

University of Pardubice

Faculty of Arts and Philosophy

**Against the Mainstream: Exploring the Nature and Role of 20th Century British
Counter-Culture and Their Portrayal in Literature**

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Z á s a d y p r o v y p r a c o v á n í :

Studentka se ve své bakalářské práci bude věnovat subkultuře tzv. mods a jejich kulturnímu vlivu. Nejprve bude studentka charakterizovat pojem subkultura jako takový tj. vznik a význam subkultury ve vztahu k mainstreamové kultuře, význam rituálu apod. Poté se zaměří na období 60. let v Británii, kdy se tato subkultura formovala bude zde analyzovat společenské a kulturní podmínky, které umožnily vznik tohoto kulturního fenoménu. Poté se zaměří na charakteristiku subkultury mods jako takové jejich vlivu na módu, hudbu, genderové role apod. V praktické části práce zvolí studentka vhodné primární zdroje: film či písňové texty, ve kterých bude analyzovat charakteristické znaky mods a jejich postojů.

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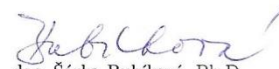
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Souhlasím s prezenčním zpřístupněním své práce v Univerzitní knihovně.

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ANNOTATION

The major objective of this bachelor thesis is an analysis of the British counter-culture Mod and its impact on the cultural and social scene in Britain, and on Amerika - to a lesser extent, specifically during the period of The Sixties. The thesis firstly describes the analyzed period and specifies the key changes causing a growing feeling of frustration among the youth. In the following chapter, the attention is refocused on the topic of subcultures and its impact on the British-American society. Last pages of the theoretical part are devoted to Mod, its essence and impact on the youth generation. The practical part aims to reflect the essence of Mod in the musical scene and analyzes interprets composing in symbioses with opinions and preferences of this subculture. Using musical compositions, the paper states three main reasons for emergence and popularization of Mod subculture in the British youth environment.

KEYWORDS

Britain, subcultures, Mod, post-war period, The Sixties, period of change, resistance and frustration, the youth, musical impact

NÁZEV

Proti proudu - podstata a role subkultur v Británii 20. století

ANOTACE

Cílem této bakalářské práce je analýza britské subkultury Mod a jejího vlivu na kulturní a sociální scénu Británie, v menší míře též Ameriky, v průběhu poválečného období, specifičtěji pak v období šedesátých let. Práce začíná uvedením do analyzovaného období a vytyčením klíčových změn ovlivňujících vzrůstající pocit frustrace mladé generace. Následně je pozornost soustředěna na centrální téma subkultur a jejího významu v britsko-americké společnosti. Poslední část teoretické části je pak věnována přímo subkultuře Mod, její podstatě a vlivu, jež na mládež měla. Prostor praktické části je věnován odrazu Mod v hudební scéně a rozboru uvedených interpretů tvořících v symbióze s myšlenkami a názory této subkultury. Pomocí písňových textů práce popisuje tři hlavní vlivy pro vznik a popularizaci subkultury v prostředí britské mládeže.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA

Británie, subkultury, Mod, poválečné období, šedesátá léta, období změn, odpor a frustrace, mládež, vliv hudby

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Introduction

A period of transition between the interwar and post-war years produced several fundamental changes. Peace and stability ensured improvement of living conditions and modernization of economy. A new generation of young individuals appeared in the center of social life, introducing a new attitude of resistance towards the Establishment. Particularly in Britain and America, the youth began to separate its members through forming visibly different countercultures. Hence, the post-war period witnessed a dramatic increase in number of subcultures being formed.

Particularly in Britain, on which this paper mainly focuses, countercultures formed as a response towards conservative standards which were no longer suitable for modern society and new generation of excited and moral-losing individuals. Caused by frustration resulting from class-stratified society, deviant subcultures as mods and rockers loudly hit the public, which, for the first time in history, had to accept their increasing importance. At first, formation of countercultures seemed to be a matter of the working class. Its members solved the issue of status frustration by gathering the same-minded individuals recognizing their talents and value. In this manner, they dealt with the feeling of alienation.

This paper aims to provide a reader with an introduction into the conversion from the post-war austerity to the period of abundance during the Sixties. The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of several substantial economic, social and cultural changes. The austerity of the post-war years began to gradually improve by the end of 1950s. The progress even accelerated during the sixties, the period which experienced technological progress not seen before. Quoting Marwick, “Britain could be characterized by a new ugliness and a new species of modern conveniences, the working day, domestic chores and the pursuit of leisure, the role of women and the nature of education.”¹ Technology influenced every part of day-to-day life. Britons, described as ‘affluent society’, entered a developing consumer market, now moreover followed by the working-class individuals. This paper primarily focuses on the working-class society and an impact that economic changes introduced to this social class.

Furthermore, the thesis topic explores the concept of subcultures, primarily in relation to the working-class society, to a lesser extent to the middle-class individuals. Technical progress

¹ Arthur Marwick, *British Society Since 1945* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 85.

resulting in massive increase of spending power introduced a new phenomenon – young high-waged society. If the term ‘new high-waged society’ is used in relation to the period of the sixties, the central attention is focused on the working-class society. As Marwick arguments, we speak of youth moving its separate way from the upper and middle class, rather projecting its minority members, outsiders and visibly distinctive individuals.² New minority groups were being formed, using the power of the largest of all classes, protesting against the Establishment and conservative standards of the British society. Marwick arguments that the outcome was “an attack upon the cosiness, the clichés, the stereotyped assumptions, and the parochialism of British society.”³ All given aspects resulted in the youth-driven culture of the ‘Swinging Sixties.’

However, various youth minorities experienced different frustrations, resulting in formation of a large scale of countercultures. During the sixties, subcultures were perceived as a social problem. The cultural power they had has not been experienced before. The clash of generations resulted in the widening of generation gap. The older generation did not understand the change in behavior of their children and referred to formation of countercultures as to ‘something that should be dealt with.’ Nevertheless, the power moved to the hands of the working class which now “ruled as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulated the production and distribution of the ideas of their age.”⁴

Subcultures must be always analyzed in relation to its parent culture. Parent culture is the culture from which the subculture derives. Nevertheless, it must be moreover analyzed in relation towards the dominant culture – “the overall disposition of cultural power in the society as a whole.”⁵ For example, the rockers developed from the working class, which thus might be labeled as their parent culture. However, the working class evolved from the middle class – the dominant culture. Therefore, the violent behavior of rockers towards the immigrants and homosexuals should not be simply ascribed to rockers as the part of the subculture’s essence. Rockers acted in accordance to the original values of the working-class community, or at least they thought they do.

² Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, 97.

³ Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, 99.

⁴ Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals, Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain* (The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1983), 11.

⁵ Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 13.

Finally, the paper compares the essence of three different countercultures. Briefly explaining the formation and basic differences among the Teddy Boys and Rockers, the paper focuses its central attention on Mod. Evolving from the Teds, the Mods date back to the early 1960s. Mods, forming out of the working-class fashion-oriented individuals, firstly appeared on the streets of Soho, later in the whole area of London, until they extended their influence to the rest of the United Kingdom and America. Suffering from alienation, relatively low social status, the tedious circle of the working life and lack of excitement, Mods frequently found consolation in music. Interprets like The Who, The Animals and The Kinks composed in accordance with feelings of the frustrated mod counterculture. Therefore, the practical part of this paper aims to analyze these musical compositions and examine the way in which those interprets reflected mod essence in their music.

British Society in the Post-War Period

Once talking about any kind of subculture, overall social conditions, under which a subculture prevails, should always be considered. In Britain, as well as in the rest of the world, the period of the early second half of the twentieth century was marked by the end of the Second World War. Though living standards were steadily improving, the country subsequently experienced severe economic depression.⁶ On August 24, 1945, a well-known journalist and editor in Daily Mail Newspaper J. L. Hodson wrote in his diary:

The war is over; the conditions of war in some respect continue. You need only make a long railway journey in England to become aware of it. I travelled last Sunday to Newcastle on Tyne. The journey which in peacetime took four hours now took eight and a quarter. No food on the train. No cup of tea to be got at the stops because the queues for ... were impossibly long ... My hotel towel is about the size of a pocket handkerchief, the soap tablet is worn to the thinness of paper, my bed sheets are torn.⁷

Caused by global ongoing re-building, materials did not meet a demand and foodstuffs were in short supply after the 1946 – 7 most serious winter freeze-up of a century and summer floods.⁸ During the twentieth century, ration system had been introduced multiple times, always simultaneously with a raging war. However, the end of the WW2 did not mean the end of the rationing, but it continued in stricter way than before combats. For example, Richard Farmer states that until 1954, the ban covered all kind of sweets.⁹ Crisis and its lack of products available for population underlined several discrepancies among the individual classes.

As prosperity returned during 1960s and a new post-war youth generation had the opportunity to participate in social life, British lifestyle underwent several changes. To describe them, Marwick uses expressions as shift in human rights, increased formation of youth subcultures, changes in sexual behavior, openness in literature and media, racism, gay liberation, feminism, loos of moral standards, etc.¹⁰ Furthermore, advanced production technologies lowered prices of

⁶ Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, 4.

⁷ James Lansdale Hodson, *The Way Things Are Being Some Account of Journey, Meetings, and What Was Said to Me in Britain Between May 1945 and Feb. 1947* (London: Gollancz, 1948).

⁸ Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, 4.

⁹ Richard Farmer, "A Temporarily Vanished Civilization: Ice Cream, Confectionery and Wartime Cinema-Going," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 31, no. 4 (2011): 479-97. doi:10.1080/01439685.2011.620840.

¹⁰ Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1958 - c.1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.

consumer goods, making them affordable for most of the population. As Harold Wilson, a leader of Labour Party, claimed in his political campaign: “British people has never had it so good.” Marwick indicates in his statistics that the major part of households owned appliances as washing machines, television sets and dishwashers and drove cars. Only 8 % of households owned refrigerators in 1956, but the figure gradually increased by 25 % in 1962 and by 61 % by the end of 1971.¹¹ Moreover, supermarkets and self-service stores were being constructed on a large scale, therefore the working-class members, as well as other social classes, could afford more nutritious foodstuffs. Majority of these factors contributed to the fact of forming cultural and social change.

In the British society, long-established class division of the nineteenth century had advanced and several new classes emerged during the post-war period.¹² One of the reasons might be evident in the ideal economic conditions forming during the post-war era, which Britain embraced to maximize its export and domestic production.¹³ Thus, for example, the new upper-middle and upper class formed out of the true landed aristocracy, which creation was enabled by new industrial and commerce opportunities. Those who gained their wealth out of commercial businesses were therefore called industrialists. Being the most fragmented of all classes, the middle class formed an amount of 30%, including lower-middle class (white-collar and clerical workers) and upper-middle class (professionals, businessmen). On the contrary, the working class stayed rather ambiguous. Considering the total amount of 60% employed individuals, the working class was mostly formed by manual workers, including small shopkeepers and publicans. Floor managers and foremen appeared along the unclear edge.¹⁴ The outcome of improving economic situation is although clear – between years 1950 to 1965, the average wage increased by 40% and within the end of ration system in 1954, the working-class members were, for the first time, able to enter consumer market.¹⁵

Focusing on changes occurring during the period of sixties, it is apparent that they were influenced by a large scale of various aspects. But it was the force of individualism among the young working-class members, which had the substantial impact on the formation of subcultures

¹¹ Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, 91.

¹² Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, 18.

¹³ Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, 5.

¹⁴ Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, 20.

¹⁵ Matthew Hollow, “The Age of Affluence: Council Estates and Consumer Society,” *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2010. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2100486.

in Britain. According to one of the most discussed studies, conducted in early 1960s, dealing with the working-class identity *'The Affluent Worker Study'*, 78 % of those taking part in the research classified themselves as members of the lower or working class. Moreover, very few of them felt ashamed of this fact.¹⁶ Mike Savage, an author and conservative political commentator revising *The Affluent Worker Study*, argues that these responses suggest the importance of being ordinary individuals, rather than members of a certain social class.¹⁷ Furthermore, he suggests the following:

This is a basic, elemental individualism, with little conception of the individual as a social product, but rather an insistent declaration on the individual as 'natural' sovereign of their own lives. Within this conception, the class structure exists in a shadowy way, not as a social system differentiating occupational groups, but as the stage on which the individual necessarily acts.¹⁸

This previously unseen attitude towards individualism, the right to live freely and be responsible for own being had profound impact on forming multiple new subcultures in the sixties.

The second mentioned influence is the force of youth and a new teenage generation, which emerged in 1960s. Whether the terms "youth", "youngsters" or "new teenage generation" are used, 3 different categories of their meaning should be distinguished, as Marwick explains. Those 3 categories include differences in age, education and social background as following:

- young earners: age ranging from 15 to 25 years old, not yet married (married excluded), not at school, free of family constraints (the fundamental constituent of youth in France, Britain and Italy)
- secondary education students: age ranging from the beginning of their studies to the end of their teenage years¹⁹
- higher education students: age ranging from late teenage years to the early 20s^{20 21}

¹⁶ Karl Magnusen, John H. Goldthorpe, David Lockwood, Frank Bechhofer and Jennifer Platt, *The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behavior* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), 631.

¹⁷ Mike Savage, "Working-Class Identities in the 1960s," *Sociology* 39, no. 5 (2005): 937. doi:10.1177/0038038505058373.

¹⁸ Savage, "Working-Class Identities," 939.

¹⁹ On the contrary to the British surveys, American researchers were not interested in the class distinction of the fully-employed teenagers, therefore, the outcome could have differed.

²⁰ In America, the age corresponds with the postgraduate students.

²¹ Marwick, *The Sixties*, 43.

As the aforesaid statistics suggest, the period of adolescence was lengthening. Teenagers received/earned more money from their parents/in their jobs, consumed nutritious foodstuff and had surplus energy to burst with. No longer they had to wear uniforms and live in trenches, therefore they began to create their own attire - frequently through music, fashion and revolting lifestyle against the Establishment. Brown quotes "... the world turned from black and white into color, and then into Day-Glo, that tilting point from post-war austerity to 'you've never had it so good' affluence." ²²

Mass production, consumerism and a new role of the working-class individuals produced cultural explosion of the sixties. Marwick argument that though it became fashionable to perceive 1960s society as almost classless, the main difference happened within the perception of the working class itself, on its own terms, not as a traditional stereotype. Once mentioned openness towards the youth, advanced technology and foreign influences led to new society, widely diffused than ever before.²³ Teenage groups started to protest against the old-fashioned social standards on behalf of minority members. Among the youth society. it became popular to admire representatives of minority groups and differentiate oneself from others in accordance with the fashionable term of "permissiveness and acceptance." And it was the transformation of popular music scene which stood in the center of the cultural explosion.

For the first time, the American Rock'n'Roll," arrived in Britain in the middle of the fifties, hitting the islands of Great Britain in several forms. In 1957, Bill Haley set off on a tour with his group "Bill Haley & His Comets" and is contemporary credited by many as the first to popularize pop style of music. Among others, Paul McCartney, a working-class member, and John Lennon, a lower-middle-class local, performed as "The Quarrymen" in 1956 in Liverpool. After being refused by majority of music publishing houses, George Martin of Parlophone took them under his protection and with a new accepted drummer, Ringo Starr, they recorded "Love Me Do", which reached the UK top twenty chart. Nevertheless, in spite of all famous names, pop music has undoubtedly its roots in dozens of unnamed groups performing in bars, pubs and clubs all over the

²² Mick Brown, "The Diamond Decades: The 1960s," *The Telegraph*, May 29, 2012. Accessed November 04, 2017. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/the_queens_diamond_jubilee/9288411/The-Diamond-Decades-The-1960s.html.

²³ Marwick, *British Society since 1945*, 97.

country. Magic of this period laid upon the freedom to form a pop group only by putting together the necessary equipment and talent. Marwick describes the pop revolution as follows:

The pop revolution had all the ambivalence of other developments characteristic of the sixties. It sprang out of the separate culture of youth, yet it depended upon the spending power of the affluent teenager. It expressed protest against established society and the organized music industry, yet it became a massive commercial enterprise. It was genuinely innovative musically, yet it spawned a mass of repetitive trivia. It had a true do-it-yourself participatory element, yet it became closely bound-up with the wonders of electronics.²⁴

What should not be forgotten is that the pop music of the sixties was an outcome of exchange, mixed traditions, old practices and elements of black American music. According to Marwick, it was even “a white-contrived exploitation of indisputably black-origin music.”²⁵

Pop music was based on the new principles and frustrations of the empowered young generation. In spite of common clichés referring to this period as almost “classless society”, the wealth of products, new status of the working class and a new concept of leisure resulted in more fragmented British society than ever before – formation of youth countercultures being one of the outcomes.²⁶ As mentioned, leisure activities helped to form various subcultures helping frustrated individuals to find support and shared values among other deprived young individuals. For sure, the period of the sixties is fundamental in the number of subcultures being formed.

In conclusion, the sixties reported technical progress, cultural explosion and social change that had never appeared before. The new spirit of liveliness and excitement gradually penetrated through all social layers and changed its shape forever.

Forming of Youth Subcultures

Britain had been respected for many things during the aftermath of WW2, but not for the quality of its youth culture. Marwick argues that the British youth generation was perceived by various developed countries as repressed society with no fashion taste of their own (those who had any kind of style looked towards fashion standards in Italy and France), culturally very shallow,

²⁴ Marwick, *British Society Since 1945*, 104.

²⁵ Marwick, *The Sixties*, 48.

²⁶ Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 442.

listening to American form of popular music or its pale imitation. However, by 1963, the British youth generation set the culture standards not only for its own country, but also for the rest of the world.²⁷

Culture is always affected by historical context in which it emerges, inflected by specific ideologies which give it its shape. It is a combination of both, reality and ideology. Culture is delivered to its members through a variety of channels as family, school, work, the news, etc. Hall and Jefferson claim:

... culture is that level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life and give expressive form to their social and material ... experience ... each subculture represents a different handling of the raw material of social ... existence²⁸

For instance, Teddy Boys and Mods (subculture examples) emerged as a reaction towards circumstances which placed them differently in relation towards other cultures, e.g. the parent culture, the immigrant culture, etc.²⁹ On the other hand, Skinheads aimed to preserve different values in their social existence, i.e. handled the raw material differently, than Mods and Teddy Boys.

The term “subculture,” which appears in the quotation of Hall and Jefferson above, should be properly examined. Hebdige explains that “...subcultures are a compromise solution between two contradictory needs: the need to create and express autonomy and difference from parents ... and the need to maintain parental identifications.”³⁰ Subcultures represent a solution to a specific social context, an attempt of its members to cope with certain, usually negatively perceived, situation. Peter Willmott, a British sociologist, conducted a research focusing on new opportunities of the working-class young men in the East End of London during 1960s and its impact on forming of subcultures. Because of the changing concept of work and leisure among the youth, the importance of leisure time shifted towards the leading positions in a value ladder of teenage individuals. They rather spent their leisure with those who professed similar values, resulting in formation of countercultures in accordance with those preferences. This urge to seek the same-minded peers emerged because one experience shared between parents and children (between two

²⁷ Marwick, *The Sixties*, 55.0

²⁸ Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 10.

²⁹ Hebdige, *Meaning of Style*, 446.

³⁰ Hebdige, *Meaning of Style*, 444.

generations) tended to be interpreted in a different way by both age representatives. Through resistance against various subject matters, e.g. the older generation, the Establishment, the parent culture, etc., youth movements helped to relieve the feelings of social alienation.

Comparing American with British youth countercultures, Brantlinger claims that the key difference is the class of origin. His social analysis of the class-origin topic observed that in the North America, youth subcultures consisted mainly of middle-class, white, male-college students. On the contrary, the British youth movement originally emerged among the working-class individuals.³¹ Nevertheless, though different ethnographic studies had focused on different style influencers (drug use, gender, class relation, ethnography, etc.), one common term appeared in each of them – *hegemony*. In ‘*Resistance through Rituals*’, this phenomenon is described as following:

Groups or classes which do not stand at the apex of power, nevertheless find ways of expressing and realizing in their culture their subordinate position and experiences. In so far as there is more than one fundamental class in a society ... the dominant culture represents itself as the [only] culture. It tries to define and contain all other cultures within its inclusive range. Its view of the world, unless challenged, will stand as the most natural, all-embracing, universal culture.³²

Phil Cohen and his 1972 research of the working-class identities in East London offers a specific example of hegemony. He states that youth countercultures were an outcome of tensions towards larger parent culture. Specifically, it was the result of a conflict between the working-class puritanism and newly appeared consumerism. In other words, a struggle with allegedly new idea of the working-class embourgeoisement and simultaneously, impossibility to move upwards within individual social classes. Considering all the above-mentioned factors, the sixties youth subcultures represented an attempt to return certain destroyed elements important for specific groups of individuals.³³ For instance, a Skinhead’s objective was a retrieval of the lost, or at least damaged, working-class community.

Leaving differences and similarities aside, another term should be properly analyzed. The ubiquitous term “youth” in frequently used phrases as “youth generation” or “youth subcultures” suggests a common denominator – the age. However, not always the age indicated a youthful

³¹ Patrick Brantlinger, *Crusoe’s Footprints: Cultural Studies in Britain and America* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 119.

³² Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 12.

³³ Phil Cohen, *Sub-Cultural Conflict and Working Class Community* (Birmingham: The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1972).

individual. For example, the British youth movement Angry Young Men pushed the limits of the term “young” and age did not play the major role among its members. Though, these society commentators and critics were younger than had been usual in the British environment. The ‘Kitchen Sink’ writers, as sometimes Angry Young Men are alternatively called, published their best plays and books in rather older age. For example, John Osborne reached the age of 26 when his play *Look Back in Anger* was performed for the first time. Tom Maschler, who sought to bring the Angry Young Men together with his collection *Generation*, was 24. As the age division of the post-war generation on the page 6 suggests, the age around 25 was not usually considered to be very youthful. Nevertheless, as Marwick confirms, the true representing power of this group was the social criticism and critical view of the Establishment.³⁴

Considering the above stated, the 1960s youth individuals sought a place where their own identity could be expressed, understood and shared with others. Youth subcultures differed in lifestyle, nevertheless, deviant behavior shared between majority of post-war subcultures resulted in one long-term outcome – loosening of moral standards. During 1945 to 1950, no specific age group deviated from the society. However, as Cohen and statistics on the page 9 argument, a specific group of young, unmarried people with no restraints and responsibilities ranging from 15 to 21 emerged. Moreover, their average wage was gradually increasing, thus they could enjoy a wide scale of consumer commodities.³⁵ In a short amount of time, Teddy Boys (the first British youth counterculture) emerged, emphasizing their alienation and divergence through resistance and aggressive behavior. Soon, different subcultures participated in day-to-day delinquency. However, on the contrary to social media which accused subcultures of moral condemnation, the problem should be tackled from a deeper perspective. As Cohen explains, it is very superficial to identically assign terms as delinquency and deviancy to the youth cultures. Frustration occurring during the conversion from youth to full adult, e.g. delinquency, drug use, aggression and radicalism, is rather an outcome of exclusion.³⁶

The change in conservative moral standards in Britain was sudden. However, it was the result of the age of affluence, which still occurs today. During the war period and a period of numerous country strife, poor living conditions resulted in poverty and the lack of basic human needs.

³⁴ Marwick, *The Sixties*, 55.

³⁵ Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers* (London: Routledge, 2014), 203.

³⁶ Cohen, *Folk Devils*, 204.

Nevertheless, once the situation had improved and a new generation of individuals, who knew the war only from tales of their parents, reached the age of adolescence, living conditions changed. As Cohen argues, the working-class members quickly became disillusioned about their jobs, as well as about their education. Occupations were tedious and money quickly became the most important job criteria. One did not expect a new job to be more inspirational and dignifying than the old one.³⁷ Knowing that they must spend 8 hours per day at work, young people quickly became working machines during the day and life enjoying and moral boundaries pushing individuals during the time after work.

Manifestations of boredom and resistance differed among classes. The 1960s youth movement members were scattered across the majority of social layers, even though they originated in the working-class area. However, the public disturbances and manifestations of delinquency were predominantly provoked by the working-class individuals. Cohen offers an answer:

“The middle-class adolescent has always had other alternatives: satisfaction through education or job, or ‘constructive’ solutions such as community social work, charity walks... For the working-class adolescent only the town was left.”³⁸

Nevertheless, the town did not offer a large scale of cultural options for a working-class individual in the late fifties. Therefore, one possible option was to create own excitement and adventure, e.g. throw a rock, provoke a fight, take a pill. Afterwards, members of individual groups started to clearly separate its members, starting with the Teddy Boys.

The following paragraphs aim to offer a portrayal of two mainstream subcultures (apart from Mod which are described in the third chapter) in order to depict a variety of opinions and lifestyles that individual groups represented. The first to be analyzed are the above-mentioned “Teddy Boys”. The post-war gloom of this period gave rise to excited, life-enjoying and moral-standards-losing teenagers. For the first time, the shocked public had to accept the presence and importance of the young generation. Nothing like this had been seen before.

If any British youth subculture should be traced to its roots, one would nearly always find a same group of teenagers: The Teds. They emerged in the 1950s and are contemporary considered

³⁷ Cohen, *Folk Devils*, 206.

³⁸ Cohen, *Folks Devils*, 207.

to be the British original teen subculture. Loudly striking the streets of London, the first mention could be traced back to the 1940s when tailors of the Savile Row, a street in the central London primarily known for bespoke men's tailoring, took the first step to revive the style of the Edwardian era. Especially wealthy young men, frequently Guards officers, quickly adopted the style.³⁹ On September 23, 1953, Daily Express released an issue entitled *Edwardian to Teddy* and formerly known Cosh Boys became coined as Teddy Boys. Teds - teenagers working in monotonous jobs, needed to balance their frustration emerging from their job positions. Therefore, they formed outdoor gangs in parks and streets. The following testimony of one of the Teddies describes details:

If we were together in the gang, we felt strong. If we sat in the park at a place called 'Pilz', then other adults went along other places. We only got orders at home and at work, but we have been somebody at least. We just used to get together and roar around and bowl.⁴⁰

Firstly, individual gangs appeared scattered across different streets. Later, they moved from working areas to the downtown and gathered in larger groups. Driving motorbikes and disrespecting the road rules, they tried to fully use their leisure time. As Steinberg states, in contrast to other subcultures, Teddy Boys did not consist of only one social class, but they reported members from the working class, middle class, as well as the upper class. Expanding into upper-class ladder, the fashion simultaneously shattered into two branches, regarding the affordability for less fortune members. The working-class Teds therefore recreated the fashion by altering already outlined. Still, many young boys could not afford the whole outfit, so they purchased only the part of it - most frequently the shoes.

Focusing on the youth movement clothes, Teddy Boys followed principles of the original Edwardian period and the reign of Edward VII. in 1901-1910 (designation Teddy is a diminutive of Edward). A typical male fashion model consisted of Edwardian jacket, usually ornamented with chequered pattern, a smart shirt, a Slim Jim tie and a long waistcoat with fur trimmings. Trousers were usually short of ankles, revealing gaudy socks and toe-capped shoes.

Popularity of Teddy Boys rapidly increased in a short amount of time. The importance of Teddies potent fashion lies in the conscious decision to differentiate male teenage population from

³⁹ "Teddy Boy," World EBook Library. Accessed December 11, 2017. http://newspaperslibrary.org/articles/eng/teddy_boy.

⁴⁰ Shirley R. Steinberg, Priya Parmar and Birgit Richard, *Contemporary Youth Culture: an International Encyclopedia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 294.

the generation of their parents and the style of other groups in their near surrounding. Such conscious decision of the male part of the British population might appeared for the first time. However, the total number at the peak of the Ted's popularity did not exceed 30,000 individuals.

In contrast to sleek Teds, deeply identifiable and manly appearing subculture evolved in 1968 – “the Skinheads”. Formerly known as no heads, crop heads, boiled eggs or spy kids, the Skinheads developed a working-class identity deeply influenced by the culture of West Indian immigrants and the white working class. The movement openly criticized west countries, life of consumerism and Golden Youth, frequently through violent and aggressive behavior. During the later revival, Skinheads were not afraid to adopt some of the Nazi symbols. Number of punk concerts did not go without racist riots and a Nazi salute.⁴¹ Smolík arguments that if any subculture directly enters the political environment, it frequently abandons its cultural side. Similarly, Skinheads became a tool of the British right-wing extremist political party called National Front and left-wing Communist and Labor parties.⁴² Nevertheless, many punk groups distanced themselves from racism and even created a concert platform against similar manifestations.

Skinheads' typology depends on a very complex structure based on ideology, music style, coexistence with other subcultures and a type of the discussed Skinhead wave (1960s original movement and 1980s revival). As Smolík states, ‘traditional Skinheads’ are not politically determined and follow a traditional cult from 1969 – bold heads, resistance towards hippies, alcohol use and aggressive attitude. According to Danics, Skinheads generally reject nationalism, but are strictly determined against immigrants and do not hesitate to behave violent when facing criminal delinquents.⁴³ While this is the case of politically uninfluenced Skinheads, the revival in 1980s frequently reported the left or right-wing political affiliation. For example, ultra-left-wing ‘Red Skins’, prototypical ‘ultra-right-wing Skinheads’, ‘Nazi Skinheads’ leaning towards nationalism and socialism of Hitler, white-skinned racist ‘White Power Skinheads’ were the part of the later wave of Skinheads.⁴⁴

Skinheads emerged as a reaction to the worsening situation of the working class, especially the lower working class. Youth members oppressed by the existing subcultures and the “us-them”

⁴¹ Josef Smolík, *Youth Subcultures: Introduction to the Problematics* (Prague: Grada, 2010), 134.

⁴² Smolík, *Youth Subcultures*, 135.

⁴³ Smolík, *Youth Subcultures*, 137.

⁴⁴ Štefan Danics, *Extremism: The Threat to Democracy* (Prague: Police History, 2002).

consciousness gave rise to a new form of subculture. Moreover, the sense of oppressiveness coming from the authorities sharpened the need to find solidarity with somebody. In the Skinhead's case, the solidarity was expressed by aggressiveness, frustration and attacks on other subcultures. According to Hall and Jefferson, the Skinheads did not in real recreated the community, they only used an image of what the community meant for them. They adopted a tradition trimmed off its real social foundations.⁴⁵ Daniel and McGuire comment that rather than a community, Skinheads appeared as being a masculine subculture of their own. The gangs believed their attitude corresponds with the working-class attitude of the previous generations' traditions. Skinheads believed they hold the same prejudice against immigrants as their parents did.⁴⁶ Not surprisingly the Skinheads became associated with the East End area, the place strongly connected to the working-class community.

One more major factor of the movement, the crucial sign in the behavior of the Skinheads, appears in relation to the territory. As Hall describes, The 'Mobs' were assigned to individual territories, e.g. the Smethwick Mob, visibly marking their territories with slogans on walls.⁴⁷ Similarly, football matches provided a suitable event to express Skinheads lifestyle, i.e. violence raising from the masculine appearance and the resistance to step back from problems often resulted in football riots. Stuart and Hall furtherly introduce two remaining prototypically Skinhead activities – "Paki-Bashing" and "Queer-Bashing." The term "Paki-bashing" is explained as an aggressive attitude towards Pakistani individuals caused by their visible disparity and unwillingness to defend themselves. "Queer-bashing" consists of unprovoked attacks against less masculine individuals, mainly the Hippies or homosexuals. However, in the Skinhead's way of interpretation, the term "queer" extends to anybody who would Skinheads call an "odd-looking individual."⁴⁸

To conclude, through masculinity, collectiveness and territoriality, the Skinheads sought to express and recreate the sense of the traditional working-class community. To summarize, in terms

⁴⁵ Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 100.

⁴⁶ Susie Daniel, Pat Doyle and Pete McGuire, *The Paint House: Words from an East Gang* (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1972), 21-22.

⁴⁷ Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 100.

⁴⁸ Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 102.

of parent to youth subculture, they achieved both - the style's continuity and the form's discontinuity.

Mod, a very British Style

Mod is the first distinctively British youth cult with a great artistic and social influence. What became known as Mod was an amalgam of American and European music, fashion and design that left its mark not only on a variety of subsequent youth cults, but also on British culture.⁴⁹

Youth movement called “Mod”, an abbreviation of “Modernists,” entered the British society in time when American consumerism was gradually changing foundations of the island's society. In 1959, a few fashion-oriented individuals started the movement mainly in relationship to their taste in music. At first, these modern-jazz fans gathered in Soho, from which they scattered all around London to indulge in their hedonistic lifestyle, so they could become an international movement between 1962 to 1967.⁵⁰ Conscious shopping, drug use and casual sex – the main reasons raising disturbance around the cult among older generations.

Moderns quickly became a synonym for the term “modernism.” This new philosophical movement came to Europe and the United States of America at the beginning of the twentieth century and immediately introduced a fresh artistic, literary and fashion-conscious attitude towards life. Millions of homeowners now lived in art deco suburbs and functionalist Bauhaus houses. Modernism has influenced all parts of commercial design, e.g. cars, furniture, architecture, etc. According to Weight, the idea of modernity did not appear for the first time, but it was for the first time that Britons searched for more centrally planned society, attached aesthetics more of importance and embraced technological progress.⁵¹ To extricate from the fadedness of the post-war life, mass-market modernism quickly found a broad audience, firstly among the middle-class educated individuals, later in all social classes. Charles Harrington's definition of modernism may later serve to describe Mod movement:

Modernism may fruitfully be thought of as a form of tradition, but one maintained in a kind of critical tension with the wider surrounding culture.

⁴⁹ Richard Weight, *Mod! A Very British Style* (London: The Bodley Head, 2013), 2.

⁵⁰ Weight, *Mod! A Very British Style*, 2.

⁵¹ Weight, *Mod! A Very British Style*, 7.

The tradition in question is one in which what is carried forward is not a given stylistic canon, but rather a kind of disposition or tendency...⁵²

Harrington in his quote describes the way in which modernism spread across the world, becoming accepted by broad variety of followers, but at the same time attacked by suspicious critics. Similar tendencies occurred in relation to Mod. While members of youth movement had accepted modernity several times before, for the first time a movement originally expanded, to such an extent, directly of the working class. Commonly, the aristocracy and landed gentry used to set the popular style in the past, from which it gradually developed (usually in an adjusted form) to lower social classes. During the period of the sixties, manual workers and butchers walked in streets of London better dressed than British lords. According to one of the original members of Mod - Richard Barnes, the term “Mod” was now being applied to anything new and previously unseen, representing taste and state of being ‘in’.⁵³

To correctly define a group of people entitled as Mods, attention must be narrowed to the group of the working-class teenagers who became unmistakably identifiable by their hair, clothes, etc. Christine Feldman explains that in spite of sociological studies frequently denying the influence of the Mod movement on the mainstream culture, it was precisely the mainstreaming which helped to achieve its international reach. In the later phase, Mods openly welcomed young women, left their regulatory page aside and indulge in even more entertaining way of life. These aspects helped to form a cultural phenomenon. From male working-class oriented rebellion, rather selected group gradually evolved into a global movement opened to both, men and women.⁵⁴

The lifestyle of Mods had been inspired by various influences. Firstly, it should be emphasized that Mods were active during nights and such night life demanded a specific style of clothes. As depicted in *Resistance Through Rituals*, night riots, insults, challenges against rockers and speed of the night forced body and mind to be beware and active. Therefore, Mods inspired in the Mafiosi-American-type lifestyle with its sharp and neat visual appearance. Such character frequently appeared in crime movies taking place in bustling New York, which had been one step above London in the Mods source of inspiration.⁵⁵ Other accessories essentials were dark glasses

⁵² Charles Harrison, *Modernism* (London: Tate Publishing, 2004), 6.

⁵³ Terry Rawlings, *Mod: A Very British Phenomenon* (Woodstock: Overlook, 2001), 6.

⁵⁴ Christine Jacqueline Feldman, *We Are the Mods: A Transnational History of a Youth Subculture* (New York: Lang, 2009), 5.

⁵⁵ Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 89.

and pork-pie hat. Here, Mods inspired from the Jamaican hustler. Jamaicans held the guard over the city during nights, therefore they presented an ideal source of inspiration for Mod style. Hall arguments that British gangsters appeared on London scene simultaneously with the *Gaming Laws* introduced in 1963 and quickly became the second source of inspiration for an educated group of the working-class youth. Many teenagers followed the gangsters to the streets of Soho to see what exciting adventures they bring.⁵⁶ Gangsters dressing in the sharp suits, posing with sawn off shotguns, whispering in suspicious conversations on corners of London streets – a perfect role model for Mod lifestyle. Therefore, so called “Soho mod” evolved, a character developed from exquisite marriages between East and South London criminals and West End high life cultures.

Mods dreamt to live an exciting hedonistic lifestyle. To depict their ideal schedule, a piece of interview conducted in a Sunday Times magazine in April 1964 shall be used. It is a testimony of seventeen-year-old mod about an ideal week of London mod:

Monday night meant dancing at the Mecca, the Hammersmith Palais, the Purley Orchard, or the Streatham Locarno. Tuesday meant Soho and the Scene club. Wednesday was Marquee night. Thursday was reserved for the ritual washing of the hair. Friday meant the Scene again. Saturday afternoon usually meant shopping for clothes and records, Saturday night was spent dancing and rarely finished before 9.00 or 10.00 Sunday morning. Sunday evening meant the Flamingo or, perhaps, if one showed signs of weakening, could be spent sleeping.⁵⁷

Such kind of lifestyle would undoubtedly require more money than an average working-class teenager possessed and energy which could be usually channeled only from pills and only for a certain period of time. Apart from a few hundreds of wealthier Mods who could have adopted such lifestyle, the reality in most cases differed. Fantasizing about clubs, women and gangsterism, Mods roamed the streets on Vespas, dressed in long anoraks, consuming fish and chips. According to Hall, it was mostly due to the fact that an average Mod worked in an office, clerk store or service industry and earned £11 a week.⁵⁸ Mods compensated their relatively low status during the day with their night life, during which they dressed better than their bosses and lived to make up their insignificant jobs and day-time routines. Frequently through using amphetamines which brought the burst of energy and speed.

⁵⁶ Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 89.

⁵⁷ Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 90.

⁵⁸ Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 91.

Another essential part of Mod movement is its music. Combining American rhythm and blues, native accent and themes of British life, indigenous British music revival took place during the Sixties. According to a critical music review in *The Times* in 1964, Lennon and McCartney's music created a unique British music style that had developed on Merseyside,⁵⁹ and which had not been copied from Americans as usual since 1930s. Moreover, Beatles became American number one group. Regarding the typical Mod groups, the Kinks were dominant and the most influential interprets. According to Pete Townshend, a rock singer of The Who, a leading singer, guitarist and composer Ray Davis created a new language for pop writing which influenced him and other groups profoundly.⁶⁰ The Kinks composed three albums: *Something Else* (1967), *The Kinks Are the Village Green Preservation Society* (1968) and *Arthur* (1969) and became the most English band of this era. For his music services was Davis in 2004 rewarded with the title Commander of British Empire.⁶¹

Compared to its American form, British Mod movement survived for a longer period. Weight arguments it is because a less class-mobile and more class-oriented system of Britons in which Mods could have provoke stereotypes. On the contrary to the United States, where the symbiosis of music and fashion did not reach such popularity and it was less difficult to climb the social ladder.⁶²

To conclude, British popular music of 1960s and music of Mods restored national pride and supported national identity after an economic and political power decline of Britain in the world. The establishment supported cultural renewal with multiple projects, as for example Royal College of Music. From 1960 to 1963, record sale of domestic musicians was unseen, with a profound impact on The United States as well. "For a while in 66 everything British was best: sex, drugs and Rock'n'Roll," states Chris Farlowe, a singer whose song 'Buzz with Fuzz' became Mods anthem.⁶³ Bound to the cultural renaissance, Mod became a synonym for modernism. Though they relate to the optimistic period of the UK history, Mod subsequently parented youth subcultures appearing in more depressing period of time, from Skinheads of 1970s to Casuals of 1980s. However, this

⁵⁹ a metropolitan country in North West England

⁶⁰ Pete Townshend, "The history of Rock'n'Roll," interview, *Warner Bros TV*, 1995.

⁶¹ Weight, *Mod! A Very British Style*, 95.

⁶² Weight, *Mod! A Very British Style*, 74.

⁶³ "Maximum Mod 1965-68," *NME Originals: Mod*, no. 2, 2005, 41.

<https://issuu.com/siouxsiesioux/docs/nme.originals.mod.magazine.2006>.

mainstream youth culture interconnected a broad variety of people from different parts of world through its lifestyle, fashion and music in the instant pursuit of freedom.

Exploring the Role of Mod Music

The practical part of this thesis aims to analyze three main influences of mod music and several interprets are explored in detail in the following pages.

British pop of the sixties was essentially a rhythm and blues revival of originally black music. For number of white US citizens, who had been more racially segregated than British population, sounds of black music were generally unfamiliar. Therefore, British Invasion not only prepared United States for a new wave of the originally American blues, but it moreover allied with the blacks in the war against American racism. Regarding the most influencing or international groups reaching the Top 40 in the US chart, the “big four” protrude among others - The Kinks, The Who, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, whilst the Kinks and the Who represent mod identity and aesthetics throughout.

Importance of Personal Freedom

The first theme developing throughout Mod songs, on which principles later interpreters like David Bowie explored their own themes, is the pursuit of personal freedom. Pursuit of independence and belonging resonate through numbers of Mod songs. A representative example might be “Tired of Waiting for You” by the Kinks (Appendix no. 4):

...But please don't keep-a me waiting
'Cause I'm so tired
Tired of waiting for you...

In the provided snatch, a strong desire to live independent life, even without a person for whom the song is written, reflects the fact that pursuit of personal happiness and independence had always been actively engaged in the mod lifestyle. Exploring one identity, autonomy and freedom undoubtedly belongs to adolescence and Mod songs aimed straight to identity concern. In their book, Gennaro and Harison describe that involvement of identity construction felt crucial for Mod audience. Music therefore represented an exciting and accessible way to identify with the

movement.⁶⁴ Moreover, texts were being composed live in close proximity of the Mods, at places like London, where the youth experienced their frustrations and dreams, thus the music felt authentic. Subsequently, it originated in Britain and was not imported delayed from across the ocean. Minimalist text of the “Tired of Waiting for You” repeats one section of words in each song stage, underlying the simple state of being in which the Mods appeared every day. Even though their unrealistic goal was to undergo an extraordinary adventure and excitement day by day, the fact that most of the time nothing happened caused rather frustration and ennui, taking form in Mod lyrical contemplations.

The second evidence of personal freedom, playing the key role among both genders, could be found in the following lines of the Kinks’ song:

It's your life
And you can do what you want
Do what you like

Here, the character’s objective is both, his own personal freedom, but also the receiver’s independence. If general logical conclusion is reached (song writer being a man), it might be concluded that the main protagonist of the song is likewise a man and the receiver is a woman. Here, an interesting and relatively new social sign should be emphasized. Being certainly dependent on mod male attitude, the movement offered young women relative autonomy. According to Hall and Jefferson, men of the sixties were prepared to accept the fact that women did not have to be attached to them, but they were fully able to have their own occupations and careers, as well as express their identity through fashion and lifestyle, similarly as their male counterparts.⁶⁵ This mid-1960s improvement of young women role in the British society confirms the role of gender in mod subculture and importance of being independent and free of traditional social constraints. In the above example of the Kinks’ song, a selfless will to give the receiver independence on account of losing love or friendship demonstrates the crucial importance of personal freedom in the mod movement.

⁶⁴ Rocco J. Gennaro and Casey Harison, *The Who and Philosophy* (London: Lexington Books, 2016), 24.

⁶⁵ Hall and Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals*, 91.

Another example illustrates the song “Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere” by the Who (Appendix No. 5). Here, the composition aims precisely at the heart of personal freedom fantasies, which radiates throughout each line of the song:

I can go anywhere, for something new
Anyway anyhow anywhere I choose
Don't care anyway, I never lose...
Nothing gets in my way, not even locked doors

In the provided snatch, The Who created almost an anthem for its audience. Signs of personal freedom in the first line, carelessness in the third line and individual responsibility for own life resonate through the full length of the text. The last line offers listeners an interesting phenomenon. As previously mentioned in the thesis, Mods used drugs, e.g. amphetamines, to induce excitement and speed. Here, the verse offers a clear evidence of Mods occasional practices of robbing pharmacies. Stating that “not even locked doors” can hold them away, The Who used one of their coded in-jokes, usually drug related, which they frequently incorporated into their music. Pete Townshend and The Who commented the increasing use of drugs as an appropriate way to promote creativity and gain personal freedom. Drugs represented the way to escape from the cold reality and stimulate a creative flow. During the pre-1964 period, drugs were completely legal and directly associated with Mods. Still, Townshend’s fearless public confession expresses the certitude in which the Mods lived their lives.

Released in 1965, another song of the Who “My Generation” hit the spirit of not only every Mod, but also the remaining part of the restless youth. Including the famous line “I hope I die before I get old,” which Mods adopted as their motto, the song became the mod anthem and “public property” immediately. A lot has been written about the misinterpretation of this rather absurd line, however, once released, the Mods instantly adopted the song as their own.

People try to put us d-down
Just because we get around
Why don't you all f-fade away

The above example proves the youthful ignorance with which is “My Generation” composed. In the first two lines, The Who describes general resentment arousing around young generation and wild lifestyle they had adopted. Even though Mod joined mainstream culture and impinged upon general social life in Britain, other generations remained rather critical about it. However, this did

not change the restlessness and ignorance with which the Mods reacted, being evident in the third line of the snatch. According to Gennaro and Harison, “My Generation” emphasizes a strong conviction of “...being generic enough to insert one’s identity from multiple – if always youthful – perspectives, expanding its appeal.”⁶⁶ Repetition of initial syllables throughout the song creates an atmosphere of restlessness, youthful energy and speed - desired effect of drug consumption. Stuttering at the end of verses underlines words as “sensation” or “generation,” etc., and reinforces a sense of hesitation and indecisiveness – a frequent feeling of a teenage individual. Originally, the song was not addressed to members of the movement, but to those outside. Lines as “Why don’t you all fade away” or “Don’t try to d-dig what we all s-s-say” describe imaginary turning of the back to the part of society which did not accept them.

Being a prominent band of mod music, The Who provided a guiding spirit for the 60s’ generation. A philosopher Martin Heidegger provided an analysis of the interplay between works of art and their ability to convey a new way of being in the world:

“The essence of art, on which both the artwork and the artist depend, is the setting-itself-into-work of truth. It is due to art’s poetic essence that, in the midst of being, art breaks open and open place, in whose openness everything is other than usual.”⁶⁷

The Who managed to give the youth counterculture movement a shape in an unprecedented way. Combination of adverse circumstances and the working-class background only increased popularity with which the youth looked on The Who as symbols of the restless youth. As Gennaro and Harison state, Pete Townshend, a guitarist of The Who, composed lyrics in the pleasing symmetry with Roger Daltrey who delivered them as a leading singer. The Who were undoubtedly trying something different than the rest of bands relying on polished sounds of pop or sweet tones of Chicago blues.⁶⁸ Energetic tones, words stuttering and subversive pauses resulted in rather R&B orientation. During their performance at the Woodstock Music and Art Fair, 400,000 youth visitors celebrating “Music, Peace and Love” fathomed how to not only promote the youth visions, but what it means to turn them into reality. Gennaro and Harison describe performance of The Who

⁶⁶ Gennaro and Harison, *The Who and Philosophy*, 25.

⁶⁷ Amanda Boetzkes and Aron Vinegar, *Heidegger and the Work of Art History* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2014).

⁶⁸ Gennaro and Harison, *The Who and Philosophy*, 36.

at Woodstock Festival as “legendary energetic stage presence which gave people a model as to what embracing physical, emotional and musical freedom can look like.”⁶⁹

To summarize, pursuit of personal freedom played a major role in British youth countercultures. The period of 1960s and invasion of the British music to the United States and other countries supported national pride and helped to restore national identity. Interprets as The Who and The Kinks focusing on identity concern and importance of freedom aimed precisely at restlessness and insecurities of the youth generation, ensuring their outstanding achievement.

Sense of Alienation

The second theme occurring in songs of various mod interpreters, is a sense of alienation. Alienation is not a new concept in connection with the youth. For example, Eddie Cochran’s “Summertime Blues” discussed the theme already in 1958. Nevertheless, alienation occurs for the first time in relation to the Rock’n’Roll music. Searching for its place in society, The Who passionately displayed their discontentment in the album *Live at Leeds* (1970) and during concerts which climaxed to destruction of the group’s musical instruments as drums and guitars. Their theatrical performance and expressions of alienation remained ingrained in punk, metal, grunge and various genres of alternative music. The Who’s “I Can’t Explain” might serve as a representative example. Confused and unable to express his feelings, Pete Townshend wrote The Who’s first hit, a love song inspired with author’s confusion regarding his feelings:

Can't explain
I think it's love
Yeah, hear what I'm saying, girl (Can't explain)
The things you've said, well, maybe they're true

Analyzing the snatch, clear lingering uncertainty fuels the song. The first two lines declare growing doubts about mutual love, using phrases as “I can’t explain” or “I think it’s...” Additionally, the author adopts a more distant stance towards his love by claiming “I’m so tired, tired of waiting for you,” as almost he would already give up. Furthermore, the theme does not have to be evaluated only in terms of love feelings. The Who usually took a deeper attitude towards their songs and only “You Better, You Bet” is considered to be unambiguously a love song. Equally important, the

⁶⁹ Gennaro and Harison, *The Who and Philosophy*, 40.

band's dissatisfaction with conventional themes predicts songs yet to come. Pete Townshend here claims that "he's tired, feeling bad and dizzy in the head," which might express mental fatigue from reasons beyond the sense of love. He claims he is tired of dull topics and omnipresent love songs. His upcoming song "Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere" thus celebrates rather unconventional themes of freedom and identity, in which the Who found their distinctive voice.

Based on the sense of alienation, another song influenced by mod movement is "All or Nothing" by Small Faces (Appendix No.8). Written by a guitarist Steve Marriott and a bass player Ronnie Lane, "All or Nothing" became a debut still played worldwide.

I thought you'd listen to my reasoning
But now I see, you don't hear a thing
Try to make you see, how it's got to be

Preceding verses provide an example of a resigned individual. Being three times married with two illegitimate children, Marriott seems to be a clear example of all or nothing. As the Small Faces' manager described in his autobiography (2004), Marriot wrote this song as a reflection of his breakup with his fiancée Sue Oliver. However, Marriot's autobiography reveals a second source of inspiration – a complicated relationship with his wife. In 1966, Marriott met a model Jenny Rylance and their initially friendly relationship turned into a circle of breakups and returns. In the end, they got married, but after 5 years of living together, they divorced.⁷⁰ Regarding the relationship side of life, the author thus seems to experience a lot. The song reveals singer's persistent insecurities and alienation which clearly comes to his relationship once again. The estrangement is clearly visible in the provided snatch in which the author reports signs of a remaining will to fight for the love, but his companion seems to lose it and "do not hear a thing" anymore. Moreover, Marriot's drug and alcohol addiction deeply affected his relationship as well. Ensuing constant quarrels among the couple, after 5 years they divorced and the song is therefore ascribed to Jenny Rylance and insecurities in their relationship as a result of Marriot's struggle against drug addiction. Marriot explains:

Yes, it's yeah, all or nothing
Oh yeah, all or nothing
You'll hear my children say
All or nothing for me

⁷⁰ Paolo Hewitt and John Hellier, *Steve Marriott: All Too Beautiful* (London: Helter Skelter, 2009).

The chorus of the song repeats the central theme. The phrase “all or nothing” could be related to the Rylance’s decision to leave Marriot several times and move forward in her life, leaving him fight alone with his problems. According to my interpretation, the chorus describes Rylance’s betrayal in their marriage by choosing rather nothing than all. In this case, abandoning the good for the bad, as for example Marriot’s drug addiction compensated for the fame and success he reached.

Both, songs of Small Faces about feelings regarding relationships and songs of alienation by The Who regarding the youth post-war generation are popular nowadays. As Gennaro and Harison describe, Pete Townshend believed that success of his band lied in the period in which they composed and frustrated feelings the young post-war generation felt.⁷¹ Being the case, their songs would not be played repeatedly in the 21st century and the future far from now. However, alienation, frustration, feelings of not having power over own lives and force of society to submit and find a place to live in, are ultimate feelings of nearly every young individual. The following lines of “Behind Blue Eyes” by The Who (Appendix No. 9) illustrate the above discussed:

No one knows what it's like
To feel these feelings
Like I do

In nearly every period, a listener to whom The Who sing about their feelings of alienation and confess about incomprehension with social system he is supposed to submit to, may easily nod his head with deep insight and unspoken thoughts of “I know what it’s like”. On contrary to The Rolling Stones or Beatles, The Who adopted an attitude of identification and close relationship with its audience. The 60s youth, as well as the contemporary youth, listen the song and with every line they disagree “but I know these feelings”, bridging the gap of loneliness and alienation, reconciling the need to find the same-minded individuals with the press to fit into the society.

But my dreams
They aren't as empty
As my conscience seems to be

Moreover, Pete Townshend composed this ballad as a prayer giving him strength during tours. Every rock group had its loyal groupies whose goal was to serve their idols in any direction. Tempted by one of the groupies, superficiality of these relationships inspired Townshend to write the song. Townshend describes the sad reality with which groupies offered themselves and empty

⁷¹ Gennaro and Harison, *The Who and Philosophy*, 52.

conscience with which musicians accepted them. Singing “When my fist clenches, crack it open”, Townshend asks for strength to resist.

Analyzing the sense of alienation regarding The Whom from a different perspective, a later response of the band to the issue appeared in the form of religion. Gennaro and Harison claim that in 1968, Townshend received a book entitled *The God-Man* and instantly favored an author Meher Baba, an Indian spiritual teacher claiming he is the Avatar – a human form of God.⁷² In 1969, the album *Tommy* was released, being the first rock opera in the history. According to Gennaro and Harrison, Townshend’s image of the main protagonist Tommy corresponds with Meher Baba, who pledged the vow of silence. Similarly, Tommy is unable to communicate, blind and deaf.⁷³ In “See Me Feel Me” the song follows Tommy’s unspoken thoughts:

See Me
Feel Me
Touch Me
Heal Me
Listening to you, I get the music
Gazing at you, I get the heat
Following you, I climb the mountain
I get excitement at your feet

Tommy dreams of connecting with people, clearly visible from first four lines. The parallel between an outsider Tommy, misunderstood by his surrounding, living in the omnipresent alienation, silent Meher Baba and Townshend’s religious beliefs is visible in the remaining four lines. “Following you, I climb the mountains” expresses Townshend’s gratitude for guidance which Baba offered to his followers. Unable to find a place in the society, Tommy, like Baba, found the truth in his visions by simple listening, gazing and following. Therefore, Tommy represents the hope to find the meaning of life by crossing the path of an enlightened individual.

Religious approach towards issues of alienation consists of two factors. Firstly, religion offers a community feeling. In “Welcome” by The Who, listed in the album *Tommy*, Tommy’s objective is to gather a community of same-minded people who would follow his learning:

Come to my house
Be one of the comfortable people.
Come to this house

⁷² Gennaro and Harison, *The Who and Philosophy*, 51.

⁷³ Gennaro and Harison, *The Who and Philosophy*, 51.

We're drinking all night
Never sleeping.

Inviting various people into his house, he aims to create the community of followers because the society rejected his flaws and individuality. Enticing them to a drink and a place to sleep, he spares no money or trouble to offer them an appropriate accommodation:

We need more room
Build an extension
A colorful palace
Spare no expense now

In the previous lines, a desire to build a place where people would happily spend their lives, is clearly stated. As Baba, Tommy uniquely creates his own community and passes his knowledge to others, representing the enlightened and socially responsible individual. However, a sense of community might not be the most important factor of religion to surpass the feeling of alienation. It is the relationship to God itself. Considering the fact, for some individuals might be less difficult to find understanding in God, rather than in human beings. If Townshend's religious notions match the reality is not substantial in this case. He used his faith to create some of his masterpieces and through the faith in Baba, he relieved his feelings of alienation and exclusion.

The theme of social responsibility, as an answer to alienation, later appeared in other albums, for example in the song "How Can You Do It Alone" (Appendix No. 10):

Then I saw as he lit up my smoke
Beneath his coat he was naked and wet
With eyes full of shame
For he knew that I knew
I said "I know there's no name
For what you go through
But how can you do it alone."

The snatch describes a man ashamed of his actions, but not being judged by the main character of the song. Outsiders of this song seem to be fully aware of their mistakes, though it does not discourage them from doing them. On the contrary, the protagonist's sympathy clearly excels from the song. He does not denounce them, but rather admire their strength to move on the edge of the society by themselves. The social responsibility towards others, in this case regarding the outsiders of the society, has its roots in learning of Baba. In "*The God-Man*," he claims: "My work is to lead others to reach the goal: to live in the world and not to be of it, and to be in harmony with everything

and everyone."⁷⁴ Townshend's lyrics reflects his admiration for Baba's social consciousness, evident in the following lines of the song:

Beside me some schoolkid I saw
Push some girlie mags down into his jeans
And he escaped into the streets.
With eyes full of shame

The second stanza of "How Can You Do It Alone" depicts a story of another outsider shoplifting a magazine. As the shop girl, from whom the magazine has been stolen, asks the main protagonist to call the police, he observes the running boy, noticing rather the shame in his eyes than the illegal act he has committed. As Gennaro and Harison argument: "The final major response The Who raises to alienation is to act as a social reformer, dealing with the mismatch between the individual and society by changing the society."⁷⁵ The Who's objective was to offer an answer towards the issue of alienation, a common feeling of the post-war youth. Influenced by Meher Baba, Townshend composed songs about outsiders of the society searching their place in the society and the sense of belonging. And *Tommy* is an excellent example of all the mentioned.

The issue of social responsibility also appears in later songs, for example the Tommy's follow-up *Lifeshouse*. Inspired by vibes of concerts, Townshend launched *The Lifeshouse Project* based on a software that composes music using listeners personal data and preferences. As the project's official website claims, the aim was to gather audience in a concert which songs would be specifically composed according to individual preferences. However, the concert of such musical portraits has not been organized to this date.⁷⁶

Undoubtedly, the religious aspect changes the essence of the Mod's versus Pete Townshend's manifestations of alienation and influences lyrical creation of The Who. However, previous paragraphs aim to support the fact that not only secular affluences inspired artistic creation of Mod interprets. The problem of alienation is old as the humanity itself. Outsiders denying a following of society standards have existed in every period. The post-war youth generation coped

⁷⁴ C. B. Purdom, *The God-Man; The Life, Journeys and Work of Meher Baba with an Interpretation of His Silence and Spiritual Teaching* (Sheriar Foundation: Myrtle Beach, South Carolina, 2010), 415.

⁷⁵ Gennaro and Harison, *The Who and Philosophy*, 57.

⁷⁶ "Lifeshouse Method," Pete Townshend, last modified December 6, 2017, <http://petetownshend.net/lifeshouse-method>

with the issue, as well as did Socrates. However, the key message appears to be identical, the time frame notwithstanding - humans should not allow the society to determine their behavior.

Resistance and Provocation

It spreads like a disease. If we want to stop it, we have to be able to get rid of those children from the school, and quickly... We must immediately get rid of the bad children so that they cannot infect the good. You must weed this type out...put them in a special school so that the others won't be infected...it's a contagious germ.⁷⁷

As several times mentioned in the theoretical part, loss of moral standards among the youth became one of the most distinctive traits of the 60s society. Several Mods and Rockers disturbances gave the foundations for over-reporting and exaggeration of such events in social media. Misleading headlines emphasizing “riots” and “incidents” soon supported growing panic among older generation. The introductory quotation describes a general opinion regarding Mods and Rockers among the British society. The generation gap was widening and Mods, as well as other groups, reacted towards criticism in the way which promoted the hedonistic lifestyle they confessed – wearing stylish clothes, taking pills and listening to the loud music.

Particularly for Mods, the music was a crucial tool to express frustration and resistance propelling their lives. Successful interpreters who managed to capture such mood were The Rolling Stones. Becoming early Mod's voice, The Rolling Stones composed with the necessary arrogance, frustration and hooliganism. Certainly, The Rolling Stones are not a typical mod band. Mods soon reoriented to rather “local bands,” one reason might be that The Rolling Stones became too mainstream and “American oriented.” However, their first lyrical compositions had number of connections to the music the original Mods enjoyed. Released in 1965, “*(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction*” (Appendix No.12) shaped the band's career and destroyed their reputation of blues conservatives.

I can't get no, I can't get no
When I'm driving in my car
And that man comes on the radio
And he's telling me more and more

⁷⁷ P.M. Evans and K.J. Swift, “Single Mothers and the Press: Rising Tides, Moral Panic and Restructuring Discourses,” in *Restructuring Caring Labour: Discourse, State Practice and Everyday Life*, ed. S.M. Neysmith, (Oxford, OUP, 2000).

Mick Jagger, a leading singer, composed a text attacking the public with its pure sexuality, sarcasm and assaults. As the snatch depicts, the first impression forming from the lines is the boy's primitive basic desire. Provoking the British, as well as American, conservative public, the song was viewed as an assault upon the older generation. The last two lines of the snatch provide criticism of consumerism and useless talks that surrounded Jagger from radio, TV, etc., "about some useless information" that constantly advertise new products and commodities. However, it was Jagger's public confession of women seducing that caused the visceral dislike. Several social media even censored the line "I'm trying to make some girl." Interestingly, lines as "come back later next week" hiding a female period reference or "cause you see I'm on losing streak" caused no censorship in social media. The popular phrase "I can't get no satisfaction" touched a sensitive nerve of youth generation. Whether its primary sexual interpretation or alternative version describing youth frustration and alienation, the song transformed rock from its innocent form to its arrogant scent.

Another criticism of consumerism appears in the following lines of "Satisfaction":

I can't get no, I can't get no
When I'm watching my TV
And that man comes on to tell me
How white my shirts can be

This approach corresponds with the previous snatch. However, this time Jagger mentions TV as another tool of consumerism. The issue of consumerism regarding The Rolling Stones and Mick Jagger is worth of further analysis. Despite of Jagger's criticism of consumer society, a memoir of Marianne Faithfull ⁷⁸ states that Jagger would eagerly accept an invitation from "any silly thing with a title and a castle."⁷⁹ Moreover, Jagger fancied British aristocratic life and offered tickets to his concerts for triple-digit numbers. The sale orientation of The Rolling Stones might be the second reason why Mod members soon adopted songs of purely music oriented bands, as the Who or the Kinks.

Regarding The Kinks, their song "Dedicated Follower of Fashion" (Appendix No. 13) offers a comprehensive evaluation of the movement's member regarding the importance of fashion among the Mods. The satire can be both – a praise or criticism.

⁷⁸ Marianne Faithfull, a singer, producer and actress, had a legendary affair with Mick Jagger, performed in the Rolling Stone's concert in 1968 and co-authored the song *Sister Morphine*.

⁷⁹ Marianne Faithfull and David Dalton, *Faithfull: An Autobiography* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2000)

It will make or break him so he's got to buy the best
'Cause he's a dedicated follower of fashion

Davis composition suggests arrogance with which he addresses the outstanding importance of fashion attached to the life in 60s. The first line describes the importance of fashion as almost a question of life and death. As members of mod movement, The Kinks were expected to dress accordingly to the movement preferences. According to an interview in *NME Originals*, the song was a manifestation of anger after a fop ridiculed Davis trousers.⁸⁰ This event inspired The Kinks to create a song satirizing own culture. As once mentioned, Ray Davis wrote it as a satire to nation's sense of proportion. The composition describes outstanding importance of certain individuals to present themselves as "dedicated followers of fashion," regardless the circumstances. As evident in the song, such determined effort could entertain the movement members in such scale they would deliberately provoke their own surrounding. Moreover, the song authentically describes the swinging environment of The Sixties. As the thesis arguments, the ideal night of a Mod consisted of grandiose parties and exciting night-to-night adventures. The line "His world is built 'round discotheques and parties" depicts the bourgeois lifestyle of Londoners. The song might not be a typical example of resistance towards the social system, but it illustrates the British capability to satire oneself and members of one's own movement, if tolerable limits are exceeded.

Another essential influencer of the British youth were The Animals. Released in 1965, their song "We Gotta Get Out Of This Place" (Appendix No. 14) accurately captured the mid-60s community of anti-establishment young individuals. Though no place reference appears in the composition, the U.S. soldiers fighting in the Vietnam War adopted the song, marking it the most frequently played lyrics of the war period. Despite connections to the U.S. army, the song immediately topped the UK charts. If the period of 1960s caused disillusionment among the youth regarding the importance of education and employment, The Animals managed to capture such mood in their song:

Watch my daddy in bed and tired
Watch his hair been turning gray
He's been working and slaving his life away
Oh yes I know it

⁸⁰ "Interview with Ray Davis," *NME Originals*, 2011.

The provided snatch offers authentic testimony of a 1960's youth individual. Using parents as an example, The Animals depict monotonous circle of the working process consistent through the whole period of life. Bary Mann, an author of the text, compares the process of day-to-day working to "the slavery." Mods attention rather focused on conscious exploring of the personal independence. Disregarding the consumerist lifestyle and working cycle of life, the song offered the needed amount of consolation and justification.

We gotta get out of this place
If its the last thing we ever do
Girl there's a better life for me and you

The above-given snatch of the song describes the most compelling part of the song. Not only during 1960s, young individuals have felt the urgent need to "get out of this place." The song genuinely delivers a message of frustration and possess the necessary rhythm of resistance. Whether referring to the Friday afternoon in a tedious job, a school desk or accommodation with parents, the majority of counterculture members could fully identify with the song. The emergence of self-consciousness, dissatisfaction with standard elements of life, e.g. education and employment, and importance to differentiate oneself frequently resulted in intense mixed feelings. Music offered effective way to express frustration in a loud and strong way. Moreover, resistance through music helped communities to stick together and create masses that had the potential to be heard. The Animals managed to capture the post-war generation's refusal to settle in the same way as their parents and previous generations. Instead, youth hit the town, cinemas, clubs and refused to follow standard family structures. Matthew Worley provides an illustrative example in his book:

It was apparent that young people did not necessarily want to do as they were told and sought to make a difference by making a noise. For example, young girls' sexuality and romantic desires worked against the faultlines of the perspective literature they read. They were being sold the dream of the happy-ever-after ending, but in the process they became aware of themselves as sexual agents.⁸¹

Mann and The Animals managed to express Worley's opinion in the last line of the provided snatch. "Girl there's a better life for me and you" manifests the above-stated. The couple refuses to accept the current situation in which they find no comfort. The main characters reassure each other of non-permanence and improvement of the current situation by stating that there has to be

⁸¹ Matthew Worley, *Youth Culture and Social Change: Making a Difference by Making a Noise* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 4.

something more that life has prepared for them. Young individuals entering a conversion from adolescence to full-fledged adulthood frequently identify themselves with the same depressing thoughts. The success of The Animals therefore lied in transformation of these thoughts into a strong and loud form of art which had the ability to move with masses and cause a change.

Whether referred to The Animals, The Kinks or the overall mod movement, their stylish attitude, moral disobedience and the need to form conscious youthful groups to relieve the feelings of alienation stand for the affluent teenager. Cohen arguments that mod visibility and hooliganism was essential for problem definition. Collective mass actions penetrated subconscious of every previously geographical and social-barriers-insulated individual.⁸²

⁸² Cohen, *Folks Devils*, 221.

Conclusion

Youth subcultures proved to be a successful tool for social problem definition, especially in the second half of the twentieth century during the late fifties and throughout the sixties. Once the social and economic conditions improved during the period of the post-war era, new social problems occurred in relation to the youth generation. Though their wage increased and living conditions improved, the youth started to feel isolated and strongly affected by the social class system.

First subcultures appeared in transition period during the fifties and sixties. It was an outcome of the sense of alienation and frustration towards the parent culture. Emerging from the working class, for the first time culture of the “poorest” had power to influence the overall British cultural scene, even the culture of the wealthiest ones. Fashion became a tool to promote oneself from the deepest bottom of the society. Music became a tool to loudly express negative feelings emerging from the class-based consumer society. The working class became a new source of fashion and cultural inspiration.

Mods firstly emerged as a group of fashion conscious men coming from the working-class area. Through fashion and active night life they made up for their relatively low-status job positions and monotonous workload. Furthermore, Mods used music to express social resistance and frustration. This paper aims to analyze this tool and explain the way in which the Rock’n’Roll music helped mod individuals to relieve the feelings of exclusion, alienation, etc.

As the practical part of the thesis gradually develops, the importance of personal freedom among the mods member rise to the surface. Being a prominent factor of adolescent life, establishment of one’s identity appears among topics of mod music as one of the most frequent one. Identity and personal freedom are closely attached one to another. Through establishing personal identity, an individual may find its place in the society and reach its personal freedom – a state of mind when the individual is no longer influenced by feelings of alienation and exclusion. Such theme frequently appears in musical compositions of mod interprets.

The second influencer of mod music analyzed in this paper is a sense of alienation. Feelings of exclusion frequently inspired interprets to compose music which would help their audience to deal with the feelings which they experienced. For example, The Who’s “My Generation” became

an anthem for mod listeners. Through its provoking tone aimed at the offended public, The Who created a sense of belonging for their listeners and members of the movement. This was a frequent tool of dealing with alienation – to compose a text filled with signs of exclusion from the outside world and, on the contrary, a sense of comprehension for those who professed the same values.

Thirdly, the paper analyzes resistance – a prototypical sign of the youth culture. In youth culture, resistance tended to be expressed by moral disobedience and delinquent behavior. Riots among the Mods and Rockers, gangsterism as a source of inspiration and active night life resulted in rather negative attitude of older generations towards the culture of youth. Pursuit of adventure resulted in consumption of drugs, alcohol or amphetamine. Night adventures resulted in creation of so called “Soho Mod” – term expressing a married couple of Soho criminal and West-End-high-life member. Mod music frequently opposed to conservative life of Britons, using loud expressions of openness towards sexuality, drug consumption and delinquent life. The Rolling Stones’ (I Can’t Get No) Satisfaction being one of the examined examples.

To conclude, British scene, for the first time, had to admit the importance of the youth on development of modern British society. Though some sociologists deny its mainstream importance, Mod movement definitely influenced the shape of current British cultural and social scene.

Resume

Cílem této bakalářské práce je analýza vlivu společenských a kulturních změn druhé poloviny 20. století na britskou subkulturu mod a její hudební tvorbu 60. let. Analýza využívá konkrétních úryvků textových písní interpretů ovlivněných fenoménem subkultury mládeže, zejména pak životním stylem mod. Analýza se nejčastěji zaměřuje na tvorbu skupiny The Who a The Kinks, v menší míře pak práce zkoumá i hudební projevy skupin The Animals, The Rolling Stones a Small Faces. Bakalářská práce je rozdělena na dvě části – teoretickou část popisující kontext vývoje britských subkultur a životního stylu mod, a praktickou část analyzující tři klíčové elementy subkultury na příkladech písňových textů významných hudebních interpretů této doby.

Poválečná doba přinesla mnoho politických, ekonomických i kulturních změn po celém světě, včetně území Velké Británie, na jejíž oblast se tato práce zaměřuje. V průběhu 50. a 60. let 20. století se do ústředí kulturního života dostává nová generace mladých lidí, jež nezažila hrůzy války a její strasti tak zná pouze z vyprávění svých rodičů. Mír a stabilitu následuje vzrůstající životní úroveň obyvatelů nejen Evropy. Tradiční establishment Anglie již nenaplnuje potřeby nové moderní doby a mládeže, jejímž cílem je spíše sociální nezávislost a plnohodnotné využití volného času, nežli klasické hodnoty dosud velmi konzervativní britské společnosti - vzdělání, práce a rodina. Mezi novou generací se tak objevují první pokusy, jak tyto kolektivně zažívané problémy vyřešit – tvoří se první mládežnické subkultury.

Práce je tradičně rozdělena na část teoretickou a praktickou. První kapitola seznamuje čtenáře s historickým kontextem poválečné Británie v převážně 60. letech. Historické pozadí plynule přechází v téma subkultur mládeže a jejich vlivu společnost. V závěru kapitoly se práce soustředí na dvě konkrétní subkultury – Teddy Boys a Skinheads. Takový přístup byl zvolen z důvodu možnosti srovnání více než jedné subkultury, životních stylů a vlivů, které na ně působily, i kterými oni působili společnost. Poslední kapitola teoretické části se pak blíže věnuje subkultuře Modernistů (zkráceně Mods) a detailnějšímu společenskému kontextu. Praktická část analyzuje tři významné faktory subkultury Mod a text rozděluje do tří podkapitol. Podkapitoly zkoumají písňové texty hudebních interpretů ovlivněných mladistvými subkulturami, ve velké míře právě i působením Mods. Na hudební tvorbě práce analyzuje frustraci a odpor mladé generace se

sociálními podmínkami panujícími ve Velké Británii a způsob, jak uměleckou formou tyto pocity přetvořila v masu ovlivňující prostředek.

Období 60. let dalo vzniknout množství mladistvých kultur. Úrodnou půdou se toto období stalo především z důvodu prohlubující se mezigenerační propasti. Mladá generace ve velké míře přestala být schopna zhlédnout se v názorech a životním stylu svých rodičů a společnosti. Zlepšující se sociální i ekonomické podmínky otevřely lidem nové možnosti a adolescenti si těchto výhod rozhodli plně užívat. Ne vše se ale měnilo tak rychle, jak by si moderní Britové představovali. I přes vzrůstající počet úspěšných průmyslníků zůstávaly britské vyšší společenské vrstvy tradičně rozděleny a mladé ambiciózní jedince (převážně z dělnické třídy) tato skutečnost frustrovala. Mzdy se však postupně zvyšovaly, a tak i člen dělnické třídy byl zanedlouho schopen úspěšně využívat možností konzumní společnosti.

Sociální stratifikace a prohlubující se mezigenerační propast však nebyly jediným zdrojem frustrace. Byl to i fádňní koloběh každodenního života. Zaměstnání a vzdělání se na žebříčku hodnot posunulo až na vzdálenější pozice. Obvykle nízkou pracovní a sociální pozici si tak mladí začali vynahrazovat v období svého volného času. Členové subkultury Mod si pořizovali na míru ušité oblečení a do rána, většinou pod vlivem návykových látek, brázdili ulicemi Londýna v nekončící touze zažít vzrušující dobrodružství. Inspirací se jim proto staly další noční živly, například mafiánské gangy v Soho. Vysněný noční život se však mnohokrát stal pro člena dělnické třídy nedosažitelným, ať již kvůli nedostatku finančních prostředků či ubývajícímu množství energie, kterou mohly návykové látky nahradit jen po určitou dobu. Realita se tak od představy mnohdy výrazně lišila.

Velkou mírou nicméně ovlivňovala mladistvou nespokojenost právě fáze adolescence. Přestože to mohlo být poprvé, co se v historii v takovém množství bouřilo mládí proti starším generacím a tradiční společnosti, je období vzdoru u mladých jedinců nedílnou součástí dospívání. Historické pozadí vzniku subkultur se jistě musí brát v potaz, nicméně toto období života se vyznačuje právě zvýšenou kritičností, hledáním vlastní identity a svobody, frustrujícím pocitem osamělosti a nepochopení ve společnosti i touhou po dobrodružství. Všechny výše zmíněné faktory hrají u analyzovaných subkultur klíčovou roli.

Nedílnou a definující složkou každé mladistvé subkultury je pak i její styl. V spektru ostatních skupin se oblečení stává prvním viditelným faktorem diferenciací. Mods, v rané fázi

subkultury převážně mladiství muži, byli módou téměř posedlí. Skutečnost, že móda vůbec mohla hrát tak důležitou roli v životě jedince pocházejícího z dělnické třídy, byla výsledkem hospodářské hojnosti země. Tato generace byla jednou z prvních, která nemusela přispívat na chod domácnosti a rodiče byli schopni její chod zajistit z vlastních zdrojů. Mládež tudíž mohla využít své finanční prostředky ke koupi stylového oblečení, což na sebe nenechalo dlouho čekat a vznikly první módní butiky zaměřené speciálně pro tento segment trhu. Příkladem může být proslavená „Carnaby Street“. Mužská móda se vyznačuje elegantním, na zakázku šitým oblekem, vlněnými či kašmírovými svetry, loafery a vlasy inspirovanými vizáží francouzských herců. Ženy svou ženskost příliš nepodtrhovaly a jejich styl se vyznačoval mužskými kalhotami, krátce střiženým účesem a přírodním make-upem.

Nedílnou součástí subkultury se stala i hudba. Ta sloužila jako zdroj zábavy, ale i jako nástroj k projevu frustrace, která výrazně ovlivnila i směr hudebního projevu. Subkulturou inspirovaní interpreti tvořili v souladu s klíčovými hodnotami této skupiny a brzy vznikly hudební skupiny tvořící čistě v duchu Mods. Hudbu, jakožto nástroj projevu sociální a třídní frustrace, analyzuje praktická část této práce.

Modernisté našli inspiraci převážně v sofistikovaném jazzu a tónech R&B. Mnoho amerických posluchačů bylo původně Afro-americkou hudbou téměř neposkvřeno a poprvé ji zaznamenali až z úst populárních britských skupin. Mods si zprvu oblíbili i kapely, které se později orientovaly poněkud jiným směrem, nicméně v raném období skládaly v rytmu R&B a i mezi touto subkulturou si vybudovaly pevnou základnu, např. The Rolling Stones. Zlomovou skladbu „(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction“ analyzuje praktická část této práce. The Rolling Stones písní vyvolaly smíšené emoce mezi starší generací i souhlasné projevy mládeže, a proto se na jejím příkladu práce zabývá otázkou provokace a odporu analyzované subkultury.

Kromě právě zmíněných známek provokace, kterými Mods často odporovali stereotypním standardům britské konzervativní společnosti, práce mimo jiné analyzuje i pocit odcizení a touhu po nezávislosti. Hledání vlastní identity a autonomie patří ke klasickým projevům jak mladistvých subkultur, tak Mods. Ty se tak často stávaly ústředním tématem písňových textů, jejíž formou mládež vyjadřovala touhu po změně. U této subkultury se mimo jiné objevuje i častá známka silné emancipace žen. Tu kapitola ve vztahu k nezávislosti a svobodě také analyzuje. Ženy měly mezi původně čistě mužskou subkulturou vcelku nezávislou autonomii a mladí muži odmítali zastávat

postoj jakéhokoli vlastnictví či nadřazenosti nad ženskými členy subkultury. I tuto skutečnost praktická část analyzuje na specifických příkladech interpretů. V poslední řadě pak teoretická část práce analyzuje vliv pocitů osamělosti a odcizení na hudební projevy subkultury.

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Appendix

Appendix No. 1: **Swindon Teddy Boys at the Hammersmith Palais, London 1955.**



Appendix No. 2: **Skinhead Love. Spotlight Magazine, October 1969**



Appendix No. 3: **1960's Mods on scooters.**



Appendix No. 4: **The Kinks: Tired of Waiting for You**

I'm so tired
Tired of waiting
Tired of waiting for you
I'm so tired
Tired of waiting
Tired of waiting for you

I was a lonely soul
I had nobody till I met you
But you keep-a me waiting
All of the time
What can I do?

It's your life
And you can do what you want
Do what you like
But please don't keep-a me waiting
Please don't keep-a me waiting

'Cause I'm so tired
Tired of waiting
Tired of waiting for you

So tired
Tired of waiting
Tired of waiting for you

I was a lonely soul
I had nobody till I met you
But you keep-a me waiting

All of the time
What can I do?

It's your life
And you can do what you want
Do what you like
But please don't keep-a me waiting
Please don't keep-a me waiting

'Cause I'm so tired
Tired of waiting
Tired of waiting for you

So tired
Tired of waiting
Tired of waiting for you
For you
For you

Appendix No. 5: **The Who: Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere**

I can go anyway, way I choose
I can live anyhow, win or lose
I can go anywhere, for something new
Anyway anyhow anywhere I choose

I can do anything, right or wrong
I can talk anyhow, and get along
Don't care anyway, I never lose
Anyway anyhow anywhere I choose

Nothing gets in my way, not even locked doors
Don't follow the lines that been laid before
I get along anyway I dare
Anyway anyhow anywhere

I can go anyway, way I choose
I can live anyhow, win or lose
I can do anything, for something new
Anyway anyhow anywhere I choose

Anyway
Anyway I choose, yeah
Anyway I wanna go
I wanna go 'n do it myself
Do it myself, do it myself, yeah
Anyway, way I choose
Anyway I choose
Yeah, yeah
Ain't never gonna lose the way I choose

The way I choose
The way I choose

Appendix No. 6: **The Who: My Generation**

People try to put us d-down
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)
Just because we get around
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)
Things they do look awful c-c-cold
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)
I hope I die before I get old
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)

This is my generation
This is my generation, baby

Why don't you all f-fade away
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)
And don't try to dig what we all s-s-say

(Talkin' 'bout my generation)
I'm not trying to cause a big s-s-sensation
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)
I'm just talkin' 'bout my g-g-g-generation
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)

This is my generation
This is my generation, baby

Why don't you all f-fade away
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)
And don't try to d-dig what we all s-s-say
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)
I'm not trying to cause a b-big s-s-sensation (Talkin' 'bout my generation)
I'm just talkin' 'bout my g-g-generation
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)

This is my generation
This is my generation, baby

People try to put us d-down
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)
Just because we g-g-get around
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)
Things they do look awful c-c-cold
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)
Yeah, I hope I die before I get old
(Talkin' 'bout my generation)

This is my generation
This is my generation, baby

Appendix No. 7: The Who: I Can't Explain

Got a feeling inside (Can't explain)
It's a certain kind (Can't explain)
I feel hot and cold (Can't explain)
Yeah, down in my soul, yeah (Can't explain)

I said ... (Can't explain)
I'm feeling good now, yeah, but (Can't explain)

Dizzy in the head and I'm feeling blue
The things you've said, well, maybe they're true
I'm gettin' funny dreams again and again
I know what it means, but ...

Can't explain
I think it's love
Try to say it to you
When I feel blue

But I can't explain (Can't explain)
Yeah, hear what I'm saying, girl (Can't explain)

Dizzy in the head and I'm feeling bad
The things you've said have got me real mad
I'm gettin' funny dreams again and again
I know what it means but

Can't explain
I think it's love
Try to say it to you
When I feel blue

But I can't explain (Can't explain)
Forgive me one more time, now (Can't explain)

I can't explain, yeah
You drive me out of my mind
Yeah, I'm the worrying kind, babe
I said I can't explain

Appendix No. 8: Small Faces: All or Nothing

I thought you'd listen to my reasoning
But now I see, you don't hear a thing
Try to make you see, how it's got to be

Yes, it's all that, all or nothing
Yeah, yeah, all or nothing

Come on, hot there
All or nothing for me

Things could work out
Just like I want them to, yeah
If I could have the other half of you, yeah
You know I would, but I can't, if I only could

Yes, it's yeah, all or nothing
Oh yeah, all or nothing
You'll hear my children say
All or nothing for me

I didn't tell you no lies, yeah
So don't just sit there and cry, girl

Yeah, all or nothing
All or nothing, all or nothing
Do you know what I mean, yeah?
You got to, got to, got to keep on trying, yeah

All or nothing, um hum, yeah
All or nothing, to keep on working out for me
All or nothing for me, for me, for me
Come on children, yeah

All or nothing, yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah
All or nothing, I kept on singing to myself
All or nothing, yeah for me, yeah

Appendix No. 9: **The Who: Behind Blue Eyes**

No one knows what it's like
To be the bad man
To be the sad man
Behind blue eyes

No one knows what it's like
To be hated
To be fated
To telling only lies

But my dreams
They aren't as empty
As my conscience seems to be

I have hours, only lonely
My love is vengeance
That's never free

No one knows what it's like
To feel these feelings

Like I do
And I blame you

No one bites back as hard
On their anger
None of my pain and woe
Can show through

But my dreams
They aren't as empty
As my conscience seems to be

I have hours, only lonely
My love is vengeance
That's never free

When my fist clenches, crack it open
Before I use it and lose my cool
When I smile, tell me some bad news
Before I laugh and act like a fool

If I swallow anything evil
Put your finger down my throat
If I shiver, please give me a blanket
Keep me warm, let me wear your coat

No one knows what it's like
To be the bad man
To be the sad man
Behind blue eyes...

Appendix No. 10: **The Who: Welcome**

[Tommy:]
Come to my house
Be one of the comfortable people.
Come to this house
We're drinking all night
Never sleeping.

Milkman come in!
And you baker,
Little old lady welcome
And you shoe maker
Come to this house!
Into this house.

Come to this house
Be one of us.

Make this your house
Be one of us.

You can help
To collect some more in
Young and old people
Lets get them all in!

Come to this house!
Into this house.

Ask along that man who's wearing a carnation.
Bring every single person
from Victoria Station,
Go into that hospital
and bring nurses and patients,
Everybody go home and fetch their relations!

Come to this house
Be one of the comfortable people.
Lovely bright home
Drinking all night never sleeping.

We need more room
Build an extension
A colourful palace
Spare no expense now

Come to this house
Be one of us
Welcome

Appendix No. 11: **The Who: How Can You Do It Alone**

Saw a man about fifty or so
He looked lonely but his eyes were bright
He was walking up the Holland Park Road
And I stopped him to ask for a light
He practically froze when I spoke
But eased when he saw my cigarette
Then I saw as he lit up my smoke
Beneath his coat he was naked and wet

With eyes full of shame
For he knew that I knew
He slumped to the wall with a moan
I said "I know there's no name
For what you go through
But how can you do it alone."

I crossed the street to the local newstore
Flicked through some cheap magazines
Beside me some schoolkid I saw
Push some girlie mags down into his jeans
The shop girl was watching amazed
Asked me to call for the police.
She screamed at his blushing young face
And he escaped into the streets.

With eyes full of shame [etc.]

Do it alone, how can you do it alone,
I need your help, so I can do it by myself.
Do it alone, don't have to breathe down a phone
I ain't got a clue, 'bout the things that you do
But how...can you do it alone.

How can you do it.

Back at the flat my girl sat in the shower
And wasn't too keen on me sharing
She came out well after an hour
And by that time I was past caring
Some women it seems have the knack
Of attaining that stars in their dreams
They simply relax and lay back
While people like us scratch our jeans.

With eyes full of shame
And I know it must show
I slump - and I fall and I groan
Will somebody explain
What I need to know
How can you do it alone.

How can you do it.
How can you do it without any help
How can you do it all by yourself.

Appendix No. 12: **The Rolling Stones: (I Can't Get No) Satisfaction**

I can't get no satisfaction
I can't get no satisfaction
'Cause I try and I try
and I try and I try

I can't get no, I can't get no
When I'm driving in my car

And that man comes on the radio
And he's telling me more and more

About some useless information
Supposed to fire my imagination
I can't get no, oh no no no
Hey hey hey, that's what I say

I can't get no satisfaction
I can't get no satisfaction
'Cause I try and I try
and I try and I try

I can't get no, I can't get no
When I'm watching my TV
And that man comes on to tell me
How white my shirts can be

But he can't be a man 'cause he doesn't smoke
The same cigarettes as me
I can't get no, oh no no no
Hey hey hey, that's what I say

I can't get no satisfaction
I can't get no girl reaction
Cause I try and I try and I try and I try
I can't get no, I can't get no

When I'm riding round the world
And I'm doing this and I'm signing that
And I'm trying to make some girl
Who tells me, "Baby better
come back later next week."

Cause you see I'm on losing streak
I can't get no, oh no no no
Hey hey hey, that's what I say
I can't get no, I can't get no

I can't get no satisfaction
No satisfaction, no satisfaction,
no satisfaction.

Appendix No. 13: **The Kinks: Dedicated Follower of Fashion**

They seek him here, they seek him there
His clothes are loud, but never square
It will make or break him so he's got to buy the best
'Cause he's a dedicated follower of fashion

And when he does his little rounds
'Round the boutiques of London Town
Eagerly pursuing all the latest fads and trends
'Cause he's a dedicated follower of fashion

Oh yes he is (oh yes he is), oh yes he is (oh yes he is)
He thinks he is a flower to be looked at
And when he pulls his frilly nylon panties right up tight
He feels a dedicated follower of fashion

Oh yes he is (oh yes he is), oh yes he is (oh yes he is)
There's one thing that he loves and that is flattery
One week he's in polka-dots, the next week he is in stripes
'Cause he's a dedicated follower of fashion

They seek him here, they seek him there
In Regent Street and Leicester Square
Everywhere the Carnabetian army marches on
Each one an dedicated follower of fashion

Oh yes he is (oh yes he is), oh yes he is (oh yes he is)
His world is built 'round discotheques and parties
This pleasure-seeking individual always looks his best
'Cause he's a dedicated follower of fashion

Oh yes he is (oh yes he is), oh yes he is (oh yes he is)
He flits from shop to shop just like a butterfly
In matters of the cloth he is as fickle as can be
'Cause he's a dedicated follower of fashion
He's a dedicated follower of fashion
He's a dedicated follower of fashion

Appendix No. 14: The Animals: We Gotta Get Out Of This Place

In this dirty old part of the city
Where the sun refuse to shine
People tell me there ain't no use in trying

Now my girl you're so young and pretty
And one thing I know is true
You'll be dead before your time is due
I know

Watch my daddy in bed and tired
Watch his hair been turning gray
He's been working and slaving his life away
Oh yes I know it

He's been working so hard
I've been working too babe

Every night and day
Yeah yeah yeah yeah

We gotta get out of this place
If its the last thing we ever do
We gotta get out of this place
Cause girl there's a better life
For me and you

Now my girl you're so young and pretty
And one thing I know is true yeah
You'll be dead before your time is due
I know it

Watch my daddy in bed and tired
Watch his hair been turning gray
He's been working and slaving his life away
I know

He's been working so hard
I've been working too babe
Every day baby
Yeah yeah yeah yeah

We gotta get out of this place
If its the last thing we ever do
We gotta get out of this place
Girl there's a better life for me and you

Somewhere baby
Somehow I know it baby

We gotta get out of this place
If its the last thing we ever do
We gotta get out of this place
Girl there's a better life for me and you
Believe me baby
I know it baby
You know it too