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EARLY BRITISH POST-WAR SUBCULTURES

Bakalářská práce

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Prohlášení

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto bakalářskou práci vypracoval samostatně a uvedl jsem veškerou použitou literaturu.

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Poděkování

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Abstract

The thesis describes early British post-war subcultures and their way of refusing the mainstream culture by means such as distinctive appearance, behaviour and specific music preference. The work is divided into two main sections. The first one introduces the terms related to the topic of subcultures which are culture, urban tribes, style, life style, movement etc. The second one is dedicated to individual subcultures. Those are namely Rastafarians, mods, rockers, skinheads, football hooligans and punks.

1. Introduction

As a rebellious teenager, I have always been attracted by underground music and subcultures connected with it. I was also interested in the people, who seemed to be so much dedicated to it that they would proudly stand out of the crowd with their distinctive or sometimes even provocative look or behaviour. It was probably that mysterious feeling of being a member of a secret society with their own music, dress code and a life attitude, which attracted me in the first place.

Being fond of music, I feel the need to explore the origins of my favourite music styles and the way of life connected with them. The idea to examine this topic started simply from the curiosity for the lifestyle of the people who claim to be members of certain subcultures. The reason why I have always been interested in subcultures is mainly the individual clothing style and music genres connected with them. Therefore this work's purpose is to serve rather as an overview of different music and clothing subcultural styles, which can help us with the recognizing of different types of subcultures. However, I would like to go deeper into the characteristics of particular subcultures with a stress on their historical background rather than to make a long list of plainly described styles. I will also try to answer questions such as what it means for individuals to be members of certain subcultures or what differentiates them from the majority of people.

The literature I used in my research gave me a complex view of problems concerning the subcultures mainly from the sociological point of view and I will try to use this knowledge to make my own project which should be easy to understand for a wide spectrum of readers. Unfortunately, the extent of this work will allow me to describe only a limited number of subcultures. That makes me focus only on a limited number of the British post-war subcultures as the predecessors of today youths, who still feel the need to

differ themselves from the rest of the people, yet they want to belong to a certain group. To be precise, in my thesis there will be described only those subcultures which originated in Britain with Rastafarians making the only exception. Although they did not originate in Britain, they considerably influenced British youths and the whole picture of British subcultural history would not be complete without them (Hebdige, 1987). All the subcultures characterized in this work existed before the 1980s and although many others were born after this date, I focused mainly on those who were directly influenced by the fusion of black and white cultures. These are namely: teddy boys, mods, skinheads, hooligans and punks. The books on subcultures are usually quite complex, as opposite to my work. However, this short form allows it to be used as a brief handbook for parents or teachers who would like to understand the background of the subcultures the today's youths are into. To remain impartial, I intentionally tried not to characterize only the subcultures I sympathize with.

The work is divided into several chapters. The first one explains basic terms such as culture, subculture, style, life style, etc. The second part describes in detail particular subcultures and music genres connected with them. Finally, the last part is dedicated to the conclusion which summarizes the findings.

2. Subculture and Related Terms

The term *subculture* is commonly used in the language of contemporary society but not every person may imagine the same thing when they hear the word subculture. The public opinion on subcultures can be sometimes distorted due to the lack of information. To make sure that this term is understood in right connection with the matter which this study deals with, the word *culture*, as a broader and no less difficult conception, should be determined at first.

2.1 Culture

According to English Oxford Dictionary the word culture means *"the custom and beliefs, art, way of life and social organization of a particular country or group"* (OALD, 7th Edition). The word culture is loaded with meanings and there are many different approaches which define this term. Dick Hebdige, in his book *Subculture: the Meaning of Style* (1987) mentions definitions of authors such as T. S. Elliot who regards culture as: *"...all the characteristic activities and interests of people. Derby Day, Henley Regatta, Cowes, the 12th of August, a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, the dart-board, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot vinegar, 19th Century Gothic churches, the music of Elgar..."* Hebdige then compares it with Raymond Williams's statement that culture is *"...particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning, but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour. The analysis of culture, from such definition, is the clarification of the*

meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture."
(Hebdige, 1987: 6—7).

Smolík claims that culture is something that is passed on from generation to generation and he describes it as a concept consisting of several specific aspects such as language, philosophy, religion, morality, law, technology, art, science, knowledge, fashion, sports and behaviour patterns. (Smolík, 2010: 29)

The sociologists use the term culture usually in plural to stress the existence of many cultures which are different from each other in various aspects (Smolík, 2010: 28).

However, in today's studies, globalization and wide-spreading of information via media is taken into the account, therefore the approach to whole study of subcultures has changed since the first publications concerning the subcultures topic. In the contemporary multicultural western society the dominant culture has been fragmented (Kolářová, 2011: 13). During the last decade, thanks to media and especially the internet, the culture of one nation has no strict borders as it used to be in the previous centuries (Wheeler, 2007).

2.2 Subculture

The globalization of the world has a huge impact on cultures of individual countries and also thanks to this, the subcultures, which were originally the matter of one particular country, as well as art or beliefs for instance, nowadays recruit its members all across the world (Wheeler, 2007).

The members of each subculture seem to be proud of being descendants of the people who gave the birth to the life style and tradition they celebrate. Despite it is a bit of an exaggeration, it could be said, that they developed their own culture with certain

customs, fashion, music, etc. But for the purpose of this study, the concept of subcultures has to be specified more closely.

Oxford Dictionary defines the term subculture as *"the behaviour and beliefs of a particular group of people in society that are different from those of most people"* (OALD, 7th Edition).

Nevertheless, this is not the only possible interpretation. To gain a general view of the problem, which comprehends determination of the term subculture, several definitions of various authors should be compared in this study. In the book *Revolta Stylem* (2011), Kolářová compares the definitions of many authors who vary in their statements and these are some of the most common:

1) Subculture is a subordinate term to the word culture and it should be seen such as a subset of cultural pattern of which the bearer is the segment of the population of the national state.

2) By its specification, subculture is close to the term *community* or *group* which has something in common (same problems, interests or behaviour for instance) and it differentiates its members significantly from the members of the other social groups.

3) Subcultures are usually considered as groups of people who live outside the society or on its bottom and are connected with the social class, race and gender.

4) Subcultures are constructed by scientists and approaches to them are always influenced by the values which researchers attributed to them. The understanding of subcultures is often influenced by the political effort of those who work with the concept, whether they are considered as deviant, out of the norms of the society or glorified and romanticized.

5) Subcultures are characterized by specific slang, music, clothes and other things which have an important meaning for their members as it helps them to define borders between other subcultures or groups.

6) The acceptance and representation of a certain style is based on being socially recognizable through the symbols concerning clothes, gestures or slang. (Kolářová, 2011: 14—16)

It is almost an impossible task to write down an exact definition of the term subculture considering all the existing definitions and approaches to this topic. All these definitions seem to be acceptable. But in the following section, which looks into the characteristics of particular subcultures, the reader might find out, that not all the definitions mentioned above are applicable to every subculture. For the purposes of the thesis, the term subculture will be used as summarizing a group of people sharing the same music taste, clothing, social status and behaviour.

2.3 Style

An important aspect of subcultures is their *style*. The style characterizes the group and it could be understood as a symbol or sign (Hebdige, 1987: 107). According to Smolík the style consists of the following elements:

Image – a look which comprehends clothes, haircut, tattoos and other accessory

Behaviour – body language, facial expression

Argot – a special word stock and the manner in which it is delivered (Smolík, 2010: 36)

Hebdige elaborately describes the term style and he claims that style can have a function as a resistance against a dominant order (Hebdige, 1987: 101). It helps not only with the differentiation from the major society, but also from subcultures among themselves (Smolík, 2010: 18). Hebdige also describes how a common item such as a pin, for instance, changes into a symbol with certain meaning when it is used by a member of punk subculture. He compares this phenomenon to an artist who transforms an ordinary item into art just by calling it art (Hebdige, 1987: 107).

2.4 Life Style

Another frequently used term related with subcultures is the *lifestyle.* The Oxford Dictionary offers a short, but apt definition which explains the lifestyle as "*the way in which a person or a group of people lives and works*" (OALD, 7th Edition).

With respect to the topic of subcultures, Smolík describes the lifestyle more closely. He states that the term could be specified as a summary of life forms actively advanced by the individuals. Life style comprehends the values accepted by people and can be recognized by their manners or a way of using and influencing financial and social living conditions. Life style can be characterized basically as a way of spending free time. Inside the subcultures, the life values are accepted by a large group, therefore it is no longer the matter of individuals. (Smolík, 2010: 38)

2.5 Movement

There can be found many definitions of the word movement in the Oxford Dictionary, but the one which corresponds with the purpose of this study says, that movement is: *"a group of people who share the same interests or aims".* (OALD, 7th Edition).

This definition is quite short and there is not any significant difference from the word subculture. Smolík's characterization of the term gives us more precise view. He shows several aspects which helps to differentiate the term movement from subculture. Unlike subculture, which is oriented mainly on the spending of free time, movement involves bigger ideological unity and has certain aims such as demanding political, cultural or social changes. Members of a movement are often involved in formal organizations and they invest a huge part of their free time in activities leading to their goal achievement. Despite the dissimilarity between the term movement and subculture, the engagement of members of subcultures in movements is quite a usual phenomenon (e.g. punks who unite under anti-global or anarchistic movements). (Smolík, 2010: 42—43)

It seems important to mention this term as one of the subcultures (Rastafarians) described in this work is labeled rather as a movement (see chapter 4.1). According to Halama, movement is the only acceptable name for the Rastafari culture. They reject the usage of the word Rastafarianism and feel disrespect to any movements with the same suffix (racism, communism, capitalism, etc.). (Halama, 2008: 7)

2.6 Youth Subcultures

In the book *Subkultury Mládeže* (2010) Smolík introduces the typology of subcultures based on age (*Youth subcultures*), social class, religion and race. The following chapters will be aimed mainly at the Youth Subcultures which are the most important in struggle with understanding teenager's life.

Rupa Huq, who dedicated her book *Beyond Subculture* (2006) to the youths, pop culture and subcultures, deals with the similar term *youth culture*. She compared John Clarke's statement that "*youth culture directs us to the cultural aspects of youth*" with the Simon Firth's definition of youth culture which according to him should be seen as "*the particular pattern of beliefs, values, symbols and activities that a group of young people are seen to share*". As could be seen in previous chapter the term culture cannot be easily described and it is not any easier to define the word youth. It could be specified by law (when people can drink, marry, etc.), but also simply by the feelings of individuals. (Huq, 2006: 1)

Huq adds an interesting theory that post-war period increased the peoples' need to look young. Youth subcultures then show a contradiction in a way that they are seen as an independent group of people who resist against dominant culture and consumerism whilst according to public opinion, there is a need of surveillance over them. (Huq, 2006: 2)

As an effective method for the definition of terms, Smolík introduces the comparison of similar terms, as well as the opposite ones. The term community is similar to the term subculture with one important different aspect and that is the family on which the community is based. In contrast, the youth subcultures are established on peers instead of the family. Another contrast occurs in comparison between the term mass, which is described as irrational, easily politically manipulated and internally undifferentiated and

the term youth subcultures, which are highly heterogeneous, active and creative (Smolík, 2010: 36).

Paradoxically, there is no age limit for members of the subcultures described in this work, however, the term youth subculture is used by many authors and sociologists. (Kolářová, 2011; Huq, 2006; Smolík, 2010) The other labels, which were given to what is in this work called subculture, will be introduced in the next chapter.

3. Subcultures in Sociological Studies

The term subculture has started being used in the 1920s by sociologists (Smolík, 2010: 34). In the 1920s and 1930s the Chicago University supported the sociological research aimed towards subcultures. The Chicago School dealt mainly with deviants, outsiders, prostitutes, drug addicts or unemployed, which excludes them from the society, but unites them at the same time (Kolářová, 2011: 18). The approach of Chicago School was unique by the deployment of street workers who were searching for the direct contact with the subjects of their study. The Chicago School was an ideal place for the study of city life because of all the changes caused by constant influx of immigrants (Smolík, 2010: 58—59).

These changes are also crucial in the study of the British post-war subcultures to which this work is dedicated as Hebdige (1979), for instance, mentions the significance of co-existence between immigrants and natives.

The biggest boom of subcultural studies came at the end of the 1970s (Huq, 2006: 9). It is important to say, that the true inception of the best known subcultures occurred after the World War II, when teenagers with their own pocket money could finally dress differently from their parents. (Veselý, 2011: 9)

The research of subcultures is still one of the major topics of Chicago School's sociological research as well as for the Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham which unlike the Chicago School focused on skinheads, punk and mod subcultures (Kolářová, 2011: 18). The approach of Cultural Studies at the Birmingham University has been confronted with the fierce criticism since the subcultures and their development started to be perceived as much more complex topic than it appeared on the first sight (Huq, 2006: 22; Smolík, 2010: 78). The Marxist scientists saw the working-class youths

and their fellowship as a brave fight against social status quo and a revolutionary vanguard, but they overlooked the fact that the life in subcultures was for many of their members only a free time activity or an adolescents' natural state before the maturity (Veselý, 2011: 10).

Since the 1990s, the term subculture is less used in Anglo-American literature and the traditional approaches to the research of subcultures are criticized for the lack of innovation (Kolářová, 2011: 13). In the 21st century, the term subculture, as somehow romanticized image of a social resistance, is being used to a lesser extent (Veselý, 2011: 10).

In 1985, the French sociologist Michel Maffesoli established the term *urban tribes* to avoid the abused word subculture in his academic research (Veselý, 2011: 9). Finally, due to the globalization of the postmodern society, diversity and mixture of the various styles, the new term *post-subcultures* emerged (Kolářová, 2011: 13). Researchers, such as Andy Bennett or Keith Kahn-Harris, question this new term whether the post-subcultures should be recognized as tribes, life styles or communities based on the same taste (Kolářová, 2011: 13). Additionally, a term often frequented in connection with the distinguishing from the main culture is *counter-culture*; the approach behind this term emphasizes the tension caused by differentness which leads to conflicts with the main culture (Smolík, 2010: 30).

Although there are many names for people with the same interests, music taste, dress code, etc., this work will operate mainly with the term subculture which is still the most frequented term in the sources which has been used in this study.

4. Particular Subcultures

4.1 Rastafari Movement [pic. 1, 2]

As it was previously mentioned, the co-existence of immigrants and locals played a crucial role in the forming of British post-war subcultures. For this reason, it seems appropriate to start with the description of the Rastafari movement which is connected with Jamaican music styles and life of immigrants in Great Britain (Hebdige, 1987).

The Rastafari movement is usually known for distinctive appearance of its members, reggae music and smoking marijuana, but not many people know the Rastafari movement from its spiritual side. (Halama, 2008: 6)

Nevertheless, it is important to characterize this movement, as many British immigrants are Rastafarians and the music most commonly connected with it, called reggae, has influenced the British music scene. The characterization of the Rastafari movement should be also helpful in recognizing the orthodox members from the people who adopted only part of the Rastafari culture.

4.1.a The Raise of the Movement

Dick Hebdige as well as Halama in their books point out the paradox of the birth of the Rastafari movement as a product of Christianity and colonialism (Hebdige, 1987: 32, Halama, 2008: 53).

The passages of the Bible, which were originally used for justifying the slavery and introducing western culture to Africans by colonial authorities, aroused doubts about the rightness of the slavery. Jamaican black community started finding their own interpretation of the Bible. The Biblical stories offer many open metaphors suitable for black interpretations describing the position of poor black working-class West Indians in foreign country (Babylon, the suffering of Israelites), injustice and tribulation of slaves (the history of the Jewish nation). The Bible recommends an immediate inner healing between the pain and desire through faith, grace, Holy Spirit and promises rightful punishment for the godless (the judgment day and retribution for the wicked). (Hebdige, 1987: 33)

Halama claims that the Rastafari movement would not probably even exist without Marcus Garvey's initiation of *Back-to-Africa movement.* Thanks to this movement, black people had learned to be proud of their race (Halama, 2008: 28). Another crucial moment in Garvey's life was his prophecy, which predicted the coronation of the black king and the day of deliverance on which the whole Rastafari movement is based. On 2nd November 1930 Ras Tafari Makonen became the king of Ethiopia and accepted the name Haile Selassie (Halama, 2008: 27). As the crowned king of Ethiopia, he received the titles of King of kings, Lord of lords, Conquering Lion of the tribe of Judah, the same titles which were given to Jesus Christ in the biblical Book of revelation and these facts led to the assumption that the prediction of Marcus Garvey has been fulfilled, therefore Haile Selassie is the new messiah and reincarnation of Christ (Halama, 2008: 29). But Haile Selassie could not know that except receiving the title of king, he became a spiritual idol for hundreds of people on the small island of Jamaica, who proudly started call themselves Rastafarians after his name (Halama, 2008: 39).

In the course of time, many Rastafarians escaped from colonial cities and started living in closed communities. Although the Rastafarians interrupted the contact with the

outside world, the ideas of this movement has been spread through the reggae music across the whole world (Halama, 2008: 39).

4.1.b Rastafari Life Style

The life style of Rastafarians includes several distinctive features such as clothes, food restrictions, hair style, music, etc., but none of these are strict rules which have to be precisely followed. The following characterization is connected with a general view of Rastafarian habits, although there are plenty of exceptions as the approach to the rules is rather individual. Even those Rastafarians, who would call themselves orthodox, could have a different point of view concerning the representation of their movement (Halama, 2008: 51).

One of the most significant attributes of Rastafarians' appearance is their hairstyle, which is called dreadlocks. The idea of letting the hair and beard without any care, which makes locks, comes not only from the pictures of the African warriors, who were admired at the beginning of the movement or the lion's mane, which reminds the dreadlocks. It was in the Bible again, where Rastafarians found a part that justifies their hairstyle (Halama, 2008: 53). It reads: *"As long as he is bound by his vow, no razor shall touch his head; until the time of his consecration to Yahweh is completed, he remains under vow and shall let his hair grow free"* (Numeri, 6:5, TJB).

The apparel of Rastafarians concerns wool hats big enough to cover their large dreadlocks and loose comfortable clothes which are usually made of natural materials. The colours of their clothes are red, green and yellow, colours typical for Africa. But not everybody who wears dreadlocks and this kind of clothes has to be necessarily a

Rastafarian, as it became fashionable in the Euro-American culture along with the popularity of reggae (Halama, 2008: 53).

Rastafarians are usually vegetarians and they are also known for the rejection of the consumption of alcohol and reason for that can be found in the Bible again. The Rastafarians who are not vegetarians at least follow the same dietary laws as Jews, but the orthodox ones adhere to the life style called *I-tal* which concerns eating only the food they can grow themselves (Halama, 2008: 54).

Despite the otherwise healthy life style, smoking marijuana or *ganja*, as they call it, is closely related to the Rastafari movement. They found several references in the Bible to justify the usage of this drug and they believe in sacredness of cannabis as a plant which grew on king Solomon's grave. Nevertheless, unlike the Euro-American society, which uses the cannabis for entertainment, Rastafarians smoke ganja for meditation and ritual which connects them with their god Jah (Halama, 2008: 55).

4.1.c Reggae and the Life of Immigrants

Nowadays the Rastafari movement is world-wide known especially thanks to reggae musicians or modern missionaries, as Halama calls them, such as the famous Bob Marley and his band The Wailers (Halama, 2008: 39). It could be said, that reggae music is based on feeling of black people experiencing living on Jamaica and in Britain (Hebdige, 1987: 59).

The forerunners of this music style were *ska* and *rocksteady* which also came originally from Jamaica (Cooper, 2014). The slow and sticky rocksteady rhythm was a middle stage in the development of Jamaican popular music, between quick and catchy

sound of ska (Halama, 2008: 31) and heavier, more African reggae which even lately became the second largest industry of Jamaica (Hebdige, 1987: 143—144).

With the popularity of reggae, the message of its lyrics spread rapidly to the European continent during the late 1960s and it became the ideal music for black young British immigrants, who felt repressed in the environment they lived (Cooper, 2014). The clubs frequently visited by young black workers called "sound systems" passed the ideas of Rastafarian movement (Hebdige, 1987: 36). Except the Jamaican imported music, there were bands such as *Steel Pulse*, *Aswad* or *Cimarons*, formed in Britain, who took an advantage of popularity of the reggae music and some of them were very successful (Hebdige, 1987: 30). It was not difficult for the immigrants to identify themselves with Rastafarians from Jamaica, who unhappily lived in Babylon waiting for an exodus to the Promised Land, Africa (Halama, 2008: 62). But as the time went on, the Biblical lyrics contained in reggae disappeared and the cult of Rastafari had become a style. Dreadlocks, smoking ganja and wearing colours of Africa should have symbolized the feeling of alienation of the black immigrants (Hebdige, 1987: 36).

The dissatisfaction with rising unemployment led to conflicts between the police and the black youths (Hebdige, 1987: 36). At these times the problems of race and class began to be reflected in the lyrics of reggae (Cooper, 2014). The lyrics of reggae provided more thoughtful way of rebellion than it used to be in ska or rocksteady, where the hero of many songs was a *rude boy*, a young criminal oppressed by the merciless authority (Hebdige, 1987: 37). The Rastafari movement made being black a positive sign (Halama, 2008: 28) and the sound systems, which played heavy dark African reggae offered an ideal sanctuary for the West Indian working-class (Hebdige, 1987: 38; Cooper, 2014).

At the beginning of the 1970s, the tension between white and black working-class caused by unemployment grew (Mustad, Huseby, 2014) and the next generations of black

immigrants did not want to accept the low position like their parents did. The awareness of the black identity was manifested in the gait, the manner and the voice of the black youths, which became less anglicized. Also, the way of dressing has changed since the first generation of immigrants, from the rainbow mohair suits and picture ties to Italian suits and sunglasses of the hustlers and street-corner men (Hebdige, 1987: 41—42).

The second wave of immigrants, who came to Britain in hope for better life conditions, became estranged due to the disillusion of their exodus which was expressed in their new look and music preference. Apart from heavy reggae, the popular music of black youths comprised jazz, ska and American rhythm and blues and their style reflected more obviously an African "natural" image. (Hebdige, 1987: 42—43

Pork-pie hat and mohair suits were replaced by roughly woven "tam" and clothes made of denim as a more casual wear. The boys let grow out an "Afro" frizz and girls began to leave their hair unstraightened as a tribute to Africa (Hebdige, 1987: 43). The white working class, living in the same area, was interested in these developments and started thinking of forming their own subculture (Smolík, 2010: 130).

Broadly speaking, the identification of white and black working classes caused either assimilation, adaptation or rejection. The way of dressing or music preference of youths then could be seen as an abstract dialogue between the races, so important in forming subcultures (Hebdige, 1987: 44—45).

4.2 Teddy Boys [pic. 3, 4]

Teddy boys might not be so well known as the punk or skinhead subcultures for instance, however, it seems important to describe them, as teddy boys are regarded as the first British subculture with its own distinctive style (Smolík, 2010: 128; Nidge, 2014). Although some authors date the birth of the teddy boys subculture to the mid-1950s (Smolík, 2010: 128, Hebdige, 1987: 50), the history of this style dates to the late 1940s. In those years it became fashionable to wear coats which imitated the style of clothes worn during the reign of King Edward VII (Smolík, 2010: 128; Nidge, 2014). The followers of the style of the Edwardian era were those who could afford it, therefore the men dressed in the typical coat, which was often tailor made, came mainly from upper class (Nidge, 2014).

In the mid-1950s when this fashion became affordable even for the working-class, some youths started to combine the fashion of Edwardian era with the visage of the rock'n'roll musicians and of the admired teenage heroes from American movies like *Wild One* or *Rebel without a Cause* (Smolík, 2010: 128, Nidge 2014). The teddy boys' style existed well before the rock'n'roll music took its place in the British music charts, but with its arrival it became immediately the most favourite music for them (Nidge, 2014). Nowadays the rock'n'roll music and Edwardian style are taken as the two inseparable features of this subculture (Hebdige, 1987: 50, Nidge, 2014). The most popular interpreters were *Bill Haley* or *Elvis Presley*.

Teds' typical look featured button down shirts, ties or bootlaces, drape jackets and drainpipe jeans short enough to expose bright ankle socks. The hair was greased and long enough to make a quiff hairstyle which was the most popular among them. Also the girls had their unique style and their favourite combination was a be-bop sweater, pencil skirt, three-quarter check overcoat and three tier wedge shoes. (Hebdige, 1987: 50; Nidge, 2014)

This way of dressing became so popular among the youths that market had to react on this development, which lately made the teddy boys' style a mainstream (Nidge, 2014).

Except their extravagant look, they were known for petty crimes such as vandalism and fights. The violent reputation of cosh boys or Edwardians, as they were called, was attractive for sensation-seeking media. Finally the name teddy boys started to be used thanks to Daily Express newspaper headline from 1953 in which the Edward was shortened to Teddy (Nidge, 2014). The press titles frequently informed about the riots and attacks aimed on the West Indian communities in which the xenophobic teddy boys were involved. The best known were the London Notting Hill Riots from the summer of 1958 (Hebdige, 1987: 51; Nidge, 2014). Hebdige points on the paradox of openly racist teddy boys listening to the rock'n'roll music which was a fusion of black gospel and blues and white country. He explains that this contradiction was caused by the fact that British audience was not familiar with the origin of this music genre in early years (Hebdige, 1987: 49).

By the end of the 1950s teddy boys subculture was on its decline and their distinctive style begun to slowly disappear due to youths' new interest in Italian fashion and different musical styles. Although teddy boys had never really vanished, they never reached the same numbers as in the mid-1950s and their tradition was kept by older members who stayed loyal to the original subculture. Nevertheless, teddy boys are only the beginning of the long list of British post-war subcultures (Nidge, 2014).

4.3 Mods and Rockers [pic. 5, 6, 7, 8]

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the new decade brought new fashion and music which contributed to the rise of new subcultures. Although the youths dressed in

Edwardian coats had almost disappeared from the streets, the teenagers' need for being different from their parents was even stronger than ever. Several different authors consider the beginning of the 1960s as a rough date of the birth of another two significant subcultures which were *mods* and *rockers* (Smolík, 2010: 128; Hebdige, 1979: 52).

Both subcultures have something in common with teds, however, in the literature mods and rockers are presented as age-long rivals and information about their fights took frequently place in the headlines of newspapers (Smolík, 2010: 129; Hrabalík, 2014). Mods shared the teds' interest in fashion, but the clothing style and music preference was quite different from their predecessors. Rockers, on the other hand, were not so fashion conscious as mods but were closer to teds as they admired the same American culture and music which significantly reflected on their style (Smolík, 2010: 131, Hrabalík, 2014). Rockers who usually came from rural areas were mocked by mods for being stuck in the 1950s with their leather jackets, motorcycles and greased hair. Although both subcultures came from working-class, mods considered themselves more intellectual and stylish and instead of rock'n'roll their favourite music was soul, ska or rhythm and blues (Hrabalík, 2014).

The influence of the rockers' style is quite clear but there is a disagreement among authors about the circumstances which influenced the beginning of mod subculture. According to Hebdige, the mods were the first working-class youth subculture which grew up around the West Indians, who had been already established in Britain at the beginning of the 1960s. He states that unlike teddy boys, they reacted positively on the presence of black immigrants and even started to emulate their style. (Hebdige, 1979: 52)

However, sociologist Simon Firth points out on the influence of beat subculture and argues that the first mods were art school students who used to meet at beatnik coffee bars which played modern jazz (History of mod style, 2014). This argument seems quite

rational as the word mod is a short for modernist, which was the name for innovative jazz players and their listeners. The only weakness of this theory is that appearance of mods was totally different from beatniks, however, it could be explained by the fact that mods only read beatnik literature but otherwise they followed European fashion. Moreover, both beatniks and mods loved the new French film wave which offered inspiration for clothing (Hrabalík, 2014). Unlike the style of rockers which is described as highly masculine and simple (Hebdige, 1979: 52; Nidge, 2014), the overall appearance of mods who were obsessed by clothing deserves more detailed description.

Mods followed the latest Italian fashion and they used to spend huge amount of money on clothes and other accessories (Hrabalík, 2014; Nidge 2014). Their polished appearance should express the effort to hide their lower-class background. In contrast with teddy boys, the style of mods was rather discreet and their formal look was decorated with small details like the shape of hand-made shoes or angle of a shirt collar, which differentiated them from the crowd. The neat and tidy look of mods, wearing conservative tailor-made suits in respectable colours and short haircut, made a style which did not limit them even in the office job or at school (Hebdige, 1987: 52). The obsession with elegant clothes and other expensive accessories often made them look for a second job and therefore mods put a great emphasis on the weekends or holidays (Hebdige, 1987: 53).

Literature shows that mods were usually semi-skilled workers or office employees and could earn more money than rockers in average (Hebdige, 1979: 149). In their free time, they could finally spend their money on the new jazz records, change the cut of their trousers, blow their hair and polish the scooter (Hebdige, 1987: 53). The modified scooter with flags, chrome mirrors or other accessories became a symbol of mods and their group identity. (Smolík, 2010: 129; Hrabalík, 2014)

A few years later when the first mods appeared on the streets the same thing happened as in the case of teds and the style of mods became fashionable (Hrabalík, 2014; Nidge 2014). The mods who refused the mainstream culture even stopped listening to jazz because it was too popular and aimed to the underground music which was ska or bluebeat. Except the African-American music they admired new British rhythm and blues bands such as *The Yardbirds, Small Faces or High Numbers* (later The Who) who were labeled as the typical mod bands (Hrabalík, 2014).

The amphetamine and alcohol invigorated mods were also involved in many affrays or clashes with other gangs. The media often informed about these fights between the rebelling youths and soon every young delinquent was given the name rocker or mod. One of the best known clashes between rockers and mods occurred at the Brighton beach in 1964 which was even captured in the movie called *Quadrophenia* (Smolík, 2010: 129).

In the mid-1960s the word mod had almost lost its meaning and being mod could be compared to today's expression being "in" while the style of rockers was still only a matter of motorcycles' enthusiasts who enjoyed the rock'n'roll music and as such they did not have any significant influence on the fashion market. In those years the members of the mod subculture split apart due to the disagreement in opinions on the future of their style. Some of them joined universities and accepted the opinions of socially engaged hippies or left-wing intellectuals. But the *smooth-mods*, as they were called, disappeared shortly. In contrast, the *hard mods* were uninterested in the protests against the Vietnam War and considered hippies spoiled middle-class children. (Smolík, 2010: 130)

Hard mods were not as fashion-conscious as their extravagant predecessors and the original 1960s look was replaced by jeans with braces, heavy boots and short hair which symbolized their working-class roots. Instead of jazz, rhythm and blues or acid rock, their favourite music was ska, rocksteady and reggae. By the end of the 1960s the individual

subculture grew out of hard mods and the *skinheads*, as they lately started to call themselves, continued in a long and sometimes misleading story of traditional British subcultures. (Hebdige, 1979: 55; Smolík, 2010: 130)

4.4 Skinheads [pic. 9, 10]

The skinhead subculture might be one of the best known post-war British subcultures across the whole world and even nowadays it has still many sympathizers. However, a minority of people distinguish between several branches of this subculture which developed during the time. To recognize the difference between several types of skinheads, it is crucial to be familiar with their origin, as many skinheads would call themselves traditional and as such they have nothing in common with the racist skinheads which nowadays became a common currency. (Marshall. 1996: 4)

There is not a certain date of the rise of the skinhead subculture and also "skinhead" was not the only name for the mean looking boys with cropped hair and heavy boots. The tabloid headlines informed about disorders and fights in which were so called cropheads, noheads, spy kids or boiled eggs involved until the term skinhead was finally established in 1969 (Marshall, 1994: 14; Smolík, 2010: 131).

In the attempt to express their working-class identity, the skinhead style combined the seemingly incompatible sources, the culture of the white working-class with the culture of the West Indian immigrants (Smolík, 2010: 131; Hebdige, 1979: 55). Unlike the exaggeratedly polished mods, the puritanical and chauvinist skinheads were focused on the proletarian features of the mod style. The look which should evoke their working-class origin featured cropped hair, braces, short, wide Levi's jeans or functional Sta-Prest trousers, plain or striped button-down shirts, Ben Sherman shirts and highly polished Dr.

Martens boots (Hand in Glove, 2012). The appearance of the skinheads was also influenced by the black youths, who admired Jamaican rude boys with their cropped hair and violent behaviour reputation (Hebdige, 1987: 55—56; The Original Skinhead Heaven, 2014). They joined the same clubs and danced to soul, reggae or ska, which was on the account of the popularity among skins even sometimes called skinhead reggae. The most popular songs among the skinheads were those which celebrated them as in *Skinhead Moonstomp* by the Pyramids or *Skinhead Train* by Laurel Aitken and many others (The Original Skinhead Heaven, 2014; Marshall, 1994: 26).

Except the dancing to the tunes of soul or skinhead reggae, the skinheads' another passion was football, as its popularity significantly raised after the England's World Cup success in 1966. That was one of the few occasions when the local skinhead gangs united and instead of fighting among themselves they supported their team (Marshall, 1994: 12). The police had to intervene whenever the skinheads encountered the rival fans and except the searching for the weapons like throwing stars or lead piping, there was even a ban on wearing steel-toe boots to the stadium in effort to prevent serious injuries caused by frequent fights (George Marshall, 1994: 30).

Nonetheless, the skinhead violent reputation was not kept only by the football vandalism. The targets of their attacks were the hippies, homosexuals, skinheads from different area and immigrant minorities, which lived in closed communities unlike the more socially adaptable West Indian immigrants. There was a pressure caused by the lack of job opportunities and low rent housing. Moreover, immigrants from Asia, India or Pakistan were perceived as a threat. Soon not only the Pakistanis, but every Asian immigrant was called a *Paki* and the *Paki-bashing*, as the attacks against minorities were called, became a common practice (The Original Skinhead Heaven, 2014). The skinheads were always ready to fight against their enemies, but it was understood rather as a

defending the territory than the racial attacks, which could be proved by the fact, that even black youths used to join skinheads gangs. In that time, it was nothing unusual that black and white skinheads stood together against other minorities (Marshall, 1994: 39).

4.4.a Development of Skinheads's Cult

During the time, the skinhead cult changed according to the priorities of its members. By the end of 1969, a large number of skinheads started to grow their hair a bit longer and dressed more stylish in order to get a decent job as the typical skinhead look was quite outrageous for the most employers. It was only few months later, when the distinctive docker's look of original skinhead was replaced by the well dressed *suedhead*. The Levi's Sta-Prest were held by a belt instead of braces and the suits, as a remaining cult status symbol, were in more daring colours. A typical combination was a Fred Perry shirt and a lightweight Harrington jacket complemented with a pair of loafers. Popular were also blazers with their football club's crest. Some of them worn even bowler hat with an umbrella which served not only for preventing their expensive clothes from getting wet, but it could be also used as a weapon if it had a sharpened metal point. (Marshall, 1994: 57—58)

At the beginning of the 1970s, the large number of sueadeheads became the so called *smoothies*. Smooths took their name from their shoulder-length hairstyle (Gekon, Papouch, 2014) and also because of their preference for very plain shoes which were neither capped or studded. Unlike the suedeheads their look was more casual. Except the crombies and tonic suits, which were popular also by the suedeheads, they wore round collared shirts, cords, jumpers and knitted vests, called tank tops, made in various colours. Smoothie girls were called *sorts*, which was for the first time when the girls had their own

name as the skinhead cult had initially been a very male-oriented. With their own name, naturally, they had also their unique style in which the smartness was a top priority again. The hair was longer, although not many skinhead girls had a crop. Trevira two piece suits, Brutus shirts, patterned tights and nurses' shoes was their standard wear. The casual look of smooths did not draw any attention in the streets. In fact, the smoothies appeared very ordinary with no obvious uniform or identity and, as they never achieved the same popularity as skinheads or even suedeheads, they practically disappeared by the end of 1971 (Marshall, 1994: 59—60).

However, there was another branch of the skinhead cult which survived well into the 1970s. They were called the *bootboys*, according to the heavy boots they wore to football matches, which was their most favourite way of entertainment (Smolík, 2010: 151; Hand in Glove, 2012). From 1970 to 1972, football violence reached a high level along with popularity of bootboys. Whereas the smoothies tended to adopt aspects of the skinheads' and suedeheads' style and were primarily southern cults, bootboys who could be found all over the British Isles, represented the terrace fashion (Marshall, 1994: 60).

Although many bootboys were a natural progression from skinheads, they differed in some aspects, as they were interested in football vandalism rather than listening to reggae or following a certain fashion, for instance (Smolík, 2010: 151). Some of them allegedly even used to wear white butcher's coat covered with red color for the effect with the name of their team on the back, representing the height of the terrace style at the time. Although a few northern teams were still supported by skinheads, there was no real hooligan uniform at the time (Marshall, 1994: 62—63).

After the release of the highly controversial Stanley Kubrick's movie *Clockwork Orange*, some skinhead gangs enraptured by the avocation to ultra violence of *droogs*, as were the gangsters from the movie called, adopted their look and it did not take long time,

when the press informed about incidents such as riots caused by young delinquents dressed in white boiler suits, black boots and bowler hats. For its controversy, *Clockwork Orange* was even banned in Great Britain but it still remains one of the most popular underground films and many bands made their name on using Clockwork theme in the lyrics. *The Adicts* for example play punk versions of the classical music used in the movie and the costumes of droogs complete the whole real "horrorshow" (Marshall, 1994: 64—65).

By 1974 the skinhead cult had been declining and was held only by the individuals who stayed loyal to the traditional skinhead subculture (Marshall, 1994: 63). Furthermore, the white skinheads lost their interest in reggae which became significantly aimed on the black audience dealing with race topics and Rastafarianism (Hebdige, 1987: 59).

However, the skinhead cult began to reappear in the second half of 1970s in Great Britain in connection with the new style called *punk* (see Chapter 4.6 below). The first punk bands such as *Sex Pistols* or *The Clash* attracted their listeners by the lyrics full of nihilistic protests against western society and consumerism, however, the commercial media and recording labels made the punk implausible (Smolík, 2010: 133—134).

This fact led to the rediscovery of the skinhead cult, which was by the time almost ten years forgotten. As a reaction to the commercialized punk, the so-called *street punk* or *working class punk* bands such as *Sham 69*, *Cockney Rejects* or *Cock Sparrer* were formed. The simple three-chord punk music was influenced by ska and reggae and the *Oi! punk* became finally an established term (Marshall, 1994: 67; Smolík, 2010: 134).

The riots and vandalism was nothing unusual during the Oi! punk bands concerts, but among the fans of these bands were also skinheads, who supported extreme right-wing organizations such as the *National Front* and the *British Movement* (Marshall, 1994: 76). George Marshall describes a situation when a part of audience started to shout Nazi salute during the gig of Sham 69. After that, the band cut their performance to make their fans

understand that they have nothing in common with the racism (Marshall, 1994: 79). In fact, as many other bands, they were supporters of the *Rock against Racism* campaign, which lately made their concerts targets of racist skinheads (Smolík, 2010: 134).

The extreme right-wing skinheads rejected anything which could connect them with the West Indian immigrants and instead of reggae, ska and anti-racist street punk, they had their own bands. One of the most popular skinhead racist bands is *Skrewdriver* with the lead singer Stuart Donaldson, who became one of the most significant figures of post-war neo-Nazism (Gekon, Papouch, 2014).

The National Front did not succeed in effort to attract young racist skinheads in hope for getting more votes, however, the involvement of skinheads became characteristic for the development of ultra right-wing in many other countries. A great number of German skinheads joined the neo-Nazi organizations and, although their primitive and aggressive behaviour was initially not in favour of traditional neo-Nazis, the German ultra right-wing side eventually used the potential of local skinheads. Except Germany, another larger base of neo-Nazis are also in Scandinavia or Italy. (Smolík, 2010: 135—136)

The skinhead subculture is so fragmented that it is not an easy task to recognize a specific skinhead type. Nowadays, there are several major types of skinheads which could be divided according to their political persuasion.

4.4.b Traditional Skinheads

Those skinheads who would call themselves "traditional" are still loyal to the original subculture and its dress code, born in 1969. They are not interested in politics and their music preferences are ska, reggae and street punk bands. (Smolík, 2010: 136)

4.4.c Nazi Skinheads

Nazi skinheads or *White Power* skinheads, as they are sometimes called, are openly racists and often they are supporters of the ultra right-wing (Marshall, 1996: 97). To look more serious in the world of politics, they tend to dress casual rather then wearing a typical skinhead uniform. Their attacks are quite elaborated in contrast to football violence, bar fights or vandalism which has always been attributes of most of the skinhead gangs. (Gekon, Papouch, 2014).

4.4.d SHARP Skinheads

In the USA in the second half of the 1980s an organization of anti-racist skinheads was established. *SHARP* skinheads, precisely skinheads against racial prejudice, became soon popular in Europe, mostly because of the singer Roddy Moreno from the Welsh band *Oppressed*. Nowadays they are one of the main enemies of the racist skinheads. (Marshall, 1996: 6)

4.4.e Red Skins

By the end of the 1970s, a significant part of skinheads in Great Britain accepted the left-wing ideology and became members of the communist party with respect to their working-class roots. Red skins had their members also in the USA, where they started to call themselves *RASH* (Red and Anarchist Skin Heads). They are often members of

militant anarchist organizations. Some of them even disrespect the traditional skinheads for their political unconcern. (Gekon, Papouch, 2014)

The situation is far more complicated with regard to blending among skinhead groups and individual approach of each of them. The last subculture which is frequently associated with skinheads is violent groups of football fans, called nowadays *hooligans*.

4.5 Hooligans [pic. 11, 12]

As the previous text indicates, football has always been skinheads' favourite leisure activity, but in the course of time, an independent social group of football hooligans developed, and although some of them still follow the skinhead fashion, the majority of them are not interested in the skinhead cult whatsoever. (Marshall, 1994: 63)

Football vandalism is an inseparable phenomenon, since the game became a national sport in Great Britain and many other countries (Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004: 39; Marshall, 1994: 12). In the season 1968—1969 there started a forming of early bigger youth gangs, who followed their teams in visiting cities. Whether it was a match of clubs such as Manchester United or the smaller ones like Everton or Leeds United, the numbers of skinheads, mods or bootboys commonly reached several hundreds (Smolík, 2010: 151). The violence occurring during the matches was a skinheads' ritual as well as the successful hiding of a weapon requiring certain amount of ingenuity, as the police controls raised with the number of injured persons (Marshall, 1994: 31).

In the 1970s, hooligans begun to dress more casual as the skinheads' look had always drew too much unwanted attention of the police (Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004: 49). The fact that hooligans changed bomber jackets and steel-toe boots for sportswear, allowed them to infiltrate to the pubs of their rivals and provoke a fight (Rowlands, 2001).

This development might be one of the reasons why hooligans are nowadays considered an independent subculture. Smolík describes football hooligans as a subculture, specific by avocation in fights with the rival fans and police in context of identification with aims of their team, disregarding social norms and conventions. In the course of time, there already existed well organized gangs of criminals not just in Great Britain but in other countries, which were focused on fights with the rival team fans rather than watching the play. The most significant difference from a typical youth subculture is the absence of one particular musical style preference. The typical favourite music concerns genres such as punk, black metal and sometimes even the hip hop. (Smolík, 2010: 152)

The organization of hooligan gangs has changed during the history as well as the communication among them (Rowlands, 2001). Since the 1970s, hooligans could acquire information about activities of fans via football magazines, but the internet forums are the main source last years (Rowlands, 2001; Smolík, 2010: 152). Another hooligans' way of drawing an attention is making graffiti or stickers with the motives of their team or gang, but they are best known for provoking fights with opponent group of rival team fans. These fights do not have to be necessarily as spontaneous as they sometimes might be seen, some hooligan groups are well organized and the club rivalry is not the only thing which connects them. In other words, their attacks could be motivated politically, racially or regionally and socially. (Rowlands, 2001; Smolík, 2010: 152—153)

Nonetheless, it should be noted that a big part of football-watching visitors are not interested in fighting whatsoever and their only aim is to enjoy the game and support their favourite team. Football visitors can be divided into three categories:

Football spectator – could be regarded as a person who is not influenced by the rivalry of both teams as the relation to the both of them is clearly neutral. Such a person is not

connected with a concrete club, neither wears its symbols, although he or she is interested in a score and the pleasure from watching the game could be compared with visiting a theatre. (Smolík, 2010: 153)

Football fan − is committed to football via one concrete favourite team or a player and watches the game in hope for a victory of his or her team. Football fans present their identification with the team by wearing football dresses, scarves, T-shirts, flags and other accessories with the club logos. The rivalry is expressed by the football chants and cheering, which could have supportive character or the offensive one aimed towards rival club and their fans or judges. (Mareš, Smolík, Suchánek, 2004: 34—35)

Hooligan groups − unlike the football fans they do not feel the need to be identified with any club and exclusivity of being member of the gang is much more important for them. The biggest boom of hooliganism occurred in 1980s and the escalation of violence and fights during and after matches became an uncontrollable problem. Some hooligans are even connected with an organized crime but a typical hooligan's crime would be for example invading a football pitch, throwing objects like explosives or bottles, vandalism and fights with the rival hooligan gangs. (Rowlands: 2001)

The differentiation among hooligan gangs is realized by using symbols of specific gangs. These symbols could be found on flags and clothes which gives the members of the group the feeling of togetherness. The particular hooligan groups meet the criterions of small social groups which are a stability, integrity, interactivity, intimacy, homogeneity or specific value system (Smolík, 2010: 155).

4.6 Punk [pic. 13, 14]

Punk is one of the most noticeable subcultures and although it was born half a century ago, it has still its sympathizers in numerous countries. It could be said, that with all its attributes such as specific music preference, distinctive appearance and life style, punk could be regarded as an almost exemplar case of the youth subculture (Kolářová, 2011: 45).

The term punk has several meanings, which suggests the essence of this subculture. In American slang, the word *punk* denotes a member of a gang, which embodies everything reprehensible as for the human moral (violence, vulgarism, provocative behaviour) (Smolík, 2010: 170). Another translation could be rotten, nonsense, unhealthy or a troublemaker. However, the word punk was not primarily associated with certain music style until the mid-1970s, when the boom of this style occurred (Smolík, 2010: 170, Hrabalík, 2014).

Certain sources mention the term *proto punk* and its bands as a US predecessor of punk music, nevertheless Britain is considered to be the birthplace of the punk subculture as we recognize it (Kolářová, 2011: 47; Hrabalík. 2014).

The first usage of the word punk as a music genre appeared in magazines and the term should mean the music characteristic by nihilism and unhappiness with the destiny. One of the first bands, who were given this label, were *The Stooges* (Lead singer Iggy Pop is even called "the Godfather of Punk"), *MC5* or *New York Dolls* (Smolík, 2010: 170—171). The New York club *CBGB*, where the famous punk bands, such as *The Ramones*, played one of their first gigs, became legendary. From there, the punk wave spread rapidly

to other states of America and to Britain, however, the American punk was quite different from the British one (Kolářová, 2011: 47). Punk in America was distinguished by simple guitar riffs and lyrics without the political element (Smolík, 2010: 173).

It was not until this new music genre became popular on the British Isles and its lyrics politicized that punk began to emerge as a recognizable style (Kolářová, 2011: 47). It was especially the band named *Sex Pistols* and their expressively named album *Anarchy in the UK*, which contributed to the craze about punk in 1976 (Smolík, 2010: 175; Hrabalík, 2014).

This new movement was a result of similar circumstances as it was in the case of skinhead subculture. It was a manifestation of the working-class' effort to find an alternative to mainstream culture and to keep its authenticity (Smolík, 2010: 171).

4.6.a Punk and Glam Rock

Before punk rock became popular in the British underground music scene, one of the leading sub-genres of rock music in the mid-1970s was the so-called *glam rock* (Hrabalík, 2014). Listeners of glam rock were split into two camps. One part of teenagers followed the mainstream and listened interpreters such as Marc Bolan, Gary Glitter or Alvin Stardust, while the other group appreciated mainly the artists such as David Bowie and Lou Reed, whose extreme look and compulsive aspiration to art and intellect was too extravagant to attract broader audience. Although the glam rock and one of the most famous performers David Bowie achieved a huge success at the beginning of the 1970s, the fact that he did not pay any attention to political and social themes led to the alienation of the majority of working-class youths. The lyrics of Bowie's songs, distancing from the worries of everyday life, offered an escape from the world of classes, gender roles,

personality and obvious commitment into a fantasy past or a science-fiction future (Hebdige, 1987: 61).

Opposed to arrogance, elegance and verbosity of glam rock superstars stood the scruffiness, the "working-classness" and earthiness of punk (Hrabalík, 2014). Despite the differences between punk and glam rock, these two music styles were connected more than it appeared on the first sight. Punk allegedly stood behind the neglected white lumpen youths, but it was expressed by the typically affected language of glam rock, interpreting its "working-classness" by wearing chains, "dirty" clothing, stained jackets, tarty see-through blouses and rough and ready diction (Hebdige, 1987: 62—63).

Punk should reflect the mood of the time through lyrics full of scorn for the society and desire for freedom from requirement of normality. As it was mentioned, this way of thinking was applied for the clothing style as well. The streets were soon filled with people who seemed to have one common goal and that was to look as weird as possible. It was a fashion of ragged clothes with badges, strait jackets, heavy boots and wild hairstyles. The girls then did not lag behind the boys in outrageous look with the heavy make-up and netlike stockings (Kolářová, 2011: 48).

The aim of the punk's rhetoric, obsession with class and relevance, was to undercut the intellectual posturing of the previous generation of rock musicians (Hebdige, 1987: 63).

4.6.b Punk and Reggae

The aversion to widely popular music led to the rediscovery of reggae (see also Chapter 4.1.c above) and the associated styles, which originally excluded white audience at the beginning of 1970s as its lyrics became aimed strictly at Black people (Hebdige, 1987: 59). Reggae attracted punks by the political bite, which was missing in contemporary white

music. Punks have also found the similarity to their position in society and to black immigrants who constantly expressed the feeling of alienation in foreign country in the reggae music. The intentional treason of punks and rejection of everything British aroused interest in reggae, which isolated its listeners from the outside world of White man as the lyrics celebrated Back-to-Africa movement and Ethiopia as the Promised Land (Hebdige, 1987: 63—64; Hrabalík, 2014).

Punk and reggae therefore became two inseparable styles which could be seen even in the look of some punks who wore clothes in Ethiopian colours, whereas the Rastafarians' dreadlocks were substituted by even more shocking hair-style characterized by stiffed hair held in vertical position by means of vaseline, lacquer or soap. Another evidence of this seemingly strange fusion could be the sound of famous punk bands such as *The Clash* and the strong influence of reggae which can be heard in several songs of their repertoire (Hebdige, 1987: 66—67; Hrabalík, 2014).

The easily recognizable differences of these two music styles, such as the treble sound and directness of lyrics in punk music, in contrast to reggae relying on heavy bass tunes and usage of allusion and ellipsis to express the frustration, did not prevent them from being played in the same clubs though. In fact, reggae, as a relief from the wild pace of new wave music, had the privilege of being the only tolerated alternative to punk, since the first London punk clubs opened. The reason for that was not only the lack of punk rock recordings in the early days, but also the rebel reputation of reggae, which was regularly played in the intervals between live acts of punk bands (Hebdige, 1987: 67—68).

The punks' symbolic friendship with black British was not tolerated by the teddy boy revivalists which led to frequent fights in 1977 and could serve as an example of divergence between the two subcultures (Hebdige, 1987: 69). However, it could be seen, that except the teddy boys' or racist skinheads' unwelcoming reaction to the presence of

West Indian immigrants, the relationship of white and black youths was rather beneficial and led to the emerging of numerous subcultures.

The history repeated, when punks started to search an alternative for contemporary music in older styles in a parallel to the mods, who, disgusted by the contemporary rock, returned to soul or ska at the beginning of the 1960s (Hebdige, 1987: 69). But in the 1970s, the youths, dissatisfied with political system and unemployment, finally found their own music reflecting their feelings (Smolík, 2010: 176).

Punk as a music genre or life style will never be understandable to all the people. By the end of the 1980s, punk, as many other subcultures did not manage to escape from its commercialization, which absolutely denies its very nature. Although this fact brought many people to think of punk as another style ruined by music business, it has still a lot of supporters, who would claim that punk is not dead (Smolík, 2010: 178).

5. Conclusion

As we could see, the evolution of every subculture is influenced by many factors. The frequently mentioned importance of co-existence of two races living in a close proximity was the most determining one in the case of many early British post-war subcultures, described in this thesis.

There are only a few aspects common for all the subcultures as their purpose was mainly to differ somehow. That is why there is not much gathered information to summarize. Anyway, there are some aspects, mainly on the general basis, which are common for the majority of the above mentioned subcultures. The most obvious collective feature of all the groups is probably the same motivation of their members to join a particular subculture. The research implies that there is a common need for those people to differentiate themselves from the major society, from the mainstream, from their parents, peers and so on. On the other hand, they evince a need to integrate themselves into a social group with similar feelings, preferences and interests.

What also connects all the different subcultures are the fields of their interests through which they realize their revolt against the mainstream society. Generally speaking, their distinction is realized mainly through these three aspects: music, fashion and lifestyle. As for the lifestyle, most of the subcultures are aimed on spending the free time and on entertainment. But there are also some subcultures which exceeds this rather banal affairs like how to spend their leisure time. For example there are certain groups with political aspirations (nationalist skinheads), religious and philosophical ambitions (Rastafarians), etc.

The other fact that emerges from my research is that through time, there are huge differences in popularity of the particular subcultures as well as of their lifespan. There are

some which has been almost completely forgotten up to day. On the other hand, there are some which virtually never lost their admirers, though through the time the number of its members might vary a lot. As an example of the first group could serve the teddy boys, rockers or mods. Albeit they are not completely forgotten, their contemporary presence could be characterized rather as a revivalism. Contrary to those, the punk subculture, for example, is quite alive even today.

The study of the literature on the topic of the thesis was very useful for me, as I gathered huge amount of interesting information. It also changed my view on subcultures as such. Precisely, it is quite complicated to determine which group of people with the same interests could be regarded as a subculture in true sense and which one cannot. Moreover, there are so many subcultures, that only those which originated in the USA, for instance, would need an independent research. Another interesting topic for further research could be found in the adaptation of individual subcultures in a setting outside of their place of its origin or a role of women in subcultures which is omitted in many subcultural studies.

Despite the great number of books dealing with the topic, only few of them provided me the suitable kind of information as for the attainment of the goals of my thesis. However much are the individual books dedicated to subcultures comprehensive, it is quite difficult to orient in them. I tried to summarize the facts about every single subculture from several sources and compare them, to make my thesis well arranged and understandable even for a completely uninitiated reader. I hope this work could help people who are interested in the topic to better understand the background of early British post-war subcultures and learn to recognize the specifics of each of them.

6. Literature

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7. Résumé

Bakalářská práce popisuje jednotlivé subkultury mládeže a jejich vyhranění z bežné společnosti uskutečněné pomocí určitého stylu oblékání, chování a zájmem o konkrétní hudební žánry. Po nastudování materiálů zabývajících se tímto tématem, jsou popsány subkultury týkající se zejména poválečného období ve Velké Brtánii jako jsou rastafariáni, modernisté, skinheadi, fotbaloví chuligáni a punkeři. Dále jsou zde definovány některé ze základních termínů týkajících se problematiky subkultur, nezbytné pro orientaci v textu.

8. Picture Appendix

List of Pictures

1. Rastafarians celebrating a holiday (source: www.anancymag.com)

2. A group of Rastafarians (source: www.jujutours.com)

3. Teddy boys in 1962 (source: www.vol1brooklyn.com)

4. Teddy boys today (source: www.edwardianteddyboy.com)

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Anotace

Jméno a příjmení:	Aleš Novotný
Katedra:	Katedra anglického jazyka
Vedoucí práce:	Mgr. Josef Nevařil, Ph.D.
Rok obhajoby:	2014

Název práce:	Rané britské poválečné subkultury
Název v angličtině:	Early British Post-war Subcultures
Anotace práce:	Práce se zabývá poměrně komplexní problematikou poválečných subkultur a tématy s ní spojeny. Jsou to zejména: různé hudební styly, styly oblékání a termíny používané ve studijích týkajících se subkultur.
Klíčová slova:	Subkultury, styl, hudba, rastafariánství, teddy boys, modernisté, rockeři, skinheadi, fotbaloví chuligáni, punk
Anotace v angličtině:	The work deals with a quite complex problem of post-war subcultures and related themes. These themes concerns mainly: different musical styles, dressing style and terms used in subcultural studies.
Klíčová slova v angličtině:	Subclture, style, music, Rastafari, teddy boys, mods, rockers skinheads, hooligans, punk
Přílohy vázané v práci:	14 obrázků
Rozsah práce:	57 stran
Jazyk práce:	Angličtina