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# THE MIGRATION OF MOD: ANALYSING THE MOD SUBCULTURE IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND

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# Contents

# Introduction

In its present form Mod is regarded as a national and global subculture intrinsically linked to British culture. Richard Weight has claimed that Mod is 'Britain's biggest youth movement.'[1] A statement which holds true, as since its emergence in London's East End in the late 1950s, the subculture has grown substantially. However, for many, Mod is still seen as a "southern phenomenon" associated with "swinging London" and the bank holiday beach battles, resulting in it being represented as a 1960s London "fad".[2] Bar a handful of publications such as Keith Gildart's *Images of England Through Popular Music*, and Christine Feldman's *"We are the Mods"*, most of the academic literature on the Mod subculture is plagued by these two assumptions. As such, both the academic and general literature present a partial view of the culture in terms of a 1960s monolithic London-based scene. While it would be fair to say that the Mod subculture did begin in the late 1950s in London, as Anderson rightly suggests, 'it soon rampaged across the country like a speed-fuelled plague,'[3] becoming nationwide by 1964, even if the media did not recognise it as a national scene. Mod was adopted by teenagers in the North during the sixties and re-emerged in greater numbers during the Revival of the late 1970s. Rawlings argues Mods are 'the only group readily embraced by different generations,' as its original values have 'transcended their early Sixties origins' being 'rediscovered, redeveloped and renewed' by successive 'tribes of "New Mods".'[4] The period of the Mod Revival in the late 1970s through to the early 1980s, despite its clear importance as a period of increased Mod activity, has been overlooked by the academic community. The focus on London and its surrounding areas has also led to there being little to no focus on Mod in the North. Using a myriad of primary sources this dissertation combines oral history interviews with archival methods to address this

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[1] Weight, R. (2013). *MOD: From Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement.* London: Vintage.
[2] Hebdige, D. (1988). *Hiding in the light: On images and things*. London: Routledge. Page 109.
[3] Anderson, P. (2014). *Mods the new religion: The style and music of the 1960s Mods*. London: Omnibus press. Blurb.
[4] Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus Press. Page 5.

imbalance, analysing the two areas of Mod subculture that has had little academic analysis, Mods in the North of England during the Revival.

This thesis develops research from my undergraduate dissertation that focused on the changing representations and experiences of Mod over time, from the sixties to present day.[5] From this research it was concluded that strong numbers of Mods were present in the North from the 1960s, and an even larger contingent of Mods during the Revival. This research fills a gap in academic knowledge by researching the experience of Mods in the North providing an original piece of historical analysis. This research aims not only to provide a broad history of the subculture in the North comparing experiences with the Southern Mods, but to provide an in depth analysis of some key issues surrounding class, identity, space, and everyday practices of Northern Mods. While addressing why so little has been written on the subject of Mods in the North and the Revival, this research will also challenge perceptions of Mod simply being a Sixties London-centric subculture. Research will also consider the distinctiveness of Northern Mod and ideas that underpinned adherence to or participation in the Revival.

The area of focus in this study is the North. However, as Shields correctly identifies, 'the 'North' of England is not a precisely defined and mapped out jurisdiction with clear borders', both as geographical expression and in terms of local identity.[6] As such, it is important to define what this study considers to be the North. Using Helen Jewell's definition of the North which uses river systems, this study defines the North as the area from the Humber to the River Mersey, with attention to the Trent in between.[7] This area includes eleven counties that can be considered Northern, but all have 'different degrees of Northerness.'[8] Ideas surrounding Northerness and regional variations will be explored throughout the study in relation to the concepts of place and spatial theory examining how

[5] Dow, T. (2018). *Mods in myth and reality: Analysing class, gender, and identity in representation and experience over time* (Degree dissertation). University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield.

[6] Shields, R. (1991). *Places on the margin: alternative geographies of modernity*. London: Routledge. Page 207.

[7] Jewell, H. M. (1994). *The North-South Divide: The Origins of Northern Consciousness in England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 24 and 25.

[8] Jewell, H. M. (1994). *The North-South Divide: The Origins of Northern Consciousness in England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 24 and 25.

the cultural, social and economic specificity of Northern England shaped how Mod was experienced and represented.

This research will explore how the subculture manifested and developed in the North providing a comparison to the "ideal typical" Southern Mod perspective. The "ideal typical" Mod has often been described as a 'lower class dandy' obsessed with the smallest details.[9] Mods would take amphetamines to attend R&B clubs in Soho whilst wearing their latest Italian suits or dresses. Later, with the beach battles at Southern seaside towns in 1964, this image became more synonymous with fighting Rockers, wearing a parka, and riding a scooter.[10] While this Mod style was emulated in the North, a different interpretation emerged. Class will be explored in detail to analyse if there was a clash of traditional Mod characteristics of being modern, suave, European, with some forms of Northern working-class *industrial* masculinity. Mobility will be another issue explored to ask questions such as did Northern Mods have their own gatherings, or did they have to be more mobile to be able to join in with Southern Mod events? Were they divided geographically, or did they come together? The subculture will be considered in relation to the political and social climate of when the Revival took place as the Mod Revival gave rise to 'a different animal to the original Sixties version… bearing hardly any resemblance to it at all.'[11]

In contradistinction to the ideal-typical Mod, there emerges a 'mod spectrum'.[12] Variations on the subculture existed at different times and in different places. It will be argued that the fluidity of Mod allowed it to be altered and appropriated by youths in different locations and decades to suit the contemporary culture of the period and place. Mod can be seen as a palimpsest subculture gaining new meanings through different economic, political, and social backgrounds. Mod's multifariousness will be explored in relation to spatial theory and the importance of subcultural space, networks and

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[9] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 52.
[10] The concept of an "ideal typical" Southern Mod will be explored in more detail within the contextual chapter.
[11] Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus. Page 159.
[12] Chenoune, F. (1993). *A history of men's fashion*. Paris: Flammarion. Page 254.

sites of importance. The variations between Mod in the North and in the South will be examined, as will variations regionally within the North. It will be argued that variations in the availability of certain commodities and the local networks of participants shapes the subculture and creates a different variant of Mod for the participants of a particular location and time.

This study focuses on the two largest peaks in Mod activity, both its origins in the 1960s and the second-generation of Mods in the Revival dating from 1977 to the mid-1980s. The study will mainly focus on the later peak of the Mod Revival as this has gained the least academic recognition. These peaks in Mod activity are useful as there is an increased number of primary sources due to the higher visibility and increased number of Mods during these periods. The primary sources that do exist regarding Mods in the North, such as newspapers, are largely influenced by the implication in their creation of 'moral panic'. While they can be useful for recording events, their purpose is not always to document and provide an accurate account or representation of the subculture, but rather to sensationalise events and the culture, in order to sell newspapers. Utilising oral histories, this study offers an additional dimension of analysis providing an insider's perspective of the subculture in the North which is juxtaposed against written primary sources of newspapers and magazines which offer an outsider's view. This is not the only value of utilising oral history as the main primary source in such a study. Due to the nature of the subject being analysed, there are few other primary sources regarding Mods in the North during the Revival with little academic analysis. Oral history's dynamic nature provides 'the ability to pin down evidence just where is needed', in order to fill in gaps of knowledge.[13] In terms of Mods in the North, it provides an account of what the scene was outside of London and challenges the mainstream narratives provided mainly by a small group of 'Ace Faces' living in the capital.[14] As Lindsey Dodd has argued, oral histories if used correctly can create new knowledge bringing into focus 'the ripples that these small fish make in the bigger pond of history.'[15]

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[13] Thompson, P. (2008). The voice of the past: Oral history. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The oral history reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 25-31). London: Routledge. Page 30.
[14] Lummis, T. (1989). *Listening to history: the authenticity of oral evidence*. Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books. Page 18.
[15] Dodd, L. (2013). Small fish, big pond. In J. Tumblety (Ed.) *Memory and history: Understanding memory as source and subject* (pp. 34-49). London: Routledge. Page 47.

Oral history is useful for revealing 'unknown events or unknown aspects of known events', to provide knowledge of the meaning behind unexplored areas of daily life not just the spectacular events.[16] Without using oral history interviews, a balanced study on this subject could not be conducted.

This dissertation will begin with a literature review examining the historiographical literature and academic debates surrounding youth culture and Mod culture. This will be followed by an analysis of the methodological techniques employed during this research. In order to compare Northern Mod with Southern, the study will have to boil down what the 'essence' of the Southern, more well-known Mod is. Things such as style, behaviour, music, attitudes, and reputation will be used to launch a comparison. A contextual chapter will address these themes by providing a brief history of Mod. This will outline the more traditional southern Mod also helping to provide key contextual information needed to understand the analysis that will follow. Chapter 1 will examine Mod culture in the North during the 1960s and its initial migration and development. It will be argued that while Mod was indeed an active subculture in the North during the sixties, it developed slower in the North and due to a variety of factors was different to the monolithic London-centric Mod. Despite the media's focus on the London scene, what emerged in the North was a buoyant subculture that laid the foundation for the Revival in the North and the slower development ultimately led to a longer lasting culture. The following chapters will transition and provide an analysis on the Mod Revival. Chapter 2 focuses on the identity of Mods in the North during the Revival exploring ideas around class and Northerness. It will be argued that Mod was an 'imagined community' based on a set of malleable core values that allowed it to be shaped by the participant while being limited to the resources available in one geographical location and time. Mod's multifariousness allowed it to be appropriated and reinterpreted to reflect or revolt against the contemporary climate in which it was situated and the experience of Northern Mods was shaped through a Northern discourse. Finally, chapter 3 will focus on Mod in practice examining how Mods in the North participated in the subculture exploring the

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[16] Portelli, A. (2008). What makes oral history different. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The oral history reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 32-42). London: Routledge. Page 36.

importance of accessibility to sites of interest, networks and commodities. It will be argued that Mod was shaped by the commodities and influences available to its participants in various towns across the North. These variations in accessibility to commodities and income, and the differing influences created local variations of Mod and allowed it to be appropriated and developed differently in each locale to suit its members.

# Historiography

While there has been a lack of historical analysis of the Mod subculture itself, to date researchers have paid far less attention to the Mod Revival and even less to Mods in the North of England. This study offers an historical analysis of the subculture in the North during the Revival period to address this imbalance. This research will be anchored using theories and concepts used within the fields of sociology, youth cultural studies, and history. The historiographical literature and debates surrounding subcultures and Mods that has influenced this study will be examined in turn. Due to the nature of the research, the literature regarding youth culture and subcultures will be developed from my undergraduate dissertation resulting in some overlap.[17] While some historians have written literature regarding Mods, the large majority of academic literature relating to Mods has been written by criminologists and sociologists. E.H.Carr's claims that 'scientists, social scientists, and historians are all engaged in different branches of the same study, 'that being the study of 'man's understanding of his environment.'[18] However, unlike historians, sociologists wish not only to understand the workings of society, but also to prescribe a solution to contemporary problems.[19] As such their analysis of subcultures and Mod has been limited. Mod is thus under-researched by historians, and this study will contribute to a greater understanding of the subculture in the future.

Youth has been debated by academics since the mid-twentieth century with Talcott Parsons coining the expression 'youth culture' in 1942 to describe the 'reverse' of adult culture, given the greater value placed on irresponsibility, conspicuous consumption and hedonistic leisure.[20] John Gillis argued that youth was a 'social construct' as opposed to 'an objective physiological stage in the process of human development,' and as such it was the 'social, economic and political conditions of a particular historical

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[17] Dow, T. (2018). *Mods in myth and reality: Analysing class, gender, and identity in representation and experience over time* (Degree dissertation). University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield.
[18] Carr, E.H. (1964). *What is History? (2nd ed.)*. London: Penguin. Page 86.
[19] Tosh, J. (2015). *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of history* (6th ed.). London: Routledge. Page 43.
[20] Parsons, T. (1942). 'Age and sex in the Social structure of the United States'. In Parsons, T. (1964). *Essays in Sociological Theory*. New York: Free Press. Page 93.

context,' that shaped youth.[21] The post-war social and economic conditions created a discovery of young identity causing a 'youthquake,'[22] that appeared to reflect a 'wider breakdown of Victorian class barriers.'[23] This in turn caused masses of literature to be produced regarding youth culture's origins. In the 1950s, Mark Abrams described the decade as characterised by 'distinctive teenage spending for distinctive teenage ends in a distinctive teenage world.'[24] While this may be the case, it has been argued by Andrew Davies from his study on working-class life in Salford, that elements of a teenage 'way of life' can be traced to 1939 and 'generational leisure patterns' to around 1900.[25] This has been supported by David Fowler who suggests that young wage earners in the interwar period were 'the first teenagers.'[26] The youth debate has been remarked by Osgerby as 'an important ideological vehicle that encapsulates more general hopes and fears about the state of the nation,' and as such it spurred further research into the development of youth subcultures.[27]

The dramatic rise in disposable income was the focus of a range of literature written in the late twentieth century. By the start of the 1960s youth expenditure had reached £800 million a year allowing for the formation of spectacular subcultures distinguished by their music and dress.[28]  What became obvious in this new literature was the focus on working-class youths. As working-class youths had disposable income they become more visible compared to their middle-class counterparts who often spent longer periods in education and training with low incomes.[29] Commenting on the sheer amount of literature focused on dramatic subcultures, Osgerby argued that 'never, in the field of social

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[21] Gillis, J. (1974). *Youth and* History. New York: Academic Press.

[22] Whiteley, N. (1987). *Pop design: Modernism to mod*. London: Design Council. Page 87.

[23] Pugh, M. (2012). *State and society: A social and political history of Britain since 1870* (4th ed.). London: Bloomsbury. Page 297.

[24] Abrams, M. (1959). *The Teenage* Consumer. London: London Press Exchange. Page 9. Cited in Tinkler, P. (2007). Youth. In F. Carnevali & J-M. Strange (Eds.) *20th Century Britain: economic, cultural and social change* (2nd ed.) (pp. 214-230). Harlow: Pearson Longman. Page 214.

[25] Davies, A. (1992). *Leisure, gender and poverty: Working-class culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1939.* Buckingham: Open University Press. Cited in Tinkler, P. (2007). Youth. In F. Carnevali & J-M. Strange (Eds.) *20th Century Britain: economic, cultural and social change* (2nd ed.) (pp. 214-230). Harlow: Pearson Longman. Page 214.

[26] Fowler, D. (1995). *The first teenagers: The lifestyle of young wage-earners in Inter-war Britain*. London: Woburn.

[27] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 1.

[28] Pugh, M. (2012). *State and society: A social and political history of Britain since 1870* (4th ed.). London: Bloomsbury. Page 298.

[29] Furlong, A. (2013). *Youth studies: An introduction*. London: Routledge. Page 152.

history, has so much been written by so many about so few,' even though most young people have 'comparatively "normal" and "ordinary" stylistic preferences.'[30]

One of the first and most influential pieces of research came from Phil Cohen who studied the working-class youth cultures of Mods, Teds and Skinheads in London's East End. For Cohen subcultures were attempts to mediate between experience and tradition with the 'latent function' to 'express and resolve, albeit magically, the contradictions which remain hidden or unresolved in the parent culture.'[31] Through the process of bricolage, subcultures are able to 'magically resolve' social contradictions using various cultural codes and styles.[32] For Cohen, subcultures were a means for working-class youths to reassert a link between the new council estates they were housed on and the former traditional working-class sense of community.[33] One effect of this breakdown of a working-class community was the emergence of generational conflict with subcultures providing an opposition to the parent culture. Links between historical and cultural continuity mediated through family were weakened.[34] For Cohen the multitude of subcultures generated can be considered as variations of the same subject, hoping to, in some way, retrieve socially cohesive elements destroyed in their parent culture. Ideologically, they represented a contradiction between traditional working-class puritanism and the hedonism of consumption, and economically between being part of an upwardly mobile elite or a more traditional lumpen proletariat.[35] The Mods, although coming from housing estates in East London, were 'emblematic of a working-class in transition,' with their smart style reflecting an upwardly mobile character of the working-class in post-war affluence.[36] On the other hand,

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[30] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 74.

[31] Cohen, P. (1997). Subcultural conflict and working-class community. Cited in P. Cohen. *Rethinking the youth question: Education, labour and cultural studies* (pp. 48-63). Basingstoke: Macmillan. Page 57.

[32] Cohen, P. (1997). Subcultural conflict and working-class community. In P. Cohen. *Rethinking the youth question: Education, labour and cultural studies* (pp. 48-63). Basingstoke: Macmillan. Page 49.

[33] Bennett, A. (2001). *Cultures of popular music*. Buckingham: Open University Press. Page 19.

[34] Cohen, P. (1997). Subcultural conflict and working-class community. In P. Cohen. *Rethinking the youth question: Education, labour and cultural studies* (pp. 48-63). Basingstoke: Macmillan. Page 56.

[35] Cohen, P. (1997). Subcultural conflict and working-class community. In P. Cohen. *Rethinking the youth question: Education, labour and cultural studies* (pp. 48-63). Basingstoke: Macmillan. Page 57.

[36] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 42.

subcultures such as the Skinheads explored the 'lumpen' embodying a more traditional working-class identity.[37] The issue of class in subculture became the basis for the literature that followed.

During the 1960s and 1970s the work of a group of young academics, with backgrounds in humanities and the social sciences, called the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at Birmingham University helped to create the field of cultural studies.[38] This group, using a Marxian approach with an emphasis on social class, focused on post-war youth subcultures such as Mods, Teds, and Skinheads. Unlike the Chicago School before them, the CCCS did not believe in the 'embourgeoisement thesis' that argued the increase of post-war affluence had caused British society to become classless with the working-class taking on a more middle-class outlook.[39] Reimer furthered this by arguing that the new youth consumer market provided the catalyst for the creation of a new classless consumer society where the young abandoned working-class roots creating a unified teenager consumer society.[40] Instead, the CCCS argued that the emergent youth subcultures, through the reworking of artefacts, were symbolic expressions of resistance to their class position sharing many of the same struggles as their parent culture but separate through their position to work, education and leisure.[41] Subcultural style was therefore a working-class resistance to contemporary economic and social issues.

Deriving their theoretical approach from Gramscian Marxism, the CCCS believed there were two main cultures: the dominant and the subordinate. The dominant culture aims to define and encompass all others within an inclusive range creating a universal culture that stands as the most natural. As such, all other cultures are subordinate and engage in a struggle for cultural space hoping to battle its hegemony through, negotiation, modification or by overthrowing it.[42] This developed the work of

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[37] Cohen, P. (1997). Subcultural conflict and working-class community. In P. Cohen. *Rethinking the youth question: Education, labour and cultural studies* (pp. 48-63). Basingstoke: Macmillan. Page 58.

[38] Williams, J. P. (2011). *Subcultural theory: Traditions and concepts*. Cambridge: Polity. Page 26.

[39] Bennett, A. (2001). *Cultures of popular music*. Buckingham: Open University Press. Page 18.

[40] Reimer, B. (1995). Youth and modern styles, in Fornäs, J., & Bolin, G. *Youth culture in late modernity.* London: Sage. Cited in *Bennett*, A. (2001). *Cultures of popular music*. Buckingham: Open University Press. Page 18.

[41] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 71.

[42] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 12.

Gramsci who suggested that culture is complex with dominant and subordinate cultures interlocking in various combinations both fighting for supremacy and cultural space.[43] For Gramisci, youth culture was 'struggling for 'cultural space' in symbolic and artistic challenges to the dominant culture.'[44] Williams furthers this point by suggesting there are 'dominant', 'residual' and 'emergent' cultures that coincide at once.[45] The participants of subcultures 'continue to exist within, and coexist with, the more inclusive culture of the class from which they spring,' sharing many of the fundamental life experiences of their parent culture.[46] While different in important ways with its 'focal concerns' and activities, subcultures share some aspects in common with their parent culture and as such it is important that they display a distinctive enough structure to identifiably differentiate themselves.[47] Subcultures thus present a 'double articulation' – firstly, to their parent culture, and secondly, to the contemporary dominant culture.[48] Through their dress and life-styles, subcultures are able to project an alternative 'solution' to issues posed by their social and class position even if they are not completely protected by the conditions which shape their class as a whole.[49] These working-class subcultures not only inhabit the cultural and social class of the subordinate classes and their parent culture, but help to 'win space for the young' by gaining cultural space through time for leisure activities, visibility on the street and within institutions, marking out 'territory in the localities.'[50] Post-war subcultures are able

[43] Horn, A. (2009). *Juke box Britain: Americanisation and youth culture, 1945-1960*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 7.

[44] Horn, A. (2009). *Juke box Britain: Americanisation and youth culture, 1945-1960*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 7.

[45] Williams, R. (1980). *Problems in materialism and culture*. London: New Left Books.

[46] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 14 and 15..

[47] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 13.

[48] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 14.

[49] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 14 and 15.

[50] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 45.

to address the issues of their class experience by reproducing discrepancies between 'real negotiations and symbolically displaced 'resolutions'.[51]

As time passed the development of a postmodern school of thought emerged that rejected Marxism and the CCCS came under scrutiny from many academics mainly for their myopic focus on working-class youths and class conflict. Williams argued that the CCCS's preoccupation with Marxist theory meant they focussed narrowly on notions of class conflict to explain behaviours of various working-class subcultures and other aspects were simply overlooked.[52] Rather than investigating the subjective meaning of subcultural members, the CCCS's approach retrospectively identifies a 'historical problem' faced by the working-class as a whole and semiotically decodes the ideological and political meanings of the subcultural response.[53] Bennett also takes issue with the CCCS's use of working-class resistance as its central aspect of post-war youth style, contending that rigidly focusing on 'resistance', 'working-class youth were somehow driven back to the fact of class as a way of articulating their attachment to such commodities.'[54] Bennett further argued that post-war consumerism, instead of heightening class divisions provided youth the chance to break ties with traditional working-class identities and self-construct new ones.[55] The CCCS's theory focuses on subcultures as rigidly bound symbolic structures that does not take into account the internal diversities and instabilities within a subcultural group.[56] Williams also argued that the Centre theorised the subcultures as 'relatively static and homogeneous entities vis-à-vis a dominant cultural regime.'[57] While different subcultures are unique their variability in style and identity is instead explained theoretically as examples of class struggle rather than being explored as unique identities. Williams final criticism is the Centre's lack of empirical data as their work

[51] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 47 and 48.

[52] Williams, J. P. (2011). *Subcultural theory: Traditions and concepts* (Eds.). Cambridge: Polity. Page 30 and 31.

[53] Muggleton, D. (2002). *Inside Subculture: The postmodern meaning of style*. Oxford: Berg. Page 12.

[54] Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 602.

[55] Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 602.

[56] Hodkinson, P. (2004). The Goth scene and (sub)cultural substance. In A. Bennett & K. Kahn-Harris (Eds.) *After subculture: Critical studies in contemporary youth culture* (pp. 135-147). Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 136.

[57] Williams, J. P. (2011). *Subcultural theory: Traditions and concepts* (Eds.). Cambridge: Polity. Page 30 and 31.

is mostly abstracted discussion with no data collected from the lives of those who identify with the subcultures that are being examined.[58] This study will argue that while Mod's feel a sense of belonging to a larger group and share many key elements and values, there are numerous diversities within the subculture that are effected by experience and locality

Criticisms of the CCCS also came from the Centre's own academics. Murdock and McCron highlighted how subcultural analysis, with its roots in delinquency research, focuses narrowly on deviant behaviour as opposed to the conventional, suggesting that ordinary subcultural behaviours and activities may be overshadowed by the spectacular.[59] They also suggest that the Centre narrowly focused on white working-class providing little to no analysis of the role of girls or racial minorities.[60] This is a point supported by another CCCS academic, Angela McRobbie, who argues that 'very little seems to have been written about the role of girls in youth cultural groupings in general.'[61] While it laid an extremely solid base for analysis of post-war subcultures, as many have argued, the CCCS missed an opportunity to actually examine subcultures in any depth. The participants themselves were overlooked and the cultures analysed in fixed framework relating to class with no focus on minorities or girls. The CCCS were also very London centric in their approach ignoring other regions of the country, something this study will address. Developing the work of the CCCS, this study hopes to achieve what the Centre did not in using participants within the study to understand the everyday lives of those who participated in Mod culture not just solely focusing on the spectacular aspects.

Another aspect of subcultures to be analysed was subcultural style. Clarke explores subcultural style using the concept of bricolage, a theory coined by the anthropologist Lévi-Strauss which originated from the bricoleur, a French 'handyman' who completed tasks in heterogeneous ways with

[58] Williams, J. P. (2011). *Subcultural theory: Traditions and concepts* (Eds.). Cambridge: Polity. Page 30 and 31.

[59] Murdock, G. & McCron, R. (1976). Consciousness of class and consciousness of generation. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 192-207). London: Routledge. Page 204.

[60] Murdock, G. & McCron, R. (1976). Consciousness of class and consciousness of generation. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 192-207). London: Routledge. Page 204.

[61] McRobbie, A. & Garber, J. (1976). Girls and Subcultures. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 209-222). London: Routledge. Page 209.

miscellaneous objects.[62] Subcultural bricoleurs are those who appropriate a range of commodities and place them in a symbolic grouping to 'erase or subvert their original straight meanings.'[63] He argues that object and meaning constitute a sign, which, within any one culture, that sign may form a discourse. However, the 'subcultural bricoleur' is able to create a new discourse through the repositioning of a significant object conveying a new message.[64] Objects cannot simply be created so the 'subcultural bricoleur' is constrained by the existing meanings of the objects and signs available at any one point in a particular location and must adapt and transform their meaning. Not only must the objects used to create a new subcultural style already exist, but they must also carry meanings organised coherently enough for their transformation to be understood as a transformation.[65] Subcultural style, therefore, clearly defines the groups boundaries regarding its members and outsiders helping to create a more defined group.[66] Groups must be able to recognise themselves within the objects. As such, objects must have 'objective possibility' of reflecting the groups values and focal concerns and the group's self-consciousness must be sufficiently developed for its members to associate themselves with the symbolic objects on offer.[67] At the same time as identifying and unifying the group, distinctive style can make them more vulnerable to social reaction.[68] This idea shall be used within this study as it is extremely useful for helping to understand how the Mod subculture developed and allowed Mods in the Revival to experience and portray the subculture differently, in different areas, due to the availability of objects and events.

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[62] Lévi-Stauss. (1966). *The Savage* Mind. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Page 16-22. Cited in Cateforis, T. (2011). *Are we not new wave?: Modern pop at the turn of the 1980s.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Page 105.

[63] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 104.

[64] Clarke, J. (1976). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 177.

[65] Clarke, J. (1976). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 177.

[66] Clarke, J. (1976). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 182.

[67] Clarke, J. (1976). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 179.

[68] Clarke, J. (1976). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 184.

Osgerby suggested that while young people were heavily involved in the process of stylistic innovation, it was largely the media's influence and other commercial businesses that shaped style and practices into 'identifiable subcultural formations.'[69] Dominant culture's exploitation of subcultural style has two opposing aspects. On the one hand, it positively creates heavy commercial investment into the youth market, and on the other hand it negatively stereotypes subcultural styles to identify and isolate groups seen as anti-social by the dominant culture.[70] Clarke rightly asserts that subcultures could not exist without an economic source and for the Mods, the post-war affluence and rise in employment allowed them to create and uphold the style cementing themselves as a prominent youth subculture.[71] However, unlike some academics, Clarke argues that economic growth was not the sole reason for Mods creation. Clarke argued that subcultures needed a growing consumer society 'geared to youth' which could provide the 'raw materials' needed for subcultures to construct distinctive styles.[72] This consumer society, while able to influence or create an easily available style, evident in Mod culture with brand such as Fred Perry and Ben Sherman, was not able to create and authentic or sustained style.[73] Subcultures, Clarke contends, are able to address the issues of class experience by reproducing inconsistencies between 'real negotiations and symbolically displaced resolutions,' as such, Mods exploitation of consumerism through style helped to fill the gap between the weekend and the mundane working week.[74] Using Marx's term, Clarke suggest that commodities are 'social hieroglyphs' because their meanings are socially given they can also be reconstructed or

[69] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 201.

[70] Clarke, J. (1976). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 185.

[71] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 54.

[72] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 54.

[73] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 54.

[74] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 47 and 48.

socially altered.[75] In terms of Mods in the North it becomes apparent that commodities were used in order to present an upwardly mobile self-image, while also retaining class affiliation.

Hebdige, another CCCS academic, also used the concept of bricolage to explain the nature of the amalgamation of objects and their meanings within subcultures. For Hebdige subcultural style can be seen as a 'semiotic guerrilla warfare' against not only the dominant culture but the participants boring everyday lives.[76] This subcultural style is achieved through the double articulation of meaning through everyday objects. While the Mods may have appeared to have been 'alienated consumers' confined by the capitalist society due to their apparent 'insatiable appetite' of conspicuous consumption of commercial goods, they were not 'passive consumers.'[77] The Mods consumption of consumer products was simply a stylistic one. A style that Hebdige argued was, 'pure, unadulterated STYLE,' and the importance of this style cannot be overstressed.[78] It was necessary for Mods to appropriate a commodity required by the subculture, in order to semantically rearrange its use and meaning to reposition its value into a new context.[79] One example is how Mods took the formerly respectable scooter and converted it into 'a weapon and a symbol of solidarity.'[80] Learning from their experiences at school, work and society more generally to avoid direct confrontation, Hebdige argued Mods learned to make their criticisms obliquely by creating a style that 'constituted a parody of the consumer society in which they were situated.'[81] Through 'symbolic victories' Mods were able to challenge societies ideals by distorting and inverting the values of neatness valued by the dominant culture creating a style that was 'overtly close to the straight world was nonetheless incomprehensible

[75] Clarke, J., Hall, S., Jefferson, T., & Roberts, B. (1976). Subcultures, cultures and class. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 9-75). London: Routledge. Page 55.

[76] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 105.

[77] Hebdige, D. (1976). The meaning of Mod. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 87-98). London: Routledge. Page 92 and 93.

[78] Hebdige, D. (1976). The meaning of Mod. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 87-98). London: Routledge. Page 92.

[79] Hebdige, D. (1976). The meaning of Mod. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 87-98). London: Routledge. Page 92.

[80] Hebdige, D. (1976). The meaning of Mod. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 87-98). London: Routledge. Page 92.

[81] Hebdige, D. (1976). The meaning of Mod. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 87-98). London: Routledge. Page 92 and 93.

to it.'[82] In many respects the Mods were negotiating changes and challenges that were simultaneously affecting their parents culture but they did so in relation to their own autonomous problematic by creating an 'elsewhere' of living for the weekend contrasting the locales of home.[83] The Mods, through wearing suits, ties and shirts were able to strip down the original connotations of efficiency, authority and ambition to transform them into desirable objects to be valued in their own right.[84] The creation of a unified style helped Mods not only dislocate themselves from the dominant culture at a 'magic level,'[85] but also provided a release from the subordination of their everyday lives:

> Every Mod existed in a ghost world of gangsterism, luxurious clubs and beautiful
>
> women, even if reality only amounted to a draughty parka anorak, a beaten-up
>
> Vespa and fish and chips out of a greasy bag.[86]

Their deliberate inversion of values and challenge to assumptions relating to smart dress made them seem, in Cohen's words, 'actors who are not quite in their places.'[87] Dave Laing remarked 'there was something in the way they moved which adults couldn't make out.'[88] This style allowed them to negotiate smoothly between work, school and leisure concealing as much as it stated.[89] While this may have been the case for original Mods in London, it is unclear if this is the case for Mods in the North during the Revival.

For Hebdige, subcultural style is 'pregnant with significance,' providing the gestures which challenge the contemporary dominant culture and it is the historians job to 'discern the hidden messages,' within the style to trace out the 'maps of meaning.'[90] The raw materials which make up subcultures

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[82] Hebdige, D. (1976). The meaning of Mod. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 87-98). London: Routledge. Page 93.
[83] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 79.
[84] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 104 and 105.
[85] Shuker, R. (2013). *Understanding popular music culture* (4th ed.). London: Routledge. Page 176.
[86] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 90.
[87] Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics the creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 222.
[88] Laing, D. (1969). *The sound of our time.* London: Sheen & Ward. Cited in Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 52.
[89] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 52.
[90] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 18.

are subject to change. As each subcultural 'instance' represents a 'solution' to their specific contemporary concerns the objects, symbols and meanings behind a subculture may alter over time or location.[91] Hebdige noted how the Mod style had an 'intricate system of classification' where the original 'stylists' are defined against the 'unimaginative majority' made up of the 'pedestrian kids and Scooter boys,' accused of trivialising Mod style and values.[92] As Hebdige asserts, 'different youths bring different degrees of commitment to a subculture.'[93] This helps to explain the variations in subcultural style, a theme explored in this research.

Hebdige's work was not without stark criticism. One main criticism came from Angela McRobbie who argued that Hebdige's work on style 'structurally excludes women,' which is ironic as in mainstream culture, style is accepted as primarily a feminine interest.[94] For many, Hebdige's account over-romanticized youth subcultures, exaggerating their radical dimensions. Stanley Cohen argued that Hebdige's reading of style relied too heavily on an 'aesthetics which may work for art, but not equally well for life', warning that Hebdige risked 'getting lost in the forest of symbols.'[95]

Subcultural styles, Murdock and McCron argue, are an amalgamation of components collected from two main sources – the 'situated' class cultures embedded in the family and the local neighbourhood, and the 'mediated' symbol systems sponsored by the youth orientated sectors of the entertainment industry.'[96] Subcultural styles are not simply made of raw elements but are produced through the process of selection and transformation of the available activities, objects and symbols which are stripped of their social context and normal meanings and reworked by subcultural participants to inherit new significance.[97] Subcultural styles therefore are a 'coded expression of class consciousness'

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[91] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 81.

[92] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 122.

[93] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 122.

[94] McRobbie, A. (1991). Settling Accounts with Subculture: A Feminist Critique. In A. McRobbie (Ed.) *Feminism and Youth Culture: From Jackie to Just Seventeen* (pp. 16-34). Basingstoke: Macmillan Education. Page 25.

[95] Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page LX.

[96] Murdock, G. & McCron, R. (1976). Consciousness of class and consciousness of generation. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 192-207). London: Routledge. Page 203.

[97] Murdock, G. & McCron, R. (1976). Consciousness of class and consciousness of generation. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 192-207). London: Routledge. Page 203.

reflected by the context of youth and the complexity of age as a mediation of class consciousness and experience.[98]

During the 1980s and 1990s, from the academic examination of rave culture, a Postmodern school of thought emerged developed by the Manchester school which sought to build upon and in some cases disprove the work of the CCCS. During this period, it became apparent that youth style was becoming more a matter of individual choice with the young constructing and reconstructing their own hedonistic style and identities. The heterogeneity and shifts in youth styles led Sarah Thornton to introduce the concept of 'club culture' which attempted to rework subcultural theory suggesting that the new mixing of styles had led to the end of the traditional post-war subcultures.[99] Many scholars agreed that the CCCS's work overemphasised the role of class and ignored gender, race and sexuality and while it may have represented the period just after the war, it was not the case for the 1990s. For Redhead and the other academics, the 1990s represented a decade 'in the shadow of neo-conservatism' where consumerism had reached a peak putting into question the authenticity and behaviour of subcultures and questioning if they were even viable.[100] For these academics subcultural practices were no longer seen as "magical" attempts to deal with contemporary class issues, but as 'agentic and affirmative.'[101] This demonstrates what Polhemus terms 'a supermarket of style,'[102] where young people pick and choose elements from various subcultures to suit their own lifestyles. This idea that subcultural identities are not fixed but are created through and ever-changing individualised experience influenced by and ever-expanding selection of commercial objects, identities, and practices is something that can be seen within the Mod Revival. What emerges is not a single unified Mod culture but a subculture that has voluminous variations dependant on the

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[98] Murdock, G. & McCron, R. (1976). Consciousness of class and consciousness of generation. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 192-207). London: Routledge. Page 203.

[99] Bennett, A. (2001). *Cultures of popular music*. Buckingham: Open University Press. Page 125.

[100] Williams, J. P. (2011). *Subcultural theory: Traditions and concepts* (Eds.). Cambridge: Polity. Page 31.

[101] Williams, J. P. (2011). *Subcultural theory: Traditions and concepts* (Eds.). Cambridge: Polity. Page 32.

[102] Polhemus, T. (1997). In the supermarket of style, in Redhead, A., Wynne, A., O'Connor, J (Eds.) *The Clubculture Reader: Reading in Popular Cultural Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell. Cited in Bennett, A. (2001). *Cultures of popular music.* Buckingham: Open University Press. Page 125.

availability and choices made by individuals. While their critique is applied to subcultures from the late 1980s onwards, it is extremely relevant to the case of Mods in the North. While those in the North identify with class, Mod participation and authenticity is determined by choice and commitment as opposed to class.

The notion of subculture is something that must be considered as it has faced large criticisms from a number of academics. Bennett argued, subculture is used as a theoretical underpinning that has become little more than 'a convenient catch-all term' for all aspects of social life where youth, music and style intersect.[103] The main criticism of the concept is that it is too rigid. Subcultural forms are often theorised as frozen 'immutably fixed phenomena' at a particular moment in history.[104] However, in reality youth cultures are in a constant state of change with styles continually developing over time to suit the participant's various needs.[105] As a result, Bennett argues that the concept of subculture is 'unworkable' as an objective analytical tool.[106] Also, the concept imposes lines of division which are difficult to verify empirically.[107] Evans argued that subcultures are identities that are 'on the move,' complex, fluid and shifting, as opposed to the fixed identities that academics such as the CCCS have suggested.[108] This has been supported by Osgerby who argues that subcultures are 'hybrids' which are malleable and allows participants to choose allowing subcultural style to be reformed according to the social context.[109] In terms of the Mod, the sheer number of variations to the style and identity suggest that Mod is fluid allowing for these changes. It will be argued that Mod is a flexible subculture with its participants experiences being shaped by social and living conditions altering how Mods in different times and locations experience the culture.

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[103] Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 599.

[104] Muggleton, D. (2002). *Inside Subculture: The postmodern meaning of style*. Oxford: Berg. Page 49 and 50.

[105] Muggleton, D. (2002). *Inside Subculture: The postmodern meaning of style*. Oxford: Berg. Page 49 and 50.

[106] Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 599.

[107] Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 605.

[108] Evans, C. (1997). Dreams that only money can buy… Or the shy tribe in flight from discourse. *Fashion Theory, 1(2)*, 169-188. Page 170.

[109] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 203.

Subculture's rigid boundaries ignore the possibility that the mainstream is included in the construction and positioning of youth cultures.[110] Subcultural theory attempted to locate the 'one magical moment' before a youth culture had become visible enough to begin the process of incorporation.[111] Once it had become visible, available to be studied and interpreted, to sociologists it had already began its dissolution into mainstream.[112] As a result, the moment of transformation is the point of incorporation which alters the role of the participant from wearing subcultural styles to resolve contradiction, to simply following a fashion.[113] Discussion surrounding subcultural authenticity and originality became common. For Steven Connor the cycle of 'innovation' and 'incorporation' in subcultural styles had sped up 'to the point where authentic "originality" and commercial "exploitation" are hard to distinguish.'[114] Steve Redhead agreed asserting that post-Punk youth cultures had 'been characterized by a speeding up of the time between points of "authenticity" and "manufacture."'[115] Sarah Thornton argues that authentic subcultures 'do not germinate from a seed and grow by force of their own energy into mysterious movements', but rather are the product of media and cultural industries that are essential to their formation and development.[116] For Thornton the media does not threaten a subculture but instead shapes and sustains it providing interest of its styles and activities to an 'appropriate audience,' and may even be used to predict the 'longevity or even the revival' of a subculture.[117] However, Thornton argues that while 'authentic' subculture are in the main media constructs, she contends that they 'remained powerful sources of meaning and self-identity for their

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[110] Grossberg, L. (1987). The politics of music: American images and British articulations. *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory, XI* (1-2), 144-151. Page 149.

[111] Grossberg, L. (1987). The politics of music: American images and British articulations. *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory, XI* (1-2), 144-151. Page 147.

[112] Grossberg, L. (1987). The politics of music: American images and British articulations. *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory, XI* (1-2), 144-151. Page 147.

[113] Muggleton, D. (2002). *Inside Subculture: The postmodern meaning of style*. Oxford: Berg. Page 22.

[114] Connor, S. (1989). *Postmodernist culture: An introduction to theories of the contemporary*. London: Wiley–Blackwell. Page 185. In Osgerby, B. (2008). Youth Culture. Cited in P. Addison & H. Jones (Eds.) *A Companion to Contemporary Britain, 1939 - 2000* (pp. 127-144). London: Wiley-Blackwell. Page 137.

[115] Redhead, S. (1991). Rave Off: Youth, subcultures and the law. *Social Studies Review, 6*(3), 92-4. Page 94. Cited in Osgerby, B. (2008). *Youth Culture*. In P. Addison & H. Jones (Eds.) *A Companion to Contemporary Britain, 1939 - 2000* (pp. 127-144). London: Wiley-Blackwell. Page 137.

[116] Thornton, S. (1995). *Club cultures: Music, media and subcultural capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Page 117.

[117] Thornton, S. (1995). *Club cultures: Music, media and subcultural capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Page 161.

participants.'[118] Drawing on the work of Bourdieu, Thornton argues that through 'being in the know,' subcultural participants may gain 'subcultural capital' that confers 'status on its owner in the eyes of the relevant beholder.'[119]

The fragility of the term subculture has led a number of postmodern researchers to suggest a number of new phrases including 'scenes,' 'tribes,' lifestyles,' and 'neo-tribes'.[120] For Hitzler a scene is a 'hybrid community' that emerges not due to the collective social or living conditions of young people, but group consciousness develops through a belief in a shared affinity.[121] Maffesoli argues that youth cultures are 'tribes' defining them as 'a state of mind, preferably to be expressed through lifestyles that favour appearance and form.'[122] Utilising Maffesoli's concept of tribes, Bennett suggests that neo-tribalism offers a more adequate framework than the concept of subculture, as it allows for the shifting of stylistic and musical choices and the fluidity in youth cultural groups.[123] Instead, groups that have traditionally been theorised as subcultures are better understood as 'a series of temporal gatherings characterised by fluid boundaries.'[124] By consuming popular culture, youths are free to choose between the various styles and musical genres whilst also being able to define and shape what they stand for.[125] Another alternative to subculture is the concept of 'lifestyle' which Chaney describes as 'the sensibilities employed by the individual in choosing certain commodities and patterns of consumption and in articulating these cultural resources as modes of personal expression.'[126]

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[118] Osgerby, B. (2008). Youth Culture. In P. Addison & H. Jones (Eds.) *A Companion to Contemporary Britain, 1939 - 2000* (pp. 127-144). London: Wiley-Blackwell. Page 137 and 138.

[119] Thornton, S. (1995). *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Page 27.

[120] Nayak, A., & Kehily, M. J. (2008). *Gender, youth and culture: Young masculinities and femininities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 13.

[121] Hitzler, R. (1999). Exploring worlds: Sociology as (a kind of) ethnology of one's own society. *Social World*, 473-482. In Jenβ, H. (2005). Sixties dress only! The consumption of the past in a retro scene. In A. Palmer & H. Clark (Eds.) Old clothes, new looks: second hand fashion (pp. 177-195). Oxford: Berg. Page 181.

[122] Maffesoli, M. (1996). *The time of the tribes: The decline of individualism in mass society*. London: Sage. Page 98.

[123] Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 614.

[124] Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 600.

[125] Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 614.

[126] Chaney, D. (1994). *The Cultural Turn: Scene-Setting Essays on Contemporary Cultural History.* London: Routledge. Cited in Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 607.

Lifestyles can be described as 'a freely chosen game'[127] where individuals are active consumers and their choices reflect 'a self-constructed notion of identity', as opposed to subculture which supposes individuals consumption is determined by conditions of class.[128] Importantly with lifestyle, a developed mass society 'liberates rather than oppresses individuals' providing the means for individual expression through varied resources and commodities.[129]

One aspect that relates heavily to this study and must not be overlooked is the geographical nature of subcultures. Clarke suggests that subcultural style can be transmitted geographically due to the movement of participants or the broadcasting of subcultural style. Using the example of the Skinheads, he argues that their style was transmitted due to their movement around the country to attend various football matches. This style could be transferred from its 'progenitors to other groups' who would identify with at least one significant aspect creating a 'selective appreciation of the original style' allowing it to be borrowed and adapted.[130] Subcultural styles may also be dispersed through the media and its transmission of particular aspects of a subculture helping to provide entry into a subculture for a group whose identity may not fully have been cemented. The media select particular aspects of a subculture according to what the dominant culture find significant. Those media reports may be interpreted by an unstyled group in a positive way and allow connections to be made between the transmitted subcultures style and activities and the groups own. This can allow the unstyled group to rework and adapt the already 'double layered symbolic presentation' to suit their own life-styles and cement their subcultural style, thus creating variations in subcultural style across different

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[127] Kellner, D. (1992). 'Popular Culture and the Construction of Postmodern Identities'. In Lash, S. and Friedman, J. (1992). *Modernity and Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell. Cited in Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 607.

[128] Chaney, D. (1994). *The Cultural Turn: Scene-Setting Essays on Contemporary Cultural History.* London: Routledge. Page 92. Cited in Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 607.

[129] Chaney, D. (1994). *The Cultural Turn: Scene-Setting Essays on Contemporary Cultural History.* London: Routledge. Cited in Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, *33*(3), 599-617. Page 608.

[130] Clarke, J. (1976). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 185.

geographical locations.[131] By dislocating subcultural style to create their own symbolic communication, the media may in fact extend the cultural space of a subculture allowing it to be further appropriated by geographically dispersed groups, thus breaking down the original meaning of particular subcultural symbols allowing various groups to adapt their meanings to suit their own focal concerns.[132] The generalisation of the original subcultural style means it loses its first significant meaning and relations to a particular life-context leaving it open to interpretation. This helps to explain the transmission of subcultural styles geographically and also explains the variations in style between locations, an important issue dealt with in this study.

While places can be physical involving bricks and mortar, or territory in the case of cities, they have meaning for those who use it. This meaning is bestowed on a place by how those who inhabit it use it, and the space in which they 'play' transforms and provides significance to particular places.[133] Bennett has argued that the 'local' is no longer just a fixed place but rather an 'contested territory' that are marked out by varying social groups, crossed by various forms of collective life with competing sensibilities that are reflected by the 'social realisation' of that particular place.[134] Locality is important not just as a location, but also as a means for shaping identity and belonging. The traditional literature on Mod only does this for early 1960s London and does not manage it for other experiences, an imbalance this study will address. The dispersal of Mod to the North will be explored in depth and it will be argued that Mod in the North was shaped by its locality, and the commodities and information available to participants in specific areas.

One academic debate that must be examined is the sociologist, Stanley Cohen's *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, that utilised the seaside battles between Mods and Rockers from 1964 to 1966 to demonstrate

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[131] Clarke, J. (1976). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 186.

[132] Clarke, J. (1976). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 186.

[133] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 39.

[134] Bennett, A. (2000). *Popular music and youth culture: Music, identity, and place*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. Page 52 and 53.

his theory of Moral Panic. Moral Panic draws on Howard Becker's labelling theory which contends that deviance is a social construct as social groups 'create deviance by making those rules whose infraction comprises deviance and by applying them to particular people, and labelling them as outsiders.'[135] The mass media play a large role in the labelling process transmitting and legitimising labels, for example Mods, and support the creation of social controls.[136] For Cohen, social reaction towards subcultures went further than labelling simply as "outsiders" but rather, elevated select collective acts of "deviance" to 'society-level "moral panics."'[137] For Cohen, 'Societies appear to be subject, every now and then, to periods of moral panic,' which he defines as:

> A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as
>
> a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and
>
> stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by
>
> editors, bishops, politicians; socially accredited experts pronounce their
>
> diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or resorted to; the condition
>
> then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible.[138]

It is important to consider the nature of how information regarding deviant behaviour is received by agents of social control and the public to understand their reaction. Erikson notes how, 'a considerable portion of what we call "news" is devoted to reports about deviant behaviour and its consequences.'[139] Such news is a main source of information for the public to understand the boundaries in a society and informs on the right and wrong decisions one can make.[140] Each society holds a set of ideas about the causes of deviance and an image of those most likely to behave in such

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[135] Becker, H. S. (1963). *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance*. London: Free Press of Glencoe. Page 9.

[136] Shuker, R. (2013). *Understanding popular music culture* (4th ed.). London: Routledge. Page 204.

[137] Williams, J. P. (2011). *Subcultural theory: Traditions and concepts* (Eds.). Cambridge: Polity. Page 111.

[138] Cohen, S. (2011). Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the mods and rockers (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 1.

[139] Erikson, K. T. (1966). *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York: John Wiley. Page 12. Cited in Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 10 and 11.

[140] Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 10 and 11.

a manner. This information is received second-hand already processed by the mass media meaning information 'has been subject to alternative definitions of what constitutes 'news' and how it should be gathered and presented,' further structured by the political and commercial interests in which the media operates.[141] While Mods have been identified as distinctive in terms of behaviour and particular events, Cohen argues they have occupied a position as 'folk devils: visible reminders of what we should not be,' symbolising in their behaviour and the reaction to them, the social change of the period.[142]

An initial act of deviancy or social diversity is regarded as being worthy of attention and is severely dealt with. This deviant group is then isolated thus alienating them from conventional society. This group then perceives themselves as more deviant aligning themselves with others in a similar position and cause more deviance. As a result, this group is then exposed to more punitive measures and forceful action from agents of social control, causing what Cohen terms, a moral panic.[143] Murdock argues that the polarisation of the groups imagery infiltrated the groups self-images results in previous neutral elements of style becoming integral elements of the subcultures style helping to confirm and amplify the original media image, which the media predicted.[144] The prediction element of the inventory creates a self-fulfilling 'prophecy of doom,' whereby the deviance is magnified by the implicit suggestion that it is certain recur and likely be worse.[145] Community reaction also helps to conform the deviant to their self-identity. It has become accepted in journalism for the media to employ what Knopf terms a 'shotgun approach,' using horror headlines, emotive images and front-page build up.[146] For Cohen this has caused the media and audiences to lose 'even a tenuous hold on the meaning of the words they use,' questioning how the term "riot" can be used to 'cover both an

[141] Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 9.

[142] Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 2.

[143] Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the mods and rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 11 and 12.

[144] Murdock, G. (1974). Mass communication and the construction of meaning. Page 217. In Armistead, N. (Ed.). (1974). *Reconstructing social psychology*. London: Penguin. Cited in Clarke, J. (1976). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 182.

[145] Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 52.

[146] Knopf, T. A. (1970). Media myths on violence. *New Society*, 16, 424. Page 856.

incident resulting in 43 deaths, 7,000 arrests and $45 million in property damage and one in which three people broke a shop window.'[147] Knopf argues that the emotionally charged climate the media creates results in the public perceiving every event as an '"incident", every incident as a "disturbance" and every disturbance as a "riot".'[148] This sensitization results in greater attention to deviance, reclassification of events being attributed to Mods and Rockers, and the crystallization of the symbolization process.[149] The process of symbolisation is where a word, in this case Mod, attains symbolic attributes such as deviance; objects then symbolise this word; objects then become symbolic of the attributes of the word.[150] This results in once neutral words, such as Brighton or Mods, acquiring complex symbolic power or emotions often with negative or pejorative connotations.[151]

Cohen's theory has been adapted by numerous academics such as Boethius who suggests that the word panic is appropriate due to the 'sudden and explosive character of the phenomenon,' which he believes was caused by the surge of wealth and leisure time after the Second World War increasing the visibility of youth making them more easily exposed to criticism.[152] Boethius recognises that many working-class youths were dissatisfied with their situation and so were more inclined to provoke their elder.[153]

Mike Brake develops Cohen's idea of 'deviancy amplification' exploring the media's creation of moral panics. Official statistics and media reporting amplify delinquent behaviour and distort the image of a subculture causing a 'delinquency amplification spiral.'[154] This often occurs in working-class

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[147] Cohen, S. (2011*). Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 27.

[148] Knopf, T. A. (1970). Media myths on violence. *New Society*, 16, 424. Page 857.

[149] Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 86.

[150] Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 37.

[151] Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the Mods and Rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 36 and 37.

[152] Boethius, U. (1995). Youth, the media and moral panics. In J. Fornas & G. Bolin (Eds.) *Youth culture in late modernity* (pp. 39-57). London: Sage. Page 43.

[153] Boethius, U. (1995). Youth, the media and moral panics. In J. Fornas & G. Bolin (Eds.) *Youth culture in late modernity* (pp. 39-57). London: Sage. Page 43.

[154] Brake, M. (1985). *Comparative youth culture: The sociology of youth cultures and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. London: Routledge. Page 44.

neighbourhoods where close policing often causes a 'self-fulfilling effect on police sensitivity to likely suspects.'[155] Such a factor causes local youths to turn hostile to police and vis versa resulting in increased police interference and arrests to justify discriminatory police acts.[156] Brake suggest that the indiscriminate prosecution of the Mods from media and local overreaction caused a 'cabalism' that led to the solidification 'of amorphous groups of teenagers into some sort of conspiratorial collectivity, which had no concrete existence.'[157] Stuart Hall suggests that the media 'do not simply respond to moral panics,' but are 'active' in initiating, developing, and controlling the panics, and in selecting targets and the information they wish to produce.[158]

Cohen's moral panic theory has been criticised by many academics, including Thompson and Greek. They argue that the theory is built on 'an extremely weak foundation,' as the analysis of public reaction to Mods and Rockers did not support Cohen's definition or description of a moral panic which they contend lacked any theoretical or evidential integrity in the first place.[159] They suggest the theory's major issue is the cause of its popularity as the label is applied to any social issue that appears to fall under Cohen's description of a moral panic rather than the definition, with the former being 'generic to every other model of social problem construction.'[160] As such, the number of moral panics grew, as did the popularity of the theory, because academics were basing their work on the generic description provided by Cohen, even when the general public 'who were supposed to be panicking were none the wiser and could not have cared less.'[161] This was the case with the Mods. Instead of panicking, and despite the 'warnings,' the public flooded into the resorts where the seaside fighting had taken place

[155] Brake, M. (1985). *Comparative youth culture: The sociology of youth cultures and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. London: Routledge. Page 44.

[156] Brake, M. (1985). *Comparative youth culture: The sociology of youth cultures and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. London: Routledge. Page 44.

[157] Brake, M. (1985). *Comparative youth culture: The sociology of youth cultures and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. London: Routledge. Page 64.

[158] Hall, S. (2013). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state and law and order* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 55.

[159] Thompson, B., & Greek, C. (2012). Mods and rockers, drunken debutants, and sozzled students: Moral panic or the British silly season? *SAGE Open, 2*(3), 215824401245517. doi:10.1177/2158244012455177. Page 1 and 2.

[160] Thompson, B., & Greek, C. (2012). Mods and rockers, drunken debutants, and sozzled students: Moral panic or the British silly season? *SAGE Open, 2*(3), 215824401245517. doi:10.1177/2158244012455177. Page 1 and 2.

[161] Thompson, B., & Greek, C. (2012). Mods and rockers, drunken debutants, and sozzled students: Moral panic or the British silly season? *SAGE Open, 2*(3), 215824401245517. doi:10.1177/2158244012455177. Page 2.

in hope to see it for themselves, only to be disappointed and realise the media had exaggerated the issue.[162]

Thompson and Greek also argue that Cohen had himself exaggerated events creating 'a storm in a tea cup,' similar to the media in 1964.[163] While the "law and order" lobby were initially excited about the beach fights this was soon overshadowed by 'horror headlines' regarding football hooliganism and the Kray twins.[164] Even members of Brighton's general public did not believe the media's hype with 65.1% disagreeing that Mods were delinquent compared to the 33.9% that did, and those who did agree did not think they were any worse than other youths.[165] While the media attempted to create a moral panic, it was fair to say that it would not have caused public confusion surrounding the beach battles nor would it have been surprising as the media by 1964 was already reporting on hooliganism and vandalism at a grossly disproportionate rate. Between 1960 and 1964 there had been a 250% increase in claims from vandalised churches, a post office report announcing the vandalization of 70,000 public telephones.[166] 1,500 reports were sent to Cohen between September 1964 and August 1967 regarding "vandalism/hooliganism" significantly outnumbered reports referring to Mod or Rockers and the number of drunk students arrested on Guy Fawkes night between 1964 and 1967 exceeded the number of Mods and Rockers arrested at seaside resorts during the same period.[167] Not only that, but the "new" police tactics Cohen highlighted were not in fact new, but had been used against football hooligans and major political protests such as the "ban the bomb" marches.[168]

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[162] Thompson, B., & Greek, C. (2012). Mods and rockers, drunken debutants, and sozzled students: Moral panic or the British silly season? *SAGE Open, 2*(3), 215824401245517. doi:10.1177/2158244012455177. Page 5.

[163] Thompson, B., & Greek, C. (2012). Mods and rockers, drunken debutants, and sozzled students: Moral panic or the British silly season? *SAGE Open, 2*(3), 215824401245517. doi:10.1177/2158244012455177. Page 5.

[164] Thompson, B., & Greek, C. (2012). Mods and rockers, drunken debutants, and sozzled students: Moral panic or the British silly season? *SAGE Open, 2*(3), 215824401245517. doi:10.1177/2158244012455177. Page 4.

[165] Thompson, B., & Greek, C. (2012). Mods and rockers, drunken debutants, and sozzled students: Moral panic or the British silly season? *SAGE Open, 2*(3), 215824401245517. doi:10.1177/2158244012455177. Page 6.

[166] Thompson, B., & Greek, C. (2012). Mods and rockers, drunken debutants, and sozzled students: Moral panic or the British silly season? *SAGE Open, 2*(3), 215824401245517. doi:10.1177/2158244012455177. Page 3.

[167] Thompson, B., & Greek, C. (2012). Mods and rockers, drunken debutants, and sozzled students: Moral panic or the British silly season? *SAGE Open, 2*(3), 215824401245517. doi:10.1177/2158244012455177. Page 5.

[168] Thompson, B., & Greek, C. (2012). Mods and rockers, drunken debutants, and sozzled students: Moral panic or the British silly season? *SAGE Open, 2*(3), 215824401245517. doi:10.1177/2158244012455177. Page 7.

It can also be argued the severe geographical extent of the moral panic Cohen claims to have taken place was exaggerated. Most moral panics are in fact localised in areas that already have a large amount of teenagers visiting and most concern being shown by the residents and business owners of these towns. Brighton is a perfect example for suggesting that the moral panic against the Mods was localised and the problem with youths congregating was already an issue. During the 1950s and 1960s in Brighton there developed a public concern centred around the 'menace' of working-class youths congregating in coffee bars and institutions outside of supervision and official control.[169] The Brighton Education Committee in 1958 argued fighting delinquency was essential 'to win Brighton's teenage population away from the coffee bars,' which was backed up by the town's magistrates dealing out sentences to young offenders and 'coffee bar bans,' prohibiting them from entering a coffee bar for up three years.[170] However, it appears that a second moral panic ensued during the Revival period, not only in Southern seaside towns, but in Northern ones too. It will be argued that the reporting and folk memory of the seaside fights in 1964 influenced reporting of small scale disturbances in the 1980s at places such as Scarborough, with a similar media-hyped attempt of creating a moral panic.

It is clear from reviewing the literature that youth culture has 'been part and parcel of the discipline of sociologists.'[171] Osgerby argued that despite the 'considerable sociological attention', youth culture remained an element of post-war social development 'largely ignored by historians'.[172] History's marginality within youth cultural studies can be attributed partly to the 'conservatism' of the discipline with the view that youth culture's impact on post-war Britain 'owes more to myth than reality.'[173] Gildart highlights how many works on post-war England such as Sandbrook's and Hennessey's 'bear

[169] Osgerby, B. (1992). "Well, it's Saturday night an' I just got paid': Youth, consumerism and hegemony in post-war Britain. *Contemporary British History*, 6(2), 287-305. doi:10.1080/13619469208581212. Page 297.

[170] Osgerby, B. (1992). "Well, it's Saturday night an' I just got paid': Youth, consumerism and hegemony in post-war Britain. *Contemporary British History*, 6(2), 287-305. doi:10.1080/13619469208581212. Page 297.

[171] Feldman-Barrett, C. (2018) Back to the future: mapping a historic turn in youth studies, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 21:6, 733-746, DOI: 10.1080/13676261.2017.1420150. Page 734.

[172] Osgerby, B. (1992). "Well, it's Saturday night an' I just got paid': Youth, consumerism and hegemony in post-war Britain. *Contemporary British History*, 6(2), 287-305. doi:10.1080/13619469208581212. Page 287 and 288.

[173] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 5.

the stamp of an Oxbridge view' dismissing the role of youth culture.[174] In more recent years, historians have begun to make challenging interventions into the dominant sociological account of post-war youth subcultures with Feldman noting how youth cultural scholarship has taken 'a historic turn'.[175] It is important to understand the strengths and weaknesses of sociology and alternatively what a historical approach can offer. Sociology has also been criticised of inventing evidence through the use of participant observation, surveys, and focus groups, whereas history relies on the 'discovery' of evidence through artefacts and documentation.[176] As Gildart has argued, many of the post-war sociological texts use a narrow source base that rendered their work 'theoretically innovative but empirically weak.'[177] Utilising a much broader range of sources, historians can now re-examine the youth subcultures uncovered by the CCCS, benefitting from a critical distance from the contemporary debates.[178]

The CCCS was a vital development in youth cultural studies treating working-class youth cultures in their own terms imbuing them with significance and as 'potentially creative rather than inherently destructive and of minimal cultural value.'[179] Hall and Jefferson stated that the CCCS wished to understand youths response to the 'political, economic, and socio-cultural changes of their respective times'. [180] Unfortunately, a consequence of this was a tendency to over interpret working-class youth cultures as 'emerging formations of political vanguards' and to ignore the cultural practices of the majority of 'ordinary' working-class youths.[181] Frith noted that while sociologist had been able to

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[174] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 5.

[175] Feldman-Barrett, C. (2018) Back to the future: mapping a historic turn in youth studies, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 21:6, 733-746, DOI: 10.1080/13676261.2017.1420150. Page 734.

[176] Goldthorpe, J. H. (1991). The uses of history in sociology: Reflections on some recent tendencies. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 42(2), 211-230. doi:10.2307/590368. Page 214.

[177] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 4 and 5.

[178] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 4 and 5.

[179] Griffin, C. E. (2011). The trouble with class: Researching youth, class and culture beyond the 'Birmingham school'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14(3), 245-259. doi:10.1080/13676261.2010.533757. Page 246.

[180] Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (2006). (2 Ed.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain*. London: Routledge. Page XIV.

[181] Griffin, C. E. (2011). The trouble with class: Researching youth, class and culture beyond the 'Birmingham school'. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14(3), 245-259. doi:10.1080/13676261.2010.533757. Page 252.

'make an elaborate reading of the nuances of Mod style', they failed to ask the obvious questions.[182]

Harker claimed that 'people have been left out of popular music studies' as sociologists had 'over-theorised' the subject.'[183] Sociological theory conceptualised youths behaviour in 'sensationalist terms'.[184] Analysis of the spectacular elements of a subculture may lead to the oversight of the everyday lives of subcultural participants. This leads to a less rounded understanding of subcultural life and it is important not to underestimate the ordinariness of aspects of subcultural participation.[185] While sociological theories tend to produce broader generalisations about particular youth cultures, a historical approach allows for the inclusion of more personalised and individual realities to define the narrative and analysis.[186] The use of primary sources allow not only for the inclusion of individual voices to be examined, but also allow for detailed and nuanced analysis providing greater specificity.[187]

Marwick argues that through history, communities establish identity and orientate themselves to understand their relationship with the past or other communities.[188] While sociologist prioritise the current generation of youth cultures, historical analysis helps to 'inform and expand the field of youth studies' providing benefit to all disciplines.[189] Historical analysis allows for the lengthened chronology of youth cultural studies than traditionally documented.[190] However, historians must be aware that if they wish to historicise youth culture, they must take into account their current perceptions of

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[182] Frith, S. (1978). *The sociology of rock*. London: Constable. Page 52.

[183] Harker, D. 'Still crazy after all these years: What was popular music in the 1960s?', in Gilbert, B. M. and Seed, J. (1992). *Cultural revolution? The challenge of the arts in the 1960s.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Page 251. Cited in Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 7.

[184] Frith, S. (1978). *The sociology of rock*. London: Constable. Page 21.

[185] Hodkinson, P. (2015). Contextualising the spectacular. In A. Dhoest, S. Malliet, B. Segaert, & J. Haers (Eds.) *The boarders of subculture: Resistance and the mainstream* (pp. 5-14). London: Routledge. Page 9.

[186] Feldman-Barrett, C. (2018) Back to the future: mapping a historic turn in youth studies, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 21:6, 733-746, DOI: 10.1080/13676261.2017.1420150. Page 740.

[187] Feldman-Barrett, C. (2018) Back to the future: mapping a historic turn in youth studies, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 21:6, 733-746, DOI: 10.1080/13676261.2017.1420150. Page 741.

[188] Marwick, A. (2001). *The new nature of history: Knowledge, evidence, language*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 32.

[189] Feldman-Barrett, C. (2018) Back to the future: mapping a historic turn in youth studies, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 21:6, 733-746, DOI: 10.1080/13676261.2017.1420150. Page 735.

[190] Feldman-Barrett, C. (2018) Back to the future: mapping a historic turn in youth studies, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 21:6, 733-746, DOI: 10.1080/13676261.2017.1420150. Page 737.

previous periods.[191] Creating new narratives about the past is not simply about interweaving facts, but rather 'a project of reconstruction' that must consider the influence of memory and affect.[192]

The specific literature relating to Mod culture must now be examined. The large majority of works on Mods relies heavily upon the use of simply publishing interviews with other Mods. While this provides an extremely useful insight into the subculture, its use academically is limited as there is often little to no analysis. Much of the literature is autoethnographic in nature with the tendency from authors to use personal experience. Many seminal works on Mod were written by ex-Mods such as Paul Anderson's *Mods: The new religion. The style and music of the 1960s Mods*, or Richard Barnes's *Mods!*.[193] As Singleton has argued, these publications are often extremely insular containing an element of exaggeration and self-promotion having been written by Mods for the Mods drawing on the experiences of a limited number of individuals.[194] However, these publications are still extremely useful for providing insider knowledge of the Mod scene, often in particular areas, and for providing primary sources such as photographs or written documents. While there are numerous books and articles relating to Mod culture, they largely focus on Mod in the 1960s or in London, despite the fact both the Revival and Mods in the North are substantial subject areas.[195] As such, many works were only used in this study to provide contextual information.

Many academics that research subcultures have used their own experiences of being involved within a subculture, a problematic issue as it can be asked to what extent can researchers draw on their own experiences in their academic work. Frith has argued that while all researchers have been teenagers,

[191] Feldman-Barrett, C. (2018) Back to the future: mapping a historic turn in youth studies, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 21:6, 733-746, DOI: 10.1080/13676261.2017.1420150. Page 741.

[192] Feldman-Barrett, C. (2018) Back to the future: mapping a historic turn in youth studies, *Journal of Youth Studies*, 21:6, 733-746, DOI: 10.1080/13676261.2017.1420150. Page 741.

[193] Anderson, P. (2013). *Mods: The new religion. The style and music of the 1960s Mods*. London: Omnibus Press. And Barnes, R. (1979). *MODS!* (5th ed.). London: Plexus.

[194] Singleton, R.W. (2018). "What are You Gonna Do Tonight?" "Wait for a Phone Call I Suppose": Girls, Mod Subculture, and Reactions to the Film Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 151-172). London: Palgrave. Page 153 and 154.

[195] Examples include Barnes, R. (1979). *MODS!* (5th ed.). London: Plexus. And Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus.

'none of them are when they do their research.'[196] As such it is questionable if their personal experiences can be used in their academic works. In opposition, Hodkinson suggests that insider research can be extremely beneficial and important for stimulating research with the researcher already sharing an internalised language and similar experiences.[197] This research chooses not to draw on experiences of the researcher but to analyse primary sources collected from archives and oral history interviews.

Richard Weight's book, *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*, provides a full history of Mod from its origins to the present. While it is extremely useful for providing contextual information, there is no analysis of Mod in the North. However, Weight briefly focuses on the Mod Revival. Weight argues that the Mod Revival was a 'retreat into the past' with groups of working-class teenagers attempting to recreate the mid-1960s.[198] Weight suggests that Revival Mods, through their 'carbon copy' of the original sixties Mods, displayed the fine line between the imaginative reconfiguration of style for a contemporary audience and the act of copying to escape from the present.[199] He concludes by arguing that the Revival Mods created a 'lame version of the 60s' that 'betrayed the progressive essence of Mod.'[200] While it is fair to say that many Revival Mods chose to adopt the style of the sixties Mods, it will be argued that they were not retreating into the past and Mod in the Revival, for those that took part, was something completely new with its own variations and styles.

One piece of literature that is based on historical analysis is Christine Feldman's *"We are the Mods,"* which uses oral histories as a base for her analysis. In her examination of Mod culture, Feldman sets out to not only question 'Who are the Mods?' and 'What is Mod?,' but 'What does it mean for those

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[196] Frith, S. (2004). Afterword. In A. Bennett, & K. Kahn-Harris (Eds.) *After Subculture: Critical Studies in Contemporary Youth Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 176.

[197] Hodkinson, P. (2005). 'Insider research' in the study of youth cultures. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8(2), 131-149. doi:10.1080/13676260500149238. Page 24.

[198] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 262.

[199] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 262.

[200] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 264.

who embrace the lifestyle?'[201] *"We are the Mods"* explores the dissemination of Mod culture on a global scale by focusing on four countries: UK, Germany, USA, and Japan. Feldman argues that 'Mod's forward-thinking sensibility allowed young people in the 1960s and since to revaluate personal meanings of "being modern."'[202] Her work is one of the few to provide an analysis of Mod culture in the North with the subject featured in extracts throughout the book. However, much of the information is presented in passing and is not the main focus of analysis. Feldman's idea of Mod's multifariousness will be explored and expanded to suggest that it is in fact the inability to clearly define "Mod" that allows it to be used by people in different regions of the country and appropriated during different periods. This project also mirrors Feldman's use of both oral histories and archival materials, but does not use participant observations as she does.[203]

One of the few works that effectively addresses Mod identity in the North is Keith Gildart's *Images of England through popular music*. Adopting William's conception of 'structure of feeling,' Gildart argues that within youth cultures a sense and experience of class evident within their cultural and economic activities, and a sense of class was maintained and transformed through involvement within youth cultures, consumption and music-making.[204] For Gildart, while Northern Mods may have bought the latest fashions, their everyday lives were 'punctuated by the factory whistle… and the nuance of social division,' and Mod provided an escape from their everyday lives.[205] While Gildart's analysis only runs to 1977 and does not consider the Revival, this study will draw upon the arguments made by Gildart in regards to Mods in the North and the regional differences between Mods in the North and South.

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[201] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 1.

[202] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 10.

[203] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 6.

[204] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 3.

[205] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 96.

One main argument is that Mods in London appeared more exclusive compared to the North where working-class identity was stronger, something apparent in this study.[206]

One of the most important texts relating to the Mod Revival is *Time for Action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*, a book written by Gary Bushell a journalist who documented the Mod Revival as it happened. This text contains many first-hand contemporary accounts from Bushell and articles he wrote for *Sounds* magazine during the Revival. While it provides a key insight into the Mod scene, its narrow focus on London and the South limits its use. However, Bushell does argue that Mod developed slower in the North and during the 1960s spawned the 'Mod offspring' of Northern Soul, a line of argument taken in this study.[207] Bushell terms the Mod Revival, a Mod 'Renewal' arguing that it developed organically before the British music press dubbed it as a 'dull fad' or before the release of *Quadrophenia*.[208] This is a point that is reflected within the study and it shall be suggested that while *Quadrophenia* and the music press may have popularised the scene for a large amount of young Mods, for many they were already on the scene. *This is a modern life: The 1980s London Mod scene* is another text excellent for providing an in-depth insight into the scene during the Revival, but as the title suggests this book focuses on the London Scene and mentions the North very little.[209] It relies solely on extracts of oral histories and from 1980s Modzines with no historical analysis, which is typical of the literature relating to Mods in the North.

One publication that does provide analysis of the Mod subculture in the Revival is a recent academic publication from the Palgrave studies in the history of subcultures and popular music entitled *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture*. This collection of essays explores many aspects of Mod culture from the original movement to the end of the Revival, taking its analytical inspiration through the lens of the 1979 film *Quadrophenia*. While this set of essays provides an excellent analysis of the Mod

[206] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 108.

[207] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 7.

[208] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 2.

[209] Verguren, E. (2004). *This is a modern life: The 1980s London Mod scene*. London: Helter Skelter Publishing.

subculture in the Revival exploring issues around class, gender, and locality, the themes explored within this research, there still remained little to no analysis of the subculture in the North.

From reviewing the literature surrounding subcultures and Mods, it is clear that researchers have paid little to no attention to Mods in the Revival or in the North. As such, this study will explore these themes developing on the theories analysed above. While utilising existing literature, this study aims to challenge the trend to focus on Mods from a London-centric view and instead provide a historical analysis of the subculture in the North during the Revival period.

# Methodology

This study focuses on two main time periods of Mod activity; from the original Mods in mid-1960s to the mid-1980s which saw the end of the Mod Revival. More emphasis is placed on the latter. However, it is important to consider the 1960s in order to understand the development of Mod during this period and to provide key context to the Revival. Using effective sampling, this research uses a large corpus of primary sources including newspapers, fan magazines and oral history interviews, generating a 'more powerful insight' than the use of a singular source type.[210] Amassing as much material as possible from a wide range of sources helps not only to deal with distortions in particular sources, but also enables information to be cross-referenced providing mutual illumination of silences and uncovering hidden evidence, with the ability to explore both the 'outsider' and 'insider' perspectives.[211]

This research falls under the bracket of 'recovery history' providing a history for those who have been overlooked by collecting data that may soon be unavailable to researchers.[212] While primary sources gained from research in archives are extremely useful, as Thompson notes it is the 'more personal, local, and unofficial document,' that is less likely to survive.[213] Due to the sheer number of documents, external and internal influences, archives are unable to store every primary source. It can therefore be argued that archives are 'the manufacturers of memory and not merely the guardians of it,' for it is impossible for archivists to tell the whole truth about reality.[214] As this study focuses largely on the local and personal account it was essential to gain this research from other sources unobtainable in the archive. Oral history interviews were chosen as they allow for a 'purposeful intervention' in

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[210] Jordanova, L. J. (2000). *History in practice*. New York: Arnold. Page 101.

[211] Tosh, J. (2015). *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of history* (6th ed.). London: Routledge. Page 110.

[212] Peniston-Bird, C.M. (2009). Oral history: the sound of memory. In S. Barber & C . M. Peniston-Bird (Eds.) *History beyond the text: A student's guide to approaching alternative sources* (pp. 105-121). London: Routledge. Page 106.

[213] Thompson, P. (2008). The voice of the past: Oral history. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The oral history reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 25-31). London: Routledge. Page 27.

[214] Brown, R. H., & Davis-Brown, B. (1998). The making of memory: The politics of archives, libraries and museums in the construction of national consciousness. *History of the Human Sciences*, *11*(4), 17–32. https://doi.org/10.1177/095269519801100402. Page 22.

collecting the evidence needed to explore ideas and topics that little information is provided form documentary sources.[215] A total of twenty-two participants were involved over fifteen interviews. At this point it was felt that the saturation point was hit. Participants were selected due to their close involvement with the Mod subculture. Initially, participants were contacted via Facebook and a number of scooter clubs were also contacted to gain participants. Initial interviews allowed for a snowball sample to be implemented as more interviews were arranged through contacts made during the initial interview process. While this meant that some participants would have been friends and shared similar experiences, this helped to cross-reference stories and check the reliability of accounts. Participants ages ranged from 49 to 71, with the majority of the sample consisting of white working-class males, although some identified as coming from a middle-class background.

What emerged from the research is that the scene in the North was almost entirely a working-class scene. The participants locations varied with accounts given from those in Newcastle, Birkenhead, Liverpool, Colne, Huddersfield, Bradford, Barrow-in-Furness, and London. Some participants had experience of living in both a Northern city and London during the period of examination. A wide sample of participants from locations helped to provide a comparison of Mod in the North and while many similar stories emerged from varying locations, it still helped to highlight regional variations. The majority of participants recounted their experiences during the Revival period. However, some interviews were conducted to gain research on the original Mod era helping to provide an analysis of the development and history of Mods in the North. A biography for each participant can be found under appendix 1 which specifies participants social class, ethnic group, details regarding their involvement with Mod culture, and their most important interview inputs. Interviews were anonymised to protect the participants due to the nature of some of the questions relating to violence and drugtaking.[216]

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[215] Lummis, T. (1989). *Listening to history: The authenticity of oral evidence*. Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books. Page 17.
[216] Le Roux, C. (2015). Oral history research ethics: Should anonymity and confidentially issues be dealt with on their own merit? *Africa Education Review*, 12(4), 552-566. doi:10.1080/18146627.2015.1112132. Page 555.

Conducting oral history interviews can alter the 'epistemological base'[217] of historical enquiry, as the interviewee also helps to guide the interview providing answers to questions the interviewer may have been unaware of.[218] As such, interviews were semi-structured with the use of an interview schedule allowing the researcher to systematically incorporate useful contributions from interviewees to improve the study and future interviews.[219] The schedule addressed themes surrounding class, gender, identity, influences, and key life events relating to participants' experiences of being a Mod.[220] Not only does oral history provide the researcher with the power to interview whom they wish and regarding what, it also provides a way of uncovering more primary sources that may have gone unnoticed or unavailable beforehand.[221] This was the case with this study as conducting oral histories helped uncover a myriad of additional sources relating to Mod culture in the North of England such as Modzines, photographs, scooter club patches, and newspaper articles. The researcher's knowledge of Mod allowed for additional stimulus for conversations helping to build a strong rapport with interviewees and the ability to cancel out the worst excesses of conscious inaccuracy due to the interviewer being 'clued up'.[222]

The use of the snowball sample focused on scooter clubs uncovered what appears to be a predominantly white working-class male movement, inadvertently excluding women and those of ethnic minority backgrounds. While the Mod scene during the Revival was predominantly made up of working-class males, research suggests there was a healthy number of female Mods on the scene during this period. One issue of the study was the exclusion of women due to the sampling technique used, which produced a predominantly male sample. The use of a snowball sample resulted in mainly white working-class males being used and as a result the study was focused on a white-male world.

[217] Bertaux, D. & Thompson, P. (1997). *Pathways to social class*. London: Routledge. Page 12.
[218] Dodd, L. (2013). Small fish, big pond. In J. Tumblety (Ed.) *Memory and history: Understanding memory as source and subject* (pp. 34-49). London: Routledge. Page 37.
[219] Lummis, T. (1989). *Listening to history: The authenticity of oral evidence*. Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books. Page 43.
[220] See appendix 2 for interview schedule.
[221] Thompson, P. (2008). The voice of the past: Oral history. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The oral history reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 25-31). London: Routledge. Page 28.
[222] Hodkinson, P. (2005). 'insider research' in the study of youth cultures. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8(2), 131-149. doi:10.1080/13676260500149238. Page 17.

The research could have done better to reach out to female Mods using other avenues and contacting other social groups rather than focusing on scooter clubs which are predominantly made up of male members. A further study into the role of female Mods during this period would address this issue. One other issue of the study was the exclusion of black or Asian Mods. Given that there were large post-immigrant populations in Northern working-class towns, there is no one represented from this community. From the research conducted and in the source material, while there is some mention of Mods from various ethnic heritage, it was discovered that Mod was a largely white working-class culture. As with female  Mods, the researcher acknowledges that more could have been done to include black or Asian Mods within this research. However, one advantage of using this sample is the ability to analyse the masculinity of Mod in a white working-class population.

As with the use of a snowball sample, it is important to consider the limitations of using oral history as a methodology. Oral history has been criticised by some historians as inaccurate with Marwick calling it 'a highly problematic source',[223] and others arguing that the use of oral histories will lead us, 'not into history, but into myth.'[224] The main issue is regarding memory. Thomson argues that 'memory is a battlefield,' where we 'fight' to create particular memories of our experiences, repressing alternative memories and struggling between different versions of the past.[225] There is always a risk that individuals will alter their accounts to suit the groups values, as Thomson rightly suggests, 'our memories are risky and painful if they do not conform with the public norms or versions of the past.'[226] This is supported by Christopher Hill who argues that 'we ourselves are shaped by the past' but are also continually reworking the past which shapes us.[227] It is possible that participants 'do not

[223] Marwick, A. (2001). *The new nature of history: Knowledge, evidence, language*. London: Red Globe Press. Page 171.

[224] O'Farrell, P. (1979). Oral history: Facts and fiction. *Quadrant*, *23*(11), 4. Pages 3-9. Cited in Perks, R. & Thomson, A. (2008). Critical developments: Introduction. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The Oral History Reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 1-13). London: Routledge. Page 3.

[225] Thomson, A. (1990). The Anzac legend: Exploring national myth and memory in Australia. In R. Samuel & P. Thompson (Eds.) *The myths we live by* (pp. 73-82). London: Routledge. Page 73.

[226] Thomson, A. (1990). The Anzac legend: Exploring national myth and memory in Australia. In R. Samuel & P. Thompson (Eds.) *The myths we live by* (pp. 73-82). London: Routledge. Page 78.

[227] Hill, C. (1974). *Change and continuity in seventeenth century England*. London: Weidenfield & Nicolson. Page 284.

distinguish between direct personal experience and information they know from other sources.'[228]

Not only may we shape our memories, but through the process of confabulation our 'memory systems' may become 'susceptible to distortion,' taking on other facts and convincing itself that they were part of that memory.[229] The 'temporal gap' between the time of events to the time of recounting them can be a period where memories may become 'corrupted' through the impact of subsequent experiences, external influences and personal reworking.[230] While this may be partially true, the same can be said of many written sources and oral histories often compensate this historical distance with their much closer personal involvement with events or experiences that are being recounted helping to improve validity.[231] Also with such a study, many of the experiences recounted in the interviews may have been told multiple times or discussed with others creating 'formalised narrative'.[232] Hoffman suggested that some memories can become so rooted and 'resistant to deterioration,' that they become 'archival,' and as such are extremely useful even if some are potentially mythological.[233]

While there may be some issues with such a methodology, for this study the strengths outweigh the weaknesses. In the case of Mods in the North, these oral history interviews provide the chance to explore the subculture in the North as opposed to the typical Southern perspective and provides the basis to consider a 'wider range of historical questions,' in relation to the Mod subculture as a whole.[234] It can be argued that oral histories have a different credibility than written sources in the fact that less importance is placed on the facts conveyed but the messages and symbols behind the

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[228] Lummis, T. (1989). *Listening to history: The authenticity of oral evidence*. Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books. Page 91.

[229] Fernyhough, C. (2012). *Pieces of light*. London: Profile. Page 14. Cited in Tumblety, J. (2013). Introduction: Working with memory as source and subject. In J. Tumblety (Ed.) *Memory and History: Understanding memory as source and subject* (pp. 1-16). London: Routledge. Page 7.

[230] Peniston-Bird, C.M. (2009). Oral history: The sound of memory. In S. Barber & C . M. Peniston-Bird (Eds.) *History beyond the text: A student's guide to approaching alternative sources* (pp. 105-121). London: Routledge. Page 107.

[231] Portelli, A. (2008). What makes oral history different. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The oral history reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 32-42). London: Routledge. Page 37.

[232] Portelli, A. (2008). What makes oral history different. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The oral history reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 32-42). London: Routledge. Page 37.

[233] Hoffman, A. M., & Hoffman, H. S. (1974). Reliability and validity in oral history: The case for memory. *Today's Speech*, 22:1, 23-27, DOI: 10.1080/01463377409369125. Page 128. Cited in Peniston-Bird, C.M. (2009). Oral history: the sound of memory. In S. Barber & C. M. Peniston-Bird (Eds.) *History beyond the text: a student's guide to approaching alternative sources* (pp. 105-121). London: Routledge.

[234] Lummis, T. (1989). *Listening to history: The authenticity of oral evidence*. Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books. Page 18.

facts.[235] As Portelli rightly argues, oral histories not only tell us what people did but, 'what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did.'[236] A single interview can still reveal the experience of those 'sharing similar time, spatial and social locations.'[237] Overall, oral histories were extremely important to this study and without which a thorough analysis of Mod identity and practice could not take place, with little to no other source material. As Feldman has rightly stated, youth cultures, such as Mod, 'rarely leave many records,' due to their nature and as such Mod 'cannot be seriously examined without oral evidence.'[238] Their ability to provide a mix of personal insight alongside a collective knowledge was invaluable to the analysis of Mod in the North.

A number of other primary sources were consulted to supplement the oral histories. One of these being numerous newspaper articles relating to Mods both in the North and the South, dating from the early 1960s to the late 1980s. Many articles were accessed through *The Times*, the *Daily Mail*, and the *Guardian* and *Observer*'s online archives. A number of local newspapers such as the *Echo* and the *Newcastle Journal* were accessed through The British Newspapers online archive which contains a myriad of articles relating to Mods in the North. Their advanced search systems help to refine the search results to the most suitable relating the topic of Mods in the North of England. Newspapers were also accessed in various archives from research trips such as the *North West Evening Mail* in Barrow-In-Furness's local study library and other locations in the North of England where the most Mod activity was noted such as in Manchester and Yorkshire. As Cohen and Brake have shown, while newspapers only contain what was deemed 'fit for public consumption', they are extremely useful when considering how the press wanted to shape contemporary public opinion and the effects this may have on the Mod subculture.[239] John Tosh has furthered this by arguing that the press is the most

[235] Portelli, A. (2008). What makes oral history different. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The oral history reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 32-42). London: Routledge. Page 37.
[236] Portelli, A. (2008). What makes oral history different. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The oral history reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 32-42). London: Routledge. Page 36.
[237] Lummis, T. (1989). *Listening to history: The authenticity of oral evidence*. Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books. Page 107.
[238] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 7.
[239] Tosh, J. (2015). *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of history* (6th ed.). London: Routledge. Page 80.

important published primary source for the historian as it provides the contemporary social and political views with a running record of events.[240] The use of newspapers created by local and national press juxtaposed with oral histories taken from individual Mods allowed for a more representative interpretation of Mod culture in the North showing the multiplicity of viewpoints.[241] This supplementing of oral histories with other sources also allowed for an analysis of an outsider's view of the subculture providing an interesting analysis of the media reaction towards Mods and enabled the idea of moral panic to be explored in more depth.

Another main primary source consulted from trips to the British Archive in Boston Spa is Mod fanzines, also known as Modzines. These date from mid-1979 to the mid-1980s. Fanzines are defined as, 'a non-professional and non-official publication produced by enthusiasts of a particular cultural phenomenon for the pleasure of others who share their interest.'[242] These sources help to add first-person contemporaneous observations about the Mod scene during the Revival providing an understanding of Mod identity and issues of geographical positioning. Eddie Piller, editor of the Modzine *Extraordinary Sensations*, estimated that during the Revival, 'well over a thousand titles' were produced.[243] The reason why there were so many is the fact they were so simple to produce and distribute as the vast majority are hand-written or typed on a typewriter and cheaply photocopied.[244] However, while providing an extremely useful source of analysis it would have been hard to base the entire study on Modzines for two reasons. Firstly, Modzines were unofficial documents that in many cases only ran for one or two issues before their editors lost interest and they may have only been circulated amongst Mods within a local scene never making it out of the town of production.[245] Secondly, it has only been recently that subcultures and their activities have been 'deemed worthy of

[240] Tosh, J. (2015). *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of history* (6th ed.). London: Routledge. Page 79+80.

[241] Thompson, P. (2008). The voice of the past: Oral history. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The oral history reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 25-31). London: Routledge. Page 28.

[242] Piller, E. & Rowland, S. (2018). *Modzines: Fanzine culture from the Mod Revival*. London: Omnibus Press. Page 4.

[243] Piller, E. & Rowland, S. (2018). *Modzines: Fanzine culture from the Mod Revival*. London: Omnibus Press. Page 11.

[244] Piller, E. & Rowland, S. (2018). *Modzines: Fanzine culture from the Mod Revival*. London: Omnibus Press. Page 107.

[245] Piller, E. & Rowland, S. (2018). *Modzines: Fanzine culture from the Mod Revival*. London: Omnibus Press. Page 11.

careful examination,' and as such Modzines were not systematically collected meaning few exist in archives and are not available for examination.[246] Modzines intentionally disposable nature has made them hard to collect and as such, while the British Library houses many titles, their collection is fragmented making them more useful as a supplementary source.

As the study deals with a topic that has little historical analysis or primary sources, it is clear that oral history was the most appropriate methodology to use. While the study unfortunately is exclusionary towards women, it does provide a thorough analysis of the white working-class male Mod world in the North during the Revival. The use of supplementary sources such as Modzines and newspapers not only helps to build a cohesive picture of Mod culture during the Revival, but how the culture was experienced by those who took part, and represented by the media.

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[246] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 7.

# Contextual chapter

This chapter will provide a brief history of the traditional London-centric Mod from its origins in the late 1950s to the decline of the scene in London in the mid-1960s. This will provide key context for the development of the subculture in the North and also provides a base for analysis between Mod culture in the North compared to the South.

Mod culture emerged in a period of post-war affluence and was shaped by numerous economic and social factors. The post-war 'baby boom' resulted in the largest percentage increase of fifteen to nineteen-year-olds of the population in a century, rising from 6.5% in 1955 to just under 8% in 1964.[247] There was a labour market shift away from heavy industry to lighter forms of production, mainly consumer goods. The demand for unskilled and skilled young workers grew substantially during the 1950s and 1960s and as such the young were able to easily gain employment making up a substantial percentage of the national workforce.[248] This was accompanied by increased wages which rose by 25% between 1955 and 1960, with average weekly earnings rising by 34% with overtime.[249] Abrams's research found that young people's real earnings since the war had increased by fifty percent, double the rate of adults earnings, and their 'discretionary' spending increased up to one-hundred percent demonstrating an £830 million annual expenditure.[250] This allowed the youth to spent their money on consumer items. While the Mods were working-class they were able to evoke an upwardly social status through employment in the new leisure and lighter industries in white-collar jobs such as shop assistants and minor office clerks.[251] Furthermore, youth was institutionalised as a distinct social group enhanced through the organisation of education, seen through the Education Act of 1944 and the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen in 1947.[252] This generation had no direct experience of war

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[247] Whiteley, N. (1987). *Pop design: Modernism to Mod*. London: Design Council. Page 87.
[248] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 23.
[249] Whiteley, N. (1987). *Pop design: Modernism to mod*. London: Design Council. Page 13.
[250] Abrams, M. (1959). *The teenage consumer*. London: London Press Exchange. Page 9. Cited in Osgerby, B. (2008). Youth Culture. In P. Addison & H. Jones (Eds.) *A Companion to Contemporary Britain, 1939 - 2000* (pp. 127-144). London: Wiley-Blackwell. Page 129.
[251] DeGroot, G. (2008). *The 60s unplugged: A kaleidoscopic history of a disorderly decade*. London: Macmillan. Page 171.
[252] Osgerby, B. (2008). Youth Culture. In P. Addison & H. Jones (Eds.) *A Companion to Contemporary Britain, 1939-2000* (pp. 127-144). London: Wiley-Blackwell. Page 128.

and gained from the ending of national service in 1960.[253] It was an increasingly hedonistic generation with more liberal morals.[254] All this culminated in the ability for youth to take advantage of the new affluent consumer society that had emerged.

During the 1950s and 1960s, it can be argued that there were three distinct phases of Mod. Chenoune defined these periods to: '1958 to 1961, 1961 to 1963, and 1963 to 1966.'[255] The earliest Mod originators, appearing in 1958,[256] were middle-class teenagers, mainly Jewish, from the East End of London, who had fathers in the tailoring trade and disposable money to experiment with new styles.[257] These teenagers were heavily influenced by Italian fashion and French New Wave cinema, gaining the title Modernists for their love of Modern jazz.[258] They were soon joined by working-class teenagers from the surrounding areas. However, at this point they did not constitute a unified group. Remaining isolated, unaware of one another with no specific style they remained 'a sprinkling of highly individual stylists with a huge attention to detail.'[259] This was until the first press acknowledgment in a 1962 *Town* magazine article which featured an eight-page photo spread including interviews with numerous young London Mods including Marc Bolan.[260] The article focused on Mod's style and the price of clothes providing a glimpse to a culture that had before remained underground.[261] This article not only helped to fuse together the diverse individual elements of Mod into an overall unified style, but to spread the subculture from its East End locality.[262]

During the period of 1961 to 1963 Mod moved away from its Modernist roots evolving to incorporate new elements and styles. Carnaby Street and Soho became the 'centre of the Mod universe,' where

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[253] Pugh, M. (2012). *State and society: A social and political history of Britain since 1870* (4th ed.). London: Bloomsbury. Page 297.

[254] Pugh, M. (2012). *State and society: A social and political history of Britain since 1870* (4th ed.). London: Bloomsbury. Page 297.

[255] Chenoune, F. (1993). *A history of men's fashion*. Paris: Flammarion. Page 253.

[256] DeGroot, G. (2008). *The 60s unplugged: A kaleidoscopic history of a disorderly decade*. London: Macmillan. Page 168.

[257] Barnes, R. (1979). *MODS!* (5th ed.). London: Plexus. Page 8.

[258] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 3.

[259] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 3.

[260] Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus. Page 49.

[261] Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus. Page 49.

[262] Barnes, R. (1979). *MODS!* (5th ed.). London: Plexus. Page 10.

Mods would frequent tailors and fashion boutiques such as John Stephen or visit the numerous clubs.[263] DeGroot notes how, 'fashion was a stylized ritual of dominance: power expressed through clothes.'[264] The Mod styles shifted each week with changes being initiated by the ace "face" of a local scene that would influence other Mods in the area to copy their fashions and dances, and not from commercial influences.[265] Barnes contended that 'there were different pockets of kids with different local variations.'[266] The aim for a Mod was to one-up the next Mod, to be the best dressed. Mods would visit clubs such as the Scene and the Flamingo in Soho where they came into contact with Black American Soul music which altered their music preferences to embrace rhythm and blues, bluebeat, and Afro-Caribbean Ska.[267] The style was broadened by new members to encompass newer, often more casual fashions, such as the wearing of Levi's and Fred Perry polos. Many of the early Modernists disproved of the broadening of the style believing that it would dilute the sophistication of Mod and end in the commercialisation of the subculture.[268] This elitism appears to have remained within the London Mod scene in the Revival a theme explored in the following analysis.

In 1963, the media and commercial institutions publicised the subculture nationally marketing it for profitable gain and ushering in a new stage of Mod style. The show *Ready, Steady, Go!* was the most popular showcase of Mod styles and helped to nationalise the movement. The show hosted by Cathy McGowen aired every Friday night to a national viewership of over three million demonstrating the "latest" Mod fashions and dances which DeGroot argues eventually meant 'not all those who dressed like Mods were Mods.'[269] Until this intervention of the media the subculture had developed naturally from its own followers and as Rawlings argues, 'the only people who knew about the Mods were the Mods themselves.'[270] By 1964 the Mod style had been 'hijacked' and commercialised into a mass

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[263] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 42.
[264] DeGroot, G. (2008). *The 60s unplugged: A kaleidoscopic history of a disorderly decade*. London: Macmillan. Page 169.
[265] DeGroot, G. (2008). *The 60s unplugged: A kaleidoscopic history of a disorderly decade*. London: Macmillan. Page 169.
[266] Barnes, R. (1979). *MODS!* (5th ed.). London: Plexus. Page 10.
[267] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 42.
[268] Barnes, R. (1979). *MODS!* (5th ed.). London: Plexus. Page 11.
[269] DeGroot, G. (2008). *The 60s unplugged: A kaleidoscopic history of a disorderly decade*. London: Macmillan. Page 169.
[270] Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus. Page 49.

market phenomenon.[271] The commercialisation of Mod had changed both its style and the role of the group as well. The narrow focus and obsession with fashion was replaced with wider interests in music, scooters and drug-taking which reduced the amount of money available to spend on clothes. This resulted in the need to buy mass produced clothing that diluted the style and had a less exclusive approach.[272]

This commercialisation of Mod resulted in what Glynn terms the 'Gang Mod,' that had the subculture marketed for them.[273] These youths were involved with the most famous episode of Mod history – the beach battles at Southern seaside resorts. At Clacton on Easter Bank Holiday 1964, minor fights broke out between Londoners and local youths. While these fights were minor, the national media chose to sensationalise events with horror headlines of 'full-scale battles,' between groups of youths which would soon be defined as Mods and Rockers.[274] This caused a moral panic surrounding the Mods and helped fuel numerous battles at other Southern seaside resorts adding a new violent dimension to the subculture. The Mods and Rockers were presented as two 'super-gangs' pitted in a 'battle between styles.'[275] Hewitt questions whether any 'real' Mod even turned up to the beach fights as no self-respecting Mod would have been down at Brighton.'[276] Hewitt argued that by 1963 with the commercialisation of Mod and the broadcasting of *Ready Steady Go!* the publicity 'diluted the essence of the thing.'[277] It is this episode in Mod history that has often linked the subculture to parka-clad hooligans fighting Rockers at seaside resorts such as Brighton shaping how the subculture is portrayed and experienced by its later participants.

[271] DeGroot, G. (2008). *The 60s unplugged: A kaleidoscopic history of a disorderly decade*. London: Macmillan. Page 174 and 175.
[272] Whiteley, N. (1987). *Pop design: Modernism to mod*. London: Design Council. Page 100 and 101.
[273] Glynn, S. (2014). *Quadrophenia*. New York: Columbia University Press. Page 10.
[274] Osgerby, B. (2008). Youth Culture. In P. Addison & H. Jones (Eds.) *A Companion to Contemporary Britain, 1939-2000* (pp. 127-144). London: Wiley-Blackwell. Page 131.
[275] Clarke, J. (1976). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 182.
[276] Catterall, A. and S. Wells. (2001). *Your Face Here: British Cult Movies Since the Sixties*. London: Fourth Estate. Page 161. In Glynn, S. (2014). *Quadrophenia*. New York: Columbia University Press. Page 62.
[277] Hewitt, P. (2000). *The Soul Stylists: Forty years of Modernism*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing. Page 17.

The mid-1960s ushered in a new set of styles in London. Due to various factors, the violence at the seaside battles, the constant search for new styles, and commercialisation of Mod, the subculture in London began to decline after 1964 and by 1966 it had all but disappeared. Many of the original Mods chose to leave the scene all together or moved on to new subcultures choosing to mix with students, getting involved with the Hippy counterculture taking hallucinogenic drugs and listening to Psychedelia.[278] The psychedelic era had truly arrived by 1968 gaining a strong following from former Mods who preferred the heavier daring sounds of progressive rock to the predictability of soul.[279] In turn, the Mod clubs that had once played soul, one by one either closed down or turned to a 'progressive rock policy.'[280] On the other side of the spectrum, in opposition to the 'Carnaby Street scene,' many chose to join the Skinhead subculture which was often termed as 'Hard Mod.'[281]

Unlike London, reactions to Hippy culture in the North were extremely different. Soul music and Mod culture had developed slower in the working-class North and as such in 1965 the taste for soul music remained strong.[282] While in the early 1960s soul fans had to travel to London this was not the case by the mid-1960s as numerous soul venues had been established such as the Mojo in Sheffield and the Twisted Wheel in Manchester.[283] Mods slower development in the North allowed it to take on new meanings and be shaped by the cultural and social specify of the late sixties.

As Weight rightly argues, the seaside riots in 1964 highlighted how there was 'no uniform Mod culture,' but rather 'several branches,' that developed simultaneously and sometimes in opposition to one another. Mod became a palimpsest subculture in the 1960s picking up new meanings through

[278] Benstock, S., & Ferriss, S. (Eds.). (1994). *On fashion*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press. Page 7.
[279] Frith, S. & Cummings, T. (1996). Playing Records. In C. Gillett & S. Frith (Eds.) *The beat goes on: The rock file reader* (pp. 43-63). London: Pluto Press. Page 45.
[280] Frith, S. & Cummings, T. (1996). Playing Records. In C. Gillett & S. Frith (Eds.) *The beat goes on: The rock file reader* (pp. 43-63). London: Pluto Press. Page 45.
[281] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 55.
[282] Marks, A. (1990). Young, gifted and black: Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean music in Britain 1963-88. In P. Oliver (Ed.) *Black music in Britain: Essays on the Afro-Asian contribution to popular music* (pp. 102-117). Milton Keynes: Open University Press. Page 107.
[283] Marks, A. (1990). Young, gifted and black: Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean music in Britain 1963-88. In P. Oliver (Ed.) *Black music in Britain: Essays on the Afro-Asian contribution to popular music* (pp. 102-117). Milton Keynes: Open University Press. Page 107.

its various interpretations, something that will become evident in the analyse of the Revival. Mods slower development in the North allowed it to evolve in a different way to the London scene, being shaped by participants differing backgrounds, class attitudes, and tastes.[284] An analysis on Mod in the North will now follow.

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[284] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 217.

# Chapter 1: The Swinging North – 1960s Northern Mod

During the sixties, Mod became an umbrella-term to cover several distinct styles and youthful values such as creativity and spontaneity that contributed to the idea of "swinging London."[285] The term 'Swinging London' was first used by American journalist Piri Halasz in her 1966 *Time* article.[286] However, the concept of "Swinging London" and the capital's popularity as the home of all things modern was already cemented. As Spencer Davis described it, 'London was the known centre of the universe as far as the 60s were concerned.'[287] This influenced popular opinion as many believed that Mod was simply a London or Southern phenomenon. The multitude of definitions and analysis by academics reflect this trend ignoring Mod culture in the North. To De Noyer, Mod was 'a very London cult.'[288] For Osgerby, while Mod style quickly diffused to the provinces, 'the original Mods were a subculture centred in London.'[289] Hebdige limits his definition of Mods to 'working-class teenagers who lived mainly in London and the new towns of the South.'[290] While Mod did begin in London, it was also a significant youth culture in the North during the sixties and was not simply a "southern phenomenon" as academics have suggested. From the early sixties there were Mods in the North and by the end of the decade it is likely there were more Mods in the North than in the South. This chapter will explore the cultural construction of Northern Mod as a distinctive subculture. It will be argued that in the sixties, Mod in the North developed slower due to the economic climate and distribution of influences from the South. While mass media influences such as the show *Ready, Steady, Go!* and the coverage of seaside fighting in 1964 signalled the ending of Mod in the South, it nationalised Mod increasing the number of Mods in the North and providing new influences that shaped their

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[285] Davis, J. (1990). *Youth and the condition of Britain: Images of adolescent conflict*. London: Athlone. Page 190.
[286] Halasz, P. (1966, April 15). London: You can walk it on the grass. *Time. Page 30.*
[287] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 37.
[288] Noyer, D. (2009). *In the city. A celebration of London music*. London: Virgin Books. Page 116. Cited in Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 91.
[289] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 42.
[290] Hebdige, D. (2000). The meaning of Mod. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 87-98). London: Routledge. Page 87.

experiences. This slower development meant that it lasted longer in the North developing into Northern Soul, which in turn laid the foundations for the Revival where Northern Mod held onto its more traditional aspects of style and soul music.

While the popularity and spread of Mod was dependent on the mass media and musicians, its emergence in the North was not completely generated by the media, but from localised influences.[291] Many Mods in the North during the early sixties were not even aware that there was a scene outside of their local areas, with one participant noting that the scene was 'local' with few 'outside influences.'[292] Growing up on a working-class council estate in Manchester, Steve became aware of Mod through the Beatles and Merseybeat.[293] While aware of clubs in London such as the Marquee, Steve was surprised that Mod existed outside of Manchester recalling that, 'we just thought [Mod] was Mancuinian… we thought we were doing our own thing.'[294] The separation of the Northern scene with the South was due to a variety of reasons such as the inability to travel long distances and the lack of influences coming from the South before 1964. A testimony from a Northern Mod, Dave Clegg highlights this:

> There was no M62 connecting Yorkshire and Lancashire and because we were young we didn't drive. So London was the other side of the world. We didn't care about what London was doing. The first lot of Mods hardly touched us.[295]

There are multiple examples that show that during the early 1960s there were Mods in the North, or at least an awareness of the subculture. The newspaper articles found below, both produced in 1963 by the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*, illustrate how the media was able to utilise Mod in its

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[291] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 108.
[292] Interview with P.
[293] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 29.
[294] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 29 and 30.
[295] Hewitt, P. (2000). *The Soul Stylists: Forty years of Modernism*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing. Page 106.

marketing.[296] Both articles display a typical smart Mod style, with the Farnon advert addressing its audience with the line 'Go go in Mod mood.'[297] The second article advertises a competition to win a 'Lambretta 150 Slim-style scooter', a key aspect of Mod lifestyle.[298] The advert commercially exploits the Beatles suggesting that Mods are associated with the Beatles as you could win a scooter 'exactly the same as theirs.'[299] However, many Mods in the South did not consider them to be Mods but Rockers, suggesting that there were clear differences between what was thought to be Mod in the North. This is confirmed in a *Liverpool Echo* articles where a group of fifteen London teenagers travelled to Liverpool concluding it was 'one of the most puzzling cities they had visited.'[300] A 15-year-old, Trevor Brooks, commented of the style of Liverpool teenagers saying that there appeared to be more Rockers than Mods, whereas in London 'most of the teenagers are Mods. They dress in the latest fashions and spend a lot of money on clothes.'[301] This suggests that while there were Mods in the North, the subculture was relatively new in the region and was still developing.



Appendix 4 - Newcastle Evening Chronicle. (1963, November 16).



Appendix 4 - Newcastle Evening Chronicle. (1963, November 16).

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[296] Appendix 4.

[297] Newcastle Evening Chronicle. (1963, November 16). Farnon Advert. *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*.

[298] Newcastle Evening Chronicle. (1963, November 16). Join the Beatles – on your own scooter. *Newcastle Evening Chronicle.* Page 18.

[299] Newcastle Evening Chronicle. (1963, November 16). Join the Beatles – on your own scooter. *Newcastle Evening Chronicle.* Page 18.

[300] Liverpool Echo. (1964, April 2). More Rockers than Mods. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 7.

[301] Liverpool Echo. (1964, April 2). More Rockers than Mods. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 7.

While the London scene was almost fully developed by 1963, Mods in the North remained a minority. It was not until late 1963 that influences from London began to impact on the North helping the subculture to grow substantially. Thornton claims that rather than transpiring as a fully-formed expression of youth resistance and solidarity, youth cultures are heavily influenced by the mass media that provides the subculture with many of its visual and ideological components.[302] Mod magazines such as *Mod* Monthly and the show *Ready, Steady, Go!* played a significant role in the diffusion of Mod across the country. Shown on Friday evenings between 1963 and 1966, the show reached an audience of three million and for purists nationalised Mod overnight ushering in what Glynn terms the 'gang Mod.'[303] Its influence in the North was substantial, with one participant noting 'you'd see stuff on *Ready, Steady, Go!* Everybody watched that!'[304] Showcasing the latest Mod styles, music and dances, it provided Northern youths with a visual and audio blueprint to Mod which many 'tried to copy.'[305] Other influences came from fashion or music magazines like *Melody Maker*.[306] For many Northerners, Mod was pre-packaged by the media focusing on 'Carnaby Street, Mary Quant, Chelsea Girl.'[307] One female participant highlighted the importance of the magazine *Petticoat*, having seen Twiggy modelling a coat, she made her mother take her to Manchester to purchase it.[308] For Rawlings, the media gave 'Mod to the masses' and in doing so 'misinterpreted, manipulated and mass marketed the whole package,' resulting in a watered down pre-packaged version.[309] While this led to many Northern Mods adopting a "stereotypical" commercial identity, influences such as *Ready, Steady, Go!* and *Mod Monthly* helped to provide coherence to the subculture while simultaneously popularising the

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[302] Thornton, S. (1995). *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Page 119.
[303] Glynn, S. (2014). *Quadrophenia*. New York: Columbia University Press. Page 6.
[304] Interview with P.
[305] Interview with DC.
[306] Interview with DC.
[307] Interview with DC.
[308] Interview with J.
[309] Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus. Page 116.

movement. The media's stereotyping and commercialisation led to the solidifying of Mod as a 'conspiratorial collectivity' that may have had no coherence originally.[310]

One reason for the slower development of Mod in the North was the economic climate of the region. The North was the principle location of the staple industries of textile, steel, coal, which suffered servery in a post-war economy, whereas the economy in the South grew by capitalising on the growth of the consumer market and lighter industries.[311] As such, in the North there was less affluence and employment meaning less money available for Mods to buy records, clothes, and attend events. Interviewees from the North confirmed this with one stating, 'there was not a lot of money to pursue anything that required a large spend.'[312] Purchases and activities 'all depended upon available money which was in short supply.'[313] This lack of income altered how Mod was experienced by its participants as they had to prioritise the aspects that they could afford. In the poorest of Northern towns, the lack of income led some Mods to steal in order to pursue the lifestyle. One interviewee from Birkenhead recounts how it was common for young Mods in the area to steal items to customise their scooters: 'we'd go to car showrooms and nick the mirrors off.'[314] Lack of funds slowed the development of the subculture in the North, as participants were unable to keep up with fast changing trends compared to London where new fashions developed weekly.

Mods in the North also suffered from a lack of availability to latest fashions which delayed the evolution of the subculture and meant it was able to last longer, unlike London where the constant changing fads helped it to die out. One Birkenhead Mod noted how fashion 'filtered from London up North in a ripple effect. It wasn't instantaneous.'[315] Those in London had both the access to new fashions and the experience of benefitting from the affluence of the consumer industries. An

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[310] Brake, M. (198*5). Comparative youth culture: The sociology of youth cultures and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. London: Routledge. Page 64.
[311] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 27.
[312] Interview with DC.
[313] Interview with DC.
[314] Interview with C9.
[315] Interview with C9.

interviewee living in Swindon described how easy it was to travel to London to buy the latest fashions in Kensington High Street and Carnaby Street, explaining how 'in them days there was a massive amount of men's boutiques so you'd come across some really different stuff.'[316] For many in the North this was not the case, as one Northern interviewee explained, 'you'd see these on television from down South with loads of shirts and this carry on. That wasn't the case in the North.'[317] Lack of money coupled with the lack of places to buy the latest fashions meant that many relied on chain stores or bigger brands. One participant noted the popularity of Chelsea Girl to female Mods, saying, 'if you went to a club you would see many girls wearing the same dress. Chelsea Girl offered a way for girls to wear Mod clothing at an affordable price.'[318] Major cities like Liverpool and Manchester became hubs for Mods to get the latest styles including brands such as Ben Sherman and Brutus, for those that could afford it.[319] The members noted that even though to them they were regarded as the 'latest gear' it was still 'not as cutting edge like London.'[320] Based on key items of clothing, the commercialised style that had been created offered Northern Mods a cheaper alternative and a lasting Mod style.

Lack of income and availability to the latest fashions resulted Northern Mod being less about style with more importance on the social aspect of the subculture. One interviewee said that 'everybody were just mates. It wasn't a show off thing. You could turn up in anything I dare say.'[321] Rather than the latest fashions, Northern Mods found other ways to connect such as through music, as one interviewee stated, 'the Mod scene in the North was more about the music rather than style.'[322] Mods would travel to larger cities such as Liverpool and Manchester to attend Mod clubs.[323] In smaller towns, where local venues did not cater to Mods, many teenagers would revert to making their own events. One interviewee noted how her friendship group would hire out the local pub's cellar on a

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[316] Interview with GS.
[317] Interview with P.
[318] Interview with DC.
[319] Interview with C9.
[320] Interview with C9.
[321] Interview with P.
[322] Interview with DC.
[323] Interview with J.

Sunday night, where 'everyone used to pay sixpence to get in. We made our own venues if there was nothing on.'[324] Another important element in the North was the scooter culture. Not only for status as a Mod, but it was also practical and cheap, helping to transport participants to work and Mod events. Multiple interviewees highlighted just how important the scooter was, with one declaring, 'in them days scooters were your only form of transport.'[325] Getting his first scooter in October 1966, one member of Cloud 9 highlighted the freedom and social life it gave him, saying 'it allowed me to go anywhere. Out and about with probably 20 or 30 lads with scooters.'[326] The higher importance placed on the social aspects compared to style created a unified Northern scene. This stood in contrast to the London scene where the constant competition between Mods led to divisions within the scene and was a factor in its eventual collapse.

The higher importance placed on other aspects of subculture was also influenced by ideas of traditional Northern masculinity. It would appear that traditional working-class masculinity was far more important in the North during this period compared to the South. Since the invention of mass-produced clothing by the Americans in the early twentieth century, there had been a conservative approach to male fashion, often with only three colours available in most items: black, navy and brown.[327] Mod's rebellious nature to challenge the conventional, and its links with the gay community in Soho changed this by introducing vibrant colours to male fashion. Both the Mod and gay community bought clothing from the same male boutiques, most notably John Stephens and Vince's.[328] Mod's focus on style naturally changed how many men dressed and felt placing a larger focus on being well groomed and dressing smartly. It also helped to make men more sexually ambiguous in attitude and appearance blurring lines between the sexes.[329] Since the nineteenth century, the North represented a traditional robust working-class masculinity within the national imagination, compared to the South

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[324] Interview with J.

[325] Interview with C9.

[326] Interview with P.

[327] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 72.

[328] Jachimiak, P.H. (2018). "Poofs Wear Lacquer, Don't They, Eh?": Quadrophenia and the Queerness of Mod Culture. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 173-197). London: Palgrave. Page 177.

[329] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 72.

which was represented as an 'effete bourgeois English masculinity,' being home to parliament, the media and banking.[330] Weight argues that because of this, many Mods 'looked like typical Southerners' and as a result, in the North a harder Mod aesthetic emerged.[331] Nik Cohn has noted how in the early days of Mods, many Northern teenagers were reluctant to go along with it as they found it 'soft and creepy.'[332] Weight argues that this was ironic as Mods helped to perpetuate their regional stereotypes of Northern Mods being tougher than Southern Mods, which may have been caused by the higher levels of abuse from the public that they received.[333] The further North you lived the harder it was to dress flamboyantly. In one letter to *Mod Monthly*, a girl recounting the hardship her boyfriend faced in Leeds because he wore skinny white jeans.[334] There was also a difference in the interest shown towards girls in the North compared to the South. While Barnes notes that 'Mods were more interested in themselves and each other than the girls,' this was not the case in the North as it was viewed as important to have a girlfriend and upholding traditional ideas surrounding relationships.[335]

Publicity around Mod peaked in 1964 when the media began to publish articles on the fighting between Mods and Rockers on Bank Holiday weekends at various South coast towns. Newspapers provided one of the only means of gaining information regarding current affairs and the Mod scene. Many Northern Mods highlighted the importance of the newspapers stating, 'everybody was educated by newspapers. The newspapers in 1964 had all the Mods and rockers stuff, all the pictures, so that's how people would get to know.'[336] The media intervention caused Mod in the North to develop at a quicker pace after 1964 and while it killed of the scene in the South, it only helped to generate a stronger scene in the North. Local press as well as the national media covered the seaside fights helping the images to disseminate to a larger audience. Headlines would emphasise the violence

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[330] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 73.
[331] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 73.
[332] Cohn, N. (1989). *Ball the Wall: Nik Cohn in the Age of Rock*. London: Picador. Page 295. Cited in Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 73.
[333] Cohn, N. (1989). *Ball the Wall: Nik Cohn in the Age of Rock*. London: Picador. Page 295. Cited in Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 73.
[334] Cohn, N. (1989). *Ball the Wall: Nik Cohn in the Age of Rock*. London: Picador. Page 295. Cited in Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 73.
[335] Barnes, R. (1979). *MODS!* (5th ed.). London: Plexus. Page 15.
[336] Interview with P.

of Mods and Rockers using emotive language such as 'revenge on Mods led to affray'[337], 'Mods clash with Rockers'[338], in order to create a moral panic surrounding these groups.[339] Local newspapers also published coverage of court cases that took place after the disturbances.[340] The images of Mods and Rockers fighting at seaside towns in the South provided Northern youth with many new aspects to the subculture.

The coverage of the fighting had an influence on Northern Mods by not only making them aware of the activities of those in the South, but by also by introducing the subculture to a new audience ultimately increasing the number of Mods on the North. Unaware that the London purist Mods believed that 'no self-respecting Mods' attended these beach battles, the articles led many Northern Mods to copy the styles and behaviours witnessed.[341] One female Mod noted that, 'they reported troubles in the South. We just developed our own version of it.'[342] As early as June 1964, local newspapers were reporting on Mods and Rockers causing trouble in Northern towns. One article on the *Liverpool Echo* reported on how 'Mods and Rockers from outside the area were attending youth dances at Westhead, near Ormskirk and were ripping the telephone kiosk to pieces.'[343] An incident that was discussed by Councillor J. Aspinwall at a meeting of the 'Parks committee of Ormskirk Council'.[344] What become apparent is the influence of the Southern media outputs. As one noted, while 'the same thing went on up here' it never made the national news and as a result, Mods in the North had to base their image on the Southern influences.[345]

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[337] Liverpool Echo. (1964, June 5). Rockers revenge on Mods led to affray. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 1.

[338] Newcastle Journal. (1967, August 29). Mods clash with Rockers. *Newcastle Journal*. Page 1.

[339] Other examples include: Liverpool Echo. (1964, June 18). Man stabbed to death during Mods and Rockers clash at beat dance. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 5. And Liverpool Echo. (1964, August 3). More police flown to Hastings. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 1.

[340] Liverpool Echo. (1964, May 18). Little Sawdust Caesars, says Margate Magistrates' court chairman. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 5.

[341] Catterall, A. and S. Wells. (2001). *Your Face Here: British Cult Movies Since the Sixties*. London: Fourth Estate. Page 161. In Glynn, S. (2014). *Quadrophenia*. New York: Columbia University Press. Page 62.

[342] Interview with J.

[343] Liverpool Echo. (1964, June 17). Mods and Rockers cause damage after youth dance. *Liverpool Echo.* Page 9.

[344] Liverpool Echo. (1964, June 17). Mods and Rockers cause damage after youth dance. *Liverpool Echo.* Page 9.

[345] Interview with C9.

A year after the initial beach battles on the South Coast, newspapers in the North reported disturbances in Northern seaside towns documenting the growing popularity of the subculture in the region. Bushell argues, the other staple in the North besides Soul, was cross-country scooter runs.[346] Just as Mods in the South visited seaside towns such as Brighton and Hastings, Mods in the North visited various seaside locations closer to home. Mods who lived in Yorkshire and Northumbria visited Scarborough or Bridlington on the east coast. Mods based in the North West attended rallies in locations such as 'Southport, Blackpool or Rhyl.' [347] The images seen from the fighting in the South influenced many Mods to adopt a similar behaviour when they visited their local resorts. As one Mod noted, for them this was 'their Brighton.'[348] One Newcastle newspaper reported how police in Blackpool were met by '700 young people' who arrived to the town one Bank Holiday weekend.[349] By this time the media in the North were employing the same tactics that were used in the South to create a moral panic. Members of Cloud 9 Scooter Club recall being paid to cause trouble during scooter rallies. According to one of the respondents, the media would 'slip you a fiver, which was a week's wages in them days… Get your mates to go and wreck that café and they'd all be there taking photographs of you.'[350] It was clear that Northern Mods had adopted this element to their subcultural identity which led to reaction from the public. The British Lambretta Owners' Association and the Vespa Club of Great Britain even published a statement to 'assist the public to distinguish between Mods, Rockers, and law-abiding, well-behaved scooter riders.'[351] By 1965, it was clear that Mods and Rockers had become a prominent part of Northern life.

As Osgerby states, the Mods and Rockers were used as a 'symbolic vehicle' to articulate society's wider general fears about cultural decline, in doing so the two groups were polarised.[352] The creation of

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[346] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 7.
[347] Interview with C9.
[348] Interview with C9.
[349] Newcastle Journal. (1965, April 19). Scooter-invaders hurl stones at police. *Newcastle Journal*. Page 1.
[350] Interview with C9.
[351] Newcastle Evening Chronicle. (1965, April 2). Motor cycle entries up five-fold. *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*. Page 6. The clubs suggested that scooter club members wear safety headwear, whereas 'Mods and Rockers are either bare-headed or wear trilbies, caps, or other light headgear.'
[352] Osgerby, B. (2018). Brighton Rocked: Mods, Rockers, and Social Change During the Early 1960s. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 13-34). London: Palgrave. Page 28.

Mods and Rockers as two identifiable and segregated subcultures led to the conscious embracing of the two youth cultures and their styles by a large proportion of British teenagers.[353] They became the two available youth styles of the era and it became normal to pick between the two groups, as one participant recalled during the sixties, 'there were two things you could be. You could be a Mod or a Greaser.'[354] These two styles were cemented within local newspapers in the North, 'groups of Mods and Rockers, as they call themselves.'[355] The pigeonholing of the two styles also led to violence between the two groups. A member of Cloud 9 recalled that during the sixties 'that's when they were the Indians and you were the Cowboys and it really did get bad at one point.'[356] This animosity did not arrive until the newspaper reporting of beach fighting, with one interview commenting the fighting did not begin until 'I'd say mid to late sixties. That's when the real animosity was. I mean earlier on down in Brighton that was '63/'64 but it came up here later.'[357]

The reporting of the seaside fights heightened the awareness of the subculture nationally which led to agents of social control such as local councils and the police taking an interest in Mods in order to control juvenile behaviour. Agents of control believed that an affluent society was causing the breakdown of traditional family values and fracturing of community controls of behaviour leading to juvenile delinquency.[358] The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Reginald Maudling, suggested that increased juvenile delinquency was caused by the increase of youths' leisure time and their lack of education on how to spend such time.[359] MPs of towns affected by the Mod and Rocker riots suggested die-hard measures which included the confiscation of driving licences from scooter owners, the

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[353] Brake, M. (1985). *Comparative youth culture: The sociology of youth cultures and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. London: Routledge. Page 64.
[354] Interview with P. Another Participant backed up this claim stating 'dress sense tended to pigeonhole you as either a Mod or Rocker.' Interview with DC.
[355] Liverpool Echo. (1964, May 18). Little Sawdust Caesars, says Margate Magistrates' court chairman. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 5.
[356] Interview with C9.
[357] Interview with C9.
[358] Grayson, R. S. (1998). Mods, rockers and juvenile delinquency in 1964: The government response. *Contemporary British History*, 12(1), 19-47. doi:10.1080/13619469808581467. Page 20.
[359] Grayson, R. S. (1998). Mods, rockers and juvenile delinquency in 1964: The government response. *Contemporary British History*, 12(1), 19-47. doi:10.1080/13619469808581467. Page 29.

reintroduction of corporal punishment, and the creation of a non-military national service.[360] Instead Henry Brooke, the Home Secretary, amended Section 14 of the Criminal Justice Administration Act raising fines from twenty pounds to one hundred pounds.[361] This was supported by the 1963 Children and Young Persons Act which increased the use of social workers and marriage counsellors in order to prevent delinquency 'by saving family life from wreck.'[362]

What occurred is something Michael Brake termed a 'deviancy amplification spiral' where a particular crime or problem is identified and as a result amplified.[363] The increased awareness of the issue leads to heavier policing which in turn has a 'self-fulfilling effect on police sensitivity to likely suspects.'[364] This results in two things. Firstly, youths become more hostile to police and are more likely to perform deviant behaviour. Secondly, police are more likely to discriminate against the targeted group using arrests to justify discriminatory police action.[365] Members of the scooter club Cloud 9 recall how the police took an interest in scooter riders stating, 'If you were out on your scooter anywhere in Birkenhead you would get pulled by the police. They were on you all the time.'[366] While police targeted those causing trouble, it would appear that they would persecute any young Mods riding scooters to the point that one interviewee stated, 'a lot of the coppers knew us by first name. They wanted to persecute us.'[367] One interviewee recalled going to Buxton with around twenty of his friends for an unorganised day trip. He said, 'we got into Buxton and there's a policeman standing hands outstretched. He'd obviously seen it in the newspapers and he was standing in the road trying to block

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[360] Grayson, R. S. (1998). Mods, rockers and juvenile delinquency in 1964: The government response. *Contemporary British History*, 12(1), 19-47. doi:10.1080/13619469808581467. Page 23.

[361] Grayson, R. S. (1998). Mods, rockers and juvenile delinquency in 1964: The government response. *Contemporary British History*, 12(1), 19-47. doi:10.1080/13619469808581467. Page 33.

[362] 1963-4, Reports, Commissioners, IX, Report on the Work of the Children's Department, 1961-3, H.C. 155, pp.viii. In Grayson, R. S. (1998). Mods, rockers and juvenile delinquency in 1964: The government response. *Contemporary British History*, 12(1), 19-47. doi:10.1080/13619469808581467. Page 38.

[363] Hall, S. (2013). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state and law and order* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 41.

[364] Brake, M. (1985). *Comparative youth culture: The sociology of youth cultures and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. London: Routledge. Page 44.

[365] Brake, M. (1985). *Comparative youth culture: The sociology of youth cultures and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. London: Routledge. Page 44.

[366] Interview with C9.

[367] Interview with C9.

the road. We had gone there for a quiet trip out like any people would.'[368] The police also targeted a number of clubs in the North, and in Manchester a self-styled 'Mod squad' was set up to find evidence to shut coffee bars.[369] The amplification of style and deviance by the media led to the diffusion of subcultural style to the North providing a more unified style to those who had before loosely identified as a Mod.[370]

For Hewitt, the seaside battles marked the demise of the London scene and the Mod that was adopted in the North was the end of original Mod ideals.[371] The ending of the popularity of Mod and transition to other subcultures was evident by the mid-1960s in the South. Where newspapers once photographed parka-clad Mods fighting Rockers, these were now being replaced with photographs of Skinheads wearing boots and braces, even if the media continued to call these youths "Mods."[372] Others in the South transitioned into the Hippy culture, as one Southern interviewee remembered, 'it was all the flower power... I had flower shirts and I grew my hair.'[373] As youths in London were beginning to drop out or transfer to other subcultures, the Mod scene in the North grew. Hewitt described Northern Mods as the 'second generation', becoming the 'standard bearer' of Modism.[374]

One of the largest developments came from the opening of numerous clubs that catered for Mods. By 1963, across many Northern towns, a Soul and R&B club scene had emerged in parallel to London's, rivalling the capital with an alternative version of Mod. The seaside battles caused the scene in the North to explode with entrepreneurs such as Peter Stringfellow recognising this and opening clubs like his soul club Mojo.[375] The *Mod Monthly* editor received numerous letters from Mods all over the country highlighting the importance of their local scene and what it had to offer. One Sheffield Mod,

[368] Interview with P.
[369] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 123 and 124.
[370] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 93.
[371] Hewitt, P. (2000). *The Soul Stylists: Forty years of Modernism*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing. Page 106.
[372] Osgerby, B. (2018). Brighton Rocked: Mods, Rockers, and Social Change During the Early 1960s. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 13-34). London: Palgrave. Page 29.
[373] Interview with GS.
[374] Hewitt, P. (2000). *The Soul Stylists: Forty years of Modernism*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing. Page 106.
[375] Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus Press. Page 120.

writing about the Mojo club, claimed that some 'fab groups' played there.[376] Northern Mods created

their own trends in opposition to London. Ruth Thompson from Manchester, sent a letter to *Mod

Monthly* describing a dance call the Dodo 'with its complex moves and shapes.'[377] In March 1963,

Roger Eagle founded the Twisted Wheel, a club with no licensed bar and dedicated to playing soul.[378]

This marked it out as different to the other clubs in Manchester at the time such as the Oasis or the

Jungfrau which played British beat group music. Clubs such as the Twisted Wheel gained such a

reputation for their dedication to soul music that it was not uncommon for Mods from London to

travel up weekly by coach, displaying the latest London fashions.[379] Another important city was

Liverpool with Feldman suggesting that it became a 'swinging city' long before London.[380] The city of

Liverpool was an ideal breeding ground for a Mod scene. Firstly, the large contingent of fashion-

conscious, music-loving teenagers and secondly, the large docks allowed for the arrival of new Soul

records from America.[381] As a result, there was a large number of clubs in Liverpool that catered for

Mods including the Sink Club, 'the Iron Door, the Blue Angel, the Down Beat Club and Dutch Eddie's.'[382]

Access to new music was limited as London had the monopoly on everything that was new. For port

cities such as Liverpool and Newcastle, they were able to get American records that came back through

the docks.[383] These port cities were instrumental in the creation of a soul scene in larger Northern

cities.

These clubs created a strong soul scene within the North that became part of Northern Mod's identity.

Mod DJs had always searched for obscure records and the continuation of this trend by Northern Mod

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[376] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 29.

[377] The Mod's Monthly. (1964, April). Issue 2. *The Mod's Monthly*. Cited in Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 110.

[378] Haslam, D. (2001). *Adventures on the Wheels of Steel.* London: Fourth Estate. Page 109.

[379] Hewitt, P. (2000). *The Soul Stylists: Forty years of Modernism*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing. Page 109.

[380] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 23.

[381] Anderson, P. (2013). *Mods: The new religion. The style and music of the 1960s Mods*. London: Omnibus Press. Page 199.

[382] Anderson, P. (2013). *Mods: The new religion. The style and music of the 1960s Mods*. London: Omnibus Press. Page 199.

[383] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 20.

DJs created a soul scene that developed into Northern Soul.[384] Northern Soul grew from the 'dying embers of Mod' when soul became prominent in the North at clubs such as the Twisted Wheel and the Mojo during the late sixties.[385] For Frith Northern Soul was an 'inheritance' from the Mods as they were the first to discover and adopt soul.[386] Barry Doyle notes how Northern Soul drew on 'a Mod tradition.'[387]

The term Northern Soul was coined in 1970 by the DJ Dave Godin in an article relating to the Twisted Wheel in *Blues and Soul* magazine.[388] Godin had been recruited by Berry Gordy to operate Tamla Motown's UK operation, and later he opened Soul City record store in central London.[389] During his time at Soul City, Godin noticed a regional difference between the music choices of his London customers and those travelling from the North to London for football matches. While by the early 1970s those in London had moved onto funk and disco, this was not the case from those in the North who were still listening to Mowtown, noting how, 'their tastes weren't changing.'[390] Godin recalls how those who travelled from the North:

> weren't at all interested in the latest developments in the black American chart... I devised the name as a shorthand sales term. It was just to say "if you've got customers from the North don't waste time playing them records currently in the chart, just play them what they like – "Northern Soul".[391]

[384] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 7.

[385] Hewitt, P. & Baxter, M. (2012). *The A to Z of Mod*. London: Prestel. Page 181.

[386] Frith, S. & Cummings, T. (1996). Playing Records. In C. Gillett & S. Frith (Eds.) *The beat goes on: The rock file reader* (pp. 43-63). London: Pluto Press. Page 45.

[387] Doyle, B. (2006). "More than a dance hall, more a way of life": Northern Soul, Masculinity and Working-class Culture in 1970s Britain. In A. Schildt & D. Siegfried (Eds.) *Between Marx and Coca-Cola (*pp. 313-332). New York: Berghahn Books. Page 317.

[388] Doyle, B. (2006). "More than a dance hall, more a way of life": Northern Soul, Masculinity and Working-class Culture in 1970s Britain. In A. Schildt & D. Siegfried (Eds.) *Between Marx and Coca-Cola (*pp. 313-332). New York: Berghahn Books. Page 318.

[389] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 182.

[390] Nowell, D. (1999). *Too darn soulful: The story of Northern Soul.* London: Robson Books. Page 49.

[391] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 182.

During the early days of Northern Soul a large contingent was made up of Mods dressed in suits. One Liverpool Mod, Vince Peach, recalls 'when I first went to the Wheel I was a Mod and so were 90 percent of the people there.'[392] Vince would travel with three friends regularly to Manchester on Friday nights to a variety of clubs such as The Twisted Wheel, Mr Smith's, Time and Place, Roundtrees Sound, which Vince states all 'had a high Mod population.'[393] The DJ Roger Eagle feared clubgoers had become too preoccupied with style and that the influence of Mod was detracting from the music. Writing about the Esquire Club in Sheffield, Eagle commented, 'here's one club where the "Mod" influence has not ruined the appreciation of R&B.''[394] Eagle's fears were confirmed by one Mod who recalled, 'in the early years the Wheel regulars were mostly Mods, and most people weren't there for the music, thought, by 1967, I would say most of the regulars had started getting into the sound as well.'[395] The scene peaked in the mid-1970s.[396] At this point it had become its own entity separate from Mod. Northern Soul participants usually attended up to three clubs each weekend with one being an All-nighter.[397] The fetishization of musical obscurity meant that fashion became less important and for practical reason the suits and ties were replaced by baggy trousers and vests allowing easier movement for dance.[398]

Weight argues how Northern Soul was 'a riposte to London's dominance,' amplifying a strong Northern identity.[399] The scene that developed carried the same unity between its members that Northern Mods had displayed. Dave Godin noted on a visit to the Twisted Wheel that the atmosphere in Northern clubs was one of 'friendship and camaraderie,' without the 'undercurrent of tension or aggression that one finds in London clubs.'[400]

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[392] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 182.
[393] Nowell, D. (1999). *Too darn soulful: The story of Northern Soul.* London: Robson Books. Page 53.
[394] Haslam, D. (2001). *Adventures on the Wheels of Steel.* London: Fourth Estate. Page 110.
[395] Nowell, D. (1999). *Too darn soulful: The story of Northern Soul.* London: Robson Books. Page 53.
[396] Haslam, D. (2001). *Adventures on the Wheels of Steel. London: Fourth Estate.* Page 107 and 108.
[397] Doyle, B. (2006). "More than a dance hall, more a way of life": Northern Soul, Masculinity and Working-class Culture in 1970s Britain. In A. Schildt & D. Siegfried (Eds.) *Between Marx and Coca-Cola (*pp. 313-332). New York: Berghahn Books. Page 317.
[398] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981.* London: Countdown Books. Page 7.
[399] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 185.
[400] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 185.

There were many similarities between the two subcultures which made it easy for Mods to attend Northern Soul venues or even transition to the Northern Soul subculture all together. Both were working-class, white, predominantly male dominated, and adopted soul music as a key aspect of their culture.[401] Marks argues that 'the Northern Soul scene was a more esoteric form of Modism,' but while Mod influenced the mainstream, Northern Soul became more exclusive.[402] The soul music that came from America, Marks argues, came through the Northern Soul clubs before heading South.[403] As such it came be argued that while developing later, this focus on soul music and commonality between the two subcultures allowed Mod in the North to outlast its Southern counterparts. While Northern Soul developed into its own distinct subculture, it helped to cement soul music as a staple of Northern identity in years to come and influenced the Northern Mod scene in the Revival. The culture also adopted the scooter as part of its identity and helped to create a scooter scene that was vital in the Revival.

From the evidence, it is clear that Mod during the sixties was not simply a Southern phenomenon. Mods in the North existed from the early sixties and the scene exploded once the media and fashion industry commercialised the scene making it easier for Northern youths to join. While Mod in the North was based on a more commercialised version with fewer influences than in the South, this helped it to outlast the London scene having been based less on style and more on socialising. As Bushell argues, while Mod caught on later in the North, they 'held on to it longer.'[404] Northern Mod's eventual transition into the Northern soul scene created the basis for the revival based on soul music and scooter.

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[401] Marks, A. (1990). Young, gifted and black: Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean music in Britain 1963-88. In P. Oliver (Ed.) *Black music in Britain: Essays on the Afro-Asian contribution to popular music* (pp. 102-117). Milton Keynes: Open University Press. Page 107.

[402] Marks, A. (1990). Young, gifted and black: Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean music in Britain 1963-88. In P. Oliver (Ed.) *Black music in Britain: Essays on the Afro-Asian contribution to popular music* (pp. 102-117). Milton Keynes: Open University Press. Page 107.

[403] Marks, A. (1990). Young, gifted and black: Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean music in Britain 1963-88. In P. Oliver (Ed.) *Black music in Britain: Essays on the Afro-Asian contribution to popular music* (pp. 102-117). Milton Keynes: Open University Press. Page 107.

[404] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 7.

# Chapter 2: *Can you see the real me?* – Northern Mod Identity

The Mod Revival adopted the original Mod ethos and adapted it to suit the contemporary climate it was situated in. What emerged was a multitude of varying versions of Mods that suited each individual to their own situation, both economically and geographically. While Rawlings's claim that the Revival was 'nowhere near as stylish' as the original movement was a fair assumption, his argument that it was not as 'complex' or 'popular' was incorrect.[405] The passage of the original Mod movement from memory into history, allowed for it to be redefined by each social group that identified with it, and as Nora notes 'the task of remembering makes everyone his own historian.'[406] Mod is a 'nebulous concept' that allows for numerous definitions over an extended period and a spectrum of Mod emerges.[407] Subcultural identities may therefore not be "built", but rather go through a process of constant building and unbuilding creating an 'endless succession of transparent palimpsests,' which layer to create multiple versions of Mod.[408] This chapter will consider Mod identity within the North exploring concepts of class, Northerness, masculinity, the role of nostalgia, and commonality within the subculture. It will be argued that Mod's core elements created an 'imagined community' that allowed for Mods to be a part of a wider community while also adapting the style to suit their own individual needs. The specificity of the North and the political and economic climate of the period shaped Mods experiences within the region creating a multitude of Northern Mod identities.

Feldman recognised that as so many youths identified with Mod, what developed was a 'multidimensional, multifaceted phenomenon' with numerous ways of experiencing the subculture.[409]

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[405] Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus. Page 159.

[406] Nora, P. (1989). "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26, pp. 7–24. Page 15.

[407] Singleton, R.W. (2018). "What are You Gonna Do Tonight?" "Wait for a Phone Call I Suppose": Girls, Mod Subculture, and Reactions to the Film Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 151-172). London: Palgrave. Page 152.

[408] Evans, C. (1997). Dreams that only money can buy… Or the shy tribe in flight from discourse. *Fashion Theory, 1(2)*, 169-188. Page 180.

[409] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 31.

From studying British and American subcultures, Campbell and Muncer deduced that 'initiation rites are alien to British subcultures,' with anyone having the ability to join if they wear the right clothes and listen to appropriate music, with no requirement to interact with other members.[410] From the research it is clear that there is no one set way of becoming a Mod, but rather a multitude of ways of getting involved with the scene depending on what each individual identified with.

The Mod Revival, much like the scene in the sixties, emerged as an organic development before it was commercialised by the likes of *Quadrophenia* and the national music press in 1979. The Revival began in 1977 as an alternative to the Punk scene that many teenagers had become disillusioned with.[411] The Punk scene that emerged in the Mid-1970s had been heavily influenced by the original Mod scene. Paul Weller's auto biographer described Punk as 'an extremely brutal bastardisation of Mod.'[412] Weight argued that Mod helped popularise Punk by providing it with a more British sound, look and message combining both Continental sensibility with class politics.[413] Towards the later stages of the 1970s, many teenagers became disillusioned with Punk's 'middle-class posturing' and sought membership of a new subculture.[414] Despite teenagers wishing to break away from the Punk scene, the subculture in fact helped to 'energise Mod' and influenced the Mod Revival.[415] Many of the new Mod bands were reminiscent of Punk such as the Purple Hearts and Secret Affair. This provided a smooth transition for many youths from Punk to Mod. One Liverpool Mod, got into Mod around late 1978 after going to watch bands like 'The Purple Hearts' and other 'post-Punk New Wave stuff'.[416]

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[410] Campbell, A. & Muncer, S. (1989). Them and us: A comparison of the cultural context of American gangs and British subcultures. *Deviant Behaviour*, 10:3, 271-288, DOI: 10.1080/01639625.1989.9967815. Page 278.

[411] Singleton, R.W. (2018). "What are You Gonna Do Tonight?" "Wait for a Phone Call I Suppose": Girls, Mod Subculture, and Reactions to the Film Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 151-172). London: Palgrave. Page 157.

[412] Reed, J. (2005). *Paul Weller: My Ever Changing Moods* (4th ed.). London: Omnibus. Cited in Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 249.

[413] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 245.

[414] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 245.

[415] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 245.

[416] Interview with JM.

Purple Hearts guitarist Simon Stebbing stated that the Revival was 'a natural progression from Punk', combining 'Mod attitude and Punk music'.[417]

One band that helped to popularise the movement was The Jam. Like many of the other Mod Revival bands, The Jam started off as a Punk band having supported the Clash on their 1977 White Riot tour.[418] Whilst already a commercial success in 1977 with the release of *In the City*, Weller immersed himself in the music of sixties bands which led to the release of the Mod influenced *All Mod Cons* album in November 1979. The album rose to number six in the UK charts and was noted by Glynn as the 'true catalyst for the revival of the Mod movement.'[419] Reynolds noted how The Jam's 'stylized sharpness' stood in stark opposition to 'the anti-fashion ugliness of punk.'[420] The Jam fused together the 'fury of Punk with the cool of Mod,' producing music that had relevance to the late seventies but also embodying a Mod consciousness.[421] For many young people it was The Jam that provided an entry into Mod culture once again giving youth 'a reason to dress up and feel cool.'[422] Having loved the music of The Clash and the Sex Pistols, one Newcastle Mod noted how The Jam 'took it to another level. The way they dressed, the music, it was just fucking cool.'[423] Through their refusal to address precise social origins and values, The Jam were able to claim the attention of a larger national community encapsulating a national experience representing the social and political climate of 1979.[424] The Jam's embracing of sixties music was accompanied by the influence of the DJ John Peel. Peel helped to introduce many young Mods to the music of the Sixties and for one Newcastle Mod 'whenever he played The Kinks or the Small Faces or anything from the sixties you just felt something and it was

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[417] Piller, E. & Rowland, S. (2018). *Modzines: Fanzine culture from the Mod Revival*. London: Omnibus Press. Page 6. Page 22.
[418] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 257.
[419] Glynn, S. (2014). *Quadrophenia*. New York: Columbia University Press. Page 3.
[420] Reynolds, S. (2011). *Retromania: Pop culture's addiction to its own past*. London: Faber. Page 244.
[421] Glynn, S. (2014). *Quadrophenia.* New York: Columbia University Press. Page 2.
[422] Morra, I. (2014). *Britishness, popular music, and national identity: The making of modern Britain*. New York: Routledge. Page 63 and 64. Interview with Dave Thompson, a Revival Mod.
[423] Interview with GL.
[424] Morra, I. (2014). *Britishness, popular music, and national identity: The making of modern Britain*. New York: Routledge. Page 94.

special.'[425] The Mod Revival coincided not only with a shift in youth culture, but a changing political and economic climate.

The Mod Revival coincided with the election of Margaret Thatcher who ushered in a period of widespread economic and social change. Thatcher's government believed a series of policy mistakes in the seventies had caused a crisis of state and as such implemented a number of economic and social policies that were the antithesis of those adopted since 1944.[426] Supporting Victorian values of thrift, industry, and self-help, Thatcher reflected these virtues within her policies.[427] Between 1979 and 1985, the Conservative government implemented a monetarist experiment which the Chancellor Nigel Lawson claimed was 'a wholly new approach to economic policy.'[428] The economy soon entered a recession with unemployment doubling between the end of 1979 and mid-1981.[429] Unlike the 1960s where the young benefitted from a new affluent society, youth unemployment during this period rose dramatically. Research in 1976 suggested that thirty-two per cent of school-leavers gained employment at the first job they applied for and eighty-six per cent gained employment within a month of leaving school.[430] By 1986, unemployment for those aged between sixteen and twenty-four had reached 727,000, almost a third of the national total.[431] Other policy changes including the privatisation of key industries, cuts in the marginal rate of council tax, and reductions to unemployment benefit.[432] Switching from an industrial to a competition policy caused around twenty-five per cent of British manufacturing being lost between 1980 and 1981.[433] As a result of these

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[425] Interview with GL.

[426] Oliver, M.J. (2007). The retreat of the state in the 1980s and 1990s. In F. Carnevali & J-M. Strange (Eds.) *Twentieth century Britain: Economic, cultural and social change*. (2nd ed., pp. 262-278). Harlow: Pearson. Page 262.

[427] Scott-Brown, S. (2017). Stranger Memories of Who We Really Are: History, the Nation and the Historian. In The Histories of Raphael Samuel: A portrait of a people's historian (pp. 201-230). Australia: ANU Press. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/j.ctt1rfsrqs.11. Page 204.

[428] Oliver, M.J. (2007). The retreat of the state in the 1980s and 1990s. In F. Carnevali & J-M. Strange (Eds.) *Twentieth century Britain: Economic, cultural and social change*. (2nd ed., pp. 262-278). Harlow: Pearson. Page 265.

[429] Oliver, M.J. (2007). The retreat of the state in the 1980s and 1990s. In F. Carnevali & J-M. Strange (Eds.) *Twentieth century Britain: Economic, cultural and social change*. (2nd ed., pp. 262-278). Harlow: Pearson. Page 265.

[430] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 155 and 156.

[431] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 156.

[432] Oliver, M.J. (2007). The retreat of the state in the 1980s and 1990s. In F. Carnevali & J-M. Strange (Eds.) *Twentieth century Britain: Economic, cultural and social change*. (2nd ed., pp. 262-278). Harlow: Pearson. Page 268.

[433] Pugh, M. (2012). *State and society: A social and political history of Britain since 1870* (4th ed.). London: Bloomsbury Academic. Page 345.

economic changes, the industrial North was hit hardest with employment falling by 1.1 million between 1979 and 1986, whereas the South saw an increase in employment by 356,000.[434] The variations of Mod in the North during this period can be seen as a reaction to the new political and social climate that emerged.

Rawlings argued that the Mod Revival 'gave rise to a completely different animal to the original Sixties version… bearing  hardly any resemblance to it at all.'[435] For some academics, the Revival has been labelled as a period of nostalgic plundering of the original movement. It has been argued that Revival Mod's answer to the unattractive present was to 'retreat into the past.'[436] Weight argued that from 1979 to 1989 Mod Revivalists became 'copycats' with participants nostalgically yearning for the 1960s optimism and affluence.[437] Reynolds argued similarly, stating that the Revival was a 'betrayal of the original principles of modernism' as Mods were not searching for the latest or coolest thing.[438] This view was taken by the media during the Revival. While during the sixties Mods had been criticised as the '*bete noire* of the affluent society', they were also celebrated as 'classless consumers par excellence.'[439] During the Revival the media's treatment of the subculture was solely negative and downgraded the new generation of Mods as 'a nostalgic revival of the 1960s phenomenon.'[440] From the analysis of newspapers and fanzines only one article was found that provided any real examination of the Mod Revival asking 'Who are the new Mods?'[441] Gary Bushell, claimed the reason the press were 'so down on Mod is that they know sod-all about it.'[442] For Bushell, the media's labelling of the period as a Revival was wrong, instead he chose to label it a 'Renewal' stating that 'it's not about trying

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[434] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 29.

[435] Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus. Page 159.

[436] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 262.

[437] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 245.

[438] Reynolds, S. (2011). *Retromania: Pop culture's addiction to its own past*. London: Faber. Page 229.

[439] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 43 and 44.

[440] Daily Mail. (1982, April 17). What's going on at Cult-on-Sea. *Daily Mail*. There were numerous other examples including Daily Mail. (1979, December 17). The great longing to look back. *Daily Mail.*

[441] Daily Mail. (1979, May 19). The London Weekend Show. *Daily Mail.*

[442] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 58.

to recreate a semi-mythical Mod past', but rather, 'taking the best of those former glories as a basis to build something new on.'[443]

The concept nostalgia was invented by Johannes Hofer in the seventeenth century to describe the condition affecting Swiss mercenaries on long military tours who were suffering from homesickness.[444] Nostalgia originally referred to a longing to return through space, not time. Gradually the term has dropped its geographical associations and is now a temporal condition that is not only an individual emotion but a collective one.[445] Nostalgia became 'a state of mind,' that is pervasive and protean.[446] For nostalgia to work there must be a sense that the present is somehow deficient and objects and images from the past must be available.[447] A connection to the object or culture is also required, gained though a sense of identity and the feeling that the individuals present is bound with the cultures past.[448] In the case of the Northern Revival Mods, nostalgia worked as a reaction to 'a sense of loss in the recent past', reflecting the rapid changes in contemporary society.[449]

Alison Landsberg's theory of 'prosthetic memory' describes the ability to assimilate historical events that one has not lived through, but it becomes part of 'one's personal archive of experience.'[450] 'Prosthetic memory' is made possible by the commodified mass culture which is able to disseminate images and meanings to a wide audience.[451] While these memories are not 'natural' or 'authentic' they organise the participants and subjectivities who adopt them.[452] For some Revival Mods,

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[443] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 58.
[444] Reynolds, S. (2011). *Retromania: Pop culture's addiction to its own past*. London: Faber. Page XXV.
[445] Reynolds, S. (2011). *Retromania: Pop culture's addiction to its own past*. London: Faber. Page XXV.
[446] Chase, M. & Shaw, C. (1989). The dimensions of nostalgia. In C. Shaw & M. Chase (Eds.) *The imagined past: history and nostalgia* (pp. 1-17). Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 1.
[447] Chase, M. & Shaw, C. (1989). The dimensions of nostalgia. In C. Shaw & M. Chase (Eds.) *The imagined past: history and nostalgia* (pp. 1-17). Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 3 and 4.
[448] Chase, M. & Shaw, C. (1989). The dimensions of nostalgia. In C. Shaw & M. Chase (Eds.) *The imagined past: history and nostalgia* (pp. 1-17). Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 2.
[449] Tosh, J. (2015). *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of history* (6th ed.). London: Routledge. Page 15.
[450] Landsberg, A. (2004*). Prosthetic memory: The transformation of American remembrance in the age of mass culture.* New York: Columbia University Press. Page 26
[451] Landsberg, A. (2004*). Prosthetic memory: The transformation of American remembrance in the age of mass culture.* New York: Columbia University Press. Page 26
[452] Landsberg, A. (2004*). Prosthetic memory: The transformation of American remembrance in the age of mass culture.* New York: Columbia University Press. Page 26

authentically recreating the style and attitude of the original 1960s Mods was essential. Weight notes how some Mods 'mimicked the battles of the original Mods like an historic re-enactment society.'[453] For instance, a group of London Mods in 1984 attempted to recreate riding their scooters into the gates of Buckingham palace, an event that took place on Guy Fawkes night in 1966.[454] The attempt to recreate a carbon copy of Mod was more prevalent in the South with Southern Modzines featuring articles calling out 'younger Mods still wearing Jam shoes and parkas' and suggesting that they watch *Ready, Steady, Go!* to see how 'the original smart Mods dressed.'[455] Only one Northern interviewee stated that they wished to 'recreate a carbon copy because that's what they 'believed it was about.'[456] In the main, this was not the case for Northern Mods as while they based elements of style on the sixties version they also adapted it to suit contemporary needs.

For Northern Revival Mods, there was an element of nostalgia present as most Mods accepted that their actions were partially trying to recreate a better age, copying elements from the original movement. However, for Revival Mods the scene was 'all brand new' and something they had not experienced before and so was seen as 'moving forward.'[457] While the media displayed images of Mods on scooters and Carnaby Street exclaiming that 'they're back!', for the participants of the Revival, their experience of the Mod scene was happening in real time.[458] As such, their experiences were shaped by the mediated past and the lived present.[459] As one Huddersfield Mod stated, 'we can't deny it was a Revival. We were aware it had happened before and some of the fashions were copied, but it was our scene. it wasn't a copycat thing.'[460] Most interviewees agreed that during the period they never would have 'associated it with being a nostalgic thing' at that age.[461] One Modzine editor commented on the debate of the Mod Revival being a nostalgic recreation stating it would be 'insane'

[453] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 264.
[454] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 264.
[455] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.588.*The inset*. Magazine. Issue 1. 1984. Page 2.
[456] Interview with JM.
[457] Interview with BA.
[458] Patterson, G. (1985, October 10). Modern Mods scoot back. *Daily Mail*.
[459] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 40.
[460] Interview with IN.
[461] Interview with BA.

to suggest the Revival was a copycat of the sixties as 'what happened in 1977 is more relevant to us than say '64.'[462] Participants felt they 'were in the middle of it', living for the moment and rebelling against the contemporary climate.[463]

Even while the Revival can be noted as Mod at its 'most imitative,' youths were able to place a contemporary twist on the Mod style to make it their own.[464] Kevin Pearce, a music writer during the Revival period noted how the Mod Revival was 'a revival of interest rather than a recreation' being shaped by its post-punk context.[465] Stylistic change is seen as positive and important to the Mod ethos and to subcultural authenticity. However, as Muggleton suggests, this change must be gradual and an evolutionary process rather than a complete sudden shift in identity and style.[466] It is important for the subculture to hold onto stylistic elements as this helps to shape the identity of the subculture. While Revival Mods sought to dress in a similar fashion to original Mods they did not want to dress in the exact same fashions, as one Liverpudlian Mod said to do so would make you a 'historical society.'[467] The general Northern Mod view was that 'not to progress would just be stupid, you've got to move forward.'[468] The original Mod period was used as a 'blueprint' providing a codified subcultural style and lifestyle that could be adopted and altered.[469] A process of 'decade blending' took place where participants create their style from what is currently available to them utilising both present and past influences.[470]

Jameson argued that retro is the 'cannibalistic plundering of the past,' a simulacrum representing only stereotypical images randomly without content or meaning.[471] Jenβ countered suggesting that retro

[462] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 3. 1979. Page 7.
[463] Interview with KA.
[464] Weight, R. (2013). *MOD: From Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 266
[465] Reynolds, S. (2011). *Retromania: Pop culture's addiction to its own past*. London: Faber. Page 227.
[466] Muggleton, D. (2002). *Inside Subculture: The postmodern meaning of style*. Oxford: Berg. Page 103.
[467] Interview with JM.
[468] Interview with GL.
[469] Weiner, N. (2013). Mod men: The contemporary Mod subculture online. Catwalk: The Journal of Fashion, Beauty and Style, 1(2), 1-24. Page 3.
[470] Muggleton, D. (2002). *Inside Subculture: The postmodern meaning of style*. Oxford: Berg. Page 95.
[471] Jameson, F. (1984). Postmodernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism. *New Left Review*. *(147)*: 53-92. Page 65.
Cited in Jenβ, H. (2005). Sixties dress only! The consumption of the past in a retro scene. In A. Palmer & H. Clark (Eds.) *Old clothes, new looks: second hand fashion* (pp. 177-195). Oxford: Berg. Page 191.

for sixties stylists is not random, but rather focused, having perceived the sixties as a positive and dynamic period projecting the values of the time onto their present world.[472] Gabriele Mentges furthered this arguing that style is a complex cultural practice, where meanings are not fixed but newly negotiated by 'historical actors.'[473] As such, the aim to reproduce past styles is not to reconstruct completely original meanings, but rather to construct ones that are relevant to the historical actors in their own historic context.[474] As one participant noted, 'we were just taking from them. I don't think I ever sat down and said I want to be exactly like a sixties Mod.'[475] Therefore, 'longing to *wear* the sixties does not equal longing to *live* in the sixties.'[476] The Mods were able to use sixties style to 'open up an imaginary time travel, technically realized through the interconnection of dress and space.'[477] This created a feeling of youthful excitement which opposed the bleak contemporary climate which was unlike the affluent society sixties Mods has experienced. Individuals invest symbolic power into objects which over time accumulate social associations making them a palimpsest gaining new and symbolic meanings that have the ability to transfer the mind to 'scenes before.'[478] Palimpsest can apply not only to objects but to memory and identity. Traces of memory or identity may persist resulting in 'cumulative palimpsest' where successive episodes remain and become superimposed upon one another becoming reworked and mixed together until it is impossible to separate the

[472] Jenβ, H. (2005). Sixties dress only! The consumption of the past in a retro scene. In A. Palmer & H. Clark (Eds.) *Old clothes, new looks: second hand fashion* (pp. 177-195). Oxford: Berg. Page 191.

[473] Mentges, G. (2001). An introduction: Cultural constructions of clothing and Mods. In G. Mentges, & H. Nixdorff (Eds.) *Dortmund series on cultural anthropological studies of textiles: textile-body fashion.* (pp. 9-14). Berlin: Ebersback. Page 11. Cited in Jenβ, H. (2005). Sixties dress only! The consumption of the past in a retro scene. In A. Palmer & H. Clark (Eds.) *Old clothes, new looks: second hand fashion* (pp. 177-195). Oxford: Berg. Page 193.

[474] Mentges, G. (2001). An introduction: Cultural constructions of clothing and Mods. In G. Mentges, & H. Nixdorff (Eds.) *Dortmund series on cultural anthropological studies of textiles: textile-body fashion.* (pp. 9-14). Berlin: Ebersback. Page 11. Cited in Jenβ, H. (2005). Sixties dress only! The consumption of the past in a retro scene. In A. Palmer & H. Clark (Eds.) *Old clothes, new looks: second hand fashion* (pp. 177-195). Oxford: Berg. Page 193.

[475] Interview with GL.

[476] Jenβ, H. (2005). Sixties dress only! The consumption of the past in a retro scene. In A. Palmer & H. Clark (Eds.) *Old clothes, new looks: second hand fashion* (pp. 177-195). Oxford: Berg. Page 195.

[477] Jenβ, H. (2004). Dressed in History: Retro Styles and the Construction of Authenticity in Youth Culture. *Fashion Theory 8.4,* 387-404. Page 390 and 391.

[478] Tumblety, J. (Ed.) *Memory and history: Understanding memory as source and subject.* London: Routledge. Page 196.

distinct elements.[479] The multitude of experiences contract historical time into an undifferentiated moment.[480]

Using Anderson's theory of imagined communities, I argue that Mod during the Revival was itself an imagined community. Anderson applies his theory to nations defining them as 'imagined political communities' that are 'imagined' through a set of values and characteristics that are limited within set boundaries separating them from outsiders.[481] This theory can be applied to the Mod Revival to help explain the universality within the subculture and why so many felt 'a sense of belonging to something', despite the numerous variations of Mod.[482] While individuals, even within the smallest towns or villages, never know or meet most of their fellow members, they each live their lives to the same set of core values.[483] Mod's core values were based on style, music and behaviour. Feldman recognised that becoming a Mod was based on a commonality of life-style interests rather than class, religion or race.[484] As such, despite there being 'levels of proximity' where participants are distanced from one another due to the complexity and multiplicity of their individual identities, there appears to be a strong commonality between Mods where the overall importance of all elements and values takes precedence.[485] As one Mod stated regarding the national Mod community, 'you didn't know them but you were accepted.'[486]

Like other subcultures, Mod is made up of a core of central values that constitute a unified value system distinct from the value systems of wider society. These imaged communities are not

[479] Bailey, G. 'Time perspectives, palimpsests and the archaeology of time', *Journal of Anthropological archaeology*, 26(2), 2007. Page 204. Cited in Stabile, S.M. (2013). Biography of a box: Material culture and palimpsest memory. In J. Tumblety (Ed.) *Memory and history: Understanding memory as source and subject* (pp. 194-211). London: Routledge. Page 195.

[480] Tumblety, J. (Ed.) *Memory and history: Understanding memory as source and subject*. London: Routledge. Page 194+195.

[481] Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. and extended ed.). London: Verso. Page 16.

[482] Interview with A.

[483] Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. and extended ed.). London: Verso. Page 49 and 50.

[484] Feldman, C.J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A transnational history of a youth subculture*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. Page 19.

[485] Hodkinson, P. (2005). 'insider research' in the study of youth cultures. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8(2), 131-149. doi:10.1080/13676260500149238. Page 7 and 8.

[486] Interview with K. Another interviewee from Birkenhead described the scene is as the 'Olympic rings' as Mods 'were all together but separate to a certain extent.' (Interview with C9).

coterminous with wider society or other subcultures, providing the community with a stronger sense of identity and belonging.[487] Through a collective imagination, behaviours and objects are bestowed particular meanings by the participants of a subculture creating 'internal goods' that hold value within the subculture but not outside of it.[488] This helps to create a boundary between insiders and outsiders. These values are external to the 'individuals constrained by them,' and subcultural participants must internalise these pre-existing values and show their commitment in relation to the set values.[489] Objects, behaviours, and values only constitute part of a subculture insofar as the subcultural participants identify as part of the collective whose members ascribe meanings to the objects and values.[490] The collaborative process of individuals participating with one another and engaging in activities that relate to the shared identity also creates a sense of belonging.[491] A group's collective identity must be based on a shared interpretations of experiences and beliefs formed over time. This can often be an accepted belief over the origins of a group or symbolic moments in a groups history that confirm the self-image and values of the group.[492] Often historical, legendary, and poetical narratives become inextricable connected causing the boundary between the individuals experience and group experiences to become more elusive with truth coinciding with shared imagination.[493] For many Mods, the media coverage in the sixties and their treatment during the Revival meant that they were 'all tarred under the one brush, the word Mod.'[494] As a result many Mods 'felt an element of pride when there was reports on the television of Mods. You'd think that's one of us.'[495]

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[487] Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. and extended ed.). London: Verso. Page 49 and 50.

[488] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 29.

[489] Fine, G. A., & Kleinman, S. (1979). Rethinking subculture: An interactionist analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(1), 1-20. doi:10.1086/226971. Page 7.

[490] Fine, G. A., & Kleinman, S. (1979). Rethinking subculture: An interactionist analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(1), 1-20. doi:10.1086/226971. Page 13.

[491] Martin, P.J. (2004). Culture, subculture and social organisation. In A. Bennett & K. Kahn-Harris (Eds.) *After subculture: Critical studies in contemporary youth culture* (pp. 21-35). Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 33.

[492] Tosh, J. (2015). *The pursuit of history: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of history* (6th ed.). London: Routledge. Page 1.

[493] Portelli, A. (2008). What makes oral history different. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The oral history reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 32-42). London: Routledge. Page 35.

[494] Interview with IN.

[495] Interview with IN.

The main element that helped to create a sense of commonality within the Mod subculture was style. Stylistic conventions are integral as they 'signal the existence of a world' that allow its participants to communicate their belonging to such a world with both insiders and outsiders, marking out symbolic identities and boundaries.[496] These stylistic conventions can also be used to show commitment and loyalty to the subculture helping to build trust and solidarity with other participants.[497] One participant noted the importance of core aspects of Mod clothing, stating that if you were wearing the right outfit 'there was just a commonality there was never any questions.'[498] By wearing the right style 'you were instantly recognised, people knew what you were and what you were about.'[499] However, as Muggleton argues, subcultures can be understood as both 'collective expressions and celebrations of individualism.'[500] One Newcastle Mod noted, 'it's good to have that uniform where loads of you identify with each other, but to dress the same that would be just wrong.'[501] Muggleton suggests that 'within-group distinction' is important as diversity within the group helps to accommodate a range of styles allowing each member to 'maintain a sense of simultaneous similarity and difference.'[502]

Wolcott has argued that 'there is no monolithic insider view,' but multiple insider and outsiders' views.[503] Mod is best describes as a 'frame of mind' subjective and flexible enough for it to be adapted while being based on core values of music, style, and behaviours that maintains some form of structure to provide group solidarity.[504] The core values are used as a broad base of ideas that can be altered to individual taste and this helps to explain the numerous versions of Mod. While many youths were involved with Mod, few have followed the "undiluted" subcultural style that much of the

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[496] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 43.

[497] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 43.

[498] Interview with MB.

[499] Interview with GN.

[500] Muggleton, D. (2002). *Inside Subculture: The postmodern meaning of style*. Oxford: Berg. Page 79.

[501] Interview with GL.

[502] Muggleton, D. (2002). *Inside Subculture: The postmodern meaning of style*. Oxford: Berg. Page 67.

[503] Wolcott, H. (1999). *Ethnography: A Way of Seeing*. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press. Page 137. Cited in Hodkinson, P. (2005). 'insider research' in the study of youth cultures. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8(2), 131-149. doi:10.1080/13676260500149238. Page 20.

[504] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 393.

literature describes. Instead, participants chose to adopt a limited range of subcultural symbols rather than a total commitment to all aspects of a subcultural lifestyle.[505] While Mods would base their image on these core values it was all about 'adapting it and putting your own individual thing on it.'[506] One Newcastle Mod noted how he felt 'like an individual in a group of other individuals.[507] Identities are subject to change and are affected by situation, commitment, time, and location. The salience of values can change being ranked in what Williams' terms a 'salience hierarchy', where some identities are invoked rarely and some constantly.[508] This helps to explain local variations as individuals in a specific geographical location rank particular values more important than others. There is no simple distinction but voluminous 'salience hierarchies' which are situationally dependant.[509]

Regional variations can be explained via Mod's constant 'state of flux' with members sharing different perspectives on the shared knowledge and attributes of the subculture.[510] For example while the key aspects highlighted by both Northern and Southern Mods were 'clothes, music, and the social aspect', scooters were emphasized as a more important element of Northern Mod identity than in the South.[511] Stanley Fish has argued that an object can be interpreted in multiple ways taking on different meanings across different 'interpretive communities.'[512] The object's meaning depends on the 'interpretive conventions' of the community providing its members with a shared understanding of the object, which can be transformed over time.[513] The object's meaning can differ between different communities or even within the same community and there is no legitimate way of deciding which interpretation is correct.[514] Subcultures, then, are geographically diffuse movements of young people who share the same common interests and values, with no rigid 'criteria of entry, membership or

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[505] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 74.
[506] Interview with GL.
[507] Interview with A.
[508] Williams, J. (2011). *Subcultural theory: traditions and concepts*. Cambridge: Polity. Page 138.
[509] Williams, J. (2011). *Subcultural theory: traditions and concepts*. Cambridge: Polity. Page 139.
[510] Fine, G. A., & Kleinman, S. (1979). Rethinking subculture: An interactionist analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(1), 1-20. doi:10.1086/226971. Page 6.
[511] Interview with PF.
[512] Fish, S. (1980). *Is there a text in this class?*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Page 166.
[513] Fish, S. (1980). *Is there a text in this class?*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Page 167.
[514] Fish, S. (1980). *Is there a text in this class?*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Page 167.

obligation.'[515] As such, Mod is able to be adapted and interpreted differently to suit the participant's circumstances and interests. The Northern versions of Mod were shaped by a Northern discourse and the contemporary climate.

It is important to consider the nature of class within Northern Mod identity in order to understand how it shaped participants experiences. The infamous Mod Pete Meaden defined Mod as 'clean living under difficult circumstances,' and while he was referring to the 1960s scene, this definition fits perfectly to the Revival.[516] Subculture's capture the political, economic, and social climate of the period. Its members translated the contemporary climate through style, music and fashion to identify themselves within such a culture.[517] Mod during the Revival can therefore be read as a reaction to the contemporary climate in which it was situated. Gildart highlights how Mods in London during the sixties were 'emblematic of a working class in transition' reflecting an upwardly mobile character of post-war affluence.[518] While this may have been the case for sixties Mods, it was not for the Revival Mods who were resisting the harsh economic and political climate of Thatcher's Britain.

Many Northern Mods chose to present an upwardly mobile image of themselves to revolt against current conditions. For one Huddersfield Mod who felt he had a disadvantaged start in life, becoming a Mod was about 'putting on a brave face in a society that was negative.'[519] He started a Scooter Club called 'The Survivors' because he felt him and his friends 'were surviving.'[520] By wearing smart clothes and owning a nice scooter, regardless of the fact they were second hand, he felt 'the rest of the world didn't know how disadvantaged he was.'[521] He went onto say the harder life became, 'the more well-dressed I wanted to be, the cleaner I wanted my clothes, the nicer I wanted my scooter.'[522] Osgerby

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[515] Campbell, A. & Muncer, S. (1989). Them and us: A comparison of the cultural context of American gangs and British subcultures. *Deviant Behaviour*, 10:3, 271-288, DOI: 10.1080/01639625.1989.9967815. Page 272.

[516] Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus. Page 5.

[517] Garratt, D. (2004). Youth Cultures and Sub-Cultures. In J. Roche, S. Tucker, R. Thomson, & R. Flynn (Eds.) *Youth in society: contemporary theory, policy and practice* (2nd ed.) (pp. 145-152). London: Sage. Page 146.

[518] Osgerby, W. (1998). *Youth in Britain since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell. Page 42.

[519] Interview with MB.

[520] Interview with MB.

[521] Interview with MB.

[522] Interview with MB.

argued that the ethos of money glorification that Thatcher had instilled into British society meant the wearing of smart or designer clothing was a 'visible way of displaying to the world your financial status.'[523] Mod's style represented a response to shifts seen in wider society at the time. For many Revival Mods, dressing smartly was a 'social revenge' through a 'superiority complex' defined by Ian Page, lead singer of Secret Affair, as resisting the wealthy's 'right to feel superior, or treat [working-class people] like a soiled pound note.'[524] Page did not wish for egalitarianism, but to create an alternative hierarchy based on style and subcultural knowledge, stating 'I believe everyone should have equal opportunity to be top dog.'[525] This reflects the original Mod ethos placing it in a 1980s context where the youth were suffering from the economic climate of Thatcherism. One poem sent to a Modzine highlights the use of style to revolt against the political climate:

It's Thatcher's world so get on your bike,

She crushes the unions, she created the miner's strike.

We need Mod resistance, and youth conscious and aware,

It's up to you with style, Mod and flair.[526]
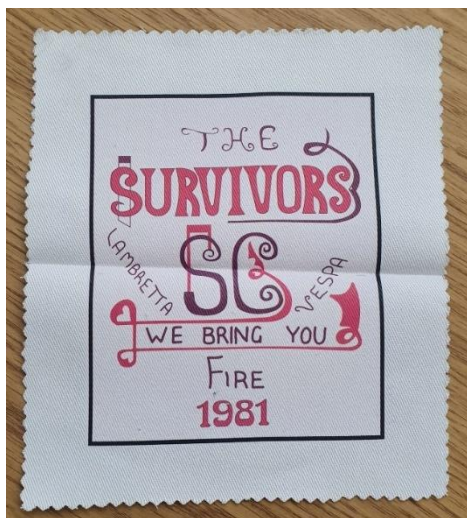


Appendix 5 –The Survivors Scooter Club badge, first

[523] Hewitt, P. (2000). *The Soul Stylists: Forty years of Modernism*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing. Page 162 and 163.
[524] Reynolds, S. (2011). *Retromania: Pop culture's addiction to its own past*. London: Faber. Page 226.
[525] Reynolds, S. (2011). *Retromania: Pop culture's addiction to its own past*. London: Faber. Page 226.
[526] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.603. *Time moves us on*. Magazine. Issue 1. 1985. Page 11.

Despite this, it becomes apparent that subcultural membership was determined by commitment to the culture rather than class. The only time class appears to have entered the subculture in the North is the distinction between 'those that had money and those that didn't.'[527] As one Huddersfield Mod stated, 'we were Mods. We didn't look at is as class, we were just one group.'[528] Nathaniel Weiner's findings relating to present day Mods concluded that the subculture has a cross-class base, 'with class just one background factor rather than the determining one.'[529] While Mods in the North retain their working-class affiliations and class helped to shape aspects of subcultural experience, commitment to the subculture is based on core values and group solidarity. What appears to be the most important requirement for being a Mod was the ownership of subcultural capital. Subcultural capital 'confers status on its owner in the eyes of the relevant beholder,' and can be objectified through having the right haircut, excellent record collection, or through wearing the correct style.[530] While class is relevant, subcultural capital transcends class hoping to escape the trappings of parent culture through the 'fantasy of classlessness.'[531] Subcultural capital can be gained through being 'in the know,' although, this can be depleted by trying too hard.[532] One participant noted how Mods who were wealthier could afford to travel to London and expensive boutiques', but they 'still look like shit when they came up because they didn't have that idea.'[533] Those that were worse off were seen as being more authentic as they had to fight to create their style whereas 'the people with the money' may have had 'all the top scooter parts and they had all the new suits' but did not had to struggle to get them.[534] One Huddersfield Mod recalled an event where The Bradford Top Cat Scooter Club had their scooters set on fire outside one Huddersfield Mod club as they were seen as 'the rich kids'.[535] They

[527] Interview with LA.
[528] Interview with S.
[529] Weiner, N. (2013). Mod men: The contemporary Mod subculture online. Catwalk: The Journal of Fashion, Beauty and Style, 1(2), 1-24. Page 6.
[530] Thornton, S. (1995). *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Page 27.
[531] Thornton, S. (1995). *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Page 28.
[532] Thornton, S. (1995). *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Page 27.
[533] Interview with GL.
[534] Interview with GN.
[535] Interview with MB.

were seen as 'plastic' because their parents would buy them the latest scooters and suits, whereas the Mods in Huddersfield 'everything was second-hand and really fought for.'[536]

The main reason why many individuals did not feel a class divide is because in their locality, Mod was a solely working-class activity. Most participants stated how in their area, 'you only had one class and that was working-class.'[537] One Huddersfield Mod noted that 'the majority of us were from council estates, not high-earning backgrounds' and as a result their experiences were shaped in a similar manner of making-do with what they had available to them.[538] Many Northern Mods were connected through 'a structure of feeling'. The concept was created by Williams to explain the way in which the working-class experienced social and economic life through cultural terms.[539] Using William's 'structure of feeling', Gildart suggests that popular music and youth culture provided many working-class youths with their own structure of feeling that 'connected them to a culture that was in decline', but 'continued to leave traces in the individual and collective memory.'[540] To many working-class youths, class remained an important element that provided a sense of 'imagined' or 'real' experience of collective identity maintained through the involvement with a youth culture.[541] As one Newcastle Mod stated, 'it was a struggle for everybody to get the scooter right, to get the clothes.'[542] One Newcastle Mod who lived in Essex during the Revival noted how the class divide was more noticeable in the South. They stated that it was 'a massive thing' especially with clothing as while their friends were wearing Fred Perry jumpers, they had 'normal jumpers with no badges on' and as a result was looked down upon also due to their parents' jobs.[543] While young people in the North may have been

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[536] Interview with MB.
[537] Interview with RD.
[538] Interview with BA.
[539] Williams, R. (1977). *Marxism and literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Page 132. Cited in Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 4.
[540] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 4.
[541] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 4.
[542] Interview with JM.
[543] Interview with A.

buying the clothes and adopting the Mod lifestyle, their everyday lives were still punctuated by the social climate and class-based society of the region.[544]

The North had been described as 'the land of the working-class' with class strongly linked to Northern identity.[545] As such Mods experience was shaped through a Northern discourse. To be Northern imbues the qualities of hard-work, lack of pretension, and to be friendly and generous.[546] Northern Mods held onto aspects of the 'industrial working-class culture from which had emerged.'[547] Mod culture in the North was characterised by a make-do attitude that participants prided themselves on. In one Modzine a Northern Mod wrote in to comment on the moaning from Southern Mods, stating 'you don't hear me moaning 'cause I can't afford this or that, or go to here or there; I get by ok.'[548] As Gildart highlights, Mod provided the working-class youth of industrial Northern towns the chance to temporarily forget work, and through the adornment of a suit and visiting nightclubs they could remove themselves from their normal drudgery.[549] This idea of friendliness permeated the subculture in the North  and was a feature highlighted by all participants. Like the sixties, the social aspect was more important to Northern Mods than the style. A Mod from Liverpool recalled that Mod 'was never a style thing like it was down South, more of a matey thing.'[550]  One Newcastle Mod stated that 'Mods in the North like the banter. If you can't get the piss taken out of you, forget it.'[551] This was a view shared by a Southern Mod who later moved to Liverpool. He noted how Mods in the 'North were more friendly they'd talk to you. Down South they were really rude.'[552] The fact that Mods in the North all came from the same working-class background created a regional loyalty that was not defined by

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[544] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 96.

[545] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 24.

[546] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 277.

[547] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 125.

[548] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.a.679. *The High Standard*. Magazine. Issue 1. 1980. Page 1.

[549] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 115.

[550] Interview with P.

[551] Interview with GN.

[552] Interview with GS.

elitism like it was in London. As another Newcastle Mod said, 'Northerners accepted you for who you were not by your bank balance or the way you talk. Everybody was the same.'[553]

Ideas surrounding Northerness had created a separation between the Southern and Northern Mods. Spatialization of England is constructed around London with its outer regions taking different 'mytho-poetic positions irrespective of their detailed realities.'[554] Russell argues that most people outside of the North have come to understand it through versions encountered in the 'field of culture' rather than lived experience of the region.[555] Many of these views have been constructed from the capital and its immediate environs which has ultimately led to the region being rigidly defined in popular mentalities as 'inferior' and 'other'.[556] The gradation from South to North marks a further shading of decreasing 'cultural sophistication' with the North coming to represent a 'hellish industrial' landscape, and the South with 'refinement to the point of indolence.'[557] As a result, Bushell concluded that 'Northern Mods were sneered at by the Southerners who put music and fashion first. In general the two worlds were and quite separate.'[558] While taking influences from the South, Northern Mods developed their own style in opposition to the London scene. The lead singer of the Huddersfield band the Killermeters, Vic Vespa, stated:

> usually something happens in the South and the rest of the country follows, but with Mod the Southerners seem to be trying to change something that's our own, and that won't happen because we've got something special here.[559]

[553] Interview with A.

[554] Shields, R. (1991). *Places on the margin: Alternative geographies of modernity*. London: Routledge. Page 214 and 215.

[555] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 4.

[556] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 8.

[557] Shields, R. (1991). *Places on the margin: Alternative geographies of modernity*. London: Routledge. Page 214 and 215.

[558] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 69. This extract was taken from Bushell's article Mod at the Crossroads (August 11, 1979).

[559] Bushell, G. Northern Mod: The shocking truth, Yorkshire. *Sounds*. October, 1979. Cited in Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 98.

Despite there being an overall identity that Northern Mods shared, there was still many differences regionally. Cohen argued that 'environmental boundaries' help signify 'group boundaries' gaining subcultural value as a communal space asserts a group unity.[560] While individuals may identify loosely with others from the North, their personal sense of Northerness is imagined more regionally in local terms reflecting local allegiances.[561] As Briggs noted, 'the concept of a homogenous North… is a dangerous simplification,' as there a multiple regional identities within the North.[562] The North then is made up of a 'complex web of territorial allegiances.[563] This supports Mason's argument that in a hierarchy of loyalties, commitment to 'family, street, town and nation will usually come before region.'[564] As a result, within each region, Mods would identify more closely to their local town. One example was that each town had their own set of scooter clubs as one participant stated, 'there'd be Manchester, Liverpool, the Welsh lot and they'd have big fights.'[565] Williams has argued that a danger of mass culture is the negative effect of threatening to erode distinctive local cultures creating a homogenised single global culture.[566]

It has been argued that globalisation does not destroy local or regional differences, but can in fact work to enhance such differences. Lull introduced the term 'cultural reterritorialisation' to describe how global commodities can be 'reworked' by local audiences so that their meaning become inextricably linked to the everyday setting in which they are situated.[567] The elements that make up 'cultural territory' – symbols, lifestyles, artefacts – are all exposed to reinterpretation, and therefore,

[560] Cohen, P. (1997). Subcultural conflict and working-class community. In P. Cohen (Ed.) *Rethinking the youth question: Education, labour and cultural studies* (pp. 48-63). Basingstoke: Macmillan. Page 60.

[561] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 258.

[562] Briggs, A. (1966). Issues in Northern history, *Northern History*. Page 3. Cited in Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 19.

[563] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 258 and 259.

[564] Mason, T. (1996). Football, sport of the North. In J. Hill, & J. Williams (Eds.) *Sport and identity in the North of England*. Keele: Keele University Press. Page 50. Cited in Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 273.

[565] Interview with GS.

[566] Williams, R. (1980). *Problems in materialism and culture*. London: New Left Books.

[567] Lull, J. (1995). *Media, communication, culture: A global approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Page 160. Cited in Bennett, A. (2000). *Popular music and youth culture: Music, identity, and place*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. Page 54.

reterritotialisation is an active process of cultural selection of the familiar and new.[568] Local specificity

means that while global influences are incorporated and accepted, their remains local variations that

can be continuously reinvented.[569] The lack of any formal fixed existence means the North is 'as much

a state of mind as a place.'[570] As such, participants idea of Northern identity varied from each region

within the North.

Since the sixties Mods had been labelled effeminate for a number or reasons including their style.

One reason was the Mod's drug of choice, amphetamines, caused a lack of libido which led to the

notion that male Mods were not interested in girls.[571] Also their transport choice of scooters had been

labelled as 'hairdryers' and anyone riding them were seen as 'unmanly' or 'morally suspect'.[572] A

Huddersfield Mod revealed that this stigmatisation was still present during the Revival stating that

'people saw us as soft and wanted to pick on us because they saw us as slightly effeminate.'[573]

However, in the North this was not the case as another participant told that 'the Mod scene seemed

to attract all the toughest lads in the town and there was some really hardcase lads in amongst us.'[574]

Russell argues that the North has been labelled as more masculine than the effeminate South, as the

North is seen as a region of industry and demanding physical labour.[575] As Weight argues, one main

reason as to why Mod was experienced differently in the North compared to the South was that

Northern participants 'clung to a more traditional masculinity than their southern counterparts.'[576]

This created some separation between the Northern and Southern scenes as while Southern Mods

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[568] Lull, J. (1995). *Media, communication, culture: A global approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Page 160 and 161. Cited in Bennett, A. (2000). *Popular music and youth culture: Music, identity, and place*. Basingstoke: Macmillan. Page 54.

[569] Massey, D. (1998). The spatial construction of youth cultures. In T. Skelton & G. Valentine (Eds.) *Cool places: Geographies of youth cultures* (pp. 121-129). London: Routledge. Page 122.

[570] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 14.

[571] Jachimiak, P.H. (2018). "Poofs Wear Lacquer, Don't They, Eh?": Quadrophenia and the Queerness of Mod Culture. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 173-197). London: Palgrave. Page 181.

[572] Jachimiak, P.H. (2018). "Poofs Wear Lacquer, Don't They, Eh?": Quadrophenia and the Queerness of Mod Culture. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 173-197). London: Palgrave. Page 184.

[573] Interview with MB.

[574] Interview with IN.

[575] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 38 and 39.

[576] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 189.

believed that Northerners were inferior, Northern Mods labelled Southerners as 'Cockney wimps',[577]

and 'Southern softies'.[578] Northern Mods upheld the idea that they were 'tough guys' due to the

industrial nature of their physically demanding jobs, which included 'the steel industry, the coal mines,

the shipbuilding industry.'[579]

During the Revival, women played an integral role within the Northern scene. While the subculture

was still male dominated, one participant noted how woman made up 'a good thirty, forty percent of

the whole scene.'[580] This stood in stark contrast to the London scene, as Terry Rawlings remarked how

during the Revival 'there were no girls and I mean none whatsoever.'[581] In the North, participants

noted how women 'were into all the music' and 'dressed in all the latest fashions.'[582] As such, they

'were classed equal' taking an active role in all aspects of the culture.[583] One aspect of the culture that

women became more involved in was the scooters which was a key part of Northern Mod identity.

Many participants recalled how 'quite a few of the girls at the time had their own scooters.'[584] This

was picked up by Modzines at the time that noted how at scooter events 'scoots were about 70% Mod

with an encouraging amount of girls on their own scoots.'[585] This made female Mods feel empowered

as they had their own independence and in one article a female Mod noted how 'girls are more

important than they were in the sixties.'[586] Northern female Mods involvement within the scooter

scene was seen as progressive to female Mods in the South. One Southern female Mod wrote into a

Modzine congratulating Northern Mods for 'including girls as equals where scooters are concerned.

So from one southern lady with soul I say to Cockney lads wake up.'[587]

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[577] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 101.
[578] Interview with IN.
[579] Interview with IN.
[580] Interview with JM.
[581] Rawlings, T., & Barnes, R. (2000). *MOD: Clean living under difficult circumstances: A very British phenomenon*. London: Omnibus Press. Page 164.
[582] Interview with IN.
[583] Interview with JM.
[584] Interview with JM.
[585] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.564. *Swing like 60!*. Magazine. Issue 2. Page 6 and 7.
[586] Boseley, S. (1984, August 25). Scooter rebels with a nostalgic cause. *The Guardian*.
[587] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.411. *The new stylist*. Magazine. Issue 3. 1983. Page 27.

Despite their involvement within the scene there still appeared to be separation between males and females in certain areas. One aspect that remained separate in the early days was the scooter rallies, as one Mod stated, 'they never used to go away on the rallies. The rallies were sort of an all-male sort of domain.'[588] This is possibly due to the fact that many rallies were used as a drinking trip where there was violence. One Mod from Barrow noted that scooter rallies were about 'getting there as quick as you can, park up, get in the pub.'[589] McRobbie and Garber argued that girls' absence can be attributed to the stricter parental control of their leisure time. As a result, girls often discover alternative ways of engaging within a subculture using the territory available to them whether that be at home, their own social venues, or select events.[590] It was clear that in the North female Mods did have their own spaces to engage with the subculture, as one Barrow Mod noted that the girls would 'go out with their mates and meet us later in the nightclub.'[591] This supports McRobbie's argument that Mod's fluidity and ambiguity allowed women to enjoy the subculture independently without their involvement being defined by having a Mod boyfriend with participation based on lifestyle choices.[592]

The Mods used within this interview all suggested that race was never an issue within the Mod scene itself, as the subculture covered 'class or creed. You were a Mod and that was it.'[593] Mick Wheeler, a prominent Revival Mod stated, 'I didn't see any difference if you were black or white. What mattered was: are you a Mod or not?'[594] While some suggest that there may have been 'Mod racists', it was down to people's personal views and this was not something shared in the subculture.[595] It was clear that Mods in the North during the time understood that the Mod scene was heavily influenced by Black culture and without it the scene would not have existed, as one Newcastle Mod stated 'we've

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[588] Interview with IN.
[589] Interview with IN.
[590] McRobbie, A. & Garber, J. (1976). Girls and Subcultures. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 209-222). London: Routledge. Page 219.
[591] Interview with IN.
[592] McRobbie, A. & Garber, J. (1976). Girls and Subcultures. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 209-222). London: Routledge. Page 217.
[593] Interview with C9.
[594] Verguren, E. (2004). *This is a modern life: The 1980s London Mod scene*. London: Helter Skelter Publishing. Page 87.
[595] Interview with JM.

never understood why you could love the music that we do and then be racist.'[596] While there were large immigrant populations in Northern working-class towns, no participants mentioned the inclusion of black or Asian Mods within their scene. Instead, it was suggested that Mod was a predominantly white working-class subculture. The Ska scene that had emerged during the period seemed to attract a larger contingent of black and Asian youths.

One group that was identified as being racist was the 'Oi Skinheads.'[597] Many participants noted how 'Skinheads would fight with anybody.'[598] A Liverpool Mod noted how the fascist influence came into scootering events as they were shared with Skinheads and Scooterboys who were more likely to hold racist views and from 'about late '82 early '83 and it just got worse.'[599] At one Desmond Dekker Ska gig in 1982, one participant remembers a number of Skinheads jumping on stage and 'zeig heiling', an experience other participants witnessed at gigs.[600] Simonelli argues that Skinheads resorted to violence against other races as a conscious political act to reassert 'traditional' working-class values.[601] By identifying particular groups such as Asians, Afro-Caribbeans, homosexuals, that they believed were 'deviant' against the British working-class, Skinheads believed their acts of violence would 'preserve their sense of community and traditions.'[602] Simonelli contends that Skinheads' worst contention was the mistaken notion that violence was 'a working-class virtue and a working-class reality.'[603]

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[596] Interview with GL.
[597] Interview with GN.
[598] Interview with C9.
[599] Interview with JM.
[600] Interview with JM.
[601] Simonelli, D. (2002). Anarchy, pop and violence: Punk rock subculture and the rhetoric of class, 1976-78. *Contemporary British History, 16*(2), 121-144. doi:10.1080/713999447. Page 135.
[602] Simonelli, D. (2002). Anarchy, pop and violence: Punk rock subculture and the rhetoric of class, 1976-78. *Contemporary British History, 16*(2), 121-144. doi:10.1080/713999447. Page 135.
[603] Simonelli, D. (2002). Anarchy, pop and violence: Punk rock subculture and the rhetoric of class, 1976-78. *Contemporary British History, 16*(2), 121-144. doi:10.1080/713999447. Page 135.

Northern Mod identity during the Revival was experienced through a Northern discourse that impacted the masculinity of Mod and created a 'structure of felling' holding onto class elements. While many have suggested that Revival Mods attempted to rob the past recreating a nostalgic culture, this was not the case. Mod's multifaceted nature allowed it to be adapted by Mods in the North to revolt against the contemporary climate and allowed for variations between locations. The creation of an 'imagined community' helped to provide unity within the subculture whilst allowing for individuality.

# Chapter 3: *Clean living under difficult circumstances –* Northern Mod in practice

Mod in the North during the Revival was heavily shaped by the economic and social climate creating a version parallel to that of London. While the scene in London was elitist, Mod in the North, with less access to networks and commodities created a version that was influenced by the social and cultural specificity of the region. Engaging with concepts of spatial theory, this chapter will explore the various influences and networks of the Northern scene to analyse the distinctiveness of Northern Mod. It will be argued that Mod's experiences were shaped by the networks they gathered in and the availability to clothing, music, and events. Differing influences and networks created local variations within the region and allowed mods from differing areas to adopt and adapt Mod to suit their locality.

Participants had to be aware of where and when events are taking place, and learn about the styles and music that create the identity to which they belong. Many participants in the North had very few influences to provide them with information about the scene. One of the main influences came from the music press, including 'the NME and Sounds' which one participant noted 'everybody got those every week'.[604] Another stated that 'if you missed it one week you wouldn't have seen' the latest news regarding events, music, and styles.[605] While there may have been events taking place or local networks for Mods, the ability to access the information about the scene was equally important. Many Modzines advertised information about local scenes, with one noting how there were two Mod societies in Lancashire.[606] However, a participant from Colne in Lancashire noted how he and his friends 'were probably the only four Mods in Colne' struggling to find other Mods in the area.[607] The creation of networks was vital to participation within the subculture.

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[604] Interview with GL.
[605] Interview with RD.
[606] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.564. *Swing like 60!.* Magazine. Issue 2. Page 7.
[607] Interview with RD.

During the Revival many participants relied on hearing about events from friends as news was spread 'mainly by word of mouth.'[608] Williams notes how subcultural knowledge is transmitted through 'communication interlocks,' which spreads via the multiple networks that people belong to.[609] Networks are not organised into distinct scales, but rather are 'complicated nets of interrelations' that draw upon a scattered system of contacts and influences from a variety of locations.[610] The dispersal of subcultural information and the growth of a subculture is dependent on the 'contagion effect' whereby information is transferred via friendship networks at a local level, and nationally spread through the mass media.[611] Centralised locations allowed for Mods to develop their style by 'seeing what somebody was wearing.'[612] One participant from Newcastle noted how he would meet his friends every Saturday morning outside a local café called Mr Biggs. Here they would interact with one another to 'swap scooter parts, badges, listen to music' and share styles.[613] Cities are important not for the number of people living there, but the concentration of a population in a relatively small geographical area which increases the chance of subcultural interaction to share information creating a shared identity.[614] Subcultural elements may be adopted through interaction with outside influences and participant everyday lives which may transform aspects of the subculture or incorporate completely new ones into the 'subcultural system'.[615] Networks not only cultivate new styles and ideas that may not have been possible, but they also help to reinforce stylistic preferences, generate shared conventions of understanding, and maintain subcultural commitment.[616]

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[608] Judd, J. (1980, April 13). Beware the Mods; Brighton. *The Observer*. Page 4.

[609] Williams, J. (2011). *Subcultural theory: traditions and concepts*. Cambridge: Polity. Page 107.

[610] Massey, D. (1998). The spatial construction of youth cultures. In T. Skelton & G. Valentine (Eds.) *Cool places: Geographies of youth cultures* (pp. 121-129). London: Routledge. Page 124.

[611] Stevenson, R. (1978). *Sex Pistols File*. Suffolk: Panda Press. Cited in Campbell, A. & Muncer, S. (1989). Them and us: A comparison of the cultural context of American gangs and British subcultures. *Deviant Behaviour*, 10:3, 271-288, DOI: 10.1080/01639625.1989.9967815. Page 276.

[612] Interview with MB.

[613] Interview with GN.

[614] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 87.

[615] Fine, G. A., & Kleinman, S. (1979). Rethinking subculture: An interactionist analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(1), 1-20. doi:10.1086/226971. Page 6.

[616] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 37.

Access to networks varied between locations and the ability to access these networks shaped participants' experience of Mod. Crossley argued that 'norms of trust, cooperation and mutual support' cultivated within a social network, alongside a feeling of solidarity and collective identity, can generate new possibilities for those individuals involved with that network.[617] Therefore, individuals who are part of a smaller network or isolated from any network will miss out on multiple experiences and influences that are available to individuals part of a larger network. Smaller groups may fail to 'generate the buzz' required to make subcultural participation rewarding and exciting as participants may feel vulnerable taking part in a scene that few others are involved with. In that sense, larger numbers may help to generate a meaningful scene with more to offer to its participants.[618]

While many shared overarching style and influences, each city was shaped by the influences it had available to it creating its own version of Mod. As Crossley correctly asserts, 'differently structured networks can generate different opportunities and constraints' for participants, making particular courses of action less or more likely.[619] This is reinforced by Blumer's argument that actors who are co-involved in particular milieus generate shared meanings through interaction, that become integral elements of the milieus and create a distinct sense of belonging to a 'world'.[620] This 'world' can therefore be defined as a social or physical 'space' based on shared interests, meanings, objects, and practices through repeated interactions.[621] As such, Mods in different areas generated different ideas around what was considered Mod utilising what they had available to them.

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[617] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 37.

[618] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 81.

[619] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 14.

[620] Blumer, H. (1969). Collective Behaviour. In McClung-Lee, A. (Eds.) *Principles of Sociology*. (166– 222.) New York: Barnes & Noble. Cited in Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 29.

[621] Blumer, H. (1969). Collective Behaviour. In McClung-Lee, A. (Eds.) *Principles of Sociology*. (166– 222.) New York: Barnes & Noble. Cited in Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 29.

Influences in each city affected how participants experienced Mod. As Russell notes, the North of England has been the 'site of internal economic, political and cultural tensions' causing a number of sub-regional and local identities to emerge.[622] Fine and Kleinman argued that it is possible for individuals to be members of several subcultural groups simultaneously with elements from one group overlapping or being introduced to the other.[623] For example, in the case of Liverpool the scene was heavily influenced by the casual scene and as such many members chose to 'cross over' between the two styles.[624] While to many this was be classed as going against the Mod style, here it was considered the Mod thing to do. As a result the style that was adapted changed and many Liverpool Mods began to dress 'more casual Mod, street Mod.'[625] This was the case in other areas of the North where football played significant role in local culture, such as in Newcastle with one participant noting 'a lot of the lads in the local Mod scene were into their football as well.'[626] Many Casuals in these cities would attend Mod gigs having no issues with Mods but rather with what football team they supported. One Newcastle Mod recalled having 'bricks and bottles' thrown at them after the 1979 March of the Mods gig at the Rock Garden in Middlesbrough, because a group of Middlesbrough casuals spotted they were from Newcastle.[627] The participant noted how it was 'nothing to do with the music, nothing to do with the clothes, all to do with football.'[628] In other areas of the country, particularly in the South there was a 'very strong dislike for casuals.'[629] This was noted by a Liverpool Mod who stated that 'apparently in the rest of the country they were at each other's throats. But that was not the case in Liverpool.'[630] This proves the fluidity of Mod and how the inability to define the culture allows its participants to adopt what is available to them and shape it to suit their own needs.

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[622] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 19.

[623] Fine, G. A., & Kleinman, S. (1979). Rethinking subculture: An interactionist analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(1), 1-20. doi:10.1086/226971. Page 10.

[624] Interview with PF.

[625] Interview with JM.

[626] Interview with IN.

[627] Interview with GL.

[628] Interview with GL.

[629] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.d.46. *007.* Magazine. Issue 2. 1985. Page 9.

[630] Interview with JM.

With regard to music, one Modzine editor, having travelled to events around the country noted that 'depending on everybody's different tastes, one type of music is being played more than the other.'[631] Lack of access to the music and the slower development of Mod in the North meant that many in the North were still listening to Soul and Motown when Southerners had moved onto 'Mod Revival music'.[632] Northern Mods had 'a more direct link with original sixties Modernism' resulting in the adoption of more elements of the original movement.[633] One Newcastle Mod who lived in Essex during the Revival noted that not many of his Newcastle friends 'liked Mod tunes like Secret Affair or The Lambrettas', instead listening to 'the more traditional stuff, like The Who, Small Faces, The Kinks'.[634] There was a clear inability to access information regarding gigs and getting hold of the latest releases. One Mod in Huddersfield stated that there were market stalls that sold 'ex-jukebox records and you could get a lot of old stuff' but they only sold 'one or two of the newer ones.'[635] For those that had heard of the Mod Revival bands there was a frustration of not being able to see them. One letter stated that while Mods in the North-West had 'read a lot about bands like Secret Affair, The Chords, Purple Hearts, Back to Zero' they had 'never seen or heard any.'[636]

The formation of a local scene is dependent on the formation of venues that cater for the subcultural participants and places for participants to meet up. Places become network 'foci' as they attract people who are into the same music or style bringing together like-minded people and thus increasing the chance of meeting other subcultural participants, forming ties, and diffusing subcultural information.[637] Foci exert the influence they do, often because they acquire a reputation. An increased reputation boosts the inflow of particular customers allowing it to specialise to cater better for its

[631] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.506. *Face to face.* Magazine. Issue 6. 1980. Page 5.

[632] Interview with A.

[633] Bushell, G. Northern Mod: The shocking truth, Yorkshire. *Sounds*. October, 1979. Cited in Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 93.

[634] Interview with A.

[635] Interview with B.

[636] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 6. 1979. Page 4.

[637] Feld, S. (1981). The Focused Organisation of Social Ties, *American Journal of Sociology*, 86: 1015– 35. Cited in Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 41.

customers and increasing its reputation further to become 'the place to be.'[638] As a result each local scene had its own sites of interest and events and as one Mod said 'each town had a specific series of pubs and venues.'[639] For example, in Barrow the local Mod scene revolved around 'The Steelworks pub' where Mods would meet 'every Thursday, Friday and Saturday night.'[640] The networks formed at these foci provide the focal spaces for subcultural participants to meet and contribute to the development of the subculture.[641]

While Mods had their own local scenes, the larger cities operated as 'centralised magnet points' for Mods from surrounding areas to access networks and subcultural commodities that their local scene could not offer.[642] As one Mod noted, while you could 'get the basics' in Barrow, 'if you wanted to be a little bit more unique you'd have to go to Manchester.'[643] Bigger cities better facilitate innovation than smaller towns. Cities house larger populations which means minorities, such as Mods, are likely to exist in more significant numbers creating more networks for subcultural participants.[644] For those in the North, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Newcastle were highlighted as having the most Mod activity. One respondent recalled in Liverpool there being 'six different scooter clubs, with four or five club nights every Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.'[645] Larger cities were able to uphold a Mod scene due to the 'critical mass' of people visiting there.[646] Larger populations provide the platform for clubs and shops to open to cater for their stylistic and behavioural needs.[647] When these larger cities established a thriving Mod scene they became the location for numerous events. The original 1979 March of the Mods tour featured number of dates in Northern clubs including 'Scarborough

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[638] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 42.
[639] Interview with MB.
[640] Interview with IN.
[641] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 42.
[642] Interview with RD.
[643] Interview with IN.
[644] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 40.
[645] Interview with JM.
[646] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 85.
[647] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 40.

Penthouse, Manchester Factory, Newcastle Mayfair and Eric's Liverpool'.[648] One participant recalled going to the date in Liverpool and remembers seeing 'about seven Mod bands'.[649] The same participant noted how 'Eric's used to have all the Mod Bands on: Secret Affair, The Chords, The Jam, they had them all on.'[650]

Larger scenes encourage competition between shops and clubs to 'carve out a distinct niche.'[651] For example, In Manchester the International club would hold 'Soul/Blues/RnB night' every Thursday run by 'Roger Eagle, a sixties DJ of impeccable taste and credentials' to stand out from competitors.[652] In Liverpool, one participant stated that initially there were no Mod venues and so started a weekly Mod night at Speak Rugby Club. This eventually grew so popular other venues decided to copy and put on their own Mod evenings playing different types of music.[653] Those who could not access these cities were limited to local scenes that did not cater as well as larger ones. As one Northern Mod complained, 'living out here in the 'wilds' of Yorkshire, I don't get to go to many Mod only clubs.'[654] Larger cities allowed its participants to access information and commodities that Mods from smaller networks could not. One Huddersfield Mod noted being 'jealous of some guys from Leeds' that used to visit their club as 'Leeds was the big metropolis then.'[655] As the Leeds Mods had access to more networks and commodities, when they visited the Huddersfield clubs they were the smartest best dressed Mods.'[656] Objects and meaning are not created from nothing, rather they are adapted by the subculture and transformed to suit their new context.[657] As such, subcultural participants are limited to the objects they have available to them at any given time and place.

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[648] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 61 and 62.
[649] Interview with JM.
[650] Interview with JM.
[651] Crossley, N. (2015). *Networks of sound, style and subversion: the punk and post-punk worlds of Manchester, London, Liverpool and Sheffield, 1975-80*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 40.
[652] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.564.*Swing like 60!*. Magazine. Issue 2. Page 19.
[653] Interview with JM.
[654] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.a.679. *The High Standard*. Magazine. Issue 1. 1980. Page 1.
[655] Interview with BA.
[656] Interview with BA.
[657] Clarke, J. (2000). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 178.

Even while there were cities in the North that catered for Mods, they were still behind the London scene. Many London Mods regarded those outside of London, especially those in the North, as behind the times with one stating that the Northern scene was 'an embryonic movement crawling at a snail's pace'.[658] With larger networks London Mods could 'get the fashions before' Northern Mods and 'had more shops selling the clothes'.[659] The greater access to clothing stores allowed London Mods to 'get the original look quicker' and changing their style more regularly based on a wider pool of information.[660] Iain Chambers argues that in order for subcultural participants to be truly different, the physical aspects of identity must come from mixed sources. Subcultural participants must choose from what is available in shops, on the market, and what one desires in order to produce a 'distinctive and personalised' style.[661] The London version of Mod, with a greater access to networks and shops created a more exclusive style with many Northern Mods referring to them as the 'London Mod elite'.[662] Mods within London noted that 'they're going to kill off the scene with their attitude.'[663] Even towns just outside of London struggled to keep up with the pace of the capital. One London Mod noted that after a trip to Swindon to see Squire perform, the Mods there were 'really enthusiastic, but were way behind on the London scene regarding clothes, style, music.'[664]

Many Modzines offered advice on where Mods could get clothing. Often they would suggest rummaging through 'charity shops' or going 'down to London.'[665] Many Northern Mods commented on how Southern Mods 'had better clothes' and as a result many Mods would travel to London 'every chance they got buying stuff from Kings Road and Carnaby Street.'[666] One couple from Newcastle noted how they went to Kings Road in London to buy original US parkas, stating that 'we were probably

[658] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.506. *Face to face.* Magazine. Issue 4. 1980. Page 9.
[659] Interview with S.
[660] Interview with JM.
[661] Chambers, I. (1986). *Popular Culture: The Metropolitan Experience.* London: Methuen. Page 11.
[662] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.a.679. *The High Standard*. Magazine. Issue 1. 1980. Page 1.
[663] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.411. *The new stylist*. Magazine. Issue 2. 1983. Page 3.
[664] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.411. *The new stylist*. Magazine. Issue 3. 1983. Page 4.
[665] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.555. *Repeated patterns.* Magazine. Issue 2. 1983. Page 26.
[666] Interview with GL.

some of the first up here to have those', as other Northerners could only get British copies.[667] One Liverpool Mod noted that his group of friends would have to travel to London 'to get hold of some gear' as there were certain items such as 'proper original sixties style tailored shirts' that were unavailable in the major cities in their region.[668] Having seen all the shops and networks available to London Mods he noted that they 'had it easy.'[669] This frustration was shared by many Northern Mods, with one writing to *Maximum Speed* that 'you can't even buy the right gear up here. We have to hunt around Oxfam shops or travel down to London to buy a button down shirt or a jacket.'[670] The story was similar with music. One Mod angrily wrote in a Modzine, 'think yourselves lucky, all you pampered southerners with bands on your doorstep.'[671] Another Mod noted how The Jam is the only band to have played in their area and as a result had to 'travel down to London to see groups such as The Chords and the Purple Hearts.'[672]

With fewer networks and information available to them, many in the North followed a more mediated commercial style of Mod setting their own styles. While certain outputs from London were used, the biggest example being *Quadrophenia*, Northern Mods chose what aspects they felt were relevant to them and created their own version mixing elements of Mod that those in the South would not have been aware of. In the North a 'do-it-yourself attitude' emerged creating their own version with what income and commodities were available.[673] The availability to money affected a participant's experience of the subculture. A larger or smaller income undoubtedly allowed participants to 'access the market in different ways.'[674] One participant who stated that they 'didn't earn anything at the time' commented how outfits were often made up of 'whatever you could put together' on a limited

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[667] Interview with GL.
[668] Interview with JM.
[669] Interview with JM.
[670] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 7. 1979. Page 7.
[671] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.564. *Swing like 60!*. Magazine. Issue 2. Page 1.
[672] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 7. 1979. Page 7.
[673] Gildart, K. (2013). *Images of England through popular music: Class, youth and Rock 'n' Roll, 1955-1976*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 108.
[674] Caputo, V. (1995). Anthropology's silent 'others': A consideration of some conceptual and methodological issues for the study of youth and children's cultures. In H. Wulff (Ed.) *Youth cultures: A cross-cultural perspective* (pp. 19-42). London: Routledge. Page 36.

budget.[675] One participant noted that because some Mods spent all their income on scooter, they 'couldn't afford the suits, couldn't afford the clothing'.[676] However, they perceived it as 'I'm a Mod and as long as me scooter's running, I've got a green parka, a pair of desert boots.'[677] In places such as Newcastle were Mods found it 'hard to get the right gear and look', many Mods made their own items of clothing or we lucky enough to get items 'off original Mods in the sixties of family members.'[678]

What emerged was a far more casual Mod in the North as opposed the those in London who 'always seemed to be dressed in a suit no matter what they were doing'.[679] That is not to say that those in the South were not also hit hard by economic and political pressures, with Paul Weller himself having grown up in Woking on a council estate with no hot water or inside toilet.[680] However, Mods in the North placed less importance on style due to their inability to afford it or find it within a limited market. Many London Mods could not understand the more relaxed Mod style of those in the North with one stating it was 'a load of hypocritical shit. How the hell can anyone have the nerve to call themselves Mod and not to be concerned about their dress.'[681] Mods in the North adapted their look to suit their needs as one noted 'you've got your casual way, your smart way, your practical way.'[682] One Huddersfield Mod stated 'we'd wear a Harrington, a Fred Perry and jeans and maybe put on a suit on at the weekend.'[683] The lack of money meant that for many Mods their clothing was not the priority as they could not afford to buy new styles every week with one Newcastle Mod noting that many Mods would buy their clothing on finance and wear it 'until it was dropping to bits.'[684]

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[675] Interview with LA.
[676] Interview with GN.
[677] Interview with GN.
[678] Interview with GL.
[679] Interview with RD.
[680] Simonelli, D. (2002). Anarchy, pop and violence: Punk rock subculture and the rhetoric of class, 1976-78. *Contemporary British History, 16*(2), 121-144. doi:10.1080/713999447. Page 138 and 139.
[681] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.411. *The new stylist*. Magazine. Issue 3. 1983. Page 4.
[682] Interview with PF.
[683] Interview with RD.
[684] Interview with GN. Another Newcastle Mod noted that because they lacked the money to buy bowling shoes, the local Mods would 'nick them from the bowling alley.'

A limited income and access to shops meant that Northern Mods shopped mainly in 'charity shops, second-hand markets and the army surplus shop to pick up a parka.'[685] Second-hand markets and shops 'offered an oasis of cheapness,' allowing young people at a time of economic recession to be part of a subculture.[686] The second-hand shops provided their role as what Bourdieu termed a 'new cultural intermediary,' symbolically and materially presenting and representing desired or new subcultural styles.[687] The work of the retailers is shaped by the cultural and economic climate. Retailers must have the skillset and access to sell and source the right commodities, but they must also have the appropriate understanding of their products and services for them to be desirable by subcultural participants.[688] Mods in the North, relying on second-hand stores and limited networks found that 'you couldn't always get a full set of clothes that you were looking for, it might take a couple of weeks to pull together.'[689] When travelling to London, one Mod noted that 'there was a lot more clothing accessibility down there'.[690] However, he noted that most items were 'brand-new manufactured', compared to the 'original second-hand' clothing that he was buying up North.[691] Working-class Northern Mods placed more importance on 'buying original clothes' compared to 'brand new off the shelf' items.[692] Northern Mods attempted to create an authentic look by searching for 'original sixties gear' which 'you could still get then'.[693] As one *Observer* article noted, this lead to 'the second-hand market flourishing.'[694] Jenβ argues that material objects act as 'original witnesses to cultural history' allowing subculturalists to get 'in touch' with the period they wish to recreate.[695] Original objects are legitimised through history and perceived as authentic and this 'supposed authenticity' 'rubs off' onto

[685] Interview with B.
[686] McRobbie, A. (2005). Second-hand dresses and the role of the ragmarket. In K. Gelder (Ed.) *The subcultural reader*. (2nd ed.) (pp. 132-139). London: Routledge. Page 134.
[687] Bourdieu, P. (2010). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge. Page 366.
[688] Baker, S. E. (2012). "Retailing Retro: Class, Cultural Capital and the Material Practices of the (Re)valuation of Style." *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15. 5: 621-641. Print. Page 635.
[689] Interview with BA.
[690] Interview with BA.
[691] Interview with BA.
[692] Interview with LA.
[693] Interview with LA.
[694] Judd, J. (1980, April 13). Beware the Mods; Brighton. *The Observer*. Page 4.
[695] Jenβ, H. (2004). Dressed in History: Retro Styles and the Construction of Authenticity in Youth Culture. *Fashion Theory* 8.4, 387-404. Page 390.

the wearer of the original items.[696] Mods would 'score points for finding original Fred Perry shirts or cheap pairs of ski-pants.'[697] One Mod noted the importance of second-hand shops providing an individual style stating 'I would rather spend £5 on clothes in a junk shop than £50 in Carnaby street, as you're less likely to bump into someone with the same gear.'[698]

In the main, Mods stuck to their own areas or regions. As one Mod stated 'everything I did was within a kind of a hundred-mile geography.'[699] The furthest Mods would travel is to national scooter runs, the most popular in the North being Scarborough attracting Mods from all over the North. In the South there were numerous locations that held national scooter rallies such as 'Brighton, Hastings, Margate.'[700] While 'in the early days' Mods might have had to travel to 'Brighton and the Isle of Wight' to access Mod events, as the scene grew by 1979 Northern Mods had more events in the North so had no need to travel South.[701] For example, many Mods in the North West were travelling to places such as Llandudno which recorded '300 to 400 scooter riders' during one August Bank Holiday.[702] The most popular destinations were seaside towns along both the East and West coast and even the smaller less advertised events such as one in Southport recorded 'up to 5,000' scooters.[703] As a result there was a natural split between the Northern and Southern scene as participation to events was split by which 'you could get to easiest.'[704] As both regions had their own scenes and events established there was no real need for the two scenes to cross over. However, it was more common for Mods from the North to travel South to London where they would buy clothes, go to gigs, and check out the scene. One Newcastle Mod noted how Southern Mods were shocked and used to ask them 'well how did you get here? Why are you here?'[705] As Russell has highlighted, one of the main features of the North is

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[696] Jenβ, H. (2004). Dressed in History: Retro Styles and the Construction of Authenticity in Youth Culture. *Fashion Theory* 8.4, 387-404. Page 396.

[697] Boseley, S. (1984, August 25). Scooter rebels with a nostalgic cause. *The Guardian*. Page 3.

[698] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.377. *Pink Flamingo.* Magazine. Issue 1. 1984. Page 17.

[699] Interview with MB.

[700] Interview with A.

[701] Interview with IN.

[702] Liverpool Echo. (1980, August 1). Mods' invasion was relatively peaceful. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 5.

[703] Desmond, P. (1983, September 17). 45 held as Mods rally. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 1.

[704] Interview with LA.

[705] Interview with GL.

that many from outside the region has any experience of it and are often reluctant to visit.[706] One Mod

from Swindon who later moved to Liverpool noted how 'Londoners think the world revolves around

London. They hardly ever leave London.'[707] All Northern participants noted that it was rare for a

Southerner to come to a Northern event with one stating 'I can't remember any Southerners coming

up here.'[708] Just as Northern Mods struggled to find information about the London scene, Londoners

had little knowledge of the scene in the North. A London Modzine noted how The Killermeters, a

Huddersfield band, have fans 'as far North as Newcastle and Hull' and 'in the North they are

considered a Mod band. However, in London no one had ever heard of them until three weeks ago.'[709]

Those in London had no real need to explore the Northern scene as they already had numerous

influences and access to a wide range of shops, bands and events.

There were numerous examples of how the two scenes differed. One notable difference between the

Northern and Southern scenes was the use of drugs. In the South the use of amphetamines by Mods

was common, as one London Mod commented it was not uncommon for 'a few pills' to be

'dropped'.[710] This was also evidenced in the numerous articles relating to arrests during rallies at

Southern seaside towns, which often referred to arrests being made due to 'drug possession'.[711] In

contrast, drugs did not feature heavily in the Northern Mod scene, often with reports mentioning

'drunkenness' instead.[712] During one rally at Scarborough one hundred and forty arrests were made,

of which a police spokesman stated that '95 per cent of arrests were for drink related offenses.'[713] The

Huddersfield band The Killermeters' fans were known as 'Jolly Boys' as their aim was 'to get steamed

out of their boxes every time they go out, in short well and truly jollied up.'[714] Having attended a gig

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[706] Russell, D. (2004). *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 31.

[707] Interview with GS.

[708] Interview with A.

[709] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 6. 1979. Page 8.

[710] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 3. 1979. Page 6.

[711] Chorlton, P. (1981, August 10). 79 held in 'mod' invasion. *The Guardian*. Page 4.

[712] Daily Mail. (1980, April 29). Mod fined £400 for kicking policeman. *Daily Mail*.

[713] Desmond, P. (1983, September 19). Police gym cell for scooterists. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 17.

[714] Bushell, G. Northern Mod: The shocking truth, Yorkshire. *Sounds*. October, 1979. Cited in Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 95.

in Huddersfield one London Mod noted how 'blues incidentally are virtually non-existent up here; beer is the drug of choice.'[715] However, that is not to suggest that all Northern Mods did not do drugs, as one Liverpool Mod recalled that during events they would 'get out of our face, taking uppers and downers, dancing until four in the morning.'[716]

In the North, the lack of income and access to clothing changed the role of participants within the subculture causing a transition from an obsession to style to broader interests of music and scooters.[717] While scooter clubs had never disappeared, they grew substantially between the years of 1979 and 1984, largely to the influence of the Mod Revival.[718] Many scooter clubs became solely Mod scooter clubs such as the ones set up by the participants in the interviews: The Survivors Scooter Club, Ready Steady Go Scooter Club, and Setting Sons Scooter Club.[719] The scooter was more important in the North than the South, with more joining clubs and travelling further to events. One Liverpool Mod stated that 'the scooter was all important.'[720] In comparison, one London Mod commented that 'scooters weren't important at all, they were just transport.'[721] Another London Mod suggested that while London Mods would 'all lover to own scooters' they were not 'practical in London.'[722] This was a view held by many Southern Mods who suggested that 'music and clothes take priority to scooters.'[723] At one event at the Marquee, the Huddersfield band The Killermeters were supporting

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[715] Bushell, G. Northern Mod: The shocking truth, Yorkshire. *Sounds*. October, 1979. Cited in Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 95.
[716] Interview with JM.
[717] Whiteley, N. (1987). Pop design: Modernism to mod. London: Design Council. Page 100 and 101.
[718] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 264.
[719] These badges can be seen below. Appendix 5.
[720] Interview with JM.
[721] Verguren, E. (2004). *This is a modern life: The 1980s London Mod scene*. London: Helter Skelter Publishing. Page 128.
[722] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 5. 1979. Page 11.
[723] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.a.2519. *Fire'n'Skill*. Magazine. Issue 3. 1984. Page 17.
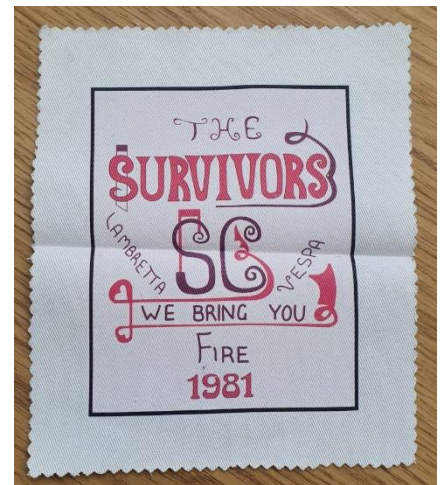
the Chords and asked the crowd 'if anyone had a scooter?' In the North this led to cheers from the audience, but 'in London it was received with total silence.'[724]



Appendix 5 – Setting Sons Scooter Club patch.



Appendix 5 – Ready, Steady, Go! Scooter Club patch.



Appendix 5 – The Survivors Scooter Club patch.

Bushell argues that besides Soul music 'the other constant in the North's evolution were the staple diet of cross-country scooter runs.'[725] The Northern rally locations such as Scarborough appear to have been more popular that the ones down South and in multiple news articles were noted as 'where the trouble began'.[726] Scarborough was often noted as the 'worst hit' with the 'chaos' spreading to southern seaside locations like 'Southend, Brighton, Margate, Clacton' later.[727] There was also a much larger contingent that attended scooter rallies in the North which suggests that Mod in the North had a larger following and certainly that scooter culture was more important. One article stated twenty people were arrested at Clacton and Margate, and fifty arrests were made in Weston-super-Mare after 'an invasion of Mods and Rockers.'[728] In the same article it was noted that 'a record 217 men, aged between 18 and 24, were arrested in Scarborough', with '4,000 Mods' attending the event.[729] The importance of scooter runs in the North continued as in 1982 it was still reported that while 'police

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[724] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 6. 1979. Page 8.
[725] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 7.
[726] White, C. (1980, April 9). A mother's tears of anguish. *Daily Mail.*
[727] Daily Mail. (1980, April 8). Gangs go on new seaside rampage. *Daily Mail.*
[728] Daily Mail. (1980, April 8). Gangs go on new seaside rampage. *Daily Mail.*
[729] Daily Mail. (1980, April 8). Gangs go on new seaside rampage. *Daily Mail.*

headed off a 200-strong band of scooter-riding Mods' in Brighton, in Scarborough '85 youths were arrested after 5,000 scooter riders invaded the resort.'[730]

Hebdige noted how a number of key changes such as the shortage of parts and disappearance of service stations turned many Mods into 'amateur mechanics' altering the relationship between the object and user.[731] As more Mods went on national scooter rallies, the style 'quickly evolved and the dress code changed dramatically.'[732] This divide became evident between the more style conscious Mods and 'the more scooter obsessed Mods' who placed less importance on style, looking for a scene that was 'less bigoted and a tad less anal.''[733] By 1981 a lot of Scooterists started to 'call themselves Scooter Boys'.[734] Paul Lyons stated that 'it was an easy lazy dress code to follow' comprised of Doc Martin's, flat top haircuts, army pants and Fred Perry polos.[735] One Mod from Barrow noted how many would wear denim jackets or parkas with 'scooter rally patches on them'.[736] During the period, in the North, this look was still considered Mod with its links to the scooter, but it did evolve into its own subculture.[737] Mods and Scooterboys 'rubbed shoulders constantly' attending many of the same events and many Mods chose to switch between styles.[738] This led to many Southern Mods taking a derogatory view of the Northern Mod scene believing that all Mods dressed in 'flares' with 'beer towels stitched on their parkas'.[739] The 'London Front' were a group of London Mods that believed 'London is the only place in Britain that represents 1979' directing the hate 'towards Northerners'.[740] They went onto to say 'please do not confuse us with the N.F. Their policy is blacks out – ours is

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[730] Daily Mail. (1982, April 12). You didn't have to be at the pole to feel a chill. *Daily Mail.*
[731] Hebdige, D. (1988). *Hiding in the light: On images and things*. London: Routledge. Page 114.
[732] Interview with IN.
[733] Verguren, E. (2004). *This is a modern life: The 1980s London Mod scene*. London: Helter Skelter Publishing. Page 72.
[734] Interview with GL.
[735] Verguren, E. (2004). *This is a modern life: The 1980s London Mod scene*. London: Helter Skelter Publishing. Page 72.
[736] Interview with IN.
[737] Interview with IN.
[738] Verguren, E. (2004). *This is a modern life: The 1980s London Mod scene*. London: Helter Skelter Publishing. Page 72.
[739] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 5. 1979. Page 12 and 13.
[740] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 6. 1979. Page 4.

Northerners out'.[741] For the London Front, Northern Mods were 'scruffy, mop top, bag wearing, scooter club members.'[742]

Bushell recalled a visit to Huddersfield to watch Secret Affair play, stating that one London Mod had advised against his 'mission of discovery to industrial Yorkshire,' citing the stereotypes of Northern Mods wearing '40-inch flairs and parkas covered in beer-mats and sew on bar towels.'[743] On his arrival Bushell discovered that 'Southern Mods had got it all wrong,' and Huddersfield had a good Mod scene with the local Huddersfield band The Killermeters providing the 'musical mainspring of the whole Northern Mod scene.'[744] The arrival of the local scooter club 'displaying the aforementioned fashion embarrassments,' made Bushell realise that Southern Mods presumptions about the Northern Mod scene was based on the scooter culture and not the Northern Mod scene.[745] Many Northern Mods shared this frustration. A group of Mods from Liverpool wrote to one London Modzine stating that 'Liverpool is for the lads who've been into Mod gear for a good few years now. Us Scousers aren't like those scruffy woolly-back soul-freak Mods with big flares.'[746]

One of the biggest influences during the Revival was The Who's *Quadrophenia*, both the 1973 album and 1979 film. *Quadrophenia* tells the story of Jimmy, a young frustrated Mod and his experiences within the subculture as he tries to negotiate the difficulties of growing up. For Gildart, *Quadrophenia* the album is a 'compelling slice of social history' that should be utilised within the academic analysis of post-war subcultures.[747] The album's seventeen tracks depicted a relatable narrative of everyday life at work, home and leisure for working-class youths reflecting their frustrations, aspirations and

[741] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 6. 1979. Page 4.
[742] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 6. 1979. Page 4.
[743] Bushell, G. Northern Mod: The shocking truth, Yorkshire. *Sounds*. October, 1979. Cited in Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 93.
[744] Bushell, G. Northern Mod: The shocking truth, Yorkshire. *Sounds*. October, 1979. Cited in Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 93.
[745] Bushell, G. Northern Mod: The shocking truth, Yorkshire. *Sounds*. October, 1979. Cited in Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 93.
[746] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 6. 1979. Page 4.
[747] Gildart, K. (2018). Class, Youth, and Dirty Jobs: The Working-Class and Post-War Britain in Pete Townshend's Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 85-118). London: Palgrave. Page 107.

anxieties.[748] Townsend was able to create a 'working-class hero' conveying a sense of period through the inclusion of aspects of British working-class life in the short essay with its accompanying photographs and song lyrics.[749] The photo booklet that accompanied the album was used as a 'style guide to Mod', providing not only a passive illustration, but a vital part of the whole project.[750] Winsworth argued that the Mod Revival was 'undoubtedly kick-started' by the album.[751] However, the film version was needed to fully revive Mod in the public consciousness, as while the concept centred on Mod, the music itself did not.[752] In 1979, the film was released becoming the eighth most successful film in the UK box office grossing over £36,000 within its first week of release.[753] The film provided possibly 'the biggest boost ever to hit the scene' and its importance must not be understated.[754] The album and the film provided both a historical analysis of the subculture during the 1960s and the contemporary climate in which they were produced.

As Gildart has argued, most academic literature regarding *Quadrophenia* fails to recognise the differences between the album and its film treatment. One main difference between the album and film is tone. While Roddam successfully manages to provide a social realism of Mod during the mid-1960s, the film is notably shot in colour and is much lighter in nature, despite its release corresponding with the beginning of Thatcherite politics.[755] In contrast, the album provides a more 'gritty realism' supplemented by a black and white photo-essay depicting working-class poverty with images of a rundown council estate in Battersea.[756] One other notable difference is the soundtrack with many

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[748] Gildart, K. (2018). Class, Youth, and Dirty Jobs: The Working-Class and Post-War Britain in Pete Townshend's Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 85-118). London: Palgrave. Page 87.
[749] Gildart, K. (2018). Class, Youth, and Dirty Jobs: The Working-Class and Post-War Britain in Pete Townshend's Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 85-118). London: Palgrave. Page 91.
[750] Winsworth, B. (2018). "Who (the Fuck) Are You?": Out with the In-Crowd in Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 35-50). London: Palgrave. Page 42.
[751] Winsworth, B. (2018). "Who (the Fuck) Are You?": Out with the In-Crowd in Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 35-50). London: Palgrave. Page 36.
[752] Winsworth, B. (2018). "Who (the Fuck) Are You?": Out with the In-Crowd in Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 35-50). London: Palgrave. Page 36.
[753] Glynn, S. (2014). *Quadrophenia*. New York: Columbia University Press. Page 96.
[754] Piller, E. & Rowland, S. (2018). *Modzines: Fanzine culture from the Mod Revival*. London: Omnibus Press. Page 52.
[755] Gildart, K. (2018). Class, Youth, and Dirty Jobs: The Working-Class and Post-War Britain in Pete Townshend's Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 85-118). London: Palgrave. Page 104.
[756] Gildart, K. (2018). Class, Youth, and Dirty Jobs: The Working-Class and Post-War Britain in Pete Townshend's Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 85-118). London: Palgrave. Page 104.

tracks altered for the film with orchestration and the addition of a number of 1960s rhythm and blues songs creating a sense of nostalgia.[757] The monotony of everyday working-class life is absent alongside the tracks "The Dirty Jobs" and "Helpless Dancer" that depicted these aspects of the original story.[758] The film conveys many of the 1960s stock myths such as "swinging London" and the affluence of youths working in the new white-collar jobs.[759] Despite this, the reception of the film helped to boost the Mod Revival drastically and helped thousands of working-class youths to take up the subculture to respond to the social and economic context of the late 1970s.[760]

Allen argued that it was *Quadrophenia* that 'triggered a Mod Revival.'[761] Whilst it is true *Quadrophenia* significantly influenced the Revival, there were Mods in the North from 1977. As Gildart asserted, prior to the film's production 'a full-scale Mod had germinated,' and was already a 'national phenomenon' by 1979.[762] This was confirmed by participants who stated the 'scene was already building when' *Quadrophenia* was released.[763] However, many Mods noted how before the film's release they were in the 'minority', but after the scene 'seemed to explode',[764] with numerous youths turning into 'Mods overnight.'[765] For some Northern Mods the film opened up a new world, as one Newcastle Mod noted 'that film was it for me. Nothing else mattered.'[766] While the film portrayed a London-centric view of the scene, the characters and messages resonated deeply with Mods in the North. One Huddersfield Mod stated that he saw it 'as a dramatization of his life. When I was a struggling teenager I saw myself in Jimmy.'[767] While based on the sixties, the film reflected the distain towards the contemporary social

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[757] Gildart, K. (2018). Class, Youth, and Dirty Jobs: The Working-Class and Post-War Britain in Pete Townshend's Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 85-118). London: Palgrave. Page 106.
[758] Gildart, K. (2018). Class, Youth, and Dirty Jobs: The Working-Class and Post-War Britain in Pete Townshend's Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 85-118). London: Palgrave. Page 106.
[759] Gildart, K. (2018). Class, Youth, and Dirty Jobs: The Working-Class and Post-War Britain in Pete Townshend's Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 85-118). London: Palgrave. Page 106.
[760] Gildart, K. (2018). Class, Youth, and Dirty Jobs: The Working-Class and Post-War Britain in Pete Townshend's Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 85-118). London: Palgrave. Page 106.
[761] Allen, D. (2012). British Graffiti: Popular Music and Film in the 1970s. In S. Harper, J. Smith, & D. Allen (Eds.) British film culture in the 1970s: The boundaries of pleasure (pp. 99-111). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Page 103 and 104.
[762] Gildart, K. (2018). Class, Youth, and Dirty Jobs: The Working-Class and Post-War Britain in Pete Townshend's Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 85-118). London: Palgrave. Page 106.
[763] Interview with IN.
[764] Interview with MB.
[765] Interview with IN.
[766] Interview with A.
[767] Interview with MB.

and political climate that many young people felt in 1979. This led Glynn to ask, 'is *Quadrophenia* a Mod film at all, or really a punk film in (dubious) Mod clothing?'[768] During this period, underprivileged working-class youths were hit hard at a time of economic stagnation and social malaise, and the film provided a social and political nostalgia which many young people related to.[769] *Quadrophenia's* deliberate use of anachronisms helped it to achieve 'a sense of timelessness,' but also firmly placed it in the context of 1979.[770]

*Quadrophenia* offered a limited representation of Mod, displaying a fixed visual style that derived partly from the seaside battles in 1964, and 1970s influences, ignoring many of the subtleties in stylistic change within the movement.[771] However, this fixed representation of a typical 'gang Mod' was highly influential during the Revival and formed the instructions for style and behaviour for many Mods in the North.[772] One Liverpool Mod noted how he and his friends 'watched that film and thought that's how it was. So we lived our lives, initially, around that film.'[773] There were numerous examples of Mods copying the styles and behaviours within the film. In one instance, a boy 'needed treatment after falling 25ft from a balcony in the dance hall', after copying a scene from the movie.[774] During a scooter rally, Scarborough's Chief of police noted that 'the main cause of the trouble was from the people the Mods call the "Plastics" who came by train, van and car.'[775] The music writer Kevin Pearce noted, during the Revival Mods were 'putting together the jigsaw pieces from very few source materials'.[776] One Mod from Liverpool stated that the only information they had access to was the film *Quadrophenia* and as a result 'you can't blame us for getting it wrong, because that's all we

[768] Glynn, S. (2014). *Quadrophenia*. New York: Columbia University Press. Page 68.
[769] Wright, T.F. (2018). Taking the 5:15: Mods, Social Mobility, and the Brighton Train. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 131-147). London: Palgrave. Page 143.
[770] Catterall, A. & S. Wells (2001). *Your Face Here: British Cult Movies Since the Sixties*. London: Fourth Estate. Page 162. Cited in Glynn, S. (2014). *Quadrophenia*. New York: Columbia University Press. Page 67.
[771] Allen, D. (2010). Cultural Adventures. In L. Forster & S. Harper (Eds.) *British Culture and Society in the 1970s : The Lost Decade* (pp. 142-153). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars. Page 138.
[772] Allen, D. (2010). Cultural Adventures. In L. Forster & S. Harper (Eds.) *British Culture and Society in the 1970s : The Lost Decade* (pp. 142-153). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars. Page 138.
[773] Interview with JM.
[774] The Times. (1981, August 10). 79 held in Brighton clashes. The Times.
[775] Daily Mail. (1980, April 8). Gangs go on new seaside rampage. *Daily Mail.*
[776] Reynolds, S. (2011). *Retromania: Pop culture's addiction to its own past*. London: Faber. Page 227.

had.'[777] *Quadrophenia* was so popular as it provided all the information including appropriate styles, music, and behaviour.

Perceptions of the film are based on the experience and age of its audience.[778] Glynn notes that *Quadrophenia* acted as a *'Ready, Steady, Go!* for the seventies', as while it attracted a new dilettante following it also alienated the hardcore.[779] For many of the original sixties and elitist Revival Mods *Quadrophenia* 'had no value whatsoever' as they believed it contained too many incorrect details.[780] Many Mods felt it was 'lampooning Mods' and opened the subculture to 'plastic Mods' who were only participating in the subculture to copy the film.[781] One Modzine noted for many hardcore Mods the scene was over by early 1980 as they felt Mod 'no longer had anything to offer them', caused by the emergence of 'more and more very young Mods' and the increased commercialisation and stagnation.[782] The forces of the media and commercial market played a crucial role in the creation of many aspects of subcultural style and identity, absorbing subversive and original subcultural phenomena to create a 'safe' mainstream culture.[783] Commercialisation of a subculture causes subcultural 'hyperinflation' as the value of subcultural meanings and symbol become depleted and the value of adopting particular styles slides away.[784] As Cagle argues, 'the moment of incorporation itself remains untheorized,' producing a dichotomy between authentic subcultural members, and the incorporated followers of commodified subcultural style.[785] This creates what Hebdige terms, a 'distinction between originals and hangers-on.'[786] For those that were Mods before the film's release,

[777] Interview with JM.

[778] Singleton, R.W. (2018). "What are You Gonna Do Tonight?" "Wait for a Phone Call I Suppose": Girls, Mod Subculture, and Reactions to the Film Quadrophenia. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 151-172). London: Palgrave. Page 156.

[779] Glynn, S. (2014). *Quadrophenia*. New York: Columbia University Press. Page 103.

[780] Hewitt, P. & Baxter, M. (2012). *The A to Z of Mod*. London: Prestel. Page 208.

[781] Interview with RD.

[782] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.2595. *All or nothing.* Magazine. Issue 4. 1986. Page 11.

[783] Davis, J. (1990). Youth and the condition of Britain: Images of adolescent conflict. London: Athlone. Page 124.

[784] Clark, D. (2003). The Death and Life of Punk, The Last Subculture. In D. Muggleton & R. Weinzierl (Eds.) *The Post-Subcultures Reader* (pp. 223-236). Oxford: Berg. Page 229.

[785] Cagle, V. M. (1995). *Reconstructing Pop/Subculture*. London: Sage. Page 40. Cited in Muggleton, D. (2002). *Inside Subculture: The postmodern meaning of style*. Oxford: Berg. Page 21.

[786] Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. London: Routledge. Page 122.

even if they related to elements of the film themselves, anyone who became a Mod afterwards was viewed as 'a hanger-on'.

From its origins, Mod has been hierarchical. However, what developed in the Mod Revival was a more 'conservative Mod elite' operating from Modzines, independent boutiques, record shops, and scooter clubs.[787] As Cooper argues, 'not only did Mod become addicted to what it once subverted, it ended up reproducing the social structures from which it once fled.'[788] Doyle notes how the hierarchical structures seen in subcultures reflect 'the masculine worlds of work, organised sport, and other forms of working-class male leisure.'[789] As subcultural participants interact with one another an agreement of what the subculture stands for is formed and an idea of who generally embodies those ideals more or less. Those who appear to embody the most important ideals are more likely to enjoy higher status. However, due to the nature of the ideals being malleable, status is open to negotiation and change.[790] Those who were deemed as the trend-setters were often referred to as 'Faces'. The 'Faces' rejected Mod's commercialisation and often were prone to nostalgia for the sixties. However, their control over the subculture and the placement of importance on certain objects and trends helped to generate 'permanent classics' that could be used as a template to copy by younger Mods.[791] A Newcastle Mod stated that 'the older lads in the group picked up on the fashion first and then it sort of cascaded down to the younger lads.'[792]

Various authorities in wider society implement and invent rules for spatial ordering of the population, one being age. This spatial ordering is bound with assumptions about identities and shaping socially acceptable identities.[793] The creation of age boundaries and the spaces in which they can inhabit plays

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[787] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 171.

[788] Cooper, S. (2018). Heatwave: Mod, cultural studies, and the counterculture. In P. Thurschwell (Ed.) *Quadrophenia and Mod(ern) culture* (pp. 67-81). London: Palgrave. Page 77.

[789] Doyle, B. (2006). "More than a dance hall, more a way of life": Northern Soul, Masculinity and Working-class Culture in 1970s Britain. In A. Schildt & D. Siegfried (Eds.) *Between Marx and Coca-Cola (*pp. 313-332). New York: Berghahn Books. Page 322.

[790] Williams, J. (2011). *Subcultural theory: traditions and concepts*. Cambridge: Polity. Page 133 and 134.

[791] Weight, R. (2013). *Mod: from Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement*. London: Vintage. Page 171.

[792] Interview with IN.

[793] Massey, D. (1998). The spatial construction of youth cultures. In T. Skelton & G. Valentine (Eds.) *Cool places: Geographies of youth cultures* (pp. 121-129). London: Routledge. Page 127.

a role in the way a subculture can be experienced by its participants. For younger Mods, they were unable to socialise with older Mods in pubs and clubs and this added to the separation and boundaries created within the subculture. One letter to a Modzine from a fifteen-year-old Mod highlights the issues faced by younger Mods during the Revival. Having only three pounds to buy clothes, records, club entry and Modzines, Shane asks 'do you expect me to get a tailor made suit with this income? It's not enjoyable having older, better dressed Mods sniggering at me because I am wearing a Cavern suit.'[794] With a smaller income than many of the older Mods and less knowledge, often younger Mods would create their style based on limited influences and commodities. This image was often represented as the *Quadrophenia* styling of Mod. This created a split between older and younger Mods within the scene. The founder of the Setting Sons scooter club in Newcastle recalled he and his friends decided that they were 'not Mods anymore, but Reaction Boys' and decided to 'dress more flamboyantly' as to distance themselves from the younger Mods that had appeared on the scene late 1979.[795] He recalled 'we had all the best gear and they were wearing parkas with a union jack tea-towel on the back.'[796]

As Muggleton suggests, the issue with subcultural authenticity is identifying what constitutes as 'proper' or 'genuine' membership.[797] Thornton suggests that these groups of young people interested in the same music and style were 'ad hoc communities' with fluid boundaries that embraced their own hierarchies of authenticity and legitimacy.[798] In the North, Mods created their own styles and ignored the dismissal of the purist Mods. As one participant noted, 'everyone thought they were the hierarchy.'[799] The more relaxed dress style in the North meant that there were very few purist Mods and the scene was able to encompass a broader range of styles.

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[794] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.588.*The inset*. Magazine. Issue 2. 1984. Page 12.
[795] Interview with GL. He also told the story of how one current scooter club member had travelled to their scooter meetings each week having saved up his pocket money to go and they would not interact with him. He stated that at the time 'we were snobby twats that we turned into what we didn't want to be.'
[796] Interview with GL.
[797] Muggleton, D. (2002). *Inside Subculture: The postmodern meaning of style*. Oxford: Berg. Page 20.
[798] Thornton, S. (1995). *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Page 15.
[799] Interview with JM.

While in the sixties the papers reported on troubles between Mods and Rockers, by the Revival there had been a broadening of the scene to encompass 'Mods, Rockers, Skinheads and Punks.'[800] Many of the subcultures shared similar interests in music and scooters and as such subcultures would mix at events. One newspaper article noted that in Halifax 'Mods, Skinheads and Rude Boys coexist in the same club with their own music and way of dressing'[801] Despite this, many participants noted that the groups remained 'separated' and they stayed 'in their little cliques.'[802] While subcultures shared spaces, violence broke out between the different movements with one Mod stating that 'the violence really got bad with the Skinheads, and the Hippies, and the Bikers.'[803] One participant noted that 'every time you went to a Punk gig you knew there was going to be violence'. However, when you went to a Mod or Ska gig 'there wasn't any violence.'[804] One Newcastle Mod noted that while he had issues with Skinheads and Punks, this was nothing compared to trouble with 'Greasers.'[805] Many Northern Mods noted how 'Bikers were the nemesis'.[806] In Barrow, one participant said that 'every weekend there would be some fight around the town.'[807] While the term had changed to 'a biker, or a greaser, the 1980 equivalent of a Rocker', the rivalry between the two groups still existed.[808] One Huddersfield Mod noted that 'even in the eighties you could still take a side swipe of a Biker going past you on your scooter.'[809] Much of this subcultural violence was noticed by the media and reported on.

Like the original movement, once the media had caught on they began their blitzkrieg exposés of violence at scooter runs. What occurred during the Revival was the creation of a second moral panic by the media. Using similar tactics to those employed in the sixties, during the Revival, the media used emotive language to grab the public's attention with headlines such as 'Bank Holiday terror to

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[800] Daily Mail. (1979, August 28). Cardinal shelters from carnival violence. *Daily Mail*.
[801] Judd, J. (1980, April 13). Beware the Mods; Brighton. *The Observer*. Page 4.
[802] Interview with GN.
[803] Interview with GL.
[804] Interview with GL.
[805] Interview with C9.
[806] Interview with IN.
[807] Interview with IN.
[808] Judd, J. (1980, April 13). Beware the Mods; Brighton. *The Observer*. Page 4.
[809] Interview with BA.

thousands.'[810] Language associated with battles and wars was used and in one article alone, the following phrases were used: 'scooter squads', 'bloody march of the Mods', 'thousands of wreckers terrorised the seaside resort'.[811] Newspapers would highlight how Mods attacked the police, an agent of social control. Hall suggests that 'violence is the ultimate crime against the state' and by highlighting violence against an agent of control the media is able to mark a distinction between 'those who are fundamentally of society and those who are outside it.'[812] In one article it highlights that in Scarborough 'three policemen were hurt in a hail of flying rocks, bottles and deckchairs. Numerous cars were damaged, including three police vehicles.'[813] This helped to label Mods as the 'deviant' group segregating them from 'conventional society.'[814] It was clear that much of the news coverage had been exaggerated. In one article, while thirty-five people had been arrested in Scarborough, this was out of '6,000 Mods', with the Superintendent John Carlton commenting that 'most had been well-behaved but boisterous.'[815] What appeared to cause the biggest issue was not violence or damage to properties, but the sheer number of Mods in one place, as stated in one *Liverpool Echo* article, 'generally they were good-humoured, although their presence in such a large number did create a general nuisance.'[816] This was the case in numerous resorts popular with Northern Mods, such as Colwyn Bay where 'more that than 4,000 scoter rider Mods' went to and while 'some pubs had closed or barred the Mods… there were no major disturbances.'[817]

Similarities can be drawn between Hall's analysis of press coverage of muggings to the case of the Mods. What commands press attention is the nature and extent of public and official reaction to the

[810] Daily Mail. (1980, April 8). Gangs go on new seaside rampage. *Daily Mail*.
[811] Newcastle Evening Chronicle. (1980, April 7). Geordies in battle. *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*. Page 1.
[812] Hall, S. (2013). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state and law and order* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 70.
[813] Turner, R. (1980, April 7). Mods in riot. *Daily Mail*.
[814] Cohen, S. (2011). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the mods and rockers* (3rd Ed.). London: Routledge. Page 11.
[815] Daily Mail. (1981, April 20). Invasion of Mods. *Daily Mail*. Page 1.
[816] Liverpool Echo. (1979, October 8). Resort invaded by 300 'Mods' on scooters. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 3.
[817] Liverpool Echo. (1984, August 6). Mods invade resort, but no big problems. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 4.

actions of Mods, often with the court reports and sentencing being the prominent theme in articles.[818]

Reporting reactions from agents of social control helps to exaggerate the scale of events to cause a moral panic. Papers published comments from police with one stating that an incident at Scarborough was 'the worst weekend of violence I can remember.'[819] Comments from high profile police officers were also included asking for actions from the government, such as the following statement from Chief Supt. Colin Riley that stated, 'the answer is in the hands of the politicians not the police, who don't make the law.'[820] Comments from local MPs were also published. One article stated that 'in Scarborough, Tory councillors are calling for the birch to be used on trouble-making Mods.'[821] The process of labelling dramatic events by the media and social agents not only highlight events but assigns a context to them. The later use of this label is likely to then mobilise the referential context with its associated connotations and meanings.[822]

The disapproving media coverage not only helps to legitimise and authenticate subcultural style, but also disseminate them to wider audiences transforming a scene into a movement displaying the deviant acts and accompanying styles.[823] The media treatment of the Mods during the sixties, heavily influenced Mod in the North during the Revival providing a 'handbook of possibilities to be picked over by new recruits.'[824] It can be argued that the media's treatment made many teenagers behave in ways that were expected of them by the media and wider society causing fights to break out between various subcultures. In one case a twenty-one-year-old Rocker, John Henry Foster from St. Helens, was 'jailed for life at Liverpool Crown Court' for murdering an eighteen-year-old Mod.[825] When asked why he carried out the 'vicious and entirely unprovoked murder', he explained that 'Rockers like rock

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[818] Hall, S. (2013). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state and law and order* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 34.

[819] Newcastle Evening Chronicle. (1980, April 7). Geordies in battle. *Newcastle Evening Chronicle*. Page 1.

[820] Daily Mail. (1980, April 8). Gangs go on new seaside rampage. *Daily Mail*.

[821] Daily Mail. (1982, April 30). Seaside revolts. *Daily Mail*.

[822] Hall, S. (2013). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state and law and order* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 23.

[823] McRobbie, A., & Thornton, S. L. (1995). Rethinking 'moral panic' for multi-mediated social worlds. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 46(4), 559-574. doi:10.2307/591571. Page 565.

[824] McRobbie, A., & Thornton, S. L. (1995). Rethinking 'moral panic' for multi-mediated social worlds. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 46(4), 559-574. doi:10.2307/591571. Page 37.

[825] Liverpool Echo. (1980, April 24). Mod hater killer is jailed for life. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 3.

music, and Mods dress up in a parka and listen to a different type of music. I have no reason, I just hate them.'[826]

Subcultural style played a crucial role in group stigmatisation. While groups may not be necessarily delinquent because of their unique style and mannerisms they can often be labelled as a distinct social problem.[827] Agents of social control, such as the police used stereotypes based on dress to link subcultural members with particular behaviours, often labelling youths as deviant.[828] From the seaside riots in 1964, the word Mod had become linked to delinquency and as a result the Mod style and those associated to the movement carried the same social and emotional reactions as the deviant behaviour.[829] The media images produced in the sixties led many police officers to have a distain towards Mods from what 'they perceived in the sixties when the Brighton riots were on.'[830] During the Revival many police chose to provoke Mods into acting defiantly or harassing them at any given opportunity with many Mods noting how police 'wouldn't leave you alone, it was constant.'[831] One Liverpool Mod recalls being 'pulled up seventeen times' in a week and pulled over multiple times by one police officer that had already checked his documentation, 'just to cause hassle.'[832] On scooter runs many Mods were stopped by the police and threatened that they would be 'sorted out' if they did not turn back.[833] One participant noted that it was not uncommon for police to stop a group of forty scooter and 'check every scooter with a fine-tooth comb'.[834] While it is true that some Mods caused trouble during these events, much of the police reaction was unnecessary with one participant noting how police would bundle 'people into the back of police vans' and 'raid pubs' with no

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[826] Liverpool Echo. (1980, April 23). I hate Mods, hurry told. *Liverpool Echo.* Page 3.

[827] Muncie, J. (1984). *The sociology of youth crime and* violence. London: Open University Press. Cited in Mackay, P. (1990). What Accounted for the Different Subcultural Responses of the Mods & Skinheads in 1960's Britain. *Police Journal, Vol. 63, Issue 1*, pp. 50-58. Page 50.

[828] Clarke, J. (2000). Style. In S. Hall & T. Jefferson (Eds.) *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (pp. 175-191). London: Routledge. Page 184.

[829] McKay, P. (1990). Subcultural responses of the mods & rockers in 1960's Britain. *The Police Journal*, 63(1), 50. Page 52.

[830] Interview with S.

[831] Interview with IN.

[832] Interview with JM.

[833] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.424. *Maximum Speed*. Magazine. Issue 5. 1979. Page 5.

[834] Interview with IN.

reasoning.[835] This was similar to the treatment of Mods during the sixties in seaside towns where police would patrol 'trouble spots' dispersing groups of teenagers for congregating and if the youths refused they could be arrested and charged with wilful obstruction.[836]

Police efficiency is often objectively measured via the 'clean-up rate.' Coupled with issues relating to resources and manpower, the police were more likely to target crimes with high detection potential. As the Mods were advertised in the media already, they provided an easy target for police to deal with. In doing so, a 'deviancy amplification spiral' occurs, as the selected crimes become amplified, with the particular crime being increasingly recorded.[837] This increased figure of the particular crime results in a 'crime wave' which is used by police to justify a 'control campaign' to deal with the issue.[838] This helps to add to the creation of a moral panic as the 'crime wave' causes public concern due to the statistics produced, and a group, such as the Mods, are perceived as a threat.[839]

'Criminalisation' leads to the individual reinforcing a criminal self-image that only amplifies the subcultures deviant behaviours.[840] The police's harassment of Northern Mods encouraged the behaviour they were under suspicion of progressively fitting the stereotype the agents of control hold about them, a process that Young terms 'the translation of fantasy into reality.'[841] One example of this was a riot that took place in Keswick. One Barrow Mod who attended stated how it was not a 'nationally advertised' run but a Northern run with scooters attending from 'Liverpool, Salford, Leeds, York, and the North East.'[842] He stated how the police herded 'about eight-hundred lads into one area with no facilities for camping or anything and it was inevitable that something was going to kick off.'[843]

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[835] Interview with K.

[836] Cohen, S. (1967). Mods, Rockers and the rest. *Howard Journal of Penology and Crime Prevention, 12*(2), 121. Page 127.

[837] Hall, S. (2013). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state and law and order* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 41.

[838] Hall, S. (2013). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state and law and order* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 41.

[839] Hall, S. (2013). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state and law and order* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 41.

[840] Cohen, S. (1967). Mods, rockers and the rest. *Howard Journal of Penology and Crime Prevention, 12*(2), 121. Page 122.

[841] Young, J. (1971). *The Drugtakers*. London: Paladin. Page 171. Cited in Hall, S. (2013). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state and law and order* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Page 44.

[842] Interview with IN.

[843] Interview with IN.

Some Mods began throwing stones at the police and soon turned to 'rip up some pay machines and were charging the police.'[844] As tensions grew, another group of Mods decided to make petrol bombs burning down the 'local theatre and ice-cream kiosk'.[845] One Newcastle Mod noted how his friend was charged with watching the scooters as 'people were trying to take the fuel out of our scooters to make petrol bombs.'[846] The incident went on into the early hours until 'the police had adequate reinforcements to being their arrest operation', which consisted of escorting Mods out of Keswick, many of whom had to 'push their scooters because their petrol had been used for bombs.'[847] Two days later, seven Mods were charged at a special court in Keswick with a seven-thousand pounds fine.[848]

The event made it into local and national papers with one headline stating that **'r**iot-gear police strip Mods of weapons after Keswick clash after a weekend in which hundreds of scooter-riding Mods went on the rampage.'[849] The Keswick riot also caused the Isle of Man government to ban 'the entry of all scooters into the island unless they have a Manx registration number.'[850] Despite the Mods causing trouble the articles produced after the riot did attempt to cause a moral panic by changing the order of events and exaggerating. The article suggests that the 'youths hurled stones and bottles at police after looting and smashing up a café and mobile theatre and burning a caravan home in Keswick', before 'Police using riot shields managed to contain the youths in a car park.'[851] Participants that were at the event suggested that the Police made the first move by herding the Mods into the carpark. One Mod who had travelled to Keswick from Newcastle stated that 'the police were in total brand new riot gear with shields. Allegedly they knew the Miners' Strike was about to happen and that was the gear and training they were doing for that.'[852] Police Sgt. Roger Maw stated that 'the latest riot gear

[844] Interview with IN.
[845] Interview with IN.
[846] Interview with GL.
[847] North West Evening Mail. (1981, August 1). Rioting Mob angers Lakeland town – Seven fined £1,000 each. *North West Evening Mail*.
[848] North West Evening Mail. (1981, August 1). Rioting Mob angers Lakeland town – Seven fined £1,000 each. *North West Evening Mail*.
[849] Moor, K. (1981, July 27). Scooter mob on the rampage in Lakes. *Newcastle Journal*. Page 1.
[850] Liverpool Echo. (1981, August 7). Manx scooter ban in move on rioting. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 1.
[851] Moor, K. (1981, July 27). Scooter mob on the rampage in Lakes. *Newcastle Journal*. Page 1.
[852] Liverpool Echo. (1981, August 7). Manx scooter ban in move on rioting. *Liverpool Echo*. Page 1.

authorised by the home secretary had not yet arrived in Cumbria', as such they were equipped with 'riot shields and shin pads and fibre-glass helmets'.[853] The article went onto highlight how officers were injured and police reclaimed 'a horrifying array of weapons from the Mods, many from the North-East, including wire whips, steel spikes, and socks weighted with billiard balls.'[854]

The ending of the Mod Revival was very similar to the demise of the scene in the 1960s. Bushell claimed that 'like a collective speed come-down,' the Mod Revival faded-out in 1983, when the leading Mod bands had disbanded and the scene had become too diluted due to commercial influences introducing 'posers' onto the scene.[855] One Modzine criticized how the scene had become 'meticulously planned' causing the 'essence of what it was all about' to become lost.[856] In the North the scene lasted longer, but by the end of 1986 the Mod Revival had 'fizzled out' bar a handful of DJs such as Paul Hallam that kept a soul scene going on a local level.[857] As had happened in the sixties, many Mods chose to enter new subcultures such as Acid Jazz or Psychobilly, and Mod did not make a resurgence until the nineties Britpop scene.[858] Many others chose to leave the scene to start families and prioritise their careers. This supports Clark's theory that subcultural participation is a temporary phase, made up of mostly white working-class teenagers, who symbolically create an identity with peers, to later return to their pre-ordained roles in mainstream society' as adults.[859]

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[853] North West Evening Mail. (1981, August 1). Rioting Mob angers Lakeland town – Seven fined £1,000 each. *North West Evening Mail*.
[854] Moor, K. (1981, July 27).  Scooter mob on the rampage in Lakes. *Newcastle Journal*. Page 1.
[855] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 166.
[856] The British Library: Boston Spa. ZD.9.b.603. *Time moves us on*. Magazine. Issue 1. 1985. Page 7.
[857] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 170.
[858] Bushell, G. (2012). *Time for action: The Mod Revival 1978-1981*. London: Countdown Books. Page 170.
[859] Clark, D. (2003). The Death and Life of Punk, The Last Subculture. In D. Muggleton & R. Weinzierl (Eds.) *The Post-Subcultures Reader* (pp. 223-236). Oxford: Berg. Page 227.

# Conclusion

While there has been a lack of academic analysis of Mod in the North of England during the Revival, it is clear that the subculture was both popular and important to a large number of youths in Northern towns and cities. Mod was not simply a London "phenomenon" and the scene in the North during the sixties was healthy. The scene in the North before 1964 was very small and evolved slowly with few outside influences. The eventual commercialisation of the scene and exaggeration of the beach fights that took place in 1964 popularised Mod and made it more accessible to a wider audience resulting in many Northern teenagers joining the subculture. Mod's slower development during the 1960s and transition into Northern Soul allowed it to survive longer and be more readily adopted by youths during the Revival period that held onto more traditional aspects of the culture.

It is clear that the social, cultural, and economic specificity of the North affecting how Mod was experienced by its participants and during the Revival, for participants in the region, Mod was shaped through a Northern discourse. While class shaped Mods experiences, it did not underpin adherence to the culture with influences of authenticity and subcultural knowledge playing a larger role. The specificity of the North created a distinctive Northern version of Mod that could be seen in aspect of masculinity, gender and identity.

During the Revival, Mod was an 'imagined community' that encompassed all participants through the commonality of a shared set of core values. However, each Mod was able to adapt the Mod style to create their own individual identity that was conditioned by their locality and resources available to them. It can be concluded that despite academics' best efforts to define Mod, the subculture's ability to be appropriated, adapted and developed, means this is not possible to do so and so is 'prone to continuous reinvention.'[860] Mod's multifaceted nature along with the inability to define Mod creates a pliable set of meanings that can be appropriated and changed by its participants to suit their needs.

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[860] Jobling, P. and D. Crowley (1996). *Graphic Design: Reproduction and Representation since 1800*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Page 213. Cited in Glynn, S. (2014). *Quadrophenia*. New York: Columbia University Press. Page 4.

Mod's ability to suit its user's needs allows it to be applied to various locations and timescales, suiting the contemporary concerns of the situation it is placed in. In that sense, Mod is what Weight terms, 'a culture of consolation,' as 'its idealised vision of modernity had always contained a melancholic acceptance of present realities.'[861]

The spatial ordering of networks and the availability to resources and influences shaped how Mod was experienced. Those that had more of these were able to create a more diverse identity. However, Mods in each area created their own scenes with the influences and commodities they had available to them. The political and social climate of the North created a distinct scene that remained, on the whole, separate from the London version of Mod with less influence placed on style and more on socialising.

While this research addressed a number of issues relating to an unexplored subject, there is an apparent need for further research to be conducted on a number of areas of Mod culture. While subcultures are associated with youth, this no longer appears to be the case. Rupa Huq argues youth culture is now experienced in 'middle life,' appropriated in later life by its original participants.[862] Janice Miller correctly identifies that Mod lends itself well older participant through its smart aesthetics.[863] Halberstam argues that subcultural participants inhabit 'queer time' existing outside of 'normative heterosexual temporality structured by reproduction,' which disrupts narratives of maturity and family also disrupting the opposition between adulthood and youth.[864] In his virtual ethnographic study of the online Mod forum 'Modforum,' Nathanial Weiner develops Judith Halberstam's notion of 'Queer time,' to suggest Mods inhabit 'subcultural time,' exploring how subcultural commitment extends beyond the teenage years.[865] As such, participants are able to provide a lifelong commitment to the subculture. One issue that was encountered during the

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[861] Weight, R. (2013). *MOD: From Bebop to Britpop, Britain's biggest youth movement.* London: Vintage. Page 395.

[862] Huq, R. (2006). *Beyond Subculture: Pop, Youth and Identity in a Postcolonial World*. London: Routledge. Page 157.

[863] Miller, J. (2011). *Fashion and Music*. Oxford: Berg. Pages 98-99.

[864] Halberstam, J. (2005). *In a Queer Time & Place*. New York: New York University Press. Pages 152-187.

[865] Weiner, N. (2013). Mod men: The contemporary Mod subculture online. *Catwalk: The Journal of Fashion, Beauty and Style*, 1(2), 1-24. Page 1.

interview process was the participants desire to recount their recent or current experiences of being a Mod. While effective analysis of the data removed this issue from the study, it is clear there would be sufficient data to conduct an additional research study into the current experience of Revival Mods. This would allow the analysis of the changing experiences of Mod from youth to adulthood and how the many technological advances in the past thirty years have affected subcultural participation.

It is also clear from the study that there was a large contingent of female participants in the North during the Revival period. Unfortunately, the sampling used within the study unintentionally caused the exclusion of more females and the researcher accepts a different sampling technique could have rectified this. It is apparent that a further study could be conducted solely on the role of female Mods in the North.

In conclusion, Mod was not simply just a "Southern phenomenon", nor a "1960s fad" and as such, further academic research on the subject should reflect this. There should also be a move away from fixing subcultural characteristics and values, as the fluid nature of Mod culture is apparent within this study. Mod's ability to contain 'several strata' reflecting the needs of its participants location and contemporary climate is what has provided its continued legacy in multiple locations.[866]

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[866] Brake, M. (1985). *Comparative youth culture: The sociology of youth cultures and youth subcultures in America, Britain and Canada*. London: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780203408940. Page 77.

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BA. Oral history interview. Haverigg, Cumbria. March 26, 2019.

C9. Oral history interview. Birkenhead, Merseyside. March 15, 2019.

DC. Interview via email. Bradford, West Yorkshire. May 30, 2019.

GL. Oral history interview. Newcastle upon Tyne. March 23, 2019.

GN. Oral history interview. Newcastle upon Tyne. March 23, 2019.

GS. Oral history interview. Bootle, Liverpool. March 16, 2019.

IN. Oral history interview. Barrow-in-Furness, Cumbria. March 26, 2019.

J. Oral history interview. Grange-over-sands, Cumbria. March 27, 2019.

JM. Oral history interview. Bootle, Liverpool. April 24, 2019.

KA. Oral history interview. Haverigg, Cumbria. March 26, 2019.

LA. Oral history interview. Wakefield, West Yorkshire. February 18, 2019.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1 – Interviewee details

18/02/19. 10:15-11:00. Wakefield, West Yorkshire.

**LA** = LA is now a semi-retired Postman for the Royal mail living in Huddersfield. At the age of 15 LA started listening to John Peel where he began hearing original and contemporary Mod music that influenced him to become interested in the Mod subculture. LA was living in Wakefield during the period in question. During the time of leaving college in 1978 LA began to dress in Mod clothing and whilst in college the 1979 Mod Revival took place. Here in college he met a number of likeminded people oh his age who all associated themselves as being Mods. LA recalls how when he first got into the scene there were only a handful of Mods but soon realised that when he went to gigs there was a larger contingent than first thought. While not owning a scooter, many of his friends did and so LA would ride on the back of his friend's scooters to go to scooter rallies in Scarborough and to various gigs in the surrounding areas. LA remembers going on a school trip to London and realising how much more accessible clothing and music was in London as for him and his friends used to have to buy second-hand due to lack of accessibility and money. LA was also influenced by Ska and for him it was linked to the Mod movement in the North. LA left the scene in 1981 to get married and settle down. LA identifies as a working-class white male.

24/02/19. 13:45-14:45. Huddersfield, West Yorkshire.

**MB** = MB is a fifty-four-year-old white male graduate to MBA level and ex-director of Demand SRM and ex-operations director for Demand. MB was aged 14 when he identified himself as a Mod prior to the Mod revival and release of *Quadrophenia* which he remembers made the scene explode so him and his friends were no longer a minority. He was based in Bradley in Huddersfield, a working-class area, being raised on a council estate. MB became a Mod due to circumstances as he believed Mod explained everything for him as a teenager as he felt he was disadvantaged and angry about this and so Mod allowed him to 'put on a brave face in a negative society.' For MB Mod allowed him to become upwardly mobile and show it did not matter that he came from a working-class background and had no money. The scooter was of huge importance to MB and his friends and in 1980 formed the Survivors Scooter Club, so named as he felt that they were all having to survive in a difficult economic and cultural climate. The scooter club still runs to this day. MB and his friends would regularly attend scooter rallies and travel to surrounding towns to gigs, Mod venues, and to buy clothes. MB believed that it was hard to be a Mod during this period and states that you had to be handy with your hands as there was a fair amount of fighting between other Mods and other subcultures. MB recalls how women were extremely important in the scene and viewed as equals. For MB class in Mod was more about those who had and those that did not and for him those that had the money were 'plastic Mods' as they did not have to work hard and fight to get the nice clothes or scooters. MB eventually left the scene to start a family and go to work but believes that it never really leaves you. MB identified and still does as a white working class male.

15/03/19. 11:00-12:00. Birkenhead, Merseyside.

**C9** = C9 stands for Cloud 9, a scooter club from Birkenhead. This was a group interview with various participants. Cloud 9 identify as being Scooter Boys as opposed to Mods, however, they do identify

with elements of Mod culture and have extensive experience of the Mod scene from the 1960s to present. For C9 the scooter is the most important element and believe that the scooter was of far more importance in the North than the South. The group identify themselves as white working class males. C9 recall how there was a lot of violence and fighting between those who rode scooters (Mods and Scooter boys) and Rockers and during the 1960s it was at its peak. The club has extensive experience of various scooter rallies all over the North West and East Coast. They remember how *Quadrophenia* caused the scene to explode and the influence it had on the scootering community. For them it was hard to get the right clothes in Birkenhead and so Liverpool was the main centre for clothes and records. While many dropped out of the scene to settle down many have now re-joined and take an active role in the scootering community.

16/03/10. 10:00-11:30. Bootle, Liverpool.

**PF** = PF was thirteen when the 1979 Revival took place and got involved with the scene in Liverpool through his love of fashion and music. PF also was heavily involved with the football Casual scene in Liverpool during the eighties and crossed over between Mod and Casual. PF currently owns and runs a scooter shop that resorts and customises scooters. PF identifies as a working class white male.

**GS** = GS was an original sixties Mod originally from Swindon who later moved to Liverpool. GS got into the scene at the start of the 1960s from the age of twelve through his obsession with the music and fashion. GS considered himself a Modernist. GS worked for various retailers including Burtons so was able to get made-to-measure suits at a discounted price. At the age of 16 he got his first scooter and recalls how it was all important, not just to be a Mod but because it was his only means of transport which was important to getting to gigs. His job saw him move to the North of England where he has now settled and still takes an active role in the scooter/Mod community in the North West. GS has experience of the Mod scene both in the South and North and as such his account is useful for comparison. For GS the Mod scene in the North was much friendlier than the south where he found it to be elitist. He recognises that the nature of Mod is subject to change and does not agree with the claim that Mod ended in 1964. He identifies as a working class white male.

23/03/19. 09:10-11:00. Newcastle.

**GL** = Born in Newcastle, GL became a Mod in 1977 influenced by the 1960s and contemporary Mod music John Peel played on the radio. Originally identifying as a Punk GL became interested in the music, fashion and scooters of the Mod subculture and recalls going to a school disco in a black suit with a white shirt and black tie, similar to the style of Paul Weller at the time. GL and his friends would meet every Saturday and search the local record stores and second-hand shops for original sixties music and clothes hoping to recreate an authentic style. GL at the time believed that Mod was about elitism and being the best dressed and so referred to himself as a Reaction Boy to differentiate himself from younger Mods who he believed were 'plastic Mods' due to their dress sense and influence from *Quadrophenia*. GL travelled to London many times to get clothes and go to gigs and also had friends that travelled as far as Paris to see The Jam. The scooter was an important aspect for GL who attended scooter rallies all over the North, including Scarborough, Rhyl, and Keswick where there was a riot between Mods and local police. He recalls the police being extremely hostile to Mods. GL remembers there being a lot of violence between other subcultures, mainly Rockers who were in high numbers in Newcastle. GL organised a number of Mod events in Newcastle and formed his own scooter club in 1979 Setting Sons Scooter Club. GL identifies as a working class white male. He now runs an upholstery business which has a specialty of recovering seat covers for scooter.

23/03/19. 12:00-12:30. Newcastle.

**GN** = Brought up from a working class background in Jarrow, GN became involved with the Newcastle Mod scene from the age of thirteen in 1971. GN believed that smart dress and scooter were the most important elements of Mod culture. He recalls how the scene in Newcastle by the time of the Revival was 'massive' with scooters everywhere. Him and his friends used to meet every Saturday at a venue called Mr Biggs and socialise with other Mods. GN recalls there being a string cross over between subcultures in Newcastle with Mods, Skinheads, Scooter Boys all mixing together with scooters as the common interest. At the same time there was conflict and violence between the subcultures mainly with Skinheads and Rockers. For GN it was hard to be a Mod in Newcastle during this period as there was little access to money or the accessibility to the commodities needed to be a Mod, as such a friendly culture of swapping and helping one another out developed. While no one had any money, Mod was all about having fun and the camaraderie compared to having the fanciest clothing or best record collection. GN left the scene in 1983 to join the army. He is now back involved with the scootering scene identifying as a Skinhead. He runs an online clothing store that specialises in Skinhead and Mod clothing which he sells to an international audience.

23/03/19. 14:30-15:30. Newcastle.

**S** = Identifying as a Mod at the age of eleven in 1978, S was inspired by the music of his music teacher who would play 1960s music, and the film *Quadrophenia*. Coming from a working class background S found it hard to get the clothes and music due to a lack of income which was also heightened by his inability to work due to his age. S and his friends would meet regularly at coffee shops and due to their age would drink coffee or orange juice and then go around the local second-hand shops or to dances at community halls. S now takes an active role in the scootering community going to national scooter runs which he was unable to do in the Revival period.

24/03/19. 11:00-11:20. Newcastle.

**A** = Originally from Newcastle, A moved to Essex at a young age due to his parent's work. A and his friends were avid Police fans and so in 1981 got a pirate copy of *Quadrophenia* and after watching it decided to become Mods. A would travel to London regularly to get clothing and music and visited south coastal towns regularly to attend scooter rallies. During the Revival period A experienced Mod both in the South and North as he used to travel to Newcastle regularly, as such he is extremely useful to provide a comparison between the two regions. A notes how there were noticeable differences between the North and South as in London and the South it was much easier to get clothing and was more elitist in the North where the right clothes mattered less and it was more about the camaraderie. A identifies as a working class white male. He now lives back in Newcastle and has recently got back into the Mod scene having bought a scooter.

25/03/19. 18:30-19:30. Colne, Lancashire.

**RD** = Born in 1961, RD got involved with the Mod scene in 1977 when he first heard The Jam and various Mod Revival bands. While RD identifies with Mod he does not like to be called a Mod as he does not believe it should be a label but more about individualism and doing what you think is right. Originally from Burnley, RD moved to Colne at the age of eighteen and in the same year joined a Punk/Mod band called Tiger Tail that was similar in style to The Jam. For RD the Mod thing was more influenced by Punk until 1978/79 when Mod Revival band emerged and caused a larger contingent of Mods to emerge. While the scene expanded in 1979 RD recalls that it remained fairly small and nothing compared to the London scene which he had witnessed on college trips. For RD the Mod scene was small and localised with few places to get clothes, music, or venues to listen to music and see gigs. RD

now plays in a band called The Reaction who specialise in playing 1960s music such as The Kinks and The Small Faces. RD identifies as a working class white male.

26/03/19. 12:00-13:00. Haverigg, Cumbria.

**BA** = BA came from a working class background living on a council estate in Huddersfield at the time the interview questions relate to. Getting into the scene in 1978, BA left school in 1979 when the Mod Revival started and so the scene expanded hugely for him. He enjoyed listening to sixties music and Norther Soul records. After getting a scooter, BA was able to travel to surrounding towns to visit their local second-hand shops to find authentic clothing and records. BA remembers while there was no class divide in Mod there were those who had and those that did not. Being one of those who did not have a lot he had to make do with what he could afford and what was available. For him and his friend those that had were not proper Mods but 'plastics.' He became a member of the Survivors Scooter Club set up by the other participant MB, and used to go on various scooter runs in the North where he would mix with other Mods in the North. While admitting he was part of the Revival BA believes that what he was part of was completely new. BA would travel to various clubs that hosted Mod nights and remember the sense of commonality between Mods from other areas and feeling part of the same movement. Leeds was the nearest centre of Mod activity and he would travel there by train with his now wife KA (participant below). BA remember having to wait a couple of weeks before getting a full outfit together due to not being able to afford clothes or find them. While clothes were important it was the scooters and people that mattered the most. BA has recently purchased a scooter and joined his local scooter club in Barrow-in-Furness.

**KA** = KA is BA's wife and at the time the interview questions relate to she was BA's girlfriend. Like BA KA got into the scene in 1978 and had a love for Motown music. Her relationship with BA expanded her music tastes to include 1960s music and soul. Unlike BA who came lived on a council estate, KA's parents owned their own house and she worked for the civil service. For her class was never an issue and it was more about Mods who had to work for what they had and those who had it handed to them by their parents. KA remembers being part of a record club where she would tick off the records she wanted on a pamphlet and send off for them monthly. She would travel to Leeds, Bradford, and Halifax to go to the second-hand shops, markets, and record shops. KA believes that all the aspects of Mod – scooters, clothes, music, socialising – were important and took an active interest in all of them during the revival period. KA felt included in the group of Mods she socialised with and felt women had an equal role within the subculture. KA now lives in Cumbria.

26/03/19. 15:30-17:00. Barrow-in-Furness, Cumbria.

**IN** = Growing up in Barrow-in-Furness IN remembers the ending of the Punk era in 1977 and seeing smartly dressed Mods and scooters and instantly knew he had to become one. IN began to dress like a Mod and when he was old enough purchased his first scooter. As a Mod he felt like a member of an elite group and looked down on other subculture which he and his friends would fight with around the town. IN would go to the Steelworks pub every Thursday, Friday and Saturday which was the local Mod pub which was packed every evening and catered to its audience with their music in the jukebox and pictures of scooters on the walls. IN regularly attended scooter runs going to Scarborough in 1981 which he believes was the height of the scene. On year he went to Keswick where there was a full-scale riot between Mods and police and the local theatre was burnt down due to petrol bombs being used. The scooter runs were 'a continuous booze-up,' and during these events lots of violence took place between other subcultures and Mods from other areas. IN recalls how the scene was localised and people from the North would travel to their own events and those from the South had theirs. The scene in Barrow was solely working class and the only differentiation was those who could afford nicer

clothes and those that couldn't, there was a make do attitude in IN's group of friends. Having travelled to London and scooter rallies in the South, IN recalls how he thought Northern Mods were more worldly-wise and tougher and those in the South more elitist and had it better off with more access to clothes and music. While attempting to gain an authentic 1960s style IN believed that Mod was something new and exciting and while a revival it was their own scene and completely different to the 60s. IN identifies as a white working class male.

27/03/19. 12:00-13:20. Grange-over-sands, Cumbria.

**P** = P was born in 1950 and got into the Mod scene in 1963 at the age of thirteen. P lived in Stoke-on-Trent at the time of the interview. He is married to J, the participant below. P has experience of both the Mod scene and the Northern Soul scene due to his regular visits to the Golden Torch in Stoke. In 1966 P got his first scooter which allowed him to travel further afield with a group of about twenty or thirty other scooter-riding Mods. P believed that the Mod scene was ad hoc with little organisation, you would simply meet your friends and decide on where to go on a ride. Fashion was not a huge factor for P, while it was important to look smart, more importance was placed on going to Mod venues and the scooters. P came from a working-class background and as a Mod had to make do with what he could afford remembering that he could only afford one record which he would take to parties to get in and that his girlfriend would have to pay for him to gain access to nightclubs as she was earning a wage. P notes how the scene in Stoke-on-Trent was very localised, bar the scooter runs to places such as Rhyl. P is now retired and lives in Cumbria.

**J** = J got into the Mod scene around the same period as P in the early 1960s. J was employed in the potteries in Stoke-on-Trent and recalls how it was a 'white spot' town with 100% employment. She recalls being able to go over to the next pottery at lunch and get a job there if you were not satisfied with where you were working. J placed more importance on fashion and being seen that her husband P. J also had more money and was the person who paid for P to get into venues and bought him records which she said was not uncommon as the girls of the area were more likely to gain employment in the potteries. J would regularly go to Manchester to get clothes that she had seen in Petticoat magazine or get her mum to make her new dresses each week as she didn't want to be seen in the same thing twice. J remembers how drugs such as purple hearts and black bombers were easily accessible, even more so with the Northern Soul influence in Stoke, and was once arrested and given a year suspended sentence for being caught carrying her friend's pills. For J, the male Mod's scooters were extremely important and was an influencing factor for who you got in a relationship with. As a woman, J felt just as included in the Mod scene and all members were treated as equals. J is now retired and lives in Cumbria.

24/04/19. 11:00-11:30. Bootle, Liverpool.

**JM** = Living in Liverpool, JM became a Mod in 1978 after seeing a number of Mod Revival bands such as the Purple Hearts. Having already started riding a scooter and wearing Mod clothing, JM went to see *Quadrophenia* and for him the scene exploded from there. Researching the 60s influences of Paul Weller, JM began to listen to 1960s music and dress in original Mod wear. JM organised a Mod event at Speak Rugby Club which played Mod music and was well attended every week. At this point the Mod scene in Liverpool had grown with numerous venues putting on Mod nights most days of the week. While JM initially thought Liverpool Mods were smart, after visiting London he found that there was a lot more elitism and more importance placed on smart dress. In 1981 JM became involved with the Casual scene crossing over between the two. He recalls how the casual scene influenced the Mod scene in Liverpool with dress senses merging and adopting one another's styles. While attempting to recreate an authentic smart Mod style JM believed that what they were doing was their own version

and completely new while adopting certain aspects of the 60s. While certain items of clothing and records were easy to access in Liverpool other things were harder to come by and so JM would have to get them from London or order them. Whilst on Scooter runs to Scarborough JM remember there being violence between other subcultures and Mods from different areas, mainly due to too much drinking. JM believed that the police harassed Mods and used underhand tactics to try their best to make Mods conform. JM noted how both genders took an active role in the scene in Liverpool with many girls riding scooters and going on runs. JM identifies as a white working-class male.

30/05/19. Bradford, West Yorkshire.

**DC** = Interview conducted via email due to the participant currently being based in Lanzarote. Born in Bradford in 1949 DC spent his entire teenage years in the 1960's leaving school aged 16 in 1966. In August 1966 DC got his first job earning 30/- per week (£1.50) leaving in February 1967 to change careers after retaking his GCE exams. His new career earned him a starting 'salary' of £400, a massive rise in free money. DC got into the Mod movement through an unconscious choice derived from the choice of friends. He recalls that during the 60s fashion pigeonholed you into choosing between being a Mod or a Rocker. DC's experiences were localised to Bradford and the surrounding areas with little interaction from those further afield. DC's influences came from TV shows and music magazines and he found that Mod developed slower in the North and while adopting aspects of the London scene was separate to it. DC identifies as a working class white male.

# Appendix 2 – Oral History Interview Schedule

- When and how did you get into the Mod scene?

- Was the scene in the North different to that in the South?
- Was there a geographical divide? Cultural divide?
  - ➢ Regional? Vary from each town/City?
- Did Northern and Southern Mods ever cross paths?
  - ➢ Were there shared events?
  - ➢ Was it common for Mods from different areas to mix?
- Did you consider it to be a National scene or a more localised one?
- What do you/did you think of Mods from the South? Or from other areas of the country? Do you know what they thought of you?

- What does it mean to be a Mod?
  - ➢ The 'essence of Mod'
  - ➢ What were the most important aspects – Music, clothes, scooters, the experience?

- Were there any particular sites of interest that you visited? What places were in your orbit?
  - ➢ Where did you get clothes, records, go to Gigs?
- What networks existed?
  - ➢ How did you find out about events and meet other people on the scene?

- Was there ever a merging/integration with other subcultures?
  - ➢ Northern Soul? Scooterboys? Skinheads? Casuals?
- Did members from other subcultures get on? Was there ever any trouble?

- Ideas surrounding class
  - ➢ Did you ever consider Mod to be a working-class thing?
  - ➢ Was it ever a way of challenging the political and cultural climate?
  - ➢ Did this affect how Mod was experienced?

- Gender
  - ➢ Were women included? What was their role and were they considered equal to male Mods?
  - ➢ Was Mod ever considered effeminate? Was your masculinity ever questioned due to being a Mod?
  - ➢ Ideas of 'Northerness'/Northern traditional idea of masculinity and gender roles

- How did people react to you being a Mod?
  - ➢ Family and friends reactions?
- How did members of the public react to you?
- Was there ever a media reaction? If so, what was that reaction?
- Did the police ever react to you being a Mod?

- Were there certain things you had to do or wear to be considered Mod? Were there any dos and don'ts?
- Was there a hierarchy of Mod?
  - ➢ Top Mod? Plastics?

- What were your biggest influences?
- Did anything from the South/London influence you and your local scene? Was London seen as more Mod?
- Did the sixties have much of an influence? What influence did they have?
- Did Quadrophenia have an influence? If so, what?

- Why did you go on scooter runs? Was it ever to recreate what the Mods did in the sixties?
- Was there ever a sense of nostalgia?
- Did you feel as if what you were doing was new? Or did you think what you were doing had been done before?
- How do you think Mod in the Revival was different to that in the sixties?

- If Mod originated from a working-class movement in London, how do you think it managed to become so big in the North?

## Appendix 3 – Participant Information Sheet

**University of Huddersfield**

**School of Music Humanities and Media**

**Ethical Review Procedure**

**for Research and Teaching and Learning**

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**Research Participant Information Sheet**

You are invited to take part in a research study as part of a research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

**Who will conduct the research?**

Todd Dow
Music, Humanities and Media,
Oastler Building,
Queensgate,
Huddersfield,
HD1 3DH.

**Title of the Research**
The Migration of Mod: Analysing the Mod Subculture in the North of England.

**What is the aim of the research?**
The aim of the research is to collect a strong body of primary research to form the basis of an MA dissertation that will analyse the development of the Mod subculture in the North of England. I hope that the research collected will help to create an in depth historical analysis on an area that has gone relatively unnoticed in the academic community. Therefore, the research will help to create an original piece of academic analysis that may lead onto further research and/or publication.

**Why have I been chosen?**
You have been asked to be interviewed as part of this project as you have experience or knowledge of the Mod subculture in the North of England. The study will include approximately twelve participants of various ages, backgrounds and of both sexes.

**What would I be asked to do if I took part?**
You will be asked to participate in a one to one interview with the researcher. The researcher will ask you a number of predetermined questions during the interview, however, there will be flexibility in the topics that can be discussed. You are expected to answer the questions however you feel best and there is no pressure to answer all the questions. You will be expected to talk about your own

experiences and views relating to various aspects of the Mod subculture. The interview is expected to last an hour, but might be slightly longer or shorter.

**What happens to the data collected?**
The oral history interviews collected will form the basis of the researcher's MA dissertation. The interviews will be transcribed and analysed by the researcher. Data collected will help to analyse a number of research questions revolving around the Mod subculture in the North of England. This data will be anonymised and kept on a secure password protected computer (If consent is given). If consent is given the data may be used to develop further research and/or to be used in a publication.

**How is confidentiality maintained?**
Confidentiality will be maintained through keeping the interviews anonymous. Furthermore, interviews will be stored (if consent is given) on a password protected computer.

**What happens if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?**
It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without detriment to yourself.

**Will I be paid for participating in the research?**
Unfortunately, it is not possible to pay the participant for taking part in the research. The interviews will be conducted in an agreed location as to cause the least amount of inconvenience to the participant.

**What is the duration of the research?**
The research would consist of an interview lasting approximately an hour with the possibility of a half an hour follow up interview if needed.

**Where will the research be conducted?**
The locations for the interviews are yet to be decided. The location shall be agreed upon by the researcher and participant as the research will be conducted in a number of cities/towns. The locations of the interviews will be in a public place and the relevant persons will be made aware of the meetings time and location prior to the interview.

**Will the outcomes of the research be published?**
The research will form the basis of a MA dissertation and may form the basis of later academic and non-academic articles.

**Criminal Records Check (if applicable)**
Not applicable

**Contact for further information**
Todd Dow
Email Address: U1558541@pgr.hud.ac.uk

# Appendix 4 – Newspaper advertisements



Appendix 4 - Newcastle Evening Chronicle. (1963, November 16). Farnon Fashion advert. *Newcastle Evening Chronicle.* Page 18.



Appendix 4 - Newcastle Evening Chronicle. (1963, November 16). Lambretta advert. *Newcastle Evening Chronicle.* Page 18.
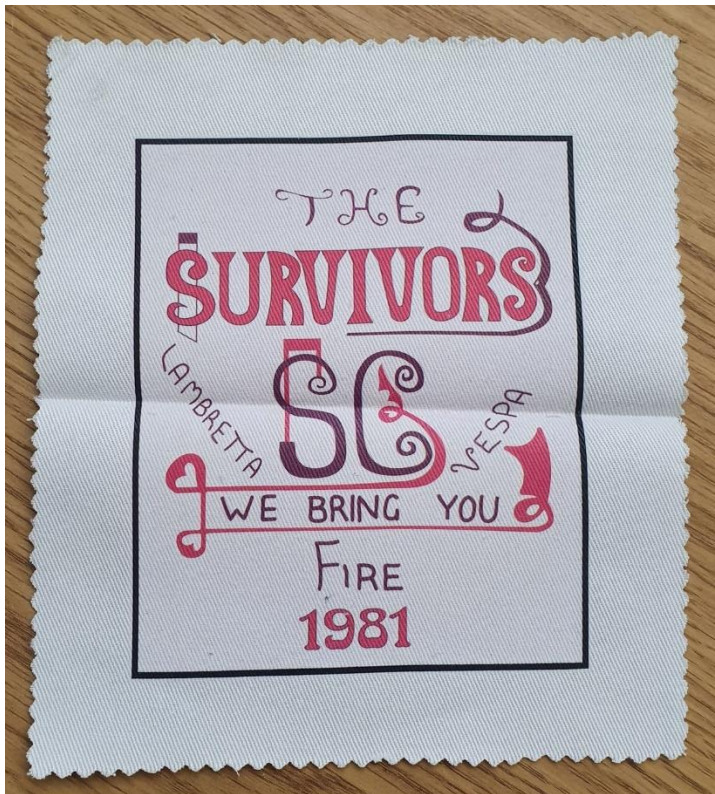
# Appendix 5 – Scooter Club Badges



Ready, Steady, Go Scooter Club badge from 1981. This scooter club is based in Barrow-in-Furness and still meets and attends events regularly.



Setting Sons Scooter Club badge. The founder chose to name the club after one of The Jam's albums. The club still takes an active role in the scootering community.

The Survivors Scooter Club badge from 1981. The scooter club still meets today and uses their original badge to identify themselves. The club in based in Huddersfield.