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National College Of Art & Design

Faculty Of Design

Fashion

**“From Subculture To Mainstream ‘Hobo’, A
Case History”**

by

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is exploring the shift in the interest of teenagers and youth culture from mainstream fashion and youth styles to a more subcultural look. I will be mapping this shift using the *Hobo* chain of clothes stores, which originally was a subcultural skateboard/Hip Hop type of shop. It is now selling it's own name brand to a completely different type of consumer. I have personally been involved and grown up in the skateboarding subculture in Dublin and my aim is to discover why that culture has become attractive and acceptable to the dominant mainstream culture.

There was not very much available in written form about this shift, probably because it is a very new change and is still happening. Most of the work I read was either academic discourses such as Dick Hebdidge, Caroline Evans and Ted Polhemus or journalistic prose like articles from *The Face* and *iD* magazines. The former were trying to pin a meaning onto "subculture" and the latter, while mapping subcultures well, were also threatening "to release their cultural knowledge to other groups" (Evans, 1997, P.175). I also interviewed John Fox (Appendix 1), who, along with Andy Sharkey, established *Hobo* in 1995. During my exploration of why *Hobo* has become fashionable and mainstream, I found it necessary to get some feedback from both the original *Hobo* customers and their new diverse customer base also. I did this through a questionnaire form (Appendix 2). All of this information will help me discuss why the original skater look (Fig. 1) has been taken on or "raped" as one of my old skater friends put it, by mainstream youth culture. Fig. 2 shows the *Hobo* look in essence, it is similar in silhouette to it's subcultural counterpart, but that is where the similarity ends.

Skater

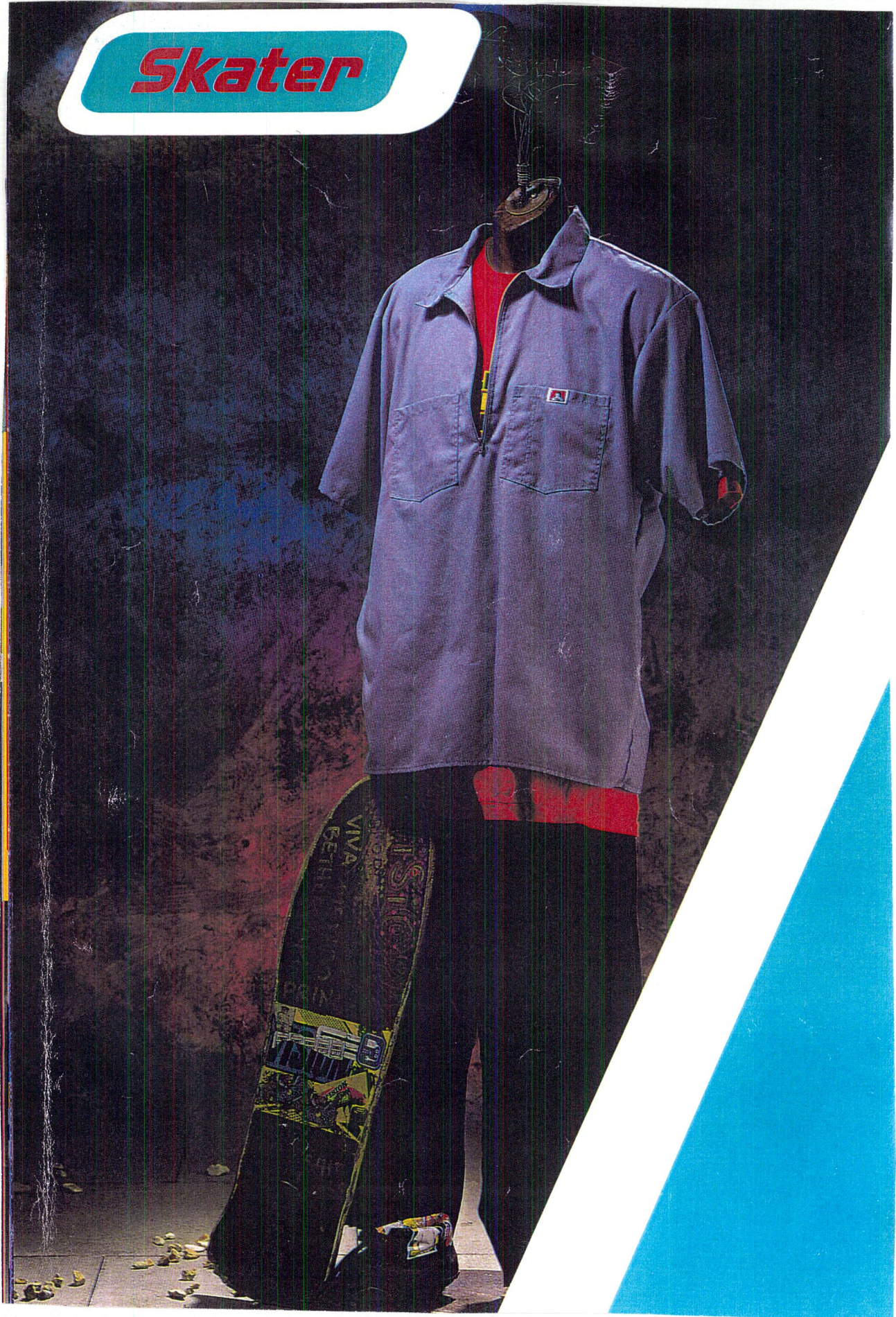


Fig. 1. The Skater Look.





Fig.2. The Hobo look.



It is said that the “transformation and rearrangement of meaning is what differentiates subculture from mere youth culture and consumption” (Evans, 1997, P.172). The *Hobo* look, 1998, does transform it’s consumer but it is not in the subcultural sense, rather a transformation to conform and fit in. This jump in *Hobo* from being a shop stocking credible “authentic” labelled garments selling to a subcultural customer to a chain of shops selling own label clothes to a young wide consumer base is the shift I hope to map and perhaps explain in this thesis.

CHAPTER 1: **Streetstyle:** *Skaters in Dublin circa early 1990's*

Streetstyle: *What's it all about?*

Streetstyle and subcultures are all about “tribes”, certainly according to T. Polhemus. Everyone wants to belong, but it is especially important at that age between adulthood and childhood, when we begin to form and cement our identities for ourselves and find our place in the large scheme of things. This is when youth streetstyle emerges.

The world has become a much smaller place, with the advancement of technology we have access to different cultures and countries that were once distant and inaccessible. Attitudes are changing and groupings such as class, religion, region and ethnic background have decreased in importance as we become more open-minded and cosmopolitan. The unity of the family is also disintegrating, divorce and separation are now an accepted part of daily life.

Society used not to be like this. Society and the group you were raised in was predestined for you by factors such as race, religion and class. However, following World War II the traditional groupings started to break down. People began recognising different groupings based on social and political allegiances rather than solely on background.

The period between childhood and adulthood was recognised as significant in the formation of the adult person. With this awareness the teenager emerged, personified by James Dean in the 1955 film "Rebel Without a Cause".

Mass production evolved in the wake of war-time mechanised production and because of this clothes became cheaper and fashions changed quicker and became accessible to very many more people. Teenagers began forming their own fashions and culture. It was and is within this context that subcultures are formed.

Ted Polhemus, a prolific writer on streetstyles and subcultures, believes that it is a fundamental and integral part of the human nature to want to form tribes, and that when a teenager is introduced into this "society-less" society they form gangs to fill this need and subcultures and "style-tribes" are born. I do agree that we all need to feel a sense of comradeship, understanding and, most importantly, belonging. However, sub-cultures are about more than filling this need to form gangs, every teenager is part of a gang but only a few are subcultural. Subcultures are about attitude and lifestyle, however self-made it is. They can only work within a mainstream culture because they rely on reacting against the natural order of things. Teenagers who become part of sub-cultural groups are generally determined to detach themselves from "normal" life and intentionally bring upon themselves disapproval and outsider status because they "explore the relations of consent and resistance to dominant cultures"(Brake, 1990, p.198)

All subcultures have an impregnable solidarity, which fills the need to belong, but they also have a general consciousness amongst members. This is generally something that openly questions the codes which the everyday social world is organised around, so it therefore provokes and disturbs. The subculture sets out to be reactionary. Core values of the everyday society, i.e. ambition, conformity etc. are replaced by their exact opposites; hedonism and a defiance of authority. All of these subterranean values help to promote a delinquency which is ultimately attractive and repellent to the "straight" teenagers.

There has to be an authenticity to streetstyle that most people crave for. Subcultures use a very distinctive style of dress and decoration to point to the differences between themselves and everyone else. They operate using the language of appearance which is a visual language. They draw attention to themselves by constructing a style made up of mundane garments and objects that have a double meaning. They "are brought into being, constructed and replayed through everyday actions, dress, adornment and other cultural practices" (Evans, 1997, p. 181).

This is a direct challenge to hegemony and a defiance of the mainstream. These mundane objects, for example the brothel creepers worn by the teds, take on symbolic dimensions and are indicators of an exile (self-imposed) of sorts. They show the normal world how different and knowing the tribe is. These objects are "signs of forbidden identity, sources of value" (Hebdige, 1979, p.3)

They are a very obvious yet complicated (so not everyone can understand them) way of identifying with your subculture and of showing your own identity within the mainstream society. There is also a more subtle use of objects and signs within the sub-culture which are more relevant to the tribe. These signs only are significant to the members and those "in the know". In the post 1980's world, these would include labels and logos, "these tribes are organised around catchwords, brand names and soundbites of consumer culture" (Evans, 1997, p. 172).

It is the understanding of this visual language that creates a sense of community and a "coolness" that most teenagers want to achieve. All those trainers that look exactly the same to most, in fact hold a lot of significance to some tribes. For instance, trainers only available in the United States are especially lusted after by certain European sub-cultures because of their uniqueness. Both Nike and Adidas have gone to the trouble of creating slick websites on the Internet, to keep you ahead of the pack. They include technical information and details of the nearest stockist, for dedicated hardcore trainer fans. However, with the Internet now so widely available to everyone you don't stay ahead of the pack for very long, it is only an illusion of "aheadness".

SKATEBOARDING: *A Dublin Streetstyle.*

The streetstyle that I have the most personal knowledge of, and involvement with, are the Dublin skateboarders. When I was about thirteen years old in 1991 I met and started to hang around with a group of "skaters". I had dabbled in Punk very briefly prior to this. When I met the skaters I felt I had really found my niche and they became my new family. They were the original subcultural gang of skaters in Dublin. Their ages ranged from 15 - 25 years (this subculture was new to Dublin since the early 1980's when the shop "Skate City" opened in Hill Street in 1980, and had an American authenticity to it that most of the subcultures around were lacking). I was into the look and style of the skaters but, what really attracted me, was the attitude.

Skateboarding was a huge international craze in the 1970's along with roller skating which was known as "bootskating". Skateboarding became a subculture because it was banned from most public places in the late 1970's. Therefore the dedicated were separated from the rest in their search for remote locations to indulge their obsession.

Skaters were hassled, moved on and even fined by the police which made them adopt an attitude of defiance that became a requisite to becoming a true skater. I can remember the grief we used to get, not only from the police, but everyday people. Skate-boarding was considered to be anti-social. Yet I can also recall the glee with which we related our stories of revolt and the respect these stories earned

us. We used to get drunk and stagger around, trying to be the most outrageous and live up to our reputations as true outsiders, but yet be a tribe of outsiders, which the status of being a skateboarder gave us. Skateboarding itself, however, was what brought and kept us together.

Ted Polhemus associated punk and skateboarders, writing that they had an ideological common ground; "the skaters already inhabited a world of concrete and were frequently at odds with the authorities - already possessed the making of punk-like alienation and rebellion". (Polhemus, 1994, P.87).

I think the two are quite different. Punk always seemed contrived and tried so hard to offend, however they were taking an ideologically anti-establishment stance. The skaters, while also offending people and being at odds with authority, were doing so in response to the public reaction they received and not because of an ideal they were upholding. The subculture originated from a sport and the sport and attitude went hand in hand. The skaters did not come together because of a shared ideal but because of a shared love for skateboarding.

The skaters came from different parts of Dublin and Europe, we were different classes and different races but this was irrelevant because the subculture revolved around an attitude, a lifestyle, a sport and, of course, a style of dress that we all had in common.

STYLISTIC ELEMENTS OF DUBLIN SKATEBOARDERS.

Skaters share, or originally shared, a lot of stylistic elements with surfers, perhaps this is because the two sports are very similar. Skateboarders were referred to in the Jan and Dean song as "sidewalk surfers" (Polhemus, 1994, P.86). Both groups wear baggy trousers or combats, big T-shirts with prominent logos, hooded sweatshirts (Fig 3) and a certain type of trainer, particularly *Vans* or *Airwalk* (Fig 4), both being American brands designed and marketed originally specifically for skateboarders.

Since I've been a skater or "skatebetty" I've seen Dublin skaters change their style slightly. The term "skatebetty" which referred to female skaters, is an old one and isn't in circulation anymore. It was used a lot about six years ago but has since disappeared. It originated on the west coast of America. The era of skaters I knew have now got older and this is the change I have noticed. As you get older, defining your "tribe" specifically visually through dress is not quite as important as it used to be. Style and clothes are a very necessary factor in defining yourself.

"Style is a way of stating who one is; politically, sexually, in terms of status and class. Style is a device of conformity; or of opposition." (Tomlinson, 1990, P.43).

But streetstyle is all about status and opposition. As you grow older the things that once were important to visually underline, like revolt, become less important, perhaps this is why some refer to streetstyle as youth-style. The change I saw was a movement from very baggy, ridiculously baggy, clothes to a more work-wear



Fig. 3. Skater look and style.

AIRWALK® ACTION SPORTS HEROES



For more information, go to www.airwalk.com or ask your nearest retailer.

Fig. 4. Advertisement for Airwalk.



inspired look. The colours were once brash and loud but are now much more muted.

It seems skaters in the last five years or so have become associated with the Hip Hop scene (Fig. 5), (perhaps more so in Dublin than in the U.S.) and while both styles of dress are very similar, the labels were originally different. However, many of the important Hip Hop labels (e.g. *Carhartt* and *Timberland*) have now crossed over into skatewear with the same status still attached. I think this is unique to Dublin because we have no real Hip Hop community like say New York for example, where skateboarders and people into Hip Hop are two totally different tribes. Hip Hop in New York is associated very much with young blacks from “the projects”, but it appeals to a different group of people over here. What Hip Hop and Rap are all about (which is revolt and anti establishment - Public Enemy’s “Fight the Power”) is very similar to what skaters are about and because there is no race or culture barriers to separate the two in Dublin they have become somewhat integrated and I think this is why the skaters styles have changed.

It has also become even more important to display your logos, which are prominently placed for this purpose. Skaters are now mixing old classic skate labels (such as *Fuct*, *Pervert*, *Bench* and *X-Girl*) with American designers like *Tommy Hilfiger*, *Ralph Lauren*, *Polo Sport* and of course *Nike*. These are mainstream designers who are worn in the Hip Hop community the USA. Workwear labels like *Carhartt* (denim) and *Timberland* (outdoorsy) are also important.. The baggy jeans have been replaced by baggy “painter” style jeans and boxy jacket shapes have replaced oversized garments. “A style is not just



Fig. 5.Hip hop style of dress.



constituted in what is worn but, rather, by the way in which commodities are organised to express 'being in the world' " (Evans, 1997, P. 172). It was always difficult to get the exact garment you wanted because of the lack of skatewear shops and we used to swap clothes a lot. It has become easy to get those skate labels now, however.

CHAPTER TWO: DUBLIN BEFORE HOBBO.

When *Hobbo* opened in 1995 all of Dublin's streetstyle shops had been around for a while and the scene was pretty stagnant. There was "*Skate City*" (Fig. 6) in Temple Bar, that opened four and a half years ago in 1993, which was a mecca for the "skaters" who hung out there. Previously it was situated in Hill Street on Dublin's north side and was originally established in 1980. It sells only skate labels, skate boards and all the paraphernalia associated with skating. This was really the original skateshop in Dublin because it was the only one selling a look that had nothing to do with lifestyles and attitudes. Primarily it was a specialised sportswear shop.

Raidar (Fig 7) is another important shop in Dublin which is also well established. It was originally situated in Temple Bar and called "*I.D.*" but relocated to the Saint Stephen's Green Centre in 1991 changing it's name to *Raidar*. It sold more clubwear and imported labels that were difficult to find in Dublin, let alone Ireland and therefore it was very pricey. It was the first to sell names such as *Chipie* (French) and *Gapstar* (U.S.A.). Only very dedicated fashion people shopped there. Then *Makullas*, (Fig 8) opened on Suffolk Street in 1993 and this seemed to signal a change in the shops that most 15 - 30 year olds in Dublin went to.

Makullas is a huge shop selling denim, footwear, womenswear and menswear along with accessories. All of these items have very cool and attractive labels on them. They saw a niche in the market and made these labels, with their air of



Fig. 6. Skate City in Temple Bar.

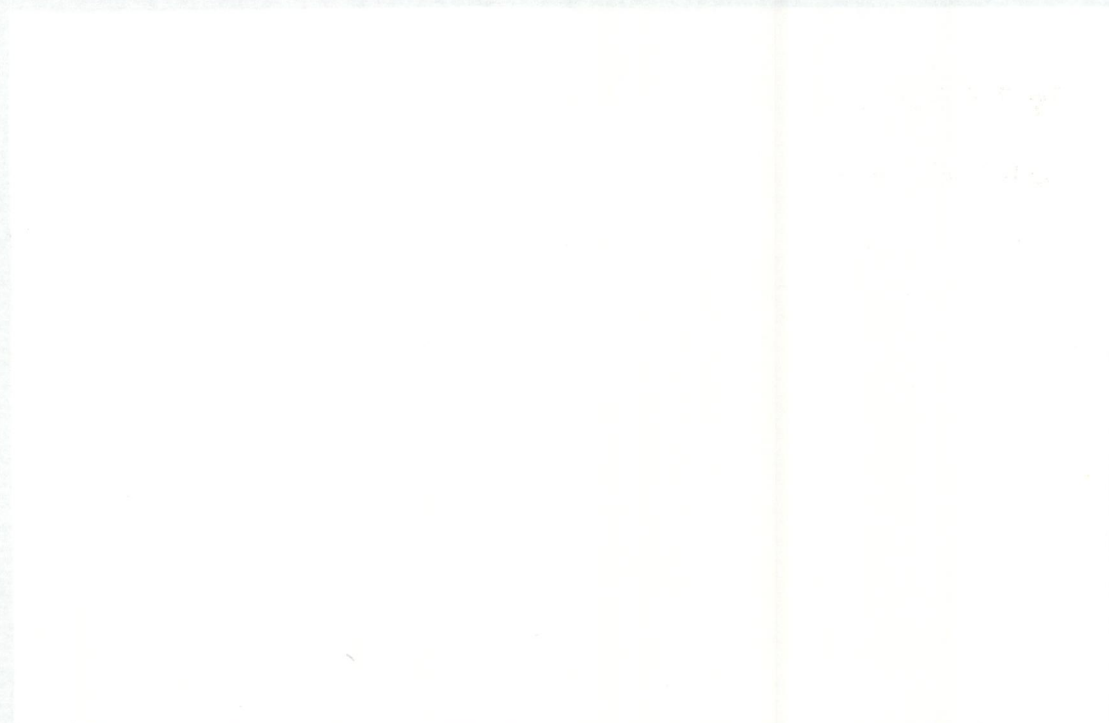
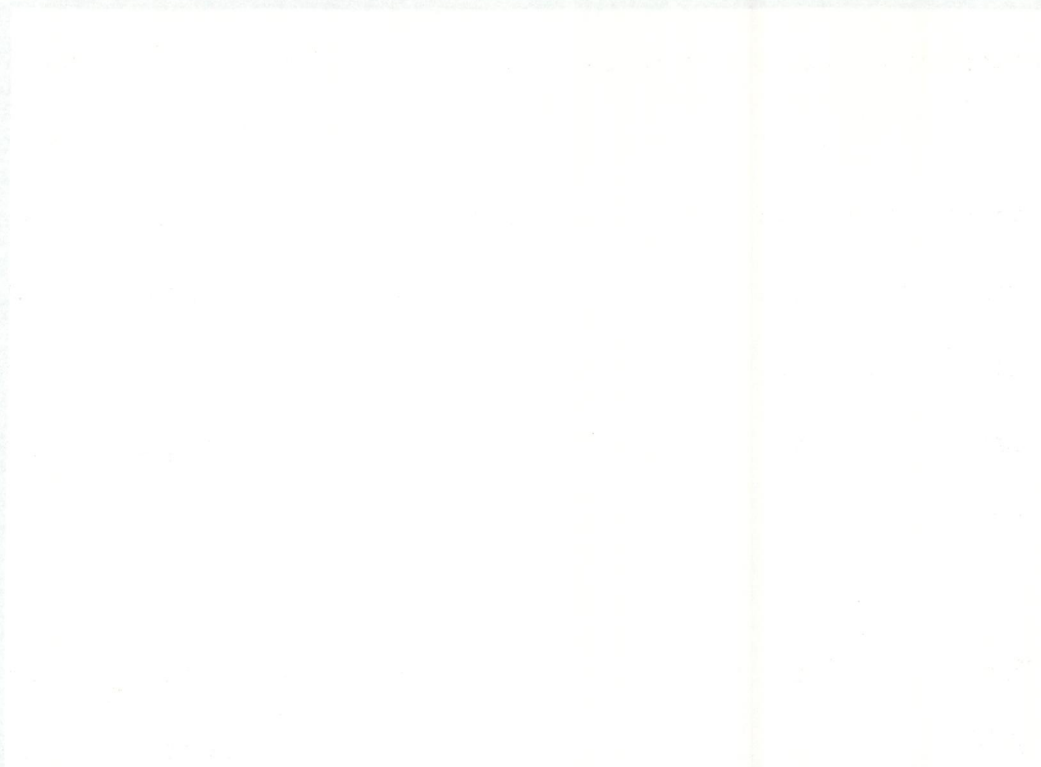




Fig. 7. Raidar in the St Stephen's Green shopping centre.

Fig.8. Makullas, Suffolk st.





inaccessibility, accessible to everyone. Traditionally they had been hard to find, very expensive and only worn by people in the know. Before this young people mostly wore high street fashion clothes from shops like *O'Connor's*, a jeans shop stocking labels like *Levis* and *Pepe* etc. Now *O'Connor's*, to compete, has had to start stocking some of these new labels e.g. *Diesel*. Another store, *A Wear*, has gone the other way and started promoting new young Irish designers like Marc O'Neill.

There has also been an onslaught of English high street stores arriving in Dublin which has made the market place more competitive and therefore more fashionable. As a result, I think Dubliners (especially in the 15 - 30 year bracket) have been forced, or given the opportunities to become more fashion conscious.

So it was into this exciting new wave of interest in all things fashionable that *Makullas* emerged and put the club/streetwear slant on things that Dublin had been lagging behind London in. Streetwear and 'styletribes' (T.Polhemus) have always been prominent and important in London. Fashion magazines such as *The Face* and *i.D* always promoted this and they are now sold widely in Ireland whereas less than ten years ago they were quite difficult to acquire with only *Easons* and certain other shops stocking them. Now almost every newsagent sells *The Face* or *i.D*. or at least will be aware of them.

In or around 1993 - 1994 a lot of new clubs in Dublin were opening, (e.g. *The POD*, *System* and *The Kitchen*) and Techno and Dance music was very popular. When ecstasy became available and was hailed as the new safe 'love drug',

1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It is essential for the business to have a clear and concise record of all income and expenses. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit.

2. The second part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all assets and liabilities. This will help in the preparation of the balance sheet and in the event of an audit.

3. The third part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all income and expenses. This will help in the preparation of the tax return and in the event of an audit.

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10. The tenth part of the paper discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all assets and liabilities. This will help in the preparation of the balance sheet and in the event of an audit.

clubbing boomed and became important to a whole new wider circle of people. Clubs became a place to socialise in just as much as pubs. So clubwear got a lot of attention and more people were buying it. Because of this interest in a more club culture type of look and subculture being discussed in magazines like *i.D.*, streetwear also became fashionable at about the same time. People became more aware of it and it was accepted as a fashion statement of equal importance to clubwear, or in fact, mainstream fashion. *Makullas* started to stock it at high prices. Then *Hobo* opened in 1995 and the reason John Fox who opened the Hobo shop gives for establishing the store is "I felt that the shops were quite predictable and I felt they were very over priced for what they were or else they were the other extreme and there wasn't anything in between" (Appendix I). The shops John was taking about here are of course *Makullas*, *Raidar* and shops at the opposite end of the market including the high street stores. I think he has really summed up the way Dublin was before *Hobo* was established.

CHAPTER THREE: HOBO, EXCHEQUER STREET.

The lease for *Hobo* on Exchequer Street was signed in June 1995 and the shop opened at the end of August 1995. John Fox and Andy Sharkey were friends who decided to become business partners and start a retail business. They decided that they would open a “streety-type” of shop. John says , “I wanted to do something that was an extension of what I wanted to buy and get if I was shopping” (Appendix 1). He found most things he wanted to buy were not available to him in Dublin and spotted not only a niche that wasn’t being filled but also noticed the interest gathering around that type of streetstyle and subculture.

LOCATION OF HOBBO

Hobo, on Exchequer Street (Fig. 9) is just off George’s Street and is opposite the Royal Hotel. When it opened in 1995 The Globe pub/café and Hogan’s pub both on George’s Street, close by, were established and thriving. They were extremely popular and trendy pubs in the Dublin scene. Marks Bros., a vegetarian bohemian type café was also a popular meeting place nearby. The George’s Street Arcade, which is a buzzing little market selling books, music, jewellery and funky vintage clothing, was just around the corner. George’s Street also has a few second hand clothes stores including *Oxfam* and *Cerebral Palsy* and it leads into Aungier Street and Camden Street and unto Rathmines so it is quite studenty and trendy.



Fig.9. Hobo, Exchequer st.



SMITH BROOM

This was a great location for a shop trying something new as it was an area and hang out very popular to a specific type of person, people who enjoy socialising and know what was going on in Dublin; the very type that would be interest in a small streetstyle subcultural type of shop like *Hobo*.

INTERIOR OF HOBO, EXCHEQUER STREET.

Hobo in Exchequer Street is a reasonably large shop for it's type. The modernity of the clothes is set-off by a quite minimal interior (Fig 10) made up of wooden floor boards, white walls and stark metal rails for the clothes. It had (but no longer has) a small row of three old cinema seats stuck to the wall as you came in that gave the shop a bit of a homey feel, as there was always someone lounging there, having a chat. Whether it was a customer or a shop assistant you would not know. The clothes are displayed around the walls of the shop and on a free standing rail in the centre of the shop (Fig.10). There are three changing rooms and one till (Fig. 11).

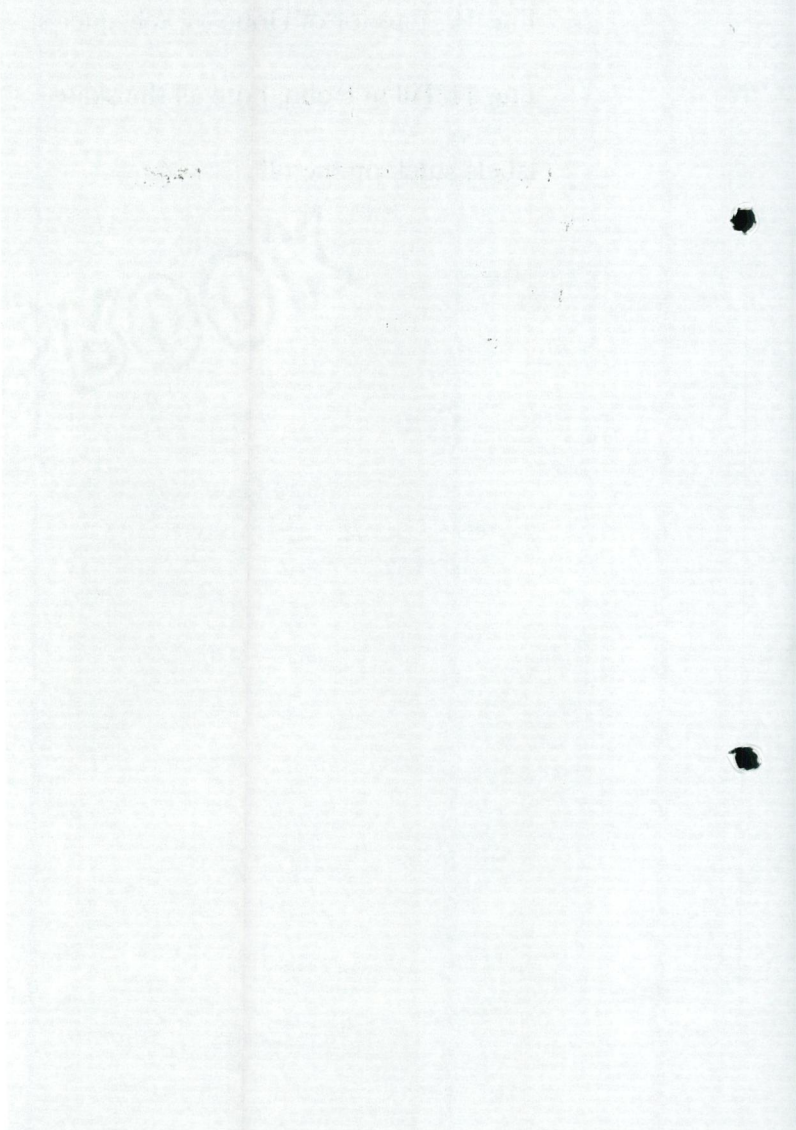
Hobo, Exchequer Street has no large sign, the main sign is quite unassuming (Fig 12), there is just a swing sign over the door (Fig. 13). It has three, maybe four, mannequins in the window (Fig. 14). You had to be in the know when *Hobo* first opened about where it was. It also had brown paper bags with handles and the original *Hobo* logo, which was the same as the sign, just roughly printed on the



Fig. 10. Interior of Hobo , Exchequer st.

Fig. 11. Till in Hobo, note all the skate labels stuck on the till.





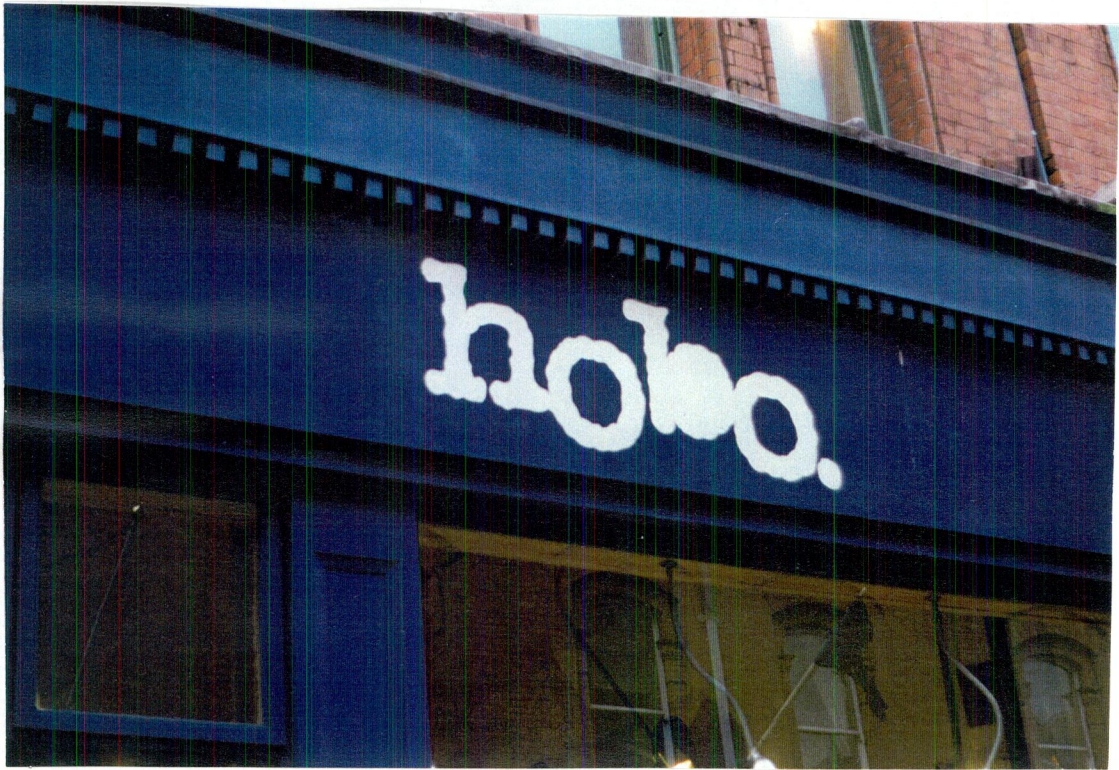


Fig. 12. The Hobo sign on Exchequer st.

Fig. 13. The swing sign.



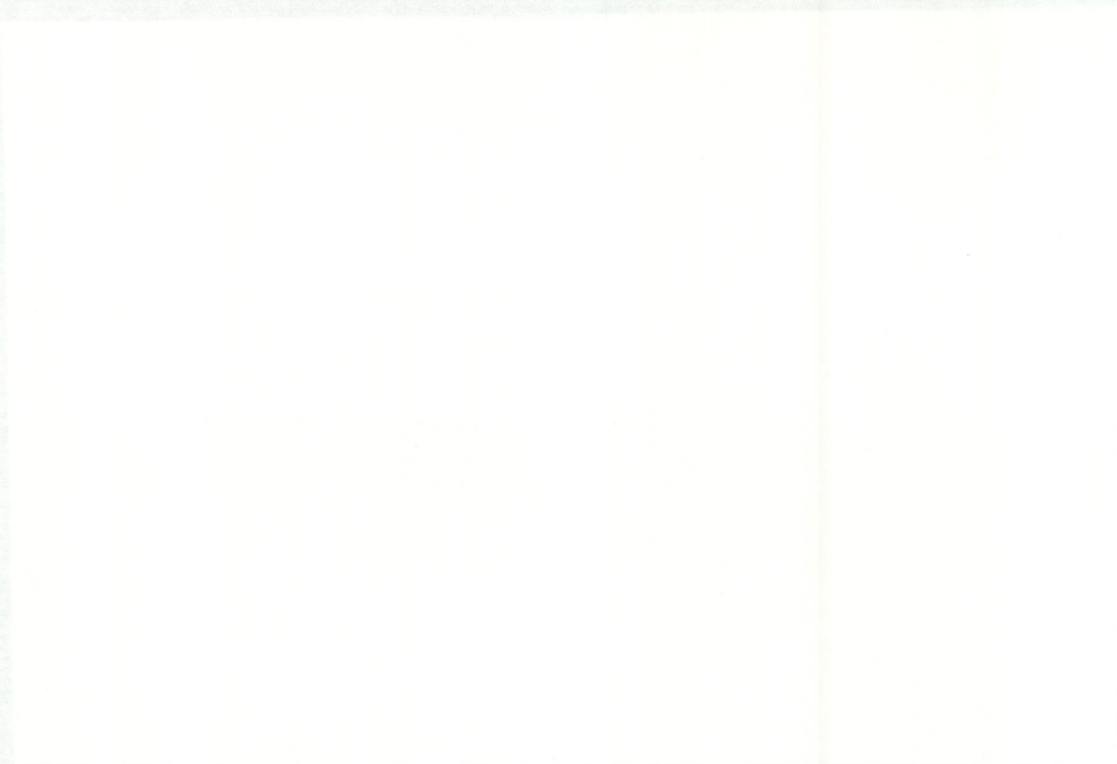




Fig .14. Mannequins in window.



The original sign, (Fig 12), was very distinctive, the typeset used was different to the slick print of other shop signs in 1995. The word *Hobo* itself conjures up ideas of a free spirit. It is an American word used to describe vagrants and the migratory unskilled workers at the turn of the century. More recently it was used to describe people like the Beat poets in the 40's who were writers and drifters. This typeset represents these images as it is rough around the edges and each letter is unaligned with the one next to it.

MUSIC AND STAFF IN THE SHOP

Music was very important in the shop, mostly Hip Hop was played. There was a stereo in one corner with tapes and tape boxes spilling onto the floor around it. The music was quite loud, certainly not just back-ground noise and was in keeping with the clothes *Hobo* was selling as John says "what we were doing was closely linked with music" (Appendix 1). All the staff played the music they enjoyed and knew and, of course, most of the customers that came would have known it too. John and Andy saw that most of the people who came into the shop knew the music and probably the staff quite well because "it was a lifestyle thing" (Appendix 1). John and Andy also had certain ideas about how to run a shop that were slightly different to normal employee/employer relationships. They give the staff quite a lot of responsibility in the running of the shop and the staff also have a share in the profits. "*Hobo* the co-operative" is how John put it. (Appendix 1).

Hobo doesn't employ just anybody to work in the shop and this is how it has always been. From the day it opened they tried to have people working for them

that looked more like shoppers than workers and were enthusiastic because they understood the clothes and were involved with the whole scene. A lot of the time the shop assistants were friends and were hanging out together. Because they like the clothes and wear them themselves it gave them an interest in seeing them bought and also, as the profits are shared, it's an added incentive. However, John and Andy do not advocate the "hard sell" approach to selling clothes; the whole atmosphere of the shop is rather laid back. It has a kind of friendly intimacy that most shops in Dublin were severely lacking.

WHAT HOBO SOLD: IMPORTS

When *Hobo* opened in 1995 they were entering uncharted territory. As has been seen, the market did not have a shop catering specifically for the skate/Hip Hop look that was becoming fashionable as it was still a subculture that had not yet totally been absorbed by the mainstream. When the shop first opened they stocked a good number of labels that had previously been very hard to come across if you were looking and were relatively unknown to the general masses. As John said "We got in these labels that people wanted but were never available, like the only thing you could get was *Stussy*, but then you paid for it through the nose" (Appendix 1).

Stussy (Fig. 15) is a well established skate label originally from New York. As you can see, the typeface used in most of their logos is like graffiti and this is because Sean Stussy, the man who set up the company, was a graffiti artist and that was his

original 'tag'. A tag is your graffiti signature that you leave where ever you can, hopefully getting your name as recognised as possible. Graffiti was huge in the early 1980's and is closely related to both Hip Hop and skateboarding. People involved in graffiti are generally part of the Hip Hop streetstyle as their origins are closely linked. *Stussy's* clothes are baggy. They also helped created the very colourful early 1990's skate look when their Hawaiian shirts were sought after. *Stussy* has now passed into another quite young subculture , Drum and Bass, otherwise known as "jungle" (whose roots lie in Hip Hop). Goldie, the jungle "superstar" and an original graffiti artist also, says *Stussy* is his favourite label. *Stussy* is a classic streetstyle label. However, it is not a real Hip Hop label.

The labels *Hobo* started importing and stocking included *Grant Royal*, *X-Large*, *Fuct*, *Porn Star*, *3rd Rail* and *Gypsies and Thieves*. *X Large* is a company set up by AD Rock from the Beastie Boys. The Beastie Boys are a white Hip Hop band. They are interesting because although they are Hip Hop they are also involved in skateboarding. When they originally started they were shunned by the U.S. Hip Hop world because they were white and Hip Hop culture was predominantly black. They also had previously been involved in a kind of thrashy punk music. With the release of "License to Ill" in 1987 which was "the fastest selling debut album in the history of Columbia records" (Toop, 1986, P.16). They became internationally renowned and finally gained a deserved status in the Hip Hop scene after "Pauls



STUSSY

Fig. 15. Stussy advertisement.

Boutique”(1990) and “Ill Communication” (1993). In many of their videos skateboarding is prominent.

X-Large teamed up with Kim Gordon of Sonic Youth, who had a large skater following, to make *X-Girl* clothing which was a girl skate label. It sold the iconic *X-Girl* T-shirt with the logo, skirts, baggy hipsters and tight hoodies. *X-Girl* was a leading label and very important in consolidating the female skater look. *Hobo* had several different *X-Girl* T-shirts when it opened. Unfortunately *X-Girl* have been liquidated this year.

Porn Star’s girls ’clothing is not unlike *X-Girl* but they also do men’s clothing including a wide range of T-shirts. At the moment *Porn Star* are printing a lot of old 1970’s type images of women (that is a clinched sex kitten look) on their T-shirts and also using a 70’s typeface in some of their logos.

Fuct (Fig. 16) is a skate label whose use of logo is important. They started the craze for using other peoples typefaces and colour schemes in their own logo. The most recognisable and unforgettable one is their use of the Ford logo with *Fuct* put in instead.

In terms of jeans, *Hobo* stocked *Smiths* which are an American workwear label that do “painter” style jeans and dungarees in their range. They are widely available in the U.S.A. but were practically unheard of over here. This “painter” style was and still is very important in the *Hobo* look as well as combats. The combats were good quality U.S. Army or *Smiths*.



Fig. 16. A typically ironic Fuct T-shirt.



All these labels were impossible to acquire in Dublin at that time but *Hobo* made them accessible and not only for a specific market as *Hobo* was a clothes shop primarily and not a “skate” only shop like “*Skate City*”. As John says they “tried to get in stuff that was special, but not a huge amount of it” (Appendix 1).

As the skateboarder/surf/snow boarding look was gaining a reputation as being a cool streetstyle to wear people started looking for skate labels even though they never had and probably never would be skateboarders. *Hobo* was not a skate shop, however “We’ve never really ran a skater thing because I would never pretend to be something other than what I am. A lot of skate companies are run by people that skate. Our stuff is coming more from the music” (Appendix 1). The music John is talking about is Hip Hop whose look is not too dissimilar to skateboarders.

Hobo only had one or two garments of their own style and design using the *Hobo* logo (Fig. 17). The *Hobo* label was set up because John and Andy wanted a look they were finding it hard to get. John says “I couldn’t get what I wanted and I always intended to make our own stuff” (Appendix 1). Most of the styles John could not get he eventually started to manufacture himself. It also meant they had control over colours and fabrics and they had the exact stock they wanted on their rails. Of course they wanted a label as well that would be recognisable as their own, “part of the reason we manufactured was we wanted to establish the label as well as just being a retail thing” (Appendix 1).

As we know labels and silhouette go hand in hand when it comes to subculture and *Hobo* had a very definite look and silhouette with a label to pull it all together effectively. The original *Hobo* logo was very simple and straight forward and they just used the name "*Hobo*". Then they started using a little doggy logo (late in 1995) on their painter jeans (Fig. 18). This was quite unassuming. It was small, about 2 cm and positioned on the right hand side back pocket.



Fig. 17. Hobo logo.



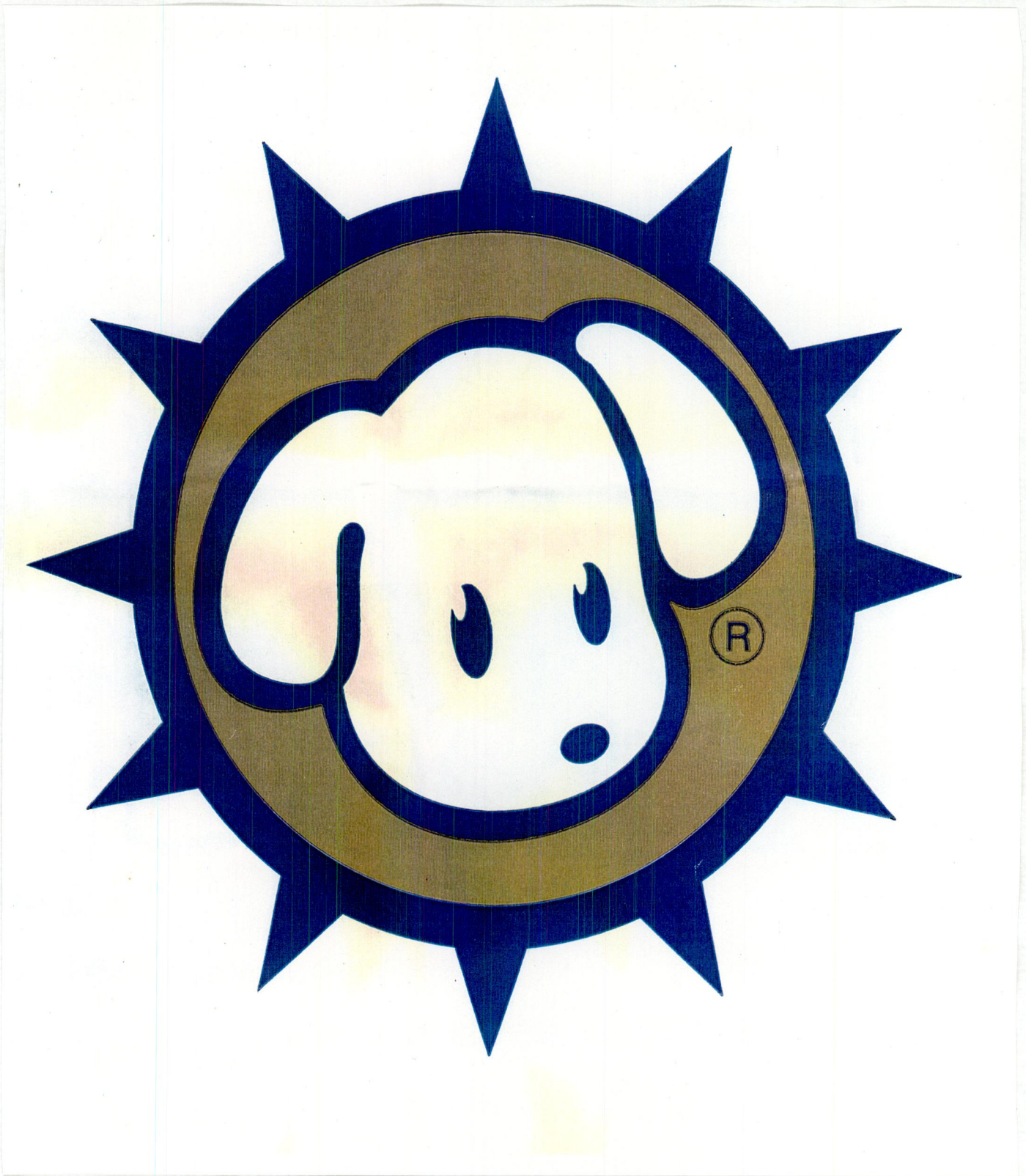


Fig. 18. Doggy logo.

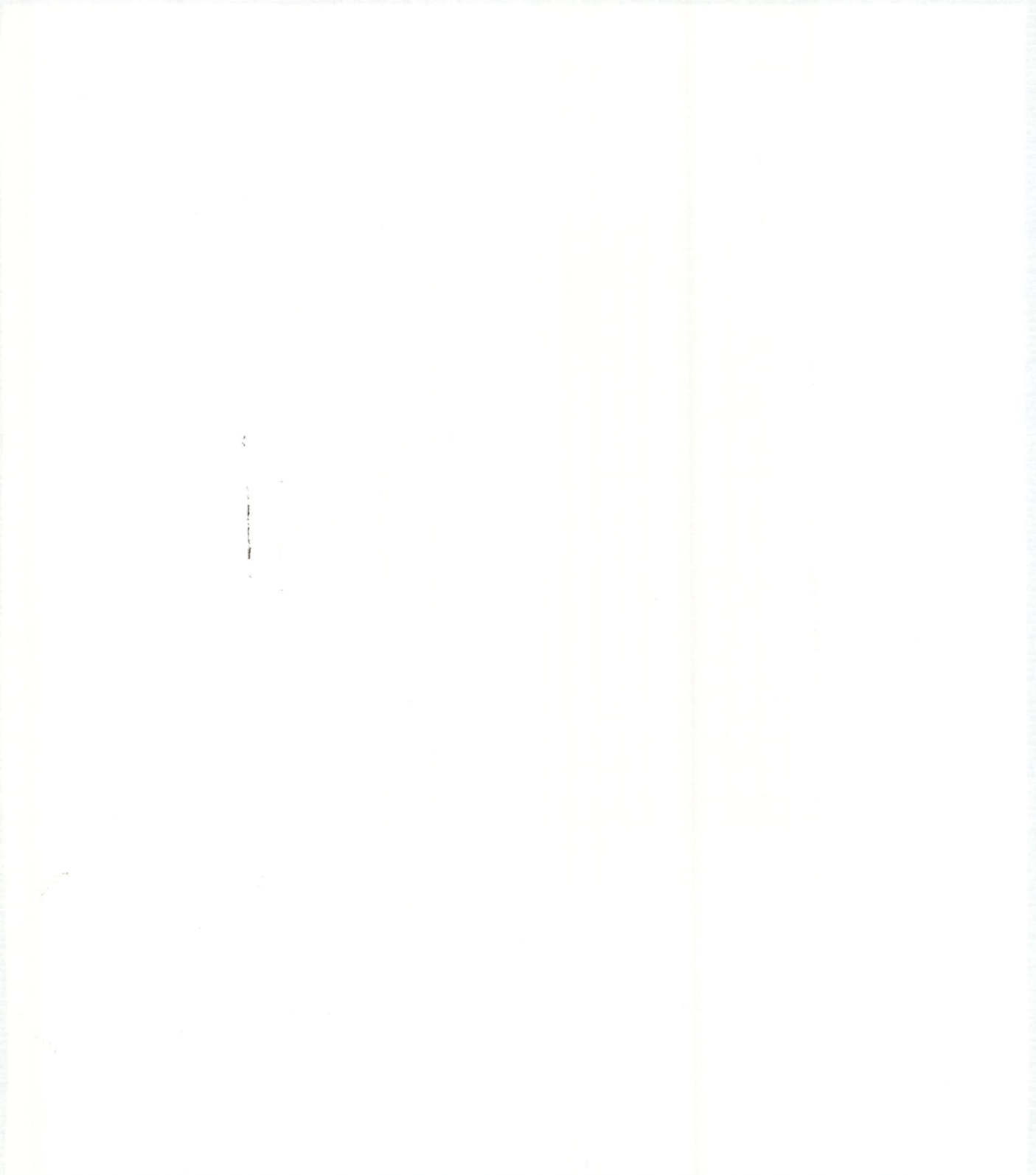
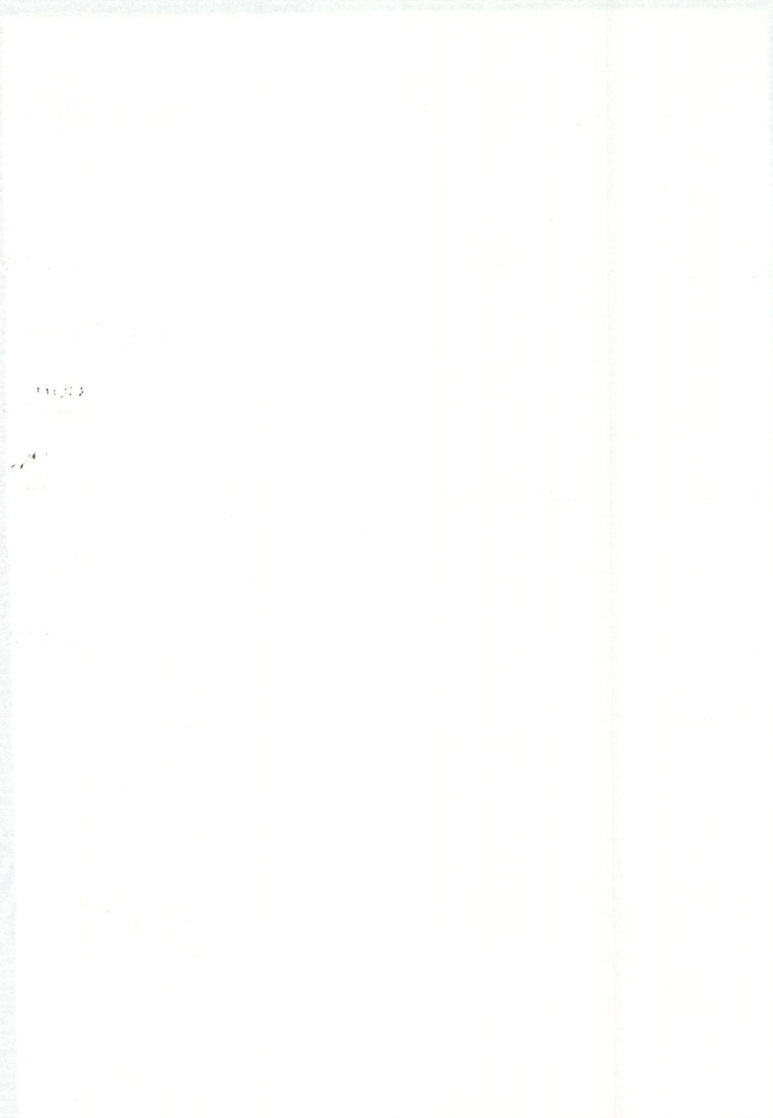




Fig.18. Doggy logo, this is a more recent (1997) take on the doggy logo, with the Hobo own name logo on a pair of painter jeans.



CONSUMER PROFILE.

Most of the people who came into the shop were between the ages of 15 and 30 years. A lot of them came to try and get something, i.e. a label, that they could not get anywhere else and knew they could get it there, probably because they were friendly with Andy or John, or someone else that worked in the shop. John says that the customers were "People who had travelled or who hadn't travelled but were aware, through magazines or T.V. and the music scene, etc. what labels represented what and we got those labels" (Appendix 1). Most of the original customers were involved with the subculture in Dublin revolving around Hip Hop and skateboarding.

CHAPTER FOUR: EXPANSION OF HOBO.

In 1997 Andy and John opened three more *Hobo* shops in Ireland. They now have one in Limerick and one in Kilkenny which opened in August at around the same time.

LOCATION OF HOBO, TRINITY STREET.

In October another *Hobo* branch opened in Dublin. It is situated on Trinity Street, which is just off Dame Street. It is also just around the corner from *Makullas* on Suffolk Street. Trinity Street is a small street, but it is right in the centre of Dublin. Beside the shop is a pen shop and a barber's shop. The pub "O'Neill's" is on the corner of Trinity Street and Suffolk Street and it is mostly a studenty pub. Trinity is of course at the bottom of Dame Street 200 metres from the shop and it is from here that a lot of O'Neill's customers come. Thingmote is also a big Trinity hangout and this is beside *Makullas* on Suffolk Street.

Grafton Street, the main fashionable south side shopping street in Dublin with shops such as *Brown Thomas*, *Marks and Spencers*, *Warehouse* and the Stephen's Green Shopping Centre (which houses numerous small retail outlets) is a short distance away. There are also a lot of well established restaurants and pubs in the vicinity like *Tosca's*, the Old Stand, etc. and these attract an older respectable clientele. Importantly, Trinity Street is used by most as a short cut from Temple Bar and Crown Alley to Grafton Street and the surrounding area.

Most of the people who shop and socialise in this area are reasonably well off middle class people with money to spend on clothes. It is quite an affluent area and is renowned for being expensive. This location on Trinity Street is very different to Exchequer Street, so the shop is more accessible and easy to find to a whole range of people and it has a lot of people pass by it every day.

Hobo on Trinity Street (Fig 19) is much larger and brasher looking than it's mother store on Exchequer Street. It has three large windows and they have three to four mannequins wearing *Hobo* clothes in each of them. The interior of the shop can clearly be seen from the street and it has an open and bright appearance.

INTERIOR

Inside the shop the ceilings are quite low but because it is so large it does not feel to claustrophobic. There is a large podium type box at the entrance to the shop behind which the staff stand and use the cash register. There are three dressing rooms beside this. The clothes are hung on rails around the walls of the shop and hung and folded on specially designed units standing in the shop, (Fig 20). Once again., like Exchequer Street, the walls are painted white, the floorboards are polished and the rails are made of metal with no finish. The piping on the ceilings is also exposed and small spot lights hang here (Fig 21). Loud Hip Hop music is played.

The atmosphere in this shop is much more business like than Exchequer Street. There seems to be a lot of staff milling around. They are all kited out in *Hobo* clothes and are very eager to make a sale. There is nowhere to relax in the shop. From my questionnaire (Appendix 2) I discovered that a lot of people prefer the Exchequer Street store. Most of the reasons why seem to stem from the layout. Most preferred the "smaller friendlier" atmosphere of Exchequer Street and did not like the new "open plan" layout in Trinity Street.



Fig. 19. Hobo, Trinity St.



Fig. 20. Interior of Hobo , Trinity st.





Fig. 21. Detail of interior.



THE CLOTHES: HOBO & BEATNIK.

Most of the clothes sold in the new *Hobo* are the same as those in Exchequer Street. However, there are a lot fewer imported brands. They are sidelined by *Hobo's* own label clothes and *Beatnik* clothes. *Beatnik* is another label established by *Hobo*. It is a collaboration between *Hobo* and a friend of John and Andy's called Pete. John refers to Pete as the "Creative Director" of *Beatnik* clothing. He is not directly involved in designing the clothes "His role is the creative direction we're going in, the feel of everything from the music to the staff and the windows" (Appendix 1).

Beatnik clothing is very similar to *Hobo* clothing, in fact, the only thing that separates them are the logos. Pete also designs all of *Hobo's* logo and *Beatnik's* logos also. *Beatnik* clothing is a "work in progress". (Appendix 1) and was an experiment that worked and is still selling today.

They still sell some *Fuct* and *X-Large* items in *Hobo* on Trinity Street, although these seem quite unimportant; the labels *Hobo* and *Beatnik* dominate. All the *Hobo* and *Beatnik* clothes have very simple shapes. There is a basic look, as we've seen made up of key items that all carry *Hobo* or *Beatnik* logos. These basis items would be hoodies, painter jeans/cords, coats, T-shirts, long sleeves and combats (Fig. 22).



Fig. 22. The Hobo “look”.



All of these shapes originate in skate or Hip Hop Streetstyle. Most of them are very familiar and are recognisably similar to original streetwear labels (Fig. 23) John himself designs them and draws them up. He has a knowledge of how patterns work and if he is unsure of anything he gets in touch with his pattern cutter and she tells him how things work technically. He says "I'll do the drawing and now the pattern cutter has a library of patterns...I've found that we keep adapting the patterns and we've found some of our blocks work well" (Appendix 1). *Hobo's* pattern cutter is a woman in England but John is hoping to get someone who is set up in Dublin soon.

Hobo's clothes are made out of a lot of different fabrics, but they all basically have the same qualities. They use cord, denim and cotton for the painter style jeans. Nylons and canvas are used for the coats. The hoodies and sweatshirts are made up using sweatshirt fabric and fleeces. Recently with the opening of the new shop some combat styles have been made up in more "fashion forward" fabrics like shiny nylons and satin-looking fabrics.

The fabrics are sourced at fabric shows, like Premier Vision and John asks the manufacturers to be on the look-out for similar types of fabric to what they use as *Hobo* has some consistency in the weights and quality of fabrics they use all the time. They also are consistent in the colour range in the clothes. *Hobo's* colour story rarely ventures from neutrals. All of the clothes are in very muted tones of blues, brown, greens.



Fig.23. This is a Hobo shirt with the little doggy logo on the left hand side pocket.

If you look at Fig. 1. in chapter 1 (shown again on page over) you will see how similar it is to the Ben Davis shirt shown.

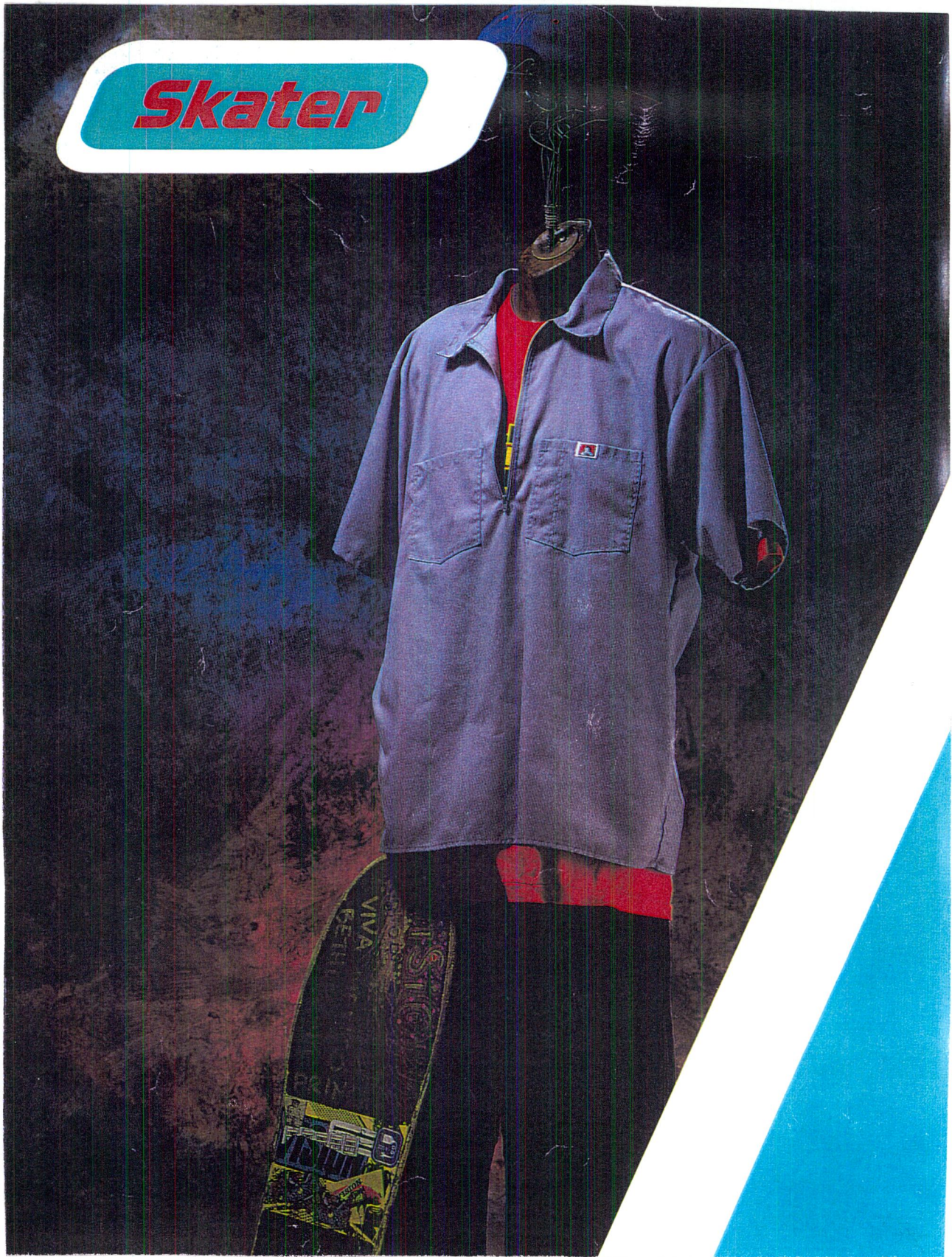


Fig. 23. The skater look, made up of Ben Davis shirt, Fuct trousers, and Vans trainers.



This is a recognisable trademark of *Hobo's* and it is another thing that was reoccurring in the answers to my questionnaire. The question was "How are *Hobo* clothes recognizable?" Esther O'Donoghue answered "they are all pale blue or beige" and Stephen Heaney wrote "the clothes are simple, usually neutral colours (like khaki) etc." (Appendix 2).

Hobo has about eight or nine different suppliers who manufacture the clothes. None of these are based in Ireland and John was quite vague on where they are but once again he is hoping to run with someone in Ireland soon. After a design has been decided upon by Andy and John a sample is made up by the pattern cutter in England. If they like the garment and think the design is working then they will get between 200 - 400 items made up and these are distributed to the four *Hobo* shops in Ireland. John reckons that this is about the right number to be able to tell if the consumer likes the product. If they do then it is only changed very slightly the next time it goes into production. This is so people can get items similar to what they might have previously bought. John feels that his customers want to keep their style unchanging for a while "if you buy something you really like you're pissed when you can't get another, maybe with a twist or whatever" (Appendix 1).

Because *Hobo's* clothes don't change very radically at all it also make them very recognisable.

The quality of the garments bearing the *Hobo* or *Beatnik* logo does not seem to be very high. Seams are uneven, topstitching is really shoddy. The overlocking is visible on most of the hoodies just inside the neckline. Small details that should be very precise and finish a garment off perfectly are missing. For instance, things like

velcro fastening on pocket flaps are haphazardly sewn on with no attention to detail. I would doubt that the garments would be long lasting. However, according to John, the quality of the garments is rising and he does realise this issue must be addressed. Most of *Hobo's* customers do not seem to mind this questionable quality and it does not stop people buying the garments.

One of the reasons why the quality of the clothes needs to be better is because *Hobo* clothes are being sold in other countries under the label *Hobo* or *Beatnik*. *Hobo* showed their wares at a trade show in England called "The 40 Degrees Show" and found that a lot of people were interested in buying *Hobo* label clothes and selling them in their shops. *Hobo* was selling all over Europe in countries such as England, Italy, France, Belgium and Germany. However, because things had progressed so quickly *Hobo* found it difficult to keep things going at such a pace. They have cut down on the amount of exporting they were doing because of *Hobo's* "own inexperience and partly through their lack of professionalism" (Appendix 1). John is talking about the shops they were selling to, their unprofessionalism. However, he did not elaborate anymore.

Hobo is still selling a lot in England because of the interest at the trade show. The types of shops that *Hobo* and *Beatnik* are selling in are similar to *Hobo* in Ireland. They also sell a kind of street/skateboard wear that is not club wear and would have customers very similar to *Hobos* in the 15 - 30 age group.

CUSTOMER PROFILE.

The *Hobo* customer is different now to the original type of customer who shopped in the old Exchequer Street *Hobo* circa 1996. The age group still ranges from about 15 - 30 but the core group of *Hobo*'s customers are the 15 - 20 year olds. These are generally fashion conscious school kids who are attracted to the *Hobo* look. They would have quite a few *Hobo* items in their wardrobes and wear these clothes as a fashion item and not in a subcultural context. There is another group who shops in *Hobo* and these are much more diverse. Their ages range from 20 - 30 years and they would not be buying into the "*Hobo*" look but buying basic key items that they like and could mix and match with their other clothes. A lot of these people would be buying the clothes because they like them not because of their obvious illusion to a subcultural style.

CHAPTER FIVE: DUBLIN SINCE HOBO.

Since *Hobo* first opened in 1995 other shops similar in style and content have sprung up around Dublin. These include *Urban*, *Tribe* and *Sabotage*. All of these opened within a year of *Hobo*'s opening and pretty much service the same customer type.

Sabotage (Fig. 24) is only a few doors down from *Hobo* on Exchequer Street. *Sabotage* is the name of a Beastie Boys' song that is on the "Ill Communication" album. The typography that the sign is written in and the colour fade from yellow to red is identical to the introduction for the video "Sabotage", which was in a mock Kung Fu movie style.

So with this sign the shop is making references to Beastie Boys, skateboarding and Hip Hop culture and Kung Fu movies which is a subculture in itself. The Wu Tang clan (a famous New York Hip Hop Band) used extracts from various dubbed Kung Fu films on their albums. Their name is taken from the "Wu Tang Style" of fighting in such films as "Shaolin and Wu Tang. So with the sign alone you should know what kind of clothes to find in the shop.

The shop was slightly more clubwear orientated when it first opened. Now, however, they sell mostly street influenced clothes such as combats, T-shirts and hoodies. They stock labels like the Irish *Diesel*, which is an Irish company that registered the name *Diesel* before it's Italian counterpart did and as a result has jumped on *Diesel* (Italy's) wave of popularity. *Sabotage* do not make their own



Fig. 24. Sabotage , Exchequer St.



clothes, the style they are selling is slightly more club influenced than *Hobo* and their customers would be marginally older also. The shop is quite small and cosy. There are a lot of clothes in a small area but the atmosphere is good and probably helps sell garments that are slightly more adventurous than *Hobo*'s.

Urban which is on Drury Street (adjoining Exchequer Street) is a totally street style orientated shop. It caters for the Hip Hop/skater type person and stocks some good labels like *Stussy*, *Pervert*, *D.C.*, *Fuct* and *Droors* (a skate label) amongst others. I think that this is still a quite subcultural shop. *Urban* sponsors a Hip Hop show on an underground pirate radio station (Jazz FM) and they've been involved in some Hip Hop gigs in Dublin night clubs.

It is a very expensive shop in comparison to *Sabotage* or *Hobo*. It's prices are closer to *Tribes*. Obviously, this is because both stock hard to find imported labels. For instance, a plain "*Stussy*" knit jumper would cost approximately £75.00. A *Hobo* jumper on the other hand retails at about £35.00. Even though the difference in quality and materials might not be that much it is ultimately the reputation of the label you are paying for and, of course, everything you're saying with it.

Urban has a lot of credibility as a streetstyle shop. It caters for both sub-cultural types and mainstream fashion people. But the staff tell me the mainstream shoppers tend to know their labels and have a lot of money to spend on whole outfits. They are a little bit more selective than their *Hobo* shopping counterparts. They are doing the same thing, however. They are buying into an identity, a

subcultural look which isn't their true lifestyle but a fashion statement, that no doubt they will soon grow bored with and move on to the next big thing.

Tribe (Fig. 25) is situated on the top floor of the Stephen's Green Shopping Centre. All of the clothes in *Tribe* are street and sport labels so I think it's slightly different to *Hobo*, *Sabotage* and *Urban*. I would not have put them in the same category but through my questionnaire most people grouped them all together (Appendix 2). *Tribe* sell mostly imported labels such as *Oakley*, *Quicksilver* (Fig. 26), *Carhartt*, *Airwalk*, *Fuct* and *Diesel*; these labels range from being skate/surf/snowboarding labels to *Diesel*, and (originally) difficult to get label with street status.

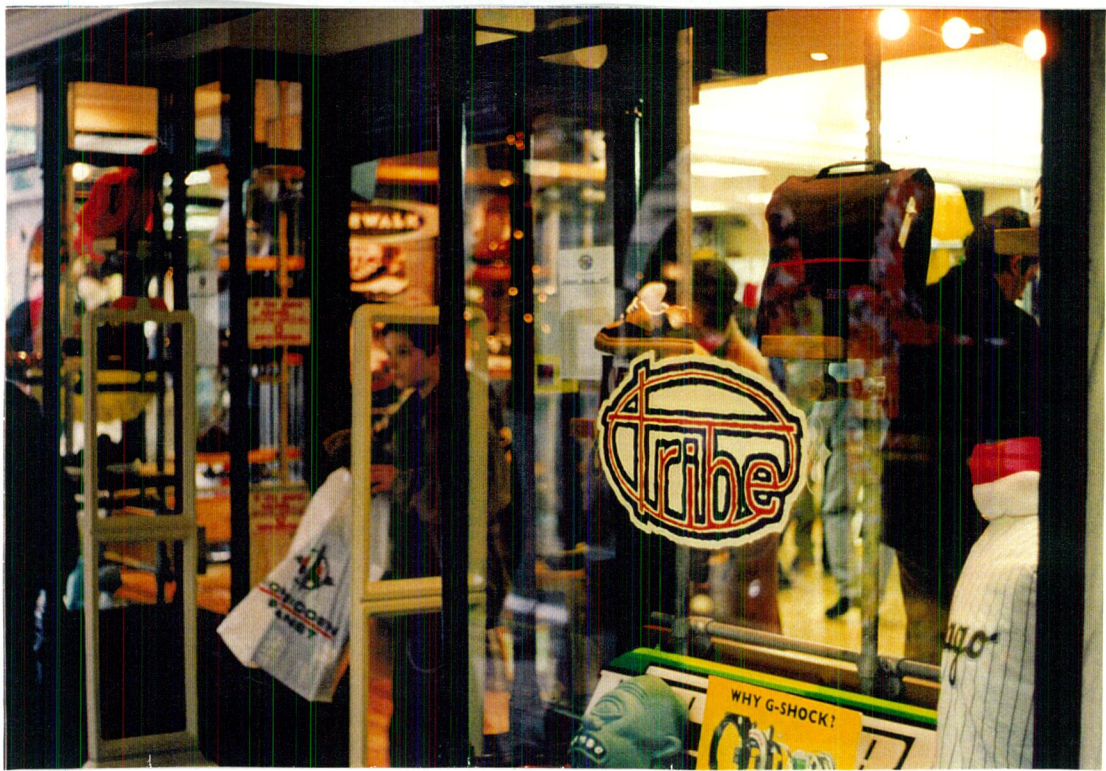


Fig. 25. Tribes , St Stephen's Green shopping centre.



0001



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LONDON DEALERS

HARRODS	5th floor
ELLIS BRIGHAM	Covent Garden
SNOW & ROCK	Kensington
LILLYWHITES	Piccadilly

BLUE ROOM	Hyde Park Corner
SEFRIDGES	Oxford Street
QUICKSILVER BOARDRIDERS CLUB	Covent Garden
	(Opening July)

Fig. 26. Quiksilver advertisement.

Tribe is more expensive than *Hobo* and *Sabotage* and they get items that are sought after into the shop. It is larger than *Sabotage* but smaller than *Hobo* on Trinity Street. The shop has a friendly relaxed feel to it. It has been open for two years and has a large customer base. Not only do people come in to buy the clothes because of the labels and the street status they will get from them, but different people buy the label for another reason. The labels are ultimately designed for sportswear and people come in, especially the 25-40 year old range, to buy garments for their extra curricular activities like water sports or skiing. So the garments found in *Tribe* are being sold to both people involved in subcultures and the people that they were designed for originally, i.e. sporty types.

This is one of the reasons *Tribe* and *Urban* are different to *Hobo*. They have reputations as good quality shops that stock hard to find labels. *Hobo*, on the other hand, has a growing reputation as more of a fashion store, that is on its way to becoming a fashion chain now that it has four shops in Ireland. So what makes *Tribe* more subcultural and *Hobo* more mainstream and why is a subcultural look becoming fashionable?

HOW HOBO HAS BECOME MAINSTREAM

Hobo has a very different customer base than its subcultural counter parts. The people who shop in *Hobo* want a look that originated in a streetstyle but it is just a fashionable look, it does not represent the attitudes and beliefs that the original subculture held. The *Hobo* look is only the silhouette and it is only a fashion statement.

The clothes are basic and don't change too much, they are safe and unadventurous. They are true to the skate/Hip Hop silhouette but the trousers for instance are not too baggy or the T-shirts too large like the original skaters clothes or the American Hip Hoppers.

All the clothes are very easy to wear and co-ordinate well together. Even the colours are not strong but are very gentle on the eye. The whole Hip Hop/skate street style has been stripped of all it's representational labels and watered down. It has been repackaged for a teenage consumer who wants to buy an identity.

As we have seen, *Hobo* has slowly weaned out nearly all of the labels they originally proudly stocked. These were the labels that people once specifically went into the shop to buy because they could not get them anywhere else. These have now been replaced with *Hobo*'s own labels, *Hobo* and *Beatnik* which attract a whole different and much larger group of consumers. Caroline Evans points out "transformation and the rearrangement of meaning is what differentiates subculture from mere youth culture" (Evans, 1997, P.173). These consumers don't quite understand the hidden and subtle meanings of these labels like *Pervert*, *Carharrrt*, *Fuct* or *3rd Rail*, but recognise the "coolness" of a subculture and want to emulate that by copying the basic silhouette of that subculture. John said he couldn't get what he wanted because it wasn't available and this is why he started making his own label clothes. However, the clothes he gets made up are very similar to authentic labelled garments that are easily imported. *Hobo* and *Beatnik* don't carry the weight of the serious workwear labels like *Carharrrt* or the major designer

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the transparency and accountability of the organization. This section also outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, ensuring that the information is reliable and up-to-date.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the financial aspects of the organization. It provides a detailed overview of the budget, including the projected income and expenses for the upcoming year. This section also discusses the various financial risks and how they can be mitigated, ensuring that the organization remains financially stable and secure.

3. The third part of the document addresses the human resources of the organization. It discusses the current state of the workforce, including the number of employees, their skills, and their experience. This section also outlines the various strategies used to attract and retain talent, ensuring that the organization has a strong and capable workforce.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the marketing and sales efforts of the organization. It provides a detailed overview of the various marketing campaigns and sales strategies used to promote the organization's products and services. This section also discusses the various challenges faced in the marketing and sales process and how they can be overcome.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the overall performance of the organization. It provides a detailed overview of the various key performance indicators (KPIs) used to measure the organization's success, including revenue, profit, and customer satisfaction. This section also discusses the various factors that have contributed to the organization's success and how they can be leveraged to achieve even greater success in the future.

labels like *Ralph Lauren* that they are similar to, so have little credibility as anything other than fashion items.

It seems that as *Hobo* moves away from stocking imported labels to producing their own they are losing their original customer and finding a much different customer base. The original customers are now going to shops like *Urban* and *Tribe* who have stepped in to take *Hobo's* old place as a more subcultural store. Meanwhile, *Hobo's* new customers are buying something similar but poles apart in terms of authenticity and for very different reasons.

Hobo has got their fingers on the pulse of what a certain group of 14 - 20 year olds want. Of course not all teenagers want the same "look". That depends on factors such as gender, class and region, but there is a group who want the *Hobo* look and they are being catered for nicely. As the skater look filtered through into mainstream it became fashionable in this age group but even though the subcultural context originally had something to do with the attractiveness of the look, now it is all about conformity in this age group (14-20).

WHY IS THIS SUBCULTURE POPULAR?

Teenagers are generally a confused lot, the time between childhood and adulthood is a tough one and it is terribly important to fit in. Not looking too different or standing out is imperative, unless that's your thing, but most pick up on a fashion look and wear that. Kids see what their friends are wearing and want to wear it also. A lot of *Hobo's* customers shop here because their friends are wearing *Hobo*

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the existence of solutions of the system of equations

which are satisfied by the functions u_i and v_i in the domain G .

2. In the second part we consider the case when the functions u_i and v_i are assumed to be continuous in the domain G .

3. In the third part we consider the case when the functions u_i and v_i are assumed to be differentiable in the domain G .

4. In the fourth part we consider the case when the functions u_i and v_i are assumed to be twice differentiable in the domain G .

5. In the fifth part we consider the case when the functions u_i and v_i are assumed to be three times differentiable in the domain G .

6. In the sixth part we consider the case when the functions u_i and v_i are assumed to be four times differentiable in the domain G .

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11. In the eleventh part we consider the case when the functions u_i and v_i are assumed to be nine times differentiable in the domain G .

12. In the twelfth part we consider the case when the functions u_i and v_i are assumed to be ten times differentiable in the domain G .

and it is fashionable. Many of them neither know nor care what subcultural history the clothes allude to. They just want to look the same as their peers. The shops' change in atmosphere, size and stock proves this. *Hobo* is no longer a small friendly shop, driven by a love of music and a subcultural look. Now it's a fashion store, only with no real spirit like Exchequer Street once had.

This interest in the skater/snowboarding/Hip Hop look has been growing for the last four or five years. Suddenly, people have started accepting a subculture in the everyday domain. This is an unusual phenomena. Of course fashion aspects of subcultures like mod, punk or goth have filtered down unto the mainstream but never has a whole look or silhouette become so common outside it's subcultural context. A punk from the 1970's told me that a regular straight teenager in those days would never be seen to wear any aspect at all of any subculture be it goth, punk or ted. To be associated with a subculture was the last thing the teenager wanted.

However, since the late 80's the very idea of subculture has been "co-opted" to use Caroline Evan's term. She also observes "the deviance of subcultural signs is neutralised by a process of media explanation and attention" (Evans, 1997, P.173). This can be seen for example in the world of advertisement. Evans cites the 1995 Dunlop tyres ad, directed by Tony Kaye, in which images of S. & M. rubber and fetishism (classic deviance's) were used along with a track "Venus in Furs" recorded by the group Velvet Underground (Evans, 1997, P174) More recently Drum and Bass has been used in ads and this is a very new subculture to emerge).

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“In the 1980’s it seems as if the time lag between a youth culture appearing and it’s co-option by the dominant culture got shorter and shorter until there was no gap at all” (Evans, 1997, P.174). When a subculture is used like this it’s deviance is no longer oppositional but it become mainstream and safe.

Another reason why the media has been using subcultural images and attitudes is because, as a post industrial world, we are incited to individualise ourselves. Classification and segregation are seen to be weapons of power. Equality and the individual is all important and what could seem more individual and deviant than the resistance of a subculture?

Perhaps the recent change in economy has had something to do with the rise in imported labels and peoples’ general knowledge when it comes to labels and their significance. The “Celtic Tiger” is very well publicised in Ireland and signs of a new found affluence are all around us. Skate and Hip Hop cultures have always put a large subcultural significance on labels. The mainstream, that is, the mainstream MTV generation has picked up on that and made it it’s own. Magazines such as *Face* and *iD* in England and Ireland primarily reported on these subcultures and then started using them in their fashion editorials.

Subcultures have been written about for a long time and most of these discourses have been academic. The *Face* and *iD* are journalistic discourses that began in the 1980’s. This type of media coverage is another way of “outing” subcultures. “The process of studying and publishing data on youth cultures releases knowledge that threatens the exclusivity of the group studied” (Evans, 1997, P.175).

These magazines categorised every nuance of subcultural style in relation to appearance and clothing, often exclusively so. They take subcultural style from the street and pin it down as a fashion spread, not only releasing precious cultural knowledge but making it a fashion look as well. "the mission of *iD* (magazine) has been to find and formulate subcultures" (Thornton, 1995, p 154). More recently they have been constructing fashion spreads to look like the models are straight off the streets and wearing their own clothes, which, of course, they're not.

The fashion and music media started to look on the skater subculture as positive not negative and the snowboarding look suddenly became a new fashion statement in 1993 and is still around today. January 1998's edition of *iD* is "The Active Issue" and has articles and fashion spreads on snowboarding (Burrows, 1998, P. 55 - 58). This look is very similar to skating's look and is a relatively new sport and is getting a lot of media attention. Snowboarding has been accepted as an Olympic event for the first time in the winter games in February 1998.

Snowboarders were originally skaters and the two subcultures are very closely linked. They share some of the same labels. However, snowboarders need specialised garments to keep warm and protected and so they have their own labels which did not originate from skateboarding. A lot of the fabrics used in snowboarding garments are unsuitable for every day city life the skate labels are worn more widely.

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REMARKS

Both the look and the garments worn by the skater/Hip Hop subculture are very easy to wear. They have comfortable shapes and fabrics. These are unisex and loose fitting, as we know, and are also expensive garments because of the labels and logos attached. It is no wonder the skate/Hip Hop look became fashionable and has stayed fashionable.

The rise in popularity of Hip Hop music which has really only recently started getting mainstream attention and airplay is also helping to keep the interest steady in this look. This is why *Hobo* has successfully moved from a subcultural context into a mainstream one.

CONCLUSION

The mainstream changes much quicker and evolves very differently to a subculture. Already *Hobo*'s customers are growing up and as one 17 year old wrote in my questionnaire "*Hobo* used to be a more original shop that was a bit special but now you can find the same clothes everywhere and their selection is not as varied as it used to be" (Appendix 2). The selection has not changed that much, perhaps what the customer wants is evolving, and for *Hobo* to change again with their new customer would probably mean moving even further away from their original subcultural roots. As Caroline Evans has stated "subcultural activists don't just buy things they subvert their meanings" (Evans, 1997, P. 173).

So therefore *Hobo* can no longer be called a subcultural shop. What *Hobo* originally sold was credible imported streetstyle labels that a select few know of and wanted to wear because of their subcultural connotations. Now, because of teenagers' desire for what they consider to be the individuality and "authenticity" associated with the skateboarding "look" *Hobo* has moved away from their original customer and now cater for the dominant mainstream 13 - 20 year old with the new *Hobo* chain of shops.

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APPENDIX 1.

INTERVIEW WITH JOHN FOX.

INTERVIEWER: AUTHOR OF THESIS: ROSALIND DUKE.

DATE: 3rd DECEMBER 1997.

LOCATION: *HOBO*, TRINITY STREET, DUBLIN 2.

INTERVIEW WITH JOHN FOX

R. When did you open the shop up in Exchequer Street?

J. I believe in the end of August 1995, June 1995 we signed the lease.

R. Why did you set up the shop, why these kind of clothes?

J. I guess because I wanted to do something that was an extension of what I wanted to buy and get if I was shopping, I was thinking about opening a club and I just had certain ideas about how a shop could run, to involve the staff kind of more in the responsibility of it and the profit sharing making it a kind of co-operative, *Hobo* the co-operative.

R. So you have goals set up for them, the "hard sell" type of thing?

J. No, not at all, never a hard sell, I hope. It was set up because I wanted to do that kind of stuff and at the time as well, what we were doing was closely linked with music and getting the stuff designed and made and sourcing fabrics and sourcing suppliers etc.....

R. Who does all that?

J. Mainly myself.

R. And who designs?

J. Mainly myself.

R. So do you think there was a real niche for it and what do you think of *Sabotage* and all those kinds of shops that are open now? What do you think of the competition?

J. I think it's fine, competition is healthy; basically I feel that people underestimated what they could do, I felt that the shops were quite predictable and I felt they were very over priced for what they were selling or else they were the other extreme and there wasn't anything in between and I felt that people had, I always felt that people are very discriminating and that you find your customers if you know what you are doing and so that's what I did. I did what I wanted to do. But I did it as pragmatically as I could, I mean I looked at prices, I tried to get in stuff that was special, not a huge amount of it so that I wouldn't be very limited to one market.

R. Are you surprised by some of the people that shop in your store or is it the market you would expect?

J. Our market has broadened, at first it was a niche market and...

R. What niche market?

J. I think it was mmm..

R. Like what age group, what type of person?

J. Quite broad, 15 - 27, mainly people who had travelled, or who hadn't travelled but were aware through magazines or T.V. and the music scene etc. etc. like what labels represented what, and we got in those labels that people wanted but were never available but then you paid through the nose, like the only thing you could get was *Stussy*... And it was just bits and bobs. And I felt that the people

who shop in our shop were socialisers (and the people who work in the shop). It wasn't like, it was a lifestyle thing.

R. So why then did you start making your own stuff?

J. Yeah well, partly because I couldn't get what I wanted and partly because I always intended to make our own stuff and partly because it give you more control, control that when you are open you want stuff on your rails and you want to be able to turn it over and get the colours that you want and often when you are dealing with agents it's complicated and it's a pain, a lot of waiting etc.

R. You did that quite gradually didn't you? You just started selling some stuff, no? That's how I remember it happening.

J. We made stuff, we had some stuff of our own when we opened but I think it was just one or two garments and one or two styles and I think what happened was we had other stuff lined up but our guys just didn't come through. We definitely had one style we started with, part of the reason we manufactured was we wanted to establish the label as well as just being a retail thing. We wanted to establish our label to stand next to *X-Large* for example or anything else that comes in, that our product would be comparable and as good etc. etc.

R. How many labels do you have?

J. Initially, we had m...our own label, *Grand Royale*, *X-Large*, *Fuct*, *Porn Star*.
Mainly they do T-shirts, *3rd Rail*, *Gypsies & Thieves*, we did a lot of things.

R. And you've got rid of them all now?

J. No. Now we have *Grand Royale*, *X-Large* mainly and we mainly have our own stuff like *Beatnik* which is a collaboration with Pete (Redman).

R. What's his involvement?

J. In a loose way, creative director.

R. Right, so he does the shapes and...

J. I mean we did, basically, it's been hectic so we are trying to get from running to sitting down and we are trying to avoid people so that things are gone and I don't have to be in the store room. Yeah, Pete's role has been very good and inspiring and productive and so forth.

R. And what kind of things does he do?

J. Everything from.....

R. Does he source fabrics.

J. No, everything is in the spirit of a sort of open, mm...you know its not very, in the same way. Like I like to hang out and in the course of hanging out and we talk about various thing , some of which will come to fruition. If we can pull everything together from the fabrics to the makers etc. His role is the creative direction we are going in, the feel of everything from the music to the staff and the windows, we don't always see eye to eye.

R. Would he oversee, you know, if you had six jackets, would he help decide which ones were working or...?

J. Well no because commerce dictates it's own stuff.

R. What do you mean?

J. Well, we'll try six jackets and if one of them is....

R. You will actually try them in the shop? Is that what you mean, you will actually put out the six different jackets and see which one sells?

J. Generally, we'll make one as a sample and if I am interested in something I'll order 500 or 300 or whatever and we would put them in the shop. I won't make two things and put them in the shop because it's not a fair amount to tell.

R. What would be a fair amount?

J. 200 - 300.

R. That's brilliant.

J. Well we have four shops so...

R. Four, where's the fourth one?

J. Limerick.

R. When did that open?

J. About August. Limerick and Kilkenny opened about the same time.

R. No wonder you're hectic. That's a good number to be working with. So tell me, you do the designing and do you draw them up or does someone else?

J. I draw them up.

R. Don't you find it difficult, not knowing how clothes are constructed. I always thought that if you didn't know that you couldn't push a design and explore it's possibilities?

J. Well our stuff is basic. I will put that back to our pattern maker, like what is the story with a hipster - how far will it go?

R. Who is your pattern maker?

J. Well I use somebody in the UK and hopefully I'll start using somebody here as well.

R. So do you have to go to the UK to do that or do you just fax your stuff?

J. I try to do it all on a trip over there.

R. You get the patterns done in the UK, do you get them made up in Ireland?

J. I'll do the drawing and now the pattern cutter has a library of patterns, I'll say lower pattern 4C, can you do that? Or tighten it at the knee and drop the waist or drop the rise and then she will say "yes" I can, I've found that we keep adapting

the patterns and we have found that some of our blocks work well across the board so we tinker with them, up and down in and out...

R. What about your fabrics, where do you get them?

J. I go to the shows, I ask my manufacturers to be on the lookout, we have some consistency that we use the same kind of fabrics and then I'll use a canvas and I'll ask for a nylon that looks like a canvas and this and that so I ask my manufacturers to keep a lookout for things like that.

R. So, you've got your fabrics, who make the clothes up?

J. Well, I have about eight or nine different suppliers.

R. In Ireland?

J. No, I'm starting to run with some in Ireland.

R. Tell me about your Logos, who designed them?

J. Pete.

R. All of them?

J. Yes.

R. And did you have anything to do with the colours?

J. No, it was him. The name was mine, well me and Andy. The spirit of the thing was me and Andy but Pete totally came up trumps with that.

R. Why is there more than one logo?

J. Good question! Well we found that the guys didn't like the doggy as much as the girls.

R. Interesting, I've seen loads of guys wearing trousers with the doggy.

J. Well then I decided that they'd have to learn to love the doggy.

R. Do you think *Beatnik* clothing is different. It's more kinda 70's?

J. It's slightly different. It's a work in progress, that we are actually taking back to the drawing board. We just did it as an experiment.

R. That worked.

J. That worked, we weren't ready, we also showed at the trade show in England, at the "40 Degrees Show".

R. How did that go?

J. Very well.

R. So are you selling your stuff anywhere else?

J. Yeah.

R. Whereabouts?

J. We've brought that back as well, partly through our own inexperience and partly through the lack of professionalism elsewhere. We sold in England, Italy, France, Belgium, Germany and somewhere else like Thailand. I can't remember. That we in response to the show. We are still selling. We sell quite a bit in England.

R. And what kind of shop sell the clothes in England.

J. Mmm, shops like ourselves, shops that sell sort of streetskate board rather than clubwear, not really that. Kind of basic street, surfy, punky, skatey.

R. So that's what you'd call the *Hobo* look?

J. I don't actually, we've never really run a skater thing because I would never pretend to be something other than what I am. A lot of skate companies are run by people that skate. Our stuff is coming more, originally anyway, from the music.

- R. What kind of music?
- J. Originally Hip Hop, but also interpreted for a white person.
- R. So why do you think people want to buy these clothes. I must say I see a lot of kids around town who I know don't listen to Hip Hop and yet they have that look. Why do you think people want that kind of identity?
- J. Mmmm, well then you get into trying to define what Hip Hop is and it becomes very complex.
- R. OK Let me put it this way, why is it so cool to be into street style? Do you think?
- J. OK If we were talking about a label that represents streetstyle, pick a label.
- R. Say, *Pervert*.
- J. OK I don't know if *Pervert* is a great example.
- R. OK Say, *Carharrrt*.
- J. OK *Carharrrt*, because first of all it has authenticity, it has credibility, they are the big two reasons. It could be a nice garment and so on but the overriding reasons are it is perceived to be an authentic garment and the garment has credibility and they are not obvious, they are not everywhere and they cost a fair whack so you are making a whole series of statements.
- R. With one pair of jeans?
- J. Yeah, so to speak.
- R. So is that what you aspire to?
- J. Yeah, we are trying to because *Carharrrt* you can do it two ways, you can have a very small label and sell it and spend a lot of energy or money or both

promoting it and limiting it and so on or you can have a very large label like *Carharrrt*. So *Perverrt* would be the former and *Carharrrt* the latter, if you see...

R. What about your girls wear, that kind of petered out?

J. It's coming back now.

R. Have you checked out like *Milk Fed*, *X Girl*, that kind of thing?

J. *Milk Fed* is good. Unfortunately, where we fell down and part of our story and where people got their foot in the door, after we'd kicked it open, manufacturing is so consuming. I did not keep the other stuff bubbling in, which was a mistake.

R. So you are hoping to get that back?

J. Yes, I am definitely going to get that back.

R. Because that is a huge area you could be doing really well with.

J. I know exactly what you mean.

R. Where do you see *Hobo* in like five years time. What do you want it to be?

J. I want it to be a small independent chain. I want five or six shops. I want to represent in every sort of decent city in Ireland. Then take it international as soon as we have consolidated our home base. So to lock down the retail and simultaneously which is what we've always done or intended on doing is developing the label so the label can be an independent brand name that can be sold as we are selling it now to other shops. And to do a second label that's hard-core, much more uncompromising that *Hobo* may stock or may not stock.

R. Less kind of "mass"?

J. We don't want to be mass either, part of what we are doing now is bringing it back like now we'll do a run and then change the shapes or change the fabrics or we will change the style. Like if you come back to me in two weeks you will see a

style that's worked for us, but we've changed it. Because people also, if you buy something you really like, you are pissed when you can't get another. Maybe with a slight twist or whatever. We are going to take the mass out of it by changing the styles, the fabrics and so forth. We went there and it's not a good place. Now we are pulling back and making it much tighter. The product is also much better quality.

R. What about advertising?

J. We are going to look at it, but we haven't got the loot.

R. It's expensive?

J. I don't believe in advertising in *D-Side* or anything, that's not to disrespect them, but I would rather, because we are trying to promote the label as well, I would like to spend a bundle on a certain magazine, like whatever, I'd look into it, whatever it is this month, maybe *The Face* or *iD* or something like that. I am looking at that and I'm interested in that definitely.

APPENDIX 2.

QUESTIONNAIRE: CARRIED OUT BY AUTHOR OF THESIS IN NOV. 1998.

QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT HOBO

AGE: 25

SEX: Male

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: None.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT?

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? No.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT?

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY? No. Because it is cheap and tacky.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS?; EXPLAIN: Reputation? Explain, Explain?

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY? Huh?
There's another one?

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER? Huh?

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED? Changed?

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS?
Depends on the other shops.

WHY IS THAT? All shops are different.

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? Yes.

HOW? Cheap and tacky.

THANKS Thank you. Logo is quite good, simple and effective yet it's already dated in terms of it's 'hip' design. A good design is ageless and should represent a product which lives up to it's image. Unfortunately for *Hobo*, their clothes designs are universal copies and not individual to the shop hence their logo is synonymous with poor quality designs.

AGE: 20

SEX: Female

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: Combats, Hoodie.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? Comfort & something casual for college.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? As above.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT?

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY? Yes, but not a whole outfit with Hobo logos because then I'd look like a sad label head!!

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS?; EXPLAIN: Trendy, Grungy. Their clothes are mainly casual grungy wear and the shop definitely has a well recognised consistency for quality.

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY? Exchequer Street. I haven't been to the new shop yet.

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER? As above but I heard it's a beautiful shop but lacking in stock at the moment which is understandable as it is relatively new.

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED? Haven't noticed.

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS? Quite similar stockwise and appearance wise to Sabotage and Tribe.

WHY IS THAT? As it has its own label it makes it more notable.

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? Hobo's own labels are recognisable because of their 'doggy' logo which I think is dead cute!! But the rest of their clothes are available in numerous other stores in Dublin.

HOW? See above.

THANKS

AGE: 26 yrs.

SEX: Male

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: A couple of tops.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? I thought they were nice.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? I don't think so.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? The same reason I'd buy anything.

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY? No way.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS?; EXPLAIN
Its a cult shop. A new generation looking for something new.

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY? Only
know one.

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER? Don't know it.

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED? Haven't thought about
it.

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS? A little
bit.

WHY IS THAT? The clothes are different to those in regular shops.

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? Yeh.

HOW? Their look.

THANKS You are welcome.

AGE: 26 years.

SEX: Male

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: None.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT?

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? No.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT?

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY? No, because I would not wear a whole anything outfit.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS?
Street cred wannabees.

EXPLAIN: Bunch of rip off bastards.

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY?
Just one I know of.

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER? Don't care.

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED?
Shops become older, bigger, greedier.

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS?
It's different because they slap up their own clothes but other shops, Tribe, Urban etc. have similar styles.

WHY IS THAT?

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? Yes, mostly.

HOW? Usually because of the logo, baggy skate style, bland colours and mainly the people the clothes are on.

THANKS Thank you Rozzer.

AGE: 21 years.

SEX: Male.

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: A chocolatey coloured long sleeved top.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? I didn't buy it. I got it as a birthday present from a flatmate.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? No.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT?

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY? Probably, yes.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS? Trendy with an eye for students.

EXPLAIN: It has a kind of cultured feel as well. Items are expensive enough but it is like when you buy the item you are getting an "item". It's not just another jumper for the collection, it's an "item".

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY? I only know the one near the "Wed Wose".

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER?

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED? I was only aware of Hobo from about last March. Did it used to be different to the way it is now?

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS? Yes, it's got a very particular aesthetic that it unique to itself.

WHY IS THAT?

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? Yes.

HOW? The clothes are simple, usually natural colours (like khaki etc.).

THANKS

AGE: 21 yrs.

SEX: Female

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: Hobo sweatshirt.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? The cut and I liked the slogan "perv".

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? Yes. Miniskirt.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? I like my legs.

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY? No.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS?
Hip Urban Dublin streetwear.

EXPLAIN: Slightly studenty, for trainer people.

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY? The
new one near O'Neill's on Suffolk Street because it is big and not intimidating.

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER? Snotty staff. Feel too conspicuous.

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED? Kept up to date.
Expanded the range. New sweatshirts, trousers, skirts; for men and women.

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS?
Yes, high quality.

WHY IS THAT? Good range and selection of sizes.

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? Yes.

HOW? They are all pale blue or beige

THANKS

AGE: 22yrs 6 MTh's.

SEX: Male

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?:

Black moleskin casual jacket, collared.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT?

Needed it for a semi business/casual office environment.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? Trousers, black, casual.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? The trouser pocket was a nice shape and the leg was right.

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY?

Yes, depends on what it was.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS?

Good prices and original (also Hip/Hopish).

EXPLAIN: They seem to sell casual and club wear. The casual is wearable out to clubs. Last year their colours were pretty original .

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY?

I've only been to Exchequer Street. Sorry!

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER? Because I've only been to the one, I said.

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED? I did not see a change of any significance.

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS?

Yes! Eh... when illumines mass market really shit clothes engulfed the Ilac Centre and other crappy places Hobo supplied different original and "nice to wear" clothes for me.

WHY IS THAT? I like the way their clothes are pretty breakawayish yet they are classy at the same time.

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? A lot of other shops like it (maybe better) (e.g. Urban and around Temple Bar) sell similar stuff. Unless they have Hobo written on them then - no

HOW?

AGE: 17 years.

SEX: Female.

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: Jumper

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? I liked the style.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? No.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT?

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY? No. I don't wear shop brand names.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS? EXPLAIN:
Urban, Street, Hip/Hop wear.

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY?
Old one, because the layout is simple but effective.

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER? Trying to be too funky.

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED?
There is not as much variety, clothes are too common/not as much female gear.

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS? Yes.

WHY IS THAT? Most Dublin shops cater for teeny boppers or clubbers - not original.

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? Yes, because of logos and labels.

NOTE: I think the style of clothes should go back to the style of about two years ago as it was more unique. But in saying that the male clothes are good (jumpers).

THANKS Welcome.

AGE: 17 yrs.

SEX: Female

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: Jumper.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? I needed a new hoodie.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? No.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT?

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY? No, I don't like their clothes that much. It would look a bit much.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS?; EXPLAIN:
Stylish, expensive yet casual clothes.

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY? Old one.
Nicer layout.

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER? Too open plan.

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED? Not as original anymore.

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS?
Only because they mostly sell their own brands.

WHY IS THAT?

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? Yes from their huge logos which are a bit over the top and would put me off some of their items.

Hobo used to be a more original shop that was a bit special but now you can find the same clothes everywhere and their selection is not as varied as it used to be.

THANKS

Ysido, 1902

Ysido, 1902

Ysido, 1902

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AGE: 17

SEX: Female

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: Top and Jeans.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? Style

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? No.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT?

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY? No.
Because it would be too much labels.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS?; EXPLAIN:
Well known street wear.

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY?
The new one is very open planned so I prefer the old one (Exchequer Street).

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER?

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED? Because there is not as much
variety for females as males.

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS? Yes.

WHY IS THAT? Because they usually cater for the younger age group.

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? Yes.

HOW? Because of the logos and doggie.

COMMENTS: I'd find the clothes a little expensive so I would not buy a lot of
clothes at the one time, only once in a while.

THANKS

AGE: 20 years,

SEX: Male

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: Trousers.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? My girlfriend.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? No.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT?

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY?

No, because I would look stupid.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS?; EXPLAIN

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY?

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER?

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED?

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS?

WHY IS THAT?

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE?

HOW?

THANKS

AGE: 21 yrs.

SEX: Male

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: Jeans.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? I liked the style.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? No.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? No.

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY? No.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS?; EXPLAIN
Some nice looking clothes but not very good quality.

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY?

The old one. The new one has not got enough items in it.

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER?

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED? Not much.

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS? Yes.

WHY IS THAT? It relies on it's own name.

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? Yes.

HOW? Because of labels.

THANKS

AGE: 22 yrs.

SEX: Male.

WHAT HOBO GARMENT DO YOU OWN?: Beatnik sweater.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? They looknice.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OTHER HOBO ITEMS? Yes, combats.

WHAT MADE YOU BUY IT? Well fitted, comfortable.

WOULD YOU WEAR A WHOLE HOBO OUTFIT, WHY? No.

WHAT WOULD YOU DESCRIBE HOBO'S REPUTATION AS?; EXPLAIN
Inexpensive, quality clothes, casual but smart.

WHICH HOBO BRANCH IN DUBLIN DO YOU PREFER? WHY?
Exchequer Street. Smaller, friendlier.

WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER?
Too bright, open, cold.

HOW DO YOU THINK HOBO HAS CHANGED?
Clothes have become more expensive.

DO YOU THINK IT IS DIFFERENT TO OTHER DUBLIN SHOPS? Yes.

WHY IS THAT? Cheaper.

ARE HOBOS CLOTHES RECOGNISABLE? Yes.

HOW? Well cut, nice colours and logo.

THANKS

