

DIGGING THE ROOTS OF MODERN HEAVY METAL: ROCKERS AND MODS AS MUSIC RELATED SUBCULTURES OF CONSUMPTION

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Abstract

Focus of qualitative consumer studies has recently been on subcultures of consumption, consumer tribes and brand communities. How subcultures of consumption utilise music in identity construction has mainly been neglected. Two historical cases about subcultures of consumption, the working-class Rockers and Mods in UK in the 1960s, are examined in this article. The purpose is to discuss how music manifested and facilitated consumption practices of these groups'. Preconditions for modern rock music emerging in 1960's and characteristics of music related subcultures of consumption are discussed in the conclusion section.

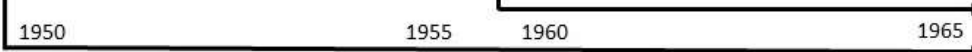
British youth cultures and modern rock - digging the roots, striking the chords

The Rockers and the Mods phenomenon took place in UK in the 1950s and 1960s, peak period being between the years 1963 to 1967. The phenomenon followed the Teds' or Teddy Boys' youth subculture of the 1950s. Both the Rockers and the Mods were youngster groups loaded with different set of values, background and assortment of consumption-mediated practices. The Rockers and the Mods combined music with material goods and ways of consuming.

The Rockers and the Mods are often contrasted as being somehow opposing subcultures. They have been portrayed as being hostile towards each other and causing trouble by squabbling during the bank holidays especially in the 1964. These actually minor confrontations were exaggerated by the national press, which led to wide-spread public debates about the "Wild ones". Stanley Cohen coined the terms "folk devils" and "moral panics" to describe media publicity around the Roker and the Mod phenomenon (Cohen 2011[1972]). These subcultures of consumption emerged from societal developments that took place after the WWII. Youth subcultures gained firmer grounds, general well-being and affluence rose and the young were freer in several ways compared to the previous generations. For the first time, the consumer society (Baudrillard 1998[1970]) allowed young people to construct meaning, negotiate identities and play with elements of style through material and immaterial acquisitions. Music adopted by these subcultures of consumption had also a distinctive role. The modern heavy metal has its roots in the pre-modern heavy scene that took shape during the 1960s especially in the form of so called the Mod's bands discussed later.

We utilize historical comparative approach (see Burke 1992, 22-28) and purposefully mix two phenomena: *the Rockers and the Mods as music related subcultures of consumption* in the 1960s Britain and their *immaterial and material consumption practices*. There is a vast literature about youth subcultures and subcultures in general. Instead of drawing on these discussions, we chose to examine the Rockers and the Mods from the view of the subculture of consumption, which is defined as “... a distinctive subgroup of society that self-selects on the basis of a shared commitment to a particular product class, brand, or consumption activity ... [that] include an identifiable, hierarchical social structure; a unique ethos, or set of shared beliefs and values; and unique jargons, rituals, and modes of symbolic expressions” (McAlexander & Schouten 1995, 43). By utilising the view of subcultures of consumption, our aim is to examine the Rockers and the Mods and their music related consumption practices. We are interested in how these subcultures of consumption embrace music and what the preconditions for modern heavy metal are when the Rockers’ rock music is contrasted with the Mods’ “pre-modern” heavy metal. The framework of the study is presented in the figure 1.

Figure 1: Elements of the Rocker and the Mod consumer subculture.

Ton-up boys (50s); Rockers (60s)	Mods
"New affluent British consumer society"; birth of youth subcultures; distinction from previous generations; freedom	
Working class; unskilled labour	Working class; skilled labour
Concept of time, orientation: past (1950s), static, conservative values	Concept of time, orientation: future, change, modern values
Products of popular culture - Music: Elvis, Eddie Cochran, Billy Fury - Movies: The Wild One (1953), The Damned (1961), The Leather Boys (1964)	Products of popular culture - Music: Small Faces, The Kinks, The Who - Movies: Blow up (1966); Quadrophenia (1979), We are the Mods (2009), Young Birds Fly (2011)
Appearance & style - Clothing: leather jacket, jeans, boots, caps - Motorcycles: British bikes; Ariel, Norton, Triumph - Style: Static, functional, follows traditions of the subculture	Appearance & style - Clothing: continental fashion, "French crew", style mixtures - Motorcycles: Italian scooters; Lambretta, Vespa - Style: Dynamic fashion consciousness; work and leisure combined
1950	1955
	

The structure of this article is organised around three themes. First, we discuss music, appearances and elements of style the Rockers and the Mods adopted. Secondly, we review their consumption mediated practices embodying music. Lastly, we discuss pre-modern heavy metal and its linkages to examined subcultures of consumption.

The making of the Rockers and the Mods – music, appearance and elements of style

The Rockers and their music

The Rocker subculture of consumption was formulated in the 1950s and early-1960s. The Rocker image reflected the experience of working-class in the mid-Twentieth century (Stuart 1987, 6). The Rockers wore jeans, black leather jackets and boots, and they drove big domestic motorcycles (ibid. 18, 23). Similar clothing and style is typical to the later heavy metal subculture (Weinstein 2000, 127-128). The rockers listened to the early American rock and roll produced 1955-1960. Elvis Presley, Buddy Holly, Chuck Berry, Gene Vincent, Eddie Cochran, Jerry Lee Lewis and Little Richard became famous in the UK (Gillett 1980, 185). In addition to the mentioned artists, the Rockers favoured early Beatles, and some Rolling Stones records (Willis 1978, 35, 62-63; Stuart 1987, 31-37).

In the UK, rock singers like Tommy Steele, Billy Fury, Cliff Richard, Adam Faith, Marty Wilde got their career started in the 1950s (Stuart 1987, 40-41). Tommy Steele was the first British rock and roll musician in 1956. His recordings like “Rock with the Caveman”, “Rock around the Town” and “Elevator Rock” were strongly influenced by the style of Bill Haley and His Comets (Perone 2009, 13). Towards the end of the 1950s and early 1960s Tommy Steele developed more and more as a middle-of-the-road pop singer and family entertainer.

Cliff Richard became the next British rock and roll star after Tommy Steele. Today he is maybe the most successful pop musician in the history of British popular culture. Cliff Richard’s record sales in Britain exceeded those of the Beatles and Elvis Presley, and his first hit song “Move it” has been regarded as the first true British rock record by John Lennon (Perone 2009, 15). Cliff Richard did not succeed in the United States, but he and his band the Shadows were a sensation in the UK and in many other countries around the world. After 1964 Cliff Richard rejected his earlier bad boy image, brought out his interest in Christianity and moved away from rock and roll (Perone 2009, 17). In the 1970s, he adapted again a more rock-oriented style.

Marty Wilde had a short period of success as a rock and roll singer during 1958-1960. He recorded mostly covers of American performers like Ritchie Valens, Elvis Presley and Jerry Lee Lewis (Perone 2009, 18-19). After him the next big star became Billy Fury from Liverpool. Billy Fury developed from Elvis-influenced rockabilly artist to a British beat style (ibid. 22). Billy Fury’s success lasted until the mid-1960s and his music was appreciated by the Rockers (Stuart 1987). He was commemorated as Liverpool’s first rock star in 2003 (Perone 2009, 27). Adam Faith from West London was the last mentioned British rock and roll star before the British Invasion and emerging new bands with a new sound. Faith’s first recordings were not commercially successful, but he managed to get a number one hit record on the British pop charts in 1959 with the song “What Do You Want?” and next year with “Poor Me” (Perone 2009, 28). Later Adam Faith also had a successful film and television career.

The Mods and their music

In the early 1960s, there was a clear line between the Mods and the Rockers. The Mods were dressed up sophisticated and stylish and wanted to appear new (Perone 2009, 3). As Dick Hebdige (2002[1979], 52) has pointed out, the Mods were the first of working-class background subcultures. They also formed the first subculture of consumption that “marked themselves out as Mods through commodity choices” (Hebdige (1998[1989], 110). The subculture took shape in the districts surrounded by the West Indian immigrants. Shepherd's Bush in western London where the members of the band Who came from was the “hot bed” of Mod activity during the mid-1960s (Perone 2009, 109). Many of the early Mods came from Jewish families. In addition to working-class, Jewish and Caribbean immigrants' influences they drew inspiration from the American tradition of beatnik artists (Feldman 2009, 122, 225; Frith 1988, 228). The Mods have been also characterized as lower-class dandies looking for everything that they considered cool. Working-class Mods with a sense of style could be taken up with middle- and upper-class youth (Marwick 1998, 77). The Mods wore conservative suits in respectable colours. They were fastidiously neat and tidy. Hair was generally short and clean, and they preferred to maintain the stylish contours of an impeccable “French crew” with invisible lacquer rather than with the obvious grease favoured by the more overtly masculine Rockers.

The Mods were either semi-skilled or more typically office workers, whereas the average Rocker was unskilled blue collar workers and earned rather less. The Mods had typically more variety of jobs than the Rockers which made demands on their appearance and dress code as well as their time. The style of the Mods was suitable to wear in school, work and leisure. This outlook concealed as much as it stated as the Mods undermined the conventional meaning of “collar, suit and tie” by pushing neatness to the point of absurdity (Hebdige 2002, 52). The Mod subculture of the 1960s was actually the first really international youth subculture mixing American and Caribbean musical traditions with British tones, French and Italian fashion and scooters and French clubs, films and haircut and Scandinavian design (Davey 1999, 83; Feldman 2009, 459). Feldman (2009, 5-6) summarises: Mod subculture merged technology, playful consumerism, music, fashion and design and aimed at creating an international youth culture and is still alive in the UK, Germany and Japan. The Mod subculture's international diffusion has been linked to the “British Invasion” of the rock groups led by the Beatles in front. This invasion turned the direction of pop culture influences from the United States to UK that had lasted since 1943 (Cooper & Cooper 1993). During the years 1964-1967 the tide of the musical and other popular culture influences ran to opposite direction. Before most of the musical influences came from the United States (Feldman 2009, 72).

The Mods were arrogant, narcissistic and sceptical “dedicated followers of fashion”, who found consumption as the last playground and haven (Frith 1988, 227-228). During leisure periods there was real work to be done: scooters to be polished, records to be bought, trousers to be pressed, tapered or fetched from the cleaners, hair to be washed and blow-dried. (Hebdige 2002). They listened to certain rock groups of which the most important were the Who, the Kinks, the Small Faces, the Yardbirds from London and the Animals from Newcastle upon Tyne. Also the Spencer Davis group from Birmingham and the Pretty Things and Georgie Fame and the Blue Flames from London were popular among the Mod audience. Georgie Fame was influenced by jazz music and one of the first white artists influenced by Jamaican ska music. As

the lead guitarist of the Who, Pete Townshend (2012), has reminisced, the Mods were interested in fashion, rhythm & blues, scooters and new styles of dancing. Fashion-consciousness and style were very important features of the Mods subculture of consumption. Many British rock musicians like John Lennon, Keith Richards, Ray Davies, Pete Townshend and Eric Clapton went to the art school instead of a university (Frith 1988, 79; Weinstein 2006, 172). In the case of the Who's Pete Townshend and the Kinks's Ray Davies their educational background can be one explanation when thinking about their sense of style, modernism and role as pioneers of the Mods' fashion.

There was also polarisation between the Hard Mods and those overtly interested in fashion and the 1960s look. According to Stan Cohen (1972, cited in Hebdige 2002) "the more extravagant Mods" involved in the whole rhythm and blues, camp and merged into the fashion conscious hippies and the incipient Underground. In contrast, the fraction of these hard Mods wore heavy boots, jeans with braces, short hair and began to turn away from the fancy arabesques of acid rock to champion ska, rocksteady and reggae. The skinheads grew out of this latter group, and constituted an identifiable subculture in the end of the 1960s (Feldman 2009, 152; Hebdige 2002, 55). The rather contradictory transition from West Indian music listening hard Mods to politically right wing oriented, racist and violent skinheads wearing tight Levi's jeans or StaPrest pants, Dr. Martin boots, Fred Perry and Ben Sherman shirts and listening to street punk or Oi! music took place in the late 1970s and the beginning of 1980s (Brown 2004, 158-163). Another interesting continuation of the 1960s' Mod culture was the dance-based youth culture of Northern Soul, which was a working-class youth subculture and a rebellion aimed at metropolitan consumerism in 1970s Britain (Doyle 2007, 317, 323; Feldman 2009, 155-157; Hebdige 2002, 25).

Elements of pre-heavy metal music

Interestingly, the Mod rock bands introduced new elements into their music during the era we call formation of the pre-modern heavy metal. From the English rock groups especially the Who and the Kinks represented the aesthetics and style of the Mods to the core (Perone 2009, 101). The Kinks was founded by the Davies brothers Ray and Dave performed in 1963 as the Ravens. The band changed its name in January 1964 when recording its first single Little Richard's "Long Tall Sally" with a new drummer Mick Avory (Perone 2009, 102). Ray Davies was a brilliant songwriter. The Kinks became soon popular with simple and strong riff based rhythm & blues style songs like "You really Got Me" (1964), "All day and All of the Night" (1964) and "Tired of Waiting for You" (1965). James Perone (2009, 105) has found "clear Mod signifiers" in the lyrics of the last mentioned one. "You really Got Me" based on a simple riff is a really path-breaking and very influential record for later hard rock, heavy metal and even punk rock. It has been discussed, whether the guitar player Dave Davies really sliced the speaker cone of his guitar amplifier with a razor blade to get the right distorted sound. Later his brother Ray confirmed the rumour in an interview in 1997 (Weinstein 2006, 169).

Strong rhythm & blues style guitar riffs were trademarks of many early hit singles of the most favourite Mod band the Who like "I Can't Explain" (1964), "My Generation" (1965) and "Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere" (1965). These songs aimed at reflecting the frustration of youth in the streets (Davey 1999, 83). The early live sets of the Who consisted of covers of American blues music, Motown soul and rhythm & blues standards (Perone 2009, 109). Pete

Townshend developed soon as a song writer, and in the mid-1960s the Who had already several hit records. In his hit tune “Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere” Pete Townshend used first time feedback in 1965 (Sandblad 1971, 58). However, the Beatles had used feedback sound already a year earlier in the hit song “I Feel Fine”.

“My Generation” is one of the most influential songs of the era. Stanley Cohen (2011, 215) calls it “Pete Townshend’s battle hymn of unresolved and unresolvable tensions, which, more than any other song, was the sound of Brighton, Margate and Clacton”. In May 1964 the Rockers and the Mods engaged in brawls in these coastal towns in southern England. The writer Pete Townshend and singer Roger Daltrey were influenced by the blues classic John Lee Hooker’s “Stuttering Blues”. The lyrics are one of the best descriptions of the search for personal freedom and frustration of the youth in the Mid-1960s (Cohen 2011, 215-216).

In “My Generation” the bass player John Entwistle plays a skilful, loud and aggressive bass solo that was one of the first bass solos in rock music. The three elements of pre-modern heavy metal were present: loud volume, aggressive and impressive stage performance and guitar solos and the use of fuzz and feedback as sound effects. The Who was actually among the very first groups to abandon the monotonic beat rhythm that goes on and on, because the drummer Keith Moon could transform his playing without losing the rhythm (Gillett 1980, 212). The group broke all the records in the volume of the sound (Sandblad 1971, 65-66). The raw sound of the Who was based on the loud volume, heavy touch, guitar solos and use of feedback and fuzz pedal to manipulate the guitar sound, Pete Townshend’s guitar smashing and Keith Moon’s wild drumming (Perone 2009, 110).

Keith Richards of the Rolling Stones was the first to use fuzz as an effect in the song “Satisfaction” in 1965. The mediators between blues rock and heavy metal born in the beginning of the 1970s were British groups, the Yardbirds as the vanguard, on the one hand and the American ingenious guitarist Jimi Hendrix on the other hand (Weinstein 2000, 16). Jimi Hendrix developed the art of guitar playing to a totally new stage in the late 1960s. The energy, long solos, the extreme use of feedback and fuzz and wah wah pedals and the loudness coupled with brilliant guitar playing were his trademarks (Whiteley 1990, 41, 47). Soon fuzz and wah-wah pedals and a massive volume became the trademark of many new rock groups. The modern heavy metal guitar sound was developing.

The Who’s stage performance developed towards the end of the 1960s as a total show and spectacle that was comparable only to American rock bands like the Jimi Hendrix Experience, the Doors and Frank Zappa and the Mothers of Invention. Jimi Hendrix shocked the audience by burning his guitar and imitating sexual act with the loud speaker in the Monterrey rock festival performance in June 1967 challenging all the others. This transformation went on during the 1970s, when the first real heavy rock groups Led Zeppelin, Black Sabbath and Deep Purple on one hand and progressive rock groups like Genesis, Yes, Jethro Tull and Emerson, Lake and Palmer developed their stage performances as spectacles. Robert Walser has identified the birth of the heavy metal genre to the release of Led Zeppelin’s second album, Black Sabbath’s “Paranoid” and the album “Deep Purple in Rock” in 1970. The term “heavy metal” was first introduced to the rock scene in the lyrics of Steppenwolf’s biker hit song “Born to Be Wild” (Walser 1993, 8, 10). Thus, the stage spectacle

as the fourth element of modern heavy rock took shape in the early-1970s with the help of developing sound reproduction appliances and stage technology.

The fifth element of modern heavy rock is the raw and hard-handed style of singing. This style made clear that the singer did not intend to be sentimental but could be cynical, sarcastic and realistic (Gillett 1980, 211). Singers were able to illustrate a wide spectrum of emotions such as defiance, anger, excitement and irony also utilised by later heavy metal singers (Weinstein 2000, 26). The new way of singing was adopted partly from the best black singers like James Brown. The new singing style was utilised by the best singers of the late-1960s such as the Who's Roger Daltrey, the Rolling Stones' Mick Jagger, Eric Burdon of the Animals, Robert Plant of Led Zeppelin and Deep Purple's Ian Gillan.

One distinctive feature between Mod bands like the Who, the Kinks and the Small Faces and the British heavy metal bands of the 1970s was the "potentially subversive gender aesthetics" of the Mods that was very different from the hyper-masculine style of bands like Black Sabbath or Led Zeppelin (Feldman 2009, 421). The playfulness of the 1960s had turned to the seriousness, gloom and monumental performances of the 1970s. Although the modern heavy metal bands' audiences were mostly youngsters during the 1970s, their relatives filled the concert arenas with audiences of various age groups during the later decades. Heavy metal became mainstreamed as most of the rock music.

Practices combined in consumer subcultures: music and "Scoots"

Above we discussed two distinctive subcultures of consumption, their relation to music and products of popular culture. According to Dick Hebdige (2002, 103) the subcultures are "cultures of conspicuous consumption... and it is through the distinctive rituals of consumption, through style, that the subculture at once reveals its 'secret' identity and communicates its hidden meanings." In addition to the music, identities of the Rockers and Mods are constructed by certain commodities, consumption rituals and practices. These practices unite material, competence and meaning (Shove et al. 2012). In the following we chose to examine exemplar practices of the Rockers and Mods that unite music, driving and preferred vehicles.

The Rockers: burn-up by spinning a record and a case of "Triton"

A practise characterising the Rocker subculture of consumption is in relation to coffee bars (Willis 1978, 35), such as famous Ace café. Coffee bars that welcomed the Rockers were typically located outside city centres and along exit highways. Well-known pastime at these coffee bars was to time a burn-up by spinning a record on the juke box. Stuart describes this practice as follows: "After a coin had been flipped into the slot, you kicked your bike over, belted under arches, down to the roundabout and got back before the record stopped" (Stuart 1987, 59). The practice united coffee bar as physical meeting place for socializing, rock music and usually reckless motorcycle driving in order to leave and return in time before a chosen record stopped.

Another practice typical for the Rockers can be labelled as craft consumption, a term introduced by Colin Campbell (2005). The British motorcycles, namely Norton and Triumph, were highly valued and also modified by the Rockers. One of the outcomes of DIY-rockers was a piece of machine called a "Triton" (TRIumph and NorTON). This single seated hybrid product of craft consu-

mers' was named after the mythological Greek god. A light Norton featherbed frame was modified to accept a competitive Triumph motorcycle engine. The Rocker subculture appreciated fast and well-handled motorcycles, and they created a distinctive style (café racer) by modifying existing mass-manufactured goods to suit their needs. For these purposes, a modified Triton suited perfectly. The motorcycle had a specific subcultural meaning which was related to status in the Rockers' social system (Willis 1978, 52). One interpretation concerning the naming of the "Rockers" is also linked to their enthusiasm towards motorcycles which were frequently disassembled and repaired. In addition to rock music they listened to, their naming refers to the rocker covers of a motorcycle engine. These upper-engine valve covers were handled frequently in order to access inner parts of an engine.

The Mods: club culture and scooter modifications

Like the Rockers, the Mods developed their own club culture. Certain clubs in the Soho of London and coffee bars were important places regarding to the Mod consumer subculture. These were the places to gather around, show oneself, meet the others and dance. The Mods were known for developing new dance moves. Most important clubs in London were the Marquee, the Roaring Twenties in Carnaby Street, The Flamingo and La Discoteque (Rawlings 2000, 39). The Marquee club in Soho was the most important rock club, where important bands performed. The club scene where many rhythm & blues musicians played in London was musically diverse mixing the favourite British groups with a range of black music (Allen 2007, 150). British recreational drug use was one feature of the Mod subculture associated to their club behaviour. There was a sharp difference between the Rockers and the Mods towards drugs. The Rockers despised drugs and their users (Willis 1978, 44) while the Mods embraced amphetamines and their party usage. Amphetamine use was criminalized in the UK only in the mid-1960s.

The Mods converted the scooter into a "weapon and a symbol of solidarity" (Hebdige 1976, 93). Like the Rockers, the Mods modified their means of transportation. The Mods preferred continental style. Therefore, British or American made motorcycles did not suit to their needs. Italian scooters such as Vespas and Lambrettas were preferred and customised according to their style preferences (Arvidsson 2001). Adoption of the Mods' preferred vehicle boosted significantly the sales of Italian scooters in the Britain. After the 1966 scooter sales dropped as the Mod phenomenon showed signs of abatement. Retail companies offered tailored scooter custom kits for the consumers (Rawlings 2000). Most preferred tuning options were two-tone paint, various kinds of stickers and a rack carrying up to 20 headlights mounted in the front of a scooter. A popular customization was also to mount a large amount of extra mirrors as displayed on the cover of the "Quadrophenia", a sixth studio album from the band Who.

Discussion: The Rockers, the Mods and the pre-modern heavy metal

Reporter: *Are you a Mod or a Rocker?* Ringo: *Um, no. I'm a mocker.* (Ringo Starr in a movie "A Hard Day's Night", 1964)

Music related subcultures of consumption are challenging to construct actively, but the processes can be managed to a certain extent. The Beatles is an example of managing successfully a rock band into changing their image from the Rockers to something quite close to the Mods (Rawlings 2000). This plan-

ned change was something that had cultural sounding-board and the consumers adopted the new Beatles without hesitation.

It is easy to agree with Christine Feldman (2009, 223) that “the Mod was a youthful post-war solution to ongoing tension between the ideal of modernity as democratizing and the actual gritty verities of social class which were influenced by industrialization and urbanization”. The Mod subculture was rather forward-looking, progressive and internationalist-oriented during the 1960s, when the Rockers were not very much oriented towards consumerism and aimed at preserving the “authentic” working class values of the 1950s and youth rebellion represented by Elvis Presley and other idols. The Mod subculture’s impact on youth was internationally unprecedented (Feldman 2009, 19). The Mod revival during the early-1980s and the latest revival in the 2000s showed that it was not only a passing fad.

Based on our historical case study about the Rockers and the Mods, we identified six factors relevant for music based subcultures of consumption. First of all, music related subcultures of consumption are typically related to young people or “invented” by them. Subcultures of consumption are developed further in intertwined practices of negotiating identity and style, material culture and both socially and culturally relevant meaning transition systems. The rock music was connected to practices that unite elements of peculiar style and consumer goods, such as modifying motorcycles and scooters. Secondly, birth of music related subcultures seem to be connected to geographical areas: countries, but especially large cities and certain districts. The central places for the Rockers and the Mods were labour intensive areas of southern and eastern London. Thirdly, the meanings for a social class (distinction) and demarcation between the classes (differentiation) were essential. Both having their bases in working class, the Rockers were traditional and usually unskilled blue collar workers. The Mods, however, associated themselves to middle-classes or at least skilled white collar working class working in offices.

Fourthly, time and timing seem to be essential in many ways. It is especially important whether a phenomenon is able to gain critical mass and to break through into a mass market. Certain timeframes are favourable towards music related subcultures of consumption to emerge. In the case of the Rockers and the Mods several lines of progressions merged in a short period of time. The rebuilding period right after the WWII was hardly providing a fertile ground for subcultures of consumption to emerge. In the late 1950s and in the beginning of the 1960s the economic upsurge provided jobs for people, and the general increase in affluence turned the British society into a modern mass-consumer society. For the first time in the history young people were relatively independent, occupied decently paid jobs and were free from, for example, obligatory military service. The great transformation of the society afforded development of a new mentality tied to material wealth and consumption. Fifthly, this new generation had also a set of values quite different compared to their parents who suffered the horrors of the war. Stuart (1987) suggested that “authenticity” of music and the performer - as challenging as it is to define in detail - was valued by the Rockers. This sixth element emerged somewhat differently in the Mod subculture. Most of the Mods’ identity building was based on artificial constructions and active negotiations about the Mod style. The Mods mixed and purposefully criss-crossed different fashions in order to create their distinctive style. The Rocker authenticity was loyal to blue collar working class values, whereas the Mods “constructed authenticity” through consumption.

In addition, the fandom and consumerism of especially the Mod subculture of consumption laid a firm ground for modern heavy metal. The Mods' music as pre-modern heavy metal was characterised by louder volumes, the aggressive stage performance, the extensive use of fuzz and feedback as sound effects, the spectacular stage performance and the raw and hard-handed style of singing. These elements are characteristics to the modern heavy metal.

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