at the different shop spaces around the city it became



apparent that if meanings are to be extracted from them, the strategy for buying stock and the process of shopping have also to be considered.

Shopping is often a vibrant topic of conversation and the whole ritual takes up much of our time and money. There is an air of curiosity as a person enters a shop not knowing what will be discovered and feelings of delight and a sense of achievement result of the shopper is successful in attaining a good bargain or desirable purchase (fig. 3). Shopping for many people is a means of escape from the daily routine of their lives. People have a chance to forget their problems and feel that they are in control as they can choose what to buy, if at all. John Fiske in *Reading the Popular* (1989) talks of how, *shopping offers a sense of freedom* (Fiske, 1989, p 142) and takes up Judith Williamson's suggestions that consumption *offers a means of controlling to some extent the context of everyday life* (Fiske, 1989, p 25).

Although recent work by fashion historians such as Christopher Breward has begun to look at male shopping activity, shopping is mainly considered a feminine activity. If second-hand shop spaces are examined it is found that the majority of clothes are women's. When questioned as to why this was, charity shop staff stated,

*Women's clothes sell better and the majority of consumers are, in fact, women* (interview, Oxfam 11<sup>th</sup> August 1997).

In an article in *The Observer's Life* fashion section titled, *Sex and Shopping*. Kathryn Flett describes the feelings that a person associates with shopping as being similar to sex. She goes on to discuss how there is no comparison between men and women shopping and how women seem to have a passion for shopping that the opposite sex



**Fig 3:** Shopper browsing at Barnardos' window display, Lower Rathmines Road.

do not seem to possess ( *The Observer Life* 26<sup>th</sup> October 1997). McRobbie in *Postmodernism and Popular Culture* (1994) talks of how,

*Contemporary feminism has been slow to challenge the early 1970's orthodoxy which saw women as slaves to consumerism.*  
(McRobbie, 1994, p 136)

More recently the design historian Penny Sparke has pointed out,

*Since industrialisation this arena has been largely constituted by the taste and consumption decisions which have determined the nature and appearance of the home and its contents. And these decisions have for the most part, been made by women.*  
(Sparke, 1995, p 6)

It seems clear that shopping is not merely for necessity but that pleasure can be associated with buying goods also. It can be said that women were slow to challenge the point of seeing women as 'slaves to consumerism', as many women enjoy browsing in shops and purchasing goods. However, there is also a certain element of power attached to buying which is voluntary in that it is the shopper who has the final choice as to whether to buy or not. Fiske in *Reading the Popular* takes up Williamson's argument,

*that buying can bear meanings of empowerment.*  
(Fiske, 1989, p 20)

Fiske himself makes the point that shopping can become an important source of 'power' against a powerful oppositional force (that of capital) and the successful shopper is properly 'tough'. Also the point is made that,



*Shopping is seen as an oppositional, competitive act, and as such as a source of achievement, self-esteem, and power.*  
(Fiske, 1989, p 19)

Consumption has long been regarded as a feminine activity while production has been seen as masculine and therefore superior. Shopping which was seen as a passive activity, was an outlet where women could exercise their taste values and achieve a limited sense of 'power'. As Sparke has put it:

*Taste, linked primarily with consumption, was seen as a primarily passive phenomenon, contrasted with the more 'active' world of production.*  
(Sparke, 1995, p 29)

Matters of taste have always been of importance especially when linked with display in the home and femininity. It is only in more recent years however, that taste values and style are becoming a serious consideration for shop retailers in what stock is sold and how it is displayed. Also this not just confined to the sale of new stock but also in second-hand shops where managers and sorters of clothes have become more ruthless in what to stock and as to what they feel will sell. What has become important in the 90's is that it is the needs and desires of the shoppers' that take priority in how shops are run and that consumer satisfaction is of foremost importance.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **Victims or Agents of Shopping**



From the previous chapter it can be seen that shopping is not just carried out as a means of necessity but that it can also be regarded as a leisure activity. From the retailer's point of view, because of the increasing competition it is vital to attract as many customers as is possible. This is where advertising and the media have important role to play. In this chapter, it will be asked, how much control does the shopper have over his or her actions and how much do outside influences such as advertising determine our final decision. Since the shop spaces and window displays have altered dramatically in recent years it will be asked what meanings can be derived from these changes.

When marketing a product the customers' attention is actively sought. It is therefore the responsibility of the advertising agency employed to make this new commodity an item to be desired and admired by others. Advertising in the past was mainly used for new goods only, but if the second-hand shop spaces are further examined it is seen that it is now reasonably common – and almost expected – for these goods also to be advertised. As second-hand goods have already been used, this lack of freshness may be off-putting for the consumer and it is therefore fascinating to see how such goods are displayed and how shop fronts are arranged to attract customer attention. The main attraction of second-hand shops is that they are seen to be more 'alternative' in both clothes and atmosphere than mainstream shops. Yet at present, many second-hand shops seem to be trying to resemble chain stores or boutiques.



**Fig 4:** Window display at Sé Sí Progressive



It was apparent after visiting the second-hand shops that much effort and time was spent on window displays and that these displays have become more elaborate in recent years. The commercial second-hand shop displays are highly organised, much more so than the charity shop windows, the latter only recently realising the impact such displays have on sales. Shops such as Damascus, Sé Sí Progressive, and Jenny Vanders have very eye-catching displays all of which reflect the type of clothes that are for sale, and give the shop an individual identity. Sé Sí Progressive's window for example, is minimal and contemporary displaying plastic holders with flowers, plastic coloured hearts and photographs (Fig. 4). The exterior of Damascus in particular has become similar to that of a high street shop, so it was not surprising to find out that the manageress had undergone a course in window display (interview, Damascus, 8<sup>th</sup> December 1997).

Judging from interviews, the majority of second-hand spaces in Dublin have altered their appearance to gain consumer attention. What is of priority is grabbing this attention from the street so the display has to make an impact on the passer-by. At Oxfam in Rathmines for example, a clothing rail inside the main entrance, is stocked with a different line of clothing such as nightwear or sportswear each week. This rail is clearly labelled 'Newly Arrived' which attracts attention. Although this stock is, like the rest, second-hand, it is newly arrived in the shop, so therefore a desirable purchase could be made before other shoppers do. When items are donated to the shop (that are not sold on a permanent basis), such as sportswear, they are stockpiled until a window display or clothing rail can be filled. The manageress has noticed that when no window display existed it dramatically reduced the number of customers that entered the shop resulting in a drop in sales (Oxfam, 11<sup>th</sup> August 1997). It is also

worth noting that shops such as Oxfam are prepared to sell clothes directly from their window displays, whereas this is not done in commercial second-hand shops, which place a higher premium on the window display as a marketing tool. Window displays give shops the chance to construct their own individual identity. Second-hand shops cater for the consumer's individual identities also, in a particular way: no two will be alike.

The more commercial of the shops, such as Sé Sí Progressive and Damascus, have simplest shop fronts with fewer items on display. Lighting is also significant, being more subdued in the commercial shops. Fiske's comments on shop identities are useful in this context:

*The importance of individual differences increases as we ride the elevators up the class structure. So the 'upper class' shops are individualistic to the point of exclusivity. Their windows have fewer goods in them, signalling the opposite of mass availability, their lighting is more subdued, with highlights on the individual commodity and the shop behind the window is much less easily seen – sometimes indeed, it is invisible.*  
(Fiske, 1989, p 38)

This is one of the ways in which shops construct their identity and appeal to certain classes and tastes. People will browse along a street until the look of a shop appeals to their own individual identity and hence their own taste or style. The more 'upper class' shops, with their subdued lighting and spotlights, highlight clothing and suggests an exclusive stock, which will separate the buyer from other people. On the other hand the overall bright lighting of middle-class windows will not differentiate the buyer from others but make the person feel part of the group of consumers who share similar taste and style. As Fiske puts it,





**Fig 5:** Elvis is the focus of attention in Wild Child's window display, Georges Street.

*The contrast in lighting styles between the middle- and upper-class windows is a contrast in taste and social identity.*

(Fiske, 1989, p 38)

Sé Sí Progressive and Wild Child in Georges Street have two of the more 'alternative' shop fronts examined. Both are eye-catching displays, Sé Sí the simpler of the two. Wild Child is immensely colourful and got numerous laughs and looks from observers and passers-by. Everything from blow-up cushions, cards to pictures of Elvis were displayed in the windows (Fig 5). The importance of window displays to the charity shops was also evident. The management of Cerebral Palsy, Georges Street stated that, *"A great deal of effort goes into the window displays and that they make a huge difference to the numbers of people who shop there"*. It was also said that in recent years that a greater effort has been made to make the shop front more attractive and hence increase custom (interview, Cerebral Palsy, 25<sup>th</sup> October, 1997).

Logically, it is the more commercial of the second-hand shops which have the most similarity to high street shops. These shops are more organised both internally and in terms of display. Many of these shops also have designed bags with the name of the store printed on as in Damascus and Sé Sí. Oxfam, being a huge organisation is the only charity shop to have printed bags. On the general ambience of the shops, it was found in interviews that there was once greater freedom for staff to decide what music could be chosen to play but now employees are being given advice as to what music to play. Once a haven for alternative and indie music, Damascus has subdued, so-called 'easy-listening' music which was chosen by the manager to be played in all of the three shops he owns. Second-hand shops such as Sé Sí, Damascus and The Eager Beaver are now also advertising in newspapers and magazines such as D-side





Fig 6: Flyer for RETRO, 22 Market Arcade, South Great Georges Street, Dublin 2.

RETRO stock clothing from the 20's to the 70's.

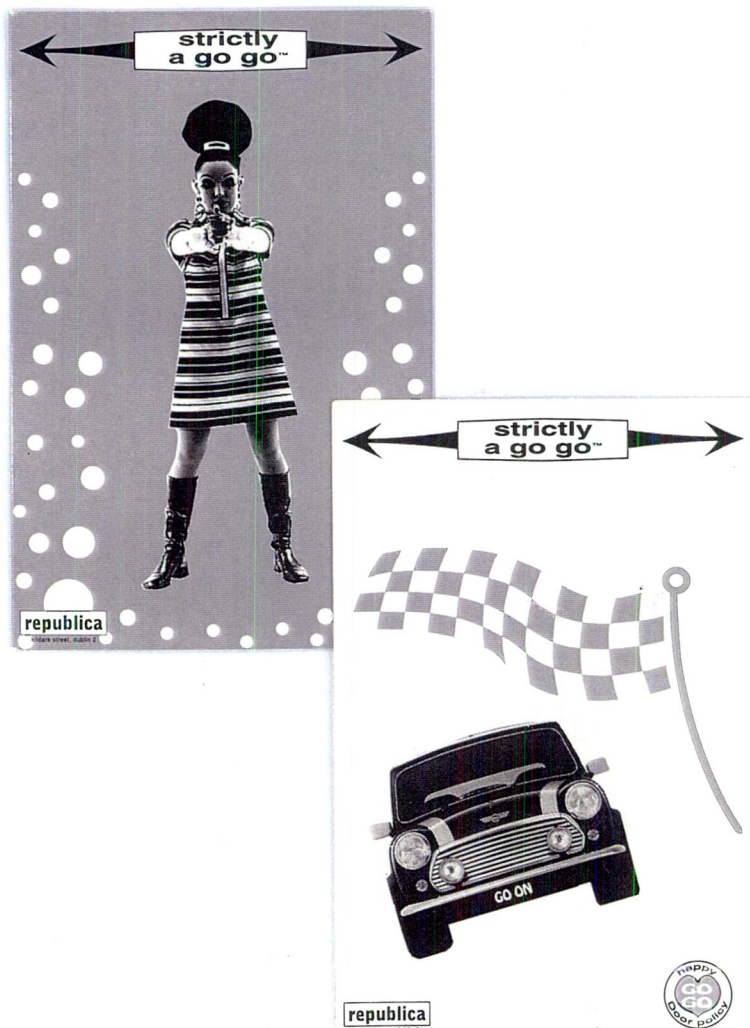


Fig 7: Flyers displayed in Wild Child

for Dublin club Republica

U-Magazine and through flyers (fig. 6). It is the commercial second-hand shops only who advertise through flyers. It is also interesting to note that many of Dublin's clubs are placing their flyers in these commercial second-hand shops. Clubs such as Rí Rá, POD and Temple of Sound frequently advertise through flyers. As the graphic designer Simon Roche has pointed out,

*these flyers now constitute the visual identity of the clubbing scene.*

Flyers influenced by rave culture in the late 1980's have given way to more simplistic images in the '90's with flyers from clubs such as Rí Rá and Republica looking back to popular culture from the '50's to the '70's,

*So the simple approach of the Rí Rá flyers provided a respite from, and a mocking of the existing club culture, signalling a shift in attitudes as well as musical taste.*

(Roche, *Fly by Night* circa p 33) (Fig 7)

Other noticeable changes are in the lines of security where staff have to observe customers more carefully and the introduction of security cameras into certain second-hand shops. It is clear that the managers of these second-hand shops are looking increasingly to the high street to gain inspiration as to how to entice customers while also employing people with English or Art qualifications (interview, Jenny Vanders 21<sup>st</sup> November 1997). One thing that appears to have survived especially in the charity shops is the customer-retailer relationship. At present more and more shops are training shop assistants the act of persuading customers to purchase goods. While all shop employees are expected to be polite, it is noticeable



in the second-hand shops that the atmosphere is more relaxed and friendly with many customers openly chatting.

The most surprising development of late has to be the launch of an advertising campaign by Oxfam in recent months which will soon be on television and in selected cinemas. Models such as *Face* cover star, Karen Elson appear in the ad to the sound of the Chemical Brothers. Although Oxfam is a charitable organisation many would question will the increase in prices exclude poor people who will not be able to shop there anymore? Ruby Singh in an article titled *The High Price of Famine* in *The Face* magazine talks of how Oxfam is now,

*marketing itself as just another label and just another lifestyle option.*  
(*The Face*, December 1997, p 187)

On one hand, it can be stated that the buying power of the public is controlled to a large extent and that a person's identity is formed through clever marketing and advertising. To what extent does advertising influence the shopper on the streets? It is true to say that advertising can have a powerful effect over the consumer as to what he or she actually buys. As part of a peer group people often identify with various musicians, film stars or fashions. It is often the case that famous celebrities are often used to market certain goods – current examples include André Agassi promoting Nike sportswear and The Spice Girls advertising Pepsi Cola. It is presumed that people want to have similar taste and style to this person and they want to identify with the image that is being portrayed. It is also more recently the case that musicians are launching their own brand label of clothing specifically for their fans to wear. The

American rap band, Wu-Tang Clan recently launched their Wu-Tang Wear label and American group The Fugees have also endorsed a range of clothing in the US.

In the book *Consumption, Identity and Style* (1989), Alan Tomlinson talks of the general public as having *a notion of free choice*. He states,

*Our personal identity is created out of elements created by others and marketed aggressively and seductively.*  
(Tomlinson, 1989, p 13)

I feel that although consumer choice is constructed to some degree, as we are influenced by the messages that advertising sends to us, it depends on the individual just how successful this conditioning is. To say that it is 'marketed aggressively' is an over-exaggeration. Influences other than the media are present when goods are purchased and the majority of people are all too familiar with ways in which they are enticed to buy. The media does have an important part to play and many occupations such as television production, journalism, design and advertising have grown as a result. However, for the majority of people, the media does not distort their sense of reality and other factors such as economic reasons, have an effect on what goods are purchased. Dominic Strinati, who has written about different theories of popular culture makes this point:

*It fails to recognise how useful the commodities are which people buy and neglects the fact that the ability to consume is restricted by economic and cultural inequalities.*  
(Strinati, 1995, p 240)

To be more precise at this stage it can be said more specifically that shop owners are not only looking to people's identities to find successful marketing strategies but are looking especially to taste values in the society we live in. Because shopping has been in the main classed as a feminine activity, it has followed that feminine taste has become increasingly important for retailers. This aspect has been taken on for the design of shops and display of goods. To a certain extent it can be said that this is why, even if just the second-hand shops are taken as an example, the vast number of employees are female and why it is usually a female member of staff who dresses the windows. Sparke talks about the large number of shops that have niche markets and who target specific consumers:

*The idea of niche markets means that goods could be directed at a range of socially and culturally defined consumer groups, women belonging potentially to a number of them. In terms of goods, this more sophisticated form of gendering – albeit still based entirely on stereotypes – also took age, class and lifestyle into account.*  
(Sparke, 1995, pp 227-228)

Shop owners are more and more looking to people's identities and taste to sell products. Shops such as Habitat, Next, Oasis, and Miss Selfridge try to sell a whole lifestyle. It is enough to refer to our society in the 1990's as a 'consumer society'? Fiske makes the point,

*The complexity and subtlety of the roles played by commodities in our culture are all too easily dismissed by the concept of a 'consumer society'. In one sense, all societies are consumer societies, for all societies value goods for cultural meanings that extend far beyond their usefulness.*  
(Fiske, 1989, p 29)



One clear shift in the 1990's is that shops are becoming more targeted towards specific lifestyles. Hence shoppers are given a greater choice as in what to buy and can also express their individuality and taste in what is purchased. Identity, more specifically fashion, as a means of communication, will be looked at in Chapter Four.

Never before has there been such a huge interest in how we buy and why a person buys certain items. If theory and design history are looked at it should be noted that there is a move away from old methods of production, the focus becoming more that of consumption. Sparke talks of the move away from production,

*If modernism has been the manifestation of a culture rooted in the ideals and ideologies of mass production, post-modernism represented one which was dominated by mass consumption.*  
(Sparke, 1995, p 233)

Our televisions are at present being filled with programmes on consumer issues from *Streetwise*, *Face Value* to MTV, where shoppers are classified into groups such as shopping victims and addicts. Shopping malls are huge centres of amenities with everything on offer from fast food restaurants, small churches, seats, fountains and plants all to make consumers shop for longer. If it's raining, people don't have to go any further as every amenity is available even down to parking spaces all of which are close at hand.

It can therefore be said that there is a greater emphasis on consumption in the 1990's. people are influenced by the media to a larger or lesser extent depending upon the individual but what can be said is that there is a move towards niche marketing, and magazines and ads for example are more specifically targeted towards certain groups

than before. There is also an increased sophistication of market research. Many factors such as class, age gender and taste all combine to form individual identities hence the media can be said to be partly influential in what people buy but advertising is not wholly responsible for consumer choice. As regards the second-hand shops their managers are becoming more aware of the identities and taste of consumers they are catering for. This is resulting in changing window displays and advertising to attract more shoppers and hence the appearance of such shops is getting more commercially orientated.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **Second-hand Clothing as an Element in Street Style**

To understand changes in consumerism, and how a person's identity is expressed through what they buy in second-hand shops, it is necessary to try and construct the history of street style in Ireland. During the course of my research, the majority of information gathered was of reference to British street style because only limited information was available on Ireland's history of fashion. It therefore has to be realised that even though many comparisons can be made between street style in Dublin and London, it has also to be stated that contrasts exist also.

In both Britain and Ireland, during the post-war period, changes in consumption and the emergence of popular culture were first realised. It was a rise in economic standards that brought about this change with many working class people experiencing higher incomes and a greater choice of consumer goods. Advances in technology led to less working hours and resulted in greater leisure time. Dick Hebdige in *Hiding in the Light* (1988) discusses these changes in Britain:

*of course, there were real changes in patterns of consumption from 1935 to 1962. Quite apart from a steady rise in the availability of a wider range of consumer goods throughout the period, there was a particularly dramatic transformation in the scale of working-class expenditure on leisure, in terms of both time and money.*  
(Hebdige, 1988, p 68)

This new found recreation time was often spent going to cinemas and dance halls. But it was the change in teenage consumption patterns that attracted most attention.

According to Hebdige, dramatic changes in leisure facilities to cater for teenage consumers did not occur until the mid-1960's. It was in the 1950's however, that this new popular culture emerged with the Mods, who purchased goods showing



American or Continental influence. Matters of taste and style were given precedence and commodities were used as a means to disassociate one style from another, an example of which is the connection between Mods and the Vespa or Lambretta scooter. Hebdige makes this point:

*It was through commodity choices that Mods marked themselves out as Mods, using goods as 'weapons of exclusion' to avoid contamination from other alien worlds of teenage taste that orbited around their own (the teds, beats and later, the rockers).*  
(Hebdige, 1988, p 110)

It was not until the 1960's that the street markets regained their vitality, mainly due to the 'hippie' movement of the time. To many these markets and their clothes only served as a bleak reminder of the Second World War, many clothes being from that time and carried with them images of disease. For the 'hippies' the wearing of such second-hand goods was not merely for their shock factor but was also a rejection of new man-made synthetic material, preferring instead natural fabrics. The 1960's became for the hippie subculture a time of experimentation and rebellion, where decline and was followed by a decade in which economic decline and depression were material wealth was rejected and second-hand clothes became an important part in their statement.

It was in 1955 that Mary Quant opened her boutique in London, named Bazaar. This was followed in 1963 with the opening of Biba where there was a trend for unisex garments and this helped break down dress codes based on gender. The clothes in such boutiques were cheap and stylish. In 1967 the optimism of the 1960's began to





Fig 8: Punk's striking image that influenced many British fashion designers.



all too common. By the mid-1970's there was a challenge to the peace-loving 'hippies': punk.

The voices of this alternative culture were heard through the media, arts and of course through punk's strong image. It was again a style that was conjured up by the individual through cheap clothes found in jumble sales, markets and second-hand shops. Many punks were art students or fashion students from the lower to middle classes who had no opportunity to find employment at the time and so after set up second-hand clothes stalls of their own selling repaired clothes while also displaying their own art work (McRobbie, 1994, p 146). Along with mohican hairstyles after coloured with acidic green or pink hairdye, punk deliberately adopted the anarchist colours of black and red. Punk's crude image consisted of black leather, ripped clothing, metal badges, studs, zips and anarchist symbols and slogans which contributed to make their appearance tougher than the hippie subculture (fig. 8).

1970's street style has often been given the credit for the revival of the British fashion industry. It was the striking and often shocking image of punk subculture that appeared on the catwalks through work from designers, such as Vivienne Westwood and Malcolm McLaren. British fashion has once again regained the international recognition that it had in the mid 1960's. Catherine McDermott in the book *Street Style* says of the impact subculture groups such as punk had on the British fashion industry:

*By the early 1980's talented young designers were attracting buyers from all over the world, drawn to the bright outrageous clothes whose street verve and audacity let in a breath of fresh air to the stuffy world of 70's couture.*  
(McDermott, 1987, p 25)





**Fig 9:** The influence of 1970's clothing to fashion designers is seen here with designs similar to above. Purple sweater beaded dress by Katherine Hamnett. Wool patterned skirt by Betty Jackson. Taken from *The Face* September 1997.



Much of the credit has to be given to the British art schools who *encouraged students to pursue their ideas to the limit*. Fashion designers such as Katherine Hamnett, John Richmond and Maria Correjo all have taken inspiration from street style and from second-hand shops and markets. In an issue of *The Face* magazine the influence of the 70's can be clearly seen from designers such as Katherine Hamnett and Betty Jackson. The look which is a 1990's version of the hippie style is comfortable, young and quite ethnic in origin (Fig 9).

In the book edited by Amy de la Haye, *The Cutting Edge*, (1996) accompanying the V & A exhibition of the same name, the history of British fashion is discussed. De la Haye talks of how the past is constantly reworked to make new garments. In many ways fashion can be seen as a recycling industry, many ideas developing from past styles. Over the last decade street style has had an enormous impact and inspiration to fashion designers, not only in Britain but world wide. De la Haye discusses how,

*Britain has effectively been in economic and imperial decline for the whole of the 20<sup>th</sup> century*

and of how this results in people looking back to the past when the present and future is uncertain,

*when the present is unstable, the past is the obvious refuge.*  
(De la Haye, 1996, p 20)

The 1980's saw a huge revival of 'retro' fashion. As there was vast unemployment at this time many saw this interest in second-hand goods as being nostalgic. McRobbie

talks of one such writer, Fredric Jameson, who held this view. To him this 'nostalgia' meant that,

*Loss of faith in the future has produced a culture which can only look backwards and re-examine key moments of its own recent history with a sentimental gloss and a soft focus lens.*  
(McRobbie, 1994, p 147)

It true to say that for some people clothes such as those from the 1960's and 1970's harbour a strange curiosity for the young who were not present during such eras but are surprisingly knowledgeable about subcultures during those periods.

For many however, these second-hand clothes are seen as an alternative to mainstream culture and the parent generation as well as being a more colourful and a better-made choice of garment. It is a means whereby unusual items can be bought cheaply and altered, combined with new or other second-hand garments which would not have been worn together to form a style which is both contemporary and expresses individual taste. McRobbie refers to second-hand style as being,

*Marked out rather by a knowingness, a wilful anarchy and an irrepressible optimism, as indicated by colour, exaggeration, humour and disavowal of the conventions of adult dress.*  
(McRobbie, 1994, p 148)

The influence also of bands and pop stars on modern style cannot be overlooked. Jarvis Cocker, lead singer of Pulp has long been wearing '70's clothing – since his days of being an art student in St Martin's College, London. Fashion designers however did not begin to imitate such garments until bands such as Pulp made

headlines and formed a new 'indie kid' culture which consisted of a modern assembly of 1970's style clothing.

Why is there such an interest in what many shop retailers prefer to call 'vintage clothing'? Many designers shop or browse through second-hand shops as the garments are often very well cut and designed using higher quality fabrics. An article in the *Observer Life* discusses the role of the second-hand market,

*For exuberant handiwork and spectacular fabrics nothing quite beats 'vintage'.  
(Observer Life, 19<sup>th</sup> January 1997)*

The same article mentions the recycling nature of the fashion industry and the 1990's is no exception,

*Fashion has always been a recycling craft but in the 1990's designers are ransacking ideals from every decade.*

Much of this mixing and matching of trends from past decades can be read as a result of designers looking more to street style and street style increasingly having a greater role in dictating fashion collections. In this way designers can be more sure of the success of such fashion collections. It has also to be mentioned that not only do second-hand shops obviously look to the street for ideas on what stock to display, but the more commercial second-hand shops and some charity shops such as Oxfam, look to fashion forecasts for styles and colours that will be in fashion. This further emphasises the blurred divisions and boundaries between fashion and street style. Christopher Breward, discussing the recycling nature of fashion, has pointed out that



Christian Lacroix looks back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for inspiration. In the 1988 edition of *Vogue* Lacroix is stated to have said,

*Every one of my dresses possesses a detail that can be connected with something historic, something from a past culture. We don't invent anything.*

(Breward, 1995, p 232)

If Ireland's history is more specifically dealt with it is found that there is limited information on street style in Irish fashion. It was in 1922 that Ireland gained independence from Britain and became the 'Irish Free State'. However, it was not until after the Second World War that the Irish people had a chance to rebuild their national identity resulting in an increased interest in Irish fashion, especially textiles. However, the 1950's saw the beginning of the demise of the textile industry. This was as a result of competition of new man-made fibres such as nylon and the pressure of cheaper imported fabrics.

Irish society, up until the 1950's was predominately rural but since then there has been a dramatic shift in population from rural to urban areas. Robert O'Byrne in an article in *The Irish Times* 'An Anti-Style of Our Own' discusses Irish style,

*However, with one third of the total population now living in the greater Dublin area, the Irish have become essentially an urban nation for whom the old forms of clothing would be inappropriate.*  
(*The Irish Times*, November 12<sup>th</sup> 1996)

This population shift I feel is a cause of cultural and economic change in Ireland.

Ireland is increasingly becoming more industrialised in line with mainland Europe.

Cheryl Herr in an article titled *Terrorist Chic* makes the point,

*Ireland is changing ever more quickly from traditional culture to a European society and toward a highly commodified self-image that attempts to meet the demands of the EC market economy.*

(Herr, 1994, p 236)

Herr talks of how,

*Both the disappointing legal status of women in the Republic and the crossfire situation that many in the north encounter resonate in the discourse about what people in Ireland wear and why they wear it.*

I would argue however that this is an oversimplification of why people wear what they do in Ireland. Herr being American is taking an outside view of Irish culture. She is fascinated with paramilitary dress and focuses on it without looking at the many other factors that influence the construction of Irish people's identity. It has to be said that it is indeed a complicated combination of factors such as Ireland's history under English rule and the struggle for an Irish identity, the social and economic conditions at any one time along with a dramatic shift in population and mass production have all contributed to the search for individual identities in Irish culture.

As regards street style in Dublin today it is an eclectic mix of various subculture dress codes which filtered through to Ireland from Britain. Punks, hippies, goths and rockers still form a part of present day youth culture but there are many new

subculture styles, often a crossover between earlier groups and musical tastes.

Cyberpunks, ravers and new agers are frequently seen on Dublin's streets whose style is often a combination of new labels and second-hand clothing. There are now many new age travellers who come from Britain to live in Ireland who are anti-materialist and outside the capitalist system. Military clothing such as combats are often worn by punks and new agers who are 'anti the system' in today's society and whose image expresses such beliefs.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Identity: The Expression of Individuality Through Clothing**

Identity, more specifically fashion as a means of identity, will be dealt with in this chapter. It is by no means unusual for presumptions to be made about a person based on the clothing he or she wears. The dress and appearance of another individual is usually what first catches attention and it is therefore interesting to discuss how identities can be communicated through dress codes. Malcolm Barnard in *Fashion as Communication* (1994) talks of fashion and clothing as a means of communication through class, gender, sexual and social identities. There are many factors in how our identities are constructed but I am interested in how fashion and clothing contribute. Barnard talks of how,

*Fashion and clothing, that is, may be the most significant ways in which social relations between people are constructed, experienced and understood.*  
(Barnard, 1994, p 7)

There are of course many theories as to how our identities are formed. Stuart Hall introduces some of these theories which have been contested but which have framed the ideas of late modernity of many social scientists and intellectuals. Hall takes up Freud's theory that,

*Our identities, our sexuality, and the structure of our desires are formed on the basis of the psychic and symbolic processes of the unconscious.*  
(Hall, 1996, p 120)

He talks of how psychoanalytic thinkers like Jacques Lacan, interpret Freud's theory as saying that an individual's identity does not develop naturally in an infant but that *it is formed in relation to others*. He comments on how the infant has,

*Complex unconscious psychic negotiations in early childhood between the child and the powerful fantasies which it has of its parental figures.*  
(Hall, 1996, p 120)

Hall then goes on to discuss Michael Foucault's theory on 'disciplinary power' from modern institutions such as hospitals, prisons and schools, and of how the surveillance and strict observation from such institutions have a large part to play in the formation of our identity. He talks of how,

*The more collective and organised is the nature of the institutions of late modernity, the greater the isolation, surveillance and the individualism of the individual subject.*  
(Hall, 1996 p 124)

It was in the 1950's after the Second World War and the Depression that the display of possessions became increasingly important in the home. It was the woman's role to domesticate the home and so the woman's taste and style was a means of feminine expression and thus their identity. Sparke talks of feminine taste,

*It was their choices of colours and patterns, perhaps, that the 1950's housewife had the greatest aesthetic responsibility and outlet for creativity and personal expression.*  
(Sparke, 1995, p 181)

After the war there was of course an increase in consumer goods and consumerism. The media and advertising became increasingly important, targeting women consumers who bought goods for both home and leisure purposes. Sparke discusses how the buying of commodities for the home,



*contributed to the construction of a personal identity for the housewife as part of the process of transforming public media messages into private meanings.*  
(Sparke, 1995, p 195)

Returning to Stuart Hall the results of the 'new social movements' from the 1960's cannot be ignored as an influence on the formation of identities in our society today. The feminist movement during the 1960's gave liberation to women as regards rights. Although still not on par with men, improvements have been brought into the workplace and have led the way for other social movements such as the gay and lesbian movements. This has led to a greater freedom of expression for individuals during the late 20<sup>th</sup> century,

*What began as a movement directed at challenging the social position of women expanded to include the formation of sexual and gender identities.*  
(Hall, 1996, p 125)

Tomlinson talks of how in the newly liberated 1960's, androgyny was the key sexuality,

*It began as fashion – signified by the growth of long hair for men and ended up as politics.*

David Bowie can be seen as the most famous and self-consciously androgynous pop star to emerge in the late 1960's.

Today in the 1990's women's magazines such as *Marie Claire* and *Cosmopolitan* welcomed the arrival of the 'New Man', who androgynous style was held to be attractive and seductive to women. Second-hand clothes shops were ideal outlets

where such styles could be easily attained by both men and women. Increasingly, it is also women's taste in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century which has a greater significance in changes to commercial organisations, dealing with display and marketing of goods. This can be seen when second-hand shops are examined that it is in the majority women who run such shops.

It has to be said that all the second-hand shops have their own identity. This is especially true in the more commercial shops as they target successfully the sector of the public that they identify with. Identity plays a major part where subcultural dress codes are concerned. People are influenced by the appearance of another's dress and as a result people more often than not want to project an image that fits into the social groups with which they can, or wish to identify with. Subcultures are mainly dominated by the young. The whole process of belonging to a subculture is a means of belonging to a certain group or tribe of individuals while at the same time separating oneself from the majority.

Because of the financial status of the majority of young people, such as students and the unemployed, second-hand shops are mostly interesting to the young as they offer individual and affordable clothing which expresses their personality and identity. It is a means where they can be innovative in creating their own style as few garments are identical. Second-hand style can be seen as a reaction against chain stores which stock numerous rails of similar garments and which in turn becomes monotonous to many young people who strive to be different from the mass public. McRobbie talks of such *entrepreneurial activities* in the late 1960's where the young, many being art students, used this mix and match style of their own in conjunction with their skill to

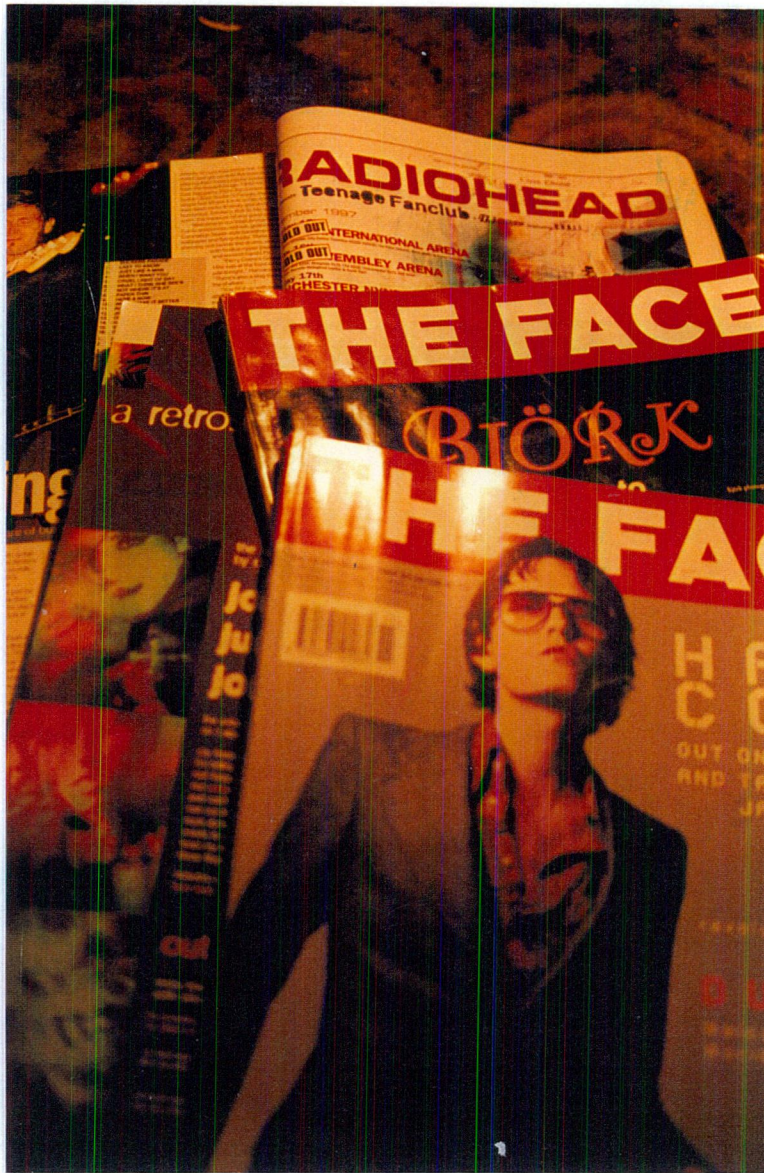
mend and restore items to set up small second-hand businesses. Such small scale 'entrepreneurial activities' catered for subcultural groups at the time and are similar to second-hand shops of today. As today, women had a major role to play in such businesses (McRobbie, 1994, p 144).

Fashion, particularly since the early 1980's has capitalised on the 'nostalgia boom' often remodelling clothes from markets, second-hand shops and street style. Ideas from past fashion styles re inspirational to fashion designers in producing innovative contemporary garments. As was discussed in the previous chapter, second-hand style had an important role to play in the rebuilding of the British fashion industry.

Designers such as Zandra Rhodes and Vivienne Westwood are well recognised for showing collections inspired by street style. In Ireland, the influence of street style is mainly confined to upcoming fashion students in art colleges.

Music has always had a strong part to play in influencing people's appearance and dress. *The Face* and *i-D* magazines which were both launched in 1980, put style, music and leisure activities all into one magazine. This trend has carried on into the 1990's with other magazines also catering for a specific young audience such as *Select*, and in Ireland, *D-Side*. Such magazines capture the atmosphere of contemporary youth culture as being exciting especially with dance culture, club culture and street style. The fashion pages of magazines such as *The Face* are an eclectic mix of designer labelled clothes and second-hand garments. In *Cultures of Consumption*, Frank Mort describes *The Face*:





**Fig 10:** *The Face* magazine which was launched in 1980. This cover shows Jarvis Cocker in typical 1970's cast-offs.

*There was the characteristic scrambling of haute couture design with street fashion. Belts in the ragamuffin spreads came from Japanese designer Issey Miyake, leather and fur caps from Hatrack in London's Portobello Road. But other items were picked up from chain store retailers or from second-hand market traders.*

(Mort, F. 1996, p 70)

The importance of graphic design to *The Face* as designed by Neville Brody has been vital to the magazines new and young image over the years. Pop stars such as Bjork, who frequently wears garments designed by Issey Miyake, to Jarvis Cocker adorned in '70's clothes pose for cover page photographs for *The Face* (fig 10).

Music has been an important means of identity to many subcultural groups, examples being The Beatles in the 1960's and punk groups such as The Sex Pistols and The Clash. Musical taste was often expressed through the style of a person's clothing and re-emphasised an individual's belonging to a certain group. In the 1990's people's identities appear to have blurred somewhat. A recent issue of *Select* magazine reports on its new image.

*In case anyone hadn't noticed, we live in exciting times. The fences that divided rock, dance, hip-hop and whatever else were pulled down three years ago.....music in the minds of its fans is closely bound up with TV and film and print and every other part of the cultural patchwork. Hence the new Select. A magazine that doesn't rope off any kind of music in its own enclosure.*

(editor, *Select*, December, 1997)

In many ways it is true to say that it is no longer individuals musical taste and lifestyle according to the clothes a person wears and it is also increasingly difficult to clarify differences between music such as trip-hop, house and garage for example with new mutations constantly appearing. Subcultural identities do still exist however, with the



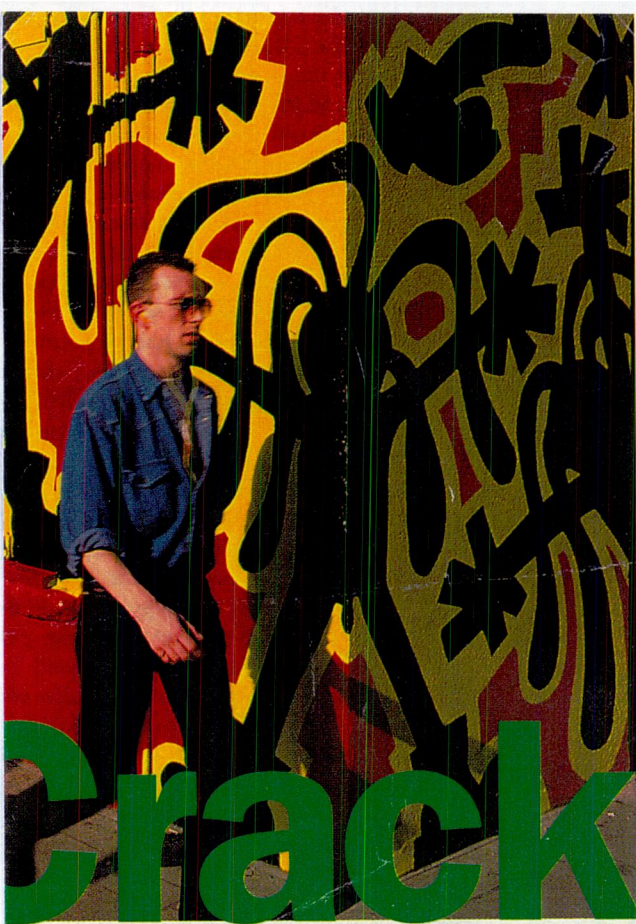
addition of many more subcultures such as cyberpunks, ravers and ragga. In the book, *Surfers, Soulies, Skinheads and Skaters*, subcultural style today is discussed,

*However distinctive subcultures do still exist, as the die-hard Teddy Boys, Skinheads, and Hippies and young revivalists seen on the streets today testify. There is also a host of new subcultures, such as New Age, Technos, Bhangra, Ragga and Junglists each with their own idea, ethnicity and style.*  
(De la Haye, Dingwall, 1996, p 5)

What has become apparent in the '90's is that there is a greater range of individual identities among younger generations. This cannot be attributed to any one factor but as an accumulation of many factors such as advances in technology which has brought global communication, through the Internet and has also continued to bring new and interesting kinds of music.

What can also be derived from second-hand shops when the shoppers are observed is that subcultural groups no longer tend to be confined to the working class. Many second-hand shops such as Sé Sí Progressive do stock relatively expensive items which many working class people cannot afford. The ravers and dance culture of today often attend expensive functions with live dj's and with the availability of drugs, money has become an all-important factor in how young people enjoy themselves and can express themselves. Dublin in more recent years has become recognised as a clubbing city attracting names such as The Chemical Brothers, Daft Punk and The Ministry of Sound to clubs and venues around the city. This has caused an influx of visitors, many British, who come to Dublin clubs at the weekends. An article in *Cosmopolitan* magazine by Joseph O'Connor comments,





# City

One hour in Dublin and you'll be high on the "crack" – its explosive mixture of energy and warmth, music and style. Not to mention a mind-blowing collection of 1,000 pubs. Welcome to the melting pot of European culture. ►  
**BY JOSEPH O'CONNOR.**



Fig 11: Dublin 'The Melting Pot of European Culture'



*Dublin is coming of age. It wants to share its vibrancy with the world. From the thud of bass in the clubs, to the lament of church bells on Sunday morning, something wonderful is happening on the banks of the Liffey.*  
(*Cosmopolitan*, August, 1995, p 114)  
(Fig 11)

Although it can be said that popular culture is no longer mainly working class it is still those who feel their voice is not being heard who fall into this category. Christopher Breward quotes Iain Chambers as saying,

*Contemporary popular culture may no longer be strictly 'working class' as the idealistic purists of political formalism would like, but it does emerge from subordinate cultures, from the inventive edges of the consensus, from the previously ignored and suppressed. It gestures through a widening democratisation of styles, sounds and images, to an important remaking to new projects.*  
(Breward, 1995, p 235)

From interviewing the various shop owners and from observation it is apparent that they cater for various different classes, genders and subcultural identities. The reasons for shopping may vary from one individual to the next, the most obvious being for necessity. For others these second-hand outlets attract consumers who shop for a more individual look as in subcultural groups or those who reject designer labels. Also as a result of fashion designers getting inspiration from second-hand shops and markets many consumers also shop for clothes that resemble up to date fashion collections which can be attained for a fraction of the cost.

It is clearly seen as a result of such information that the divisions are indeed blurred between classes. It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish a person's class

by appearance by dress alone but this is not to say that class divisions no longer exist, it is just becoming harder to identify. The designer labels that were prominently displayed during the 1980's are disappearing in the 1990's, the identity of the garment becoming more subtle, only identifiable to a minority. An example of this is Prada, whose labels are no longer on display and who are in fact eliminating labels altogether from their collections.

I would make the point that it is matters of taste and lifestyle that have become increasingly important in the 1990's. It is the subtle differences like these that are a means of recognising various identities. Identities such as class and gender do still exist however, but it has become harder to notice such differences. Examining the second-hand shops it becomes evident that the buyers of such second-hand goods have also become more choosy. When interviewed, managers and staff of second-hand goods have also become more choosy. When interviewed, managers and staff of second-hand outlets around Dublin agreed that shoppers had become more selective in what was bought and in turn, retailers need to be increasingly selective as to what is stocked.

McRobbie holds this view:

*Patterns of taste and discrimination shape the desires of second-hand shoppers as much as they do those who prefer the high street or the fashion showroom.*

(McRobbie, 1994, p 140)

She adds,



*Thus, although there seems to be an evasion of the mainstream, with it mass-produced goods and marked up prices, the 'subversive consumerism' of the rag market is in practice highly selective in what is offered and what in turn is purchased.*

(McRobbie, 1994, p 140)

Ted Polhemus, in *Style Surfing* (1996) emphasises the importance that lifestyle and taste play in the society of the 1990's. He talks of how 'identifiable labels' such as

*white, middle class, conservative and the respectable increasingly have little real meaning or value. People's identities are now identifiable only by extremely subtle differences of personal philosophy as expressed in lifestyle and taste.*

(Polhemus, 1996, p 11)

## CONCLUSION

By using British theoretical writing combined with primary research I have tried to construct a profile of second-hand shopping in Dublin. It was found that significant changes had taken place in most of Dublin's second-hand shops over the last decade. These changes occurred to a greater extent in the commercial second-hand shops and the larger charity organisations such as Oxfam. Many influences were evident from the high street in all shops, in terms of display and layout of stock, with many of the commercial shops adopting elaborate window displays and using flyers and magazines to advertise. So, advertising is no longer confined to the sale of new goods only. Recent developments such as, the launch of a marketing campaign by Oxfam raise the question of whether other second-hand shops will follow their example.

There has been a noticeable increase in 'niche' marketing with more shops becoming specialised and targeting specific lifestyles. This is true to both new and second-hand shops, the latter which also have their own individual shop identity and specific market. This has resulted in a greater diversity in the type of second-hand shops and garments available in Dublin.

The huge interest at present in the expression of an individual's identity through consumer purchases is one which I feel is set to continue. It is true that diversions in society, whether it be through class, gender or age have become blurred but this is not to say that individual identities no longer exist. Books such as *Subculture* (1979) by Dick Hebdige; *Street Style* (1994), *Style Surfing* (1996) by Ted Polhemus and *Surfers, Soulies, Skinheads and Skaters* (1996) by Amy de la Haye and Cathie Dingwall, which accompanies the exhibition of subcultural style at the Victoria and Albert



Museum, all outline and discuss various subcultures. It can be said at this stage that an updated version of Hebdige's book would be of interest to subcultural history.

It can also be stated that apart from theses done at art colleges, none of which I believe to be in published form, practically nothing has been written on Irish second-hand shops, street style or subcultures, all of which are vibrant topics of discussion in the 1990's. What has been written in newspapers and magazines is rarely based on proper primary research. What becomes apparent is that just as divisions in society appear blurred that simultaneously identities are being fragmented. This is seen in the host of new subcultures and numerous types of music that have appeared to date. It can be questioned as to whether identities will continue to fragment and music to diversify even further. What consequences will this fragmentation have on future society, and will second-hand shops have a role to play in such a society?

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11<sup>th</sup> August, 1997

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18<sup>th</sup> August 1997

#### Cerebral Palsy, Georges Street

Daly, Bridget, Manageress,  
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#### Damascus, Crown Alley, Temple Bar

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McDermott, Liz, Manageress  
21<sup>st</sup> November 1997

#### Eager Beaver, Crown Alley, Temple Bar

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#### Jenny Vanders, Georges Arcade

Hefferman, Georgina, Manageress  
21<sup>st</sup> November, 1997

Turner, Juliet, Assistant  
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