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YOUTH POLITICS & YOUTH CULTURE

The past two years have seen the development of an authentic working class culture amongst white youth — punk. This article looks at the implications of current movements and examines left attitudes on the question. It argues that prospects for a socialist youth movement are strong. The perspective offered is important if socialists are to aid this process.

One of the oddest, as well as saddest, events of last year was the Young Socialists (Junior WRP version) conference passing a motion condemning Punk Rock as a capitalist conspiracy. Like other pleasures (football, drink and the like) it was held to be diverting us from the real fight against the system. It's true that this is a relatively extreme example. But you need only scan the pages of the music and left press in the past year to see earnest debates about whether Punk Rock is socialist/ rebellious/ progressive or capitalist/ decadent/ regressive. This is a completely wrong problematic for looking at the nature of Punk or any other youth culture. Not merely because, as a recent *Leveller* [1] article noted, punk has internal divisions; but because it treats the phenomenon, through ideological spectacles that do not and cannot fit. In the absence of a mass socialist movement, with its own strong cultural influence, no youth culture, Punk or otherwise, is going to be 'socialist'. No amount of deep interpretation of Punk lyrics or style can make it that. I have even seen an attempt to depict the bondage-style clothing used by some Punks as symbolic of the restrictions of capitalism.

This is not the first time the left has agonised over the nature of youth cultures and it indicates a series of political problems. There is no viable large, socialist movement in this country. No independent organisation and movement that defines socialism through its own eyes. Only movements as appendages of parties, who see the world primarily through the eyes of their 'parent' organisations. Party domination is only one aspect of the problem: what also matters is the perceptions of youth that the left tends to have, and not just those in organisations. I was sitting as a delegate in my local trades council recently, when a cheque was handed over to a young building worker as part of a campaign for Direct Workers. Clearly overawed, he mumbled his speech of thanks. He was then asked to leave the hallowed chamber. A delegate protested that he couldn't be allowed to stay and observe. The Chairman said in a very serious way that the rules didn't allow it, but he was sure that we would be seeing him back in a few years as a proper delegate. The problem with much of the left is that they see youth only as *future* workers, trade unionists or party members. I say "only", because, of course, they will be these things in the future and there is nothing wrong with that. But we also have to recognise the specific oppression and position of youth: materially, culturally, politically.

There is little doubt that the junior versions of left organisations are safe conveyor-belts. When I was in the Young Communist League, this was ensured by having a 30-year old President, ageing hack Monty Johnstone. Branch meetings would consist of the Chairman reading out exciting extracts from *the British Road to Socialism* (old and equally reformist version). Given the dramatic decline in membership in today's YCL, I doubt if things have radically changed. A few years later I was also active in Rebel, an International Socialist sponsored mini-movement. This was more imaginative and led some good local occupations of buildings for youth facilities, as well as having a lively and usually readable paper. Our branch in Liverpool had no IS members (IS had expelled them) and quite a lot of school students. We argued for independence from IS, a line supported by many IS youth. Unfortunately, we were too successful and IS closed it down by withdrawing financial and organisational support. We were told that "it was not providing enough recruits to IS."

Today little has changed. The two organisations that take youth seriously as a category, at least for recruitment purposes, are the Labour Party Young Socialists and the Young Socialists (WRP). They recruit a lot of dedicated young people, thirsting for action and knowledge of socialism as an alternative worldview. They also provide social activities and cultural events. On neither level are the things they do adequate. While the provision of education is good, its content and style is usually not. It too often mirrors school-type education, with parrot learning. Anyone who's argued with members of these organisations will know that it is no exaggeration to describe many of them as youthful 'hacks'. It is dispiriting to hear them argue with other youngsters in a stilted and forced way. They are moulded in the party line like many adults recruited to the left and often lose touch with their mates; Culture is often used in an underhand way: discos with a dose of Trotsky.

But more seriously, the culture is often not an alternative to capitalist forms. Young socialist events have included beauty contests and baby competitions. The general competitiveness and sex-role bias of existing culture is seldom challenged. An alternative cannot be force-fed, but has to be begun in a sensitive way. The latest SWP venture too, the Socialist Workers Youth Movement, judging by the last conference report, does not appear to have really got off the ground. These youth movements keep to safe channels by offering partial alternatives



which avoid many sensitive areas often uppermost in the minds of youth, notably sexuality and the family. These areas must be pulled into the light of day and given equal precedence with questions of unemployment, army recruitment and the like. For a fuller explanation one has only to look at the works of Wilhelm Reich in the 1920s and 30s in Germany, which have been recently, and rightfully, re-discovered by a new generation of the left.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF YOUTH CULTURES

The article started by indicating that the inability of the left to come to terms with youth culture was indicative of wider political problems. More specifically, unless the left does start to understand youth culture, no viable independent socialist youth movement can be developed. It is my contention that the strength and importance of 'youth' cultures in Britain have both mediated and substituted for 'political' cultures amongst youth. Whilst youth cultures have existed in many other countries they do not appear to have played as significant a role as in Britain. [2]. Certainly in countries like Italy and France the overt political consciousness of youth is higher. Cultural and political questions have often been fused. Not just in the famous examples of France '68 and Italy '69, but, for instance, in the mass campaigns of youth in Italy for free rock concerts which involved pitched battles with the police outside the stadiums.

Today in Italy the Proletarian Youth and Metropolitan Indians are descendants, in extreme variants, of these traditions. The contradictions of class and capitalism in these countries explode *directly* in the behaviour, styles and consciousness of youth. Pupil and school movements have been extremely strong, drawing on the long traditions of political consciousness and concern for the total society that characterises working class political culture. The fact that these traditions are dominated by the Communist Parties is not the point. It is still a political culture, with which youth interacts.

BRITAIN

In Britain there is an absence of socialist and Marxist political culture. While we are a society with rigid class divisions and strong class consciousness, it is primarily corporate [3] — that is, the working class demarcates itself from other classes without posing alternatives at the society-wide level. This inevitable reaction on youth cultures, which remain sealed within that corporativeness.

Cultures can be defined as the expressive forms of style and symbolism that create and confirm a distinct pattern of life, moulded to differing social/ material circumstances, and have to be explained with reference both to the 'parental' working class culture and to the dominant society-wide culture. It is necessary to say this to dispel that potent myth of post-war societies, the 'generation gap'. The underlying function of the 'generation gap' argument was to substitute generational conflict and consciousness for class consciousness. All the serious research into youth cultures, however, reveals clear evidence that class, not age, is the primary determinant of their form and historical development. [4]

Four years ago I wrote in an article that "There may be different attitudes to things like sex, morality and music, between parents who stick to traditional ways and their children, but the very solutions that young people adopt in their different youth culture groups show their links to their parents' social positions in terms of class, occupation, region, race and sex. Far from operating in a generational void, youth cultures are trying to work out at their own age level and in their own way (clothes, dancing, fighting etc.) the problems that effect their whole class or social group." [5]

Or, as others have also put it, while they share the same basic problematic as their whole class to capitalist societies, working class youth cultures express themselves through specific sub-cultural forms. [6] To re-emphasise an earlier point: because of the general corporativeness of working class consciousness, the class contradictions that express themselves through these sub-cultural forms are only indirectly political. This helps to explain, for instance, the lack of any ongoing and widespread pupil/ schools movement. While the hostility to schooling, boiling up now and again into specific actions is undoubtedly present, there has seldom been any transference of that to an organised, generalised and conscious form. This is partly due to the relationship of the working class and its institutions to education. Unlike other countries where those movements have in the past had critical relationships to capitalist education; the British working class movement, because of its corporativeness, has seldom questioned education's nature and functioning. At least since the war, its demands have been for 'more', that is within the social-democratic and individualistic framework of 'equality of opportunity'. Within this context, indirect resistance and apathetic rejection have functioned as working class pupils' response. What went on outside school, including youth cultures was simply more important.

TEDS AND MODS

By looking briefly at some of the experience of youth cultures in Britain, we can apply the above argument more specifically. While the Teds were not necessarily the first working class youth culture, they were certainly the first obvious one. They were an overt reaction to the limits and contradictions of consumer capitalism. It was the era of "you've never had it so good", in the Tory Fifties. The Teds were an exploration of the affluent style, but the limits and suspicions were reflected in their backward projection to the style of the Edwardian era. The limits were, of course, influenced by the fact that most Teds were semi- or unskilled workers. In particular, the Teds represented a critique of the cultural limits of consumerism and the deadness of mainstream culture. What shocked many people was precisely the indirect challenge to the ideology and practice of consumerism. Carl Perkins' song sums it up:

"Well, you can burn my house, steal my car,
Drink my cider from my old fruit jar,
Do anything that you want to do,
But honey, lay off my shoes,
Don't you step on my blue suede shoes."

Teds chose to invest meaning in their own commodities, creating a distinct style, a pattern repeated right through to punk. But the most significant exploration of the limits of the affluent society was that of the Mods. This was, as the name suggests, a much more direct and living relationship with post-war capitalism. The stylish clothes and types of behaviour involved an attempt to realise the myth of social mobility, the idea that the working class was becoming middle class and could 'make it' if they worked hard enough or were 'intelligent'. The scooter was the key symbol. As someone once pointed out, the aim of the scooter was not to get from point A to point B, but to look good on the way.

These processes were made all the more clear by the sharp contrast with the Rockers. They were a static and backward group, whose primitive rejection of consumerism reflected their social base. This was primarily among semi-rural or small-town unskilled youth, compared to the Mods semi-skilled and urban base. [7] Unmarketable in capitalist terms, and often drawn on by reactionary organisations to implement 'law and order', Rockers have remained unsurprisingly similar to the present day. The decline of the Mods reflected precisely the deterioration of the imaginary social mobility. Living in perpetual hope that next weekend would be better, their unchanging material situation eventually sunk the myths. All this was sensitively charted in the under-rated *Quadrophenia* by the WHO. The LP starts with lyrics like this:

"Every year is the same,
And I feel it again,
I'm a loser, no chance to win,
But I'm the one,
You'll all see, I'm the one.
(From "I'm the one")

"I'm getting put down,
I'm getting pushed around,
I'm getting beaten every day,
My life's fading,
But things are changing,
I'm not going to sit and weep again."
(From "The Dirty Jobs")

It ends with the realisation that:

"You were under the impression, that:
That when you were walking forwards,
You'd end up further onwards,
But things ain't that simple."
(From "I've had enough")

It was inevitable that something like Skinheads would be the reaction. From exploring social mobility images there was a return towards the safer, even caricatured stereotypes of the working class. In marked contrast to the mods they were dressed as if they had come straight from work. The music was also more uniform and regimented, from Reggae to Slade. The 'alien' elements in dress and music were gradually eliminated. 'Skins' also tried to eliminate other so-called alien presences; most notably in 'queer-' and 'Paki-bashing'. Again the contrast was provided by the far more middle class Hippies. [8] They were des-

cribed by the Skins because of their looseness, diversity and hedonistic pleasure-seeking. Skins were re-asserting the puritanism and chauvinism that is a feature of working class culture. This movement in youth cultures broadly parallels the decline of affluent images inside the working class as a whole. The mid-sixties saw the beginnings of the massive growth in unofficial strikes and other forms of working class resistance in industry and the community, as the economic crisis first began to bite. It is noticeable, though, that not all Mods drifted towards being 'Skins'. The older, better-off and longer-educated, often became 'Smoothies' or even working class versions of Hippies. Again showing that class is the major determinant of variations in the youth sub-cultures; the prime sociological base of the Skins being in the poorer working class. [9]

After this polarity there was a long period of diversity and fragmentation, where clearly defined mass youth culture groups declined. This fragmentation was influenced by two long-term trends in the social composition of youth. People between 15 and 24 increased by 24% between 1951-69: there are now around 8 million, with nearly a million in further and higher education. With such growth there is bound to be divergence, with more regional variations [10] and stratification by age: for instance the growth of markets for 'Teenyboppers' etc. Secondly, the increased overlap of youth cultures is partially related to the changing class structure. The less sharply defined differences in musical tastes and clothes; particularly the fact that many working class youth are now into heavier Rock and sometimes soft drugs is indicative of these changes. The most important being the growth of lower level technical and white collar labour, largely filled by working class youth. The resultant mix (also reflected in further education) with lower middle class elements has encouraged social exchanges of taste and style. Of course, the decline of mass youth cultures reflects the inevitable blockages and occasional circularity built into the process. If youth cultures exist as an expression of wider class contradictions, their very isolation guarantees that they cannot solve them. The extremes of images - affluence and ultra-proletarian - had been explored and there was bound to be an impasse. That impasse is influenced by the fact that working class youth cultures express, as Cohen indicates [11], a contradiction at an ideological level between working traditional puritanism and the new ideology of consumption.

That contradiction is also at the heart of the youth culture that has broken that impasse - Punk. We have not the space for a detailed analysis of Punk; but while it is not a mass and universal youth culture it deserves to be taken seriously. Its origins are rooted in class and culture. The material conditions of youth have deteriorated sharply in the past few years. Although this is manifested most clearly by the record levels of youth unemployment, it also interacts with the increased drabness of many jobs, living conditions and cultural options. Several observers have documented how the lyrical content of many Punk songs take up these themes of drabness and 'no future'; and how a number of the bands and Punk movements arose from working class areas like the Wythenshawe estate in Manchester (Slaughter and the Dogs etc.) This may explain the impetus behind Punk, but it does not explain the cultural form. This has to be partially related to past youth cultures. In immediate terms the past few years have been ones of relative stagnation. Dress, music and other cultural forms have become more and more blurred; music in particular has become more studio-based, emphasising technical excellence, rather than live performance and guts. This helps to explain the rawness and deliberate lack of sophistication of the music and dancing styles of Punks (pogoing etc.). The dress and other behaviour patterns push a path between the previous styles of Mods and Skinheads, but while Punk has style it is not the affluent upward-looking one of the Mods. The style appears to be an eclectic parody of consumer culture, with odd bits and pieces (safety pins, bin liners, fetishistic sexual clothing etc.) combining with the more usual narrow trousers and spiky hair styles. This is nowhere better expressed than in some of the Punk names like Poly-Styrene, who also uses a lot of brand names ironically in her songs.

The lyrics of Punk defy textual analysis. The chaotic jumble of images (particularly in Sex Pistols songs) and continual high-speed musical form upturns in existing culture in at least a temporarily subversive way. It is not a question of how progressive or socialist the lyrics are, but simply having to recognise



their subversive effect, manifested strongly in the denial of love and the usual themes of most songs. [12] Having explored the extreme images, the inverted consumerism of Punk recognises that there is no going back in youth cultures. If Punk is a sub-cultural expression of a system in crisis and decline, it is hardly surprising that socialists have tended to get excited about it. Aside from the general subversion there are enough groups with explicitly anti-capitalist and anti-fascist/ racist messages to make it the most progressive youth culture that we have experienced in Britain. [13] It is the first youth culture that has the possibility of having directly political effects. This is not to say that a socialist youth movement should base itself on Punk; that would be narrow and self-defeating. But simply that the emergence of Punk opens up real spaces for the development of that movement.

PROBLEMS OF YOUTH ORGANISING

Despite the opportune moment there are many problems and obstacles involved in taking up the urgent task of youth organising: some theoretical, some practical. On the more theoretical side there is the question of what the oppression of youth actually is, so that we can direct our organising in the most fruitful directions. One solution to this is the concept of 'ageism' put forward recently in a pamphlet *Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement*. [14] This seeks to insert youth oppression as part of a trio alongside sexism and racism. Certainly there are some surface similarities. Stereotyped assumptions are made about people solely because of their age, at both ends of the age spectrum – "You're just a kid", "at your age you can't expect to understand" etc. And this is related to unequal power distribution. There are some structural aspects to youth oppression. These include the superexploitation of apprentices and other young workers as cheap and disposable labour. At the other end, older workers are often discarded. At the moment they are being asked to make way for younger ones through early retirement schemes designed to help bail the system out of its crisis. There is also the question of the continuing restriction of legal rights of the young. But it is easily the weakest structural basis for a specific oppression. It cannot be compared in most respects with race and sex primarily because it is only a temporary condition. Even for pensioners, those who suffer do so overwhelmingly because of their class. And if the history of youth cultures teaches us anything we see again that class is the key variable. How useful would the concept of 'ageism' have been to understanding that history?

The problem politically with the use of 'ageism' is that it

can lead to ultra-left excesses. The front of the recent paper, *School's Out*, had in bold letters on the front – "No-one is old enough to know better." This vision of adult prejudice is understandable, but in Marxist terms ridiculous. While age guarantees nothing, the Marxist concept of theory and practice is based on experience and we all have plenty to learn from older comrades. Age-based analysis also tends to pose the conflicts exclusively on authority lines. Here in an undifferentiated way the enemy becomes the teacher or the parent. While there are specific non-antagonistic contradictions [15] between these forces, the ageist strategy tends to miss the potential points of unity, for instance on cuts struggles. And while the nuclear family has oppressive features the 'ageism' argument tends to over-estimate them and under-estimate the emotional and practical uses the family has to young people, particularly working class ones. The ultimate in ultra-leftism has come in the Italian 'Metropolitan Indians' and 'Proletarian Youth'. Their manifesto includes demands such as – "The abolition of the age of majority so that all children who want to leave home are free to do so, even if they can only crawl," and 'anti-family militias, to free young people from patriarchal tyranny.' No comment.

'Ageism' not only under-estimates class, but also sexual and racial divisions. We have to be very careful with demands and organising in relation to girls and black youth. Girls have always been subordinate in youth cultures. Styles and behaviour have often been moulded in male images [16] although the impact of the women's movement is slowly changing the situation. Given these factors, a lot of the articulation of demands tend to be male-oriented. For instance, the demand for places where young people can go and make love and general demands for more sexual freedom are double edged. Girls are often sexually exploited in these situations and also want the space to define their own sexuality; which includes the right and power to say no – even to 'liberated' lads. Black youth also cannot be assumed to be included in 'normal' youth demands. The existence of fairly exclusive black youth cultures is evidence of their independent needs. And the unity between all black people (for instance in the Black Parents and Black Students movements) often appears to take precedence over age divisions. So while this article doesn't put forward any magic formulas for understanding youth oppression, we must be clear that any analysis and practice has to recognise the multi-faceted nature of that oppression. Which variable is dominant will depend on the specific context. Ageism tends to collapse these aspects into one, which is only the dominant.

one in a minority of circumstances.

There are also serious practical/ political problems. Anyone who has organised with youth knows the high level of physical oppression that often accompanies it. Activists are often beaten in their schools or expelled. Certain families will come down hard on them and the police have all manner of legal means to harass activist youth. The struggle for self-controlled youth centres is a key aspect of providing the social and political space needed. But getting them is a very hard job. Occupations are often immediately successful, but face a lot of problems of legal harassment. Also the internal divisions and lack of experience can limit the development. One example was chronicled in the August 1977 issue of *Big Flame*. A group calling themselves themselves 'Independent Youth' took over disused premises and held a successful occupation. This was eventually called off when the council promised to provide alternative accommodation. But even before this it had started to deteriorate. The occupants were all local youth and there were big problems of internal democracy - girls doing the housework tasks, age and power divisions and so on. The lack of experience in organising skills is often crucial. But when older advisors help; even with the best intentions, a dependency situation tends to arise. This problem will always be with us but solutions could be helped by the production of an English version of an excellent and highly practical manual on '*Student and Youth Organising*' (Youth Liberation - USA)

PROSPECTS FOR A SOCIALIST YOUTH MOVEMENT

Despite these problems the prospect for a socialist youth movement has never been brighter. Alongside the Punk phenomenon, the success of Rock Against Racism in providing a focus for a broad spectrum of youth has been very heartening. The participation of youth on the 'Right to Work' marches, despite the intense SWP manipulation has been a dominant factor. Anti-racist/fascist activity for and by youth is also on the increase. Although we should be ashamed that it took the NF paper *Bulldog* to appear to wake up the left to the need to fight actively among youth where they are; in schools and communities. The fascists have never doubted the necessity to organise among youth. Even through the media there have been increasing reports of pupils' activity ranging from united activity against cuts to the still vital and basic demands for democratic rights; notably against corporal punishment, school uniform and the general right to organise. In this area the NUSS (National Union of School Students) has not been as successful as it hoped. It has a scattered and mainly London-based membership, not unconnected with attempting to build it in the image of the National Union of Students and the "no politics" rule imposed by its Young Communist League leadership. There have also been youth papers started in places like Aberdeen.

In the coming period the priorities for youth organising would appear to be:-

- * Anti-fascist and racist activity. Regular leafleting, music benefits etc.
- * Anti-recruitment propaganda linked to the United Troops Out Movement.
- * Information provision and organising on questions of abortion and contraception.
- * A national youth paper, plus systematic intervention in the music press.
- * The fight for youth centres.
- * Building schools organisation, if possible linked to NUSS.

These encouraging but limited activities cannot be moulded into an organisation or even a movement overnight. A lot of patient organising needs to be done which avoids abstract calls to action and unwinnable, (and therefore demoralising) demands. A meeting was called recently by people involved in the paper mentioned previously - '*School's Out*' - which has a perspective of a national youth paper, acting as a growing focus for the diverse existing youth organising. They hope that by building a network of activities and organisers a basis can be laid for an independent socialist youth movement. *Big Flame* broadly supports this perspective and is prepared to put resources into it. This raises the question of independence. Any organisation of youth needs to be formally and actually independent of any one organisation. It is also clear that it cannot survive or grow without the aid of left organisations.

This tightrope has to be walked. Any youth organisation that interprets independence in an anti-organisational way or believes that it can count on uncritical support will fall off that tightrope.

FOOTNOTES

- [1] In an otherwise perceptive article in *The Leveller 10* - "Who says the Kids are Alright?"
- [2] America is a unique case in that a very general youth culture actually functioned as a 'counter-culture'. In a society where class divisions are already overlaid by racial ones; generational consciousness is also predictably strong.
- [3] The use of 'corporate' here as sectional and sealed within itself has to be distinguished from its other use as in 'corporatism' or 'corporate state': which refers to an all-embracing and monolithic state control and domination over independent class institutions.
- [4] Most of the research has been done by the Centre For Contemporary Cultural Studies, who have produced a book *Resistance Through Rituals*. I agree with the basic perspectives and draw from the material in this article.
- [5] "*The Historical Development of British Youth Cultures*" which was circulated inside *Big Flame* and *Rebel* in 1974.
- [6] See essay "*Subcultures, Cultures and Class*" (Clarke, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts) in *Resistance Through Rituals*.
- [7] Figures drawn partially from data of people arrested in Mods-Rockers clashes. See *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* - Cohen (Paladin).
- [8] Unfortunately we do not have space in the article to deal with what are basically middle class youth cultures. There has been a consistent thread from Beatniks, Hippies and onwards concerned with a critical relationship to bourgeois culture and ideology. Rather than explore the images of what they hadn't got, as in working class youth cultures, middle class youth reject much of the basis of a consumer society. Their youth cultures have been more passive and reflective, concerned with finding alternative inner spaces to the poverty of bourgeois life. This is one of the reasons why, with the decline of the counter-cultures, many became susceptible to the rises of the new mystical religious movements that swept the USA and to a lesser extent Britain.
- [9] Smoothies are more conventional working class youth into the clubs/ women cycle of existence continuing the more affluent style. In this general point about class determinations we are not suggesting a mechanical or exclusive relationship. All youth cultures contained minorities from different social groups, reflecting the divisions and re-shaping of classes. There have always been minority components of new white collar and lower middle class youth in working class youth cultures. And when youth cultures break up, the directions of the fragments can often be related to their class components; as they were in the example of the transitions from Mods to Skinheads.
- [10] There have always been regional differences in the adoption and spread of youth cultures, although this is accelerating. An example being the Northern Soul scene, which has stubbornly continued a tradition dating back almost to the Mods and centred on the unlikely place of Wigan.
- [11] Phil Cohen - "*Sub-cultural Conflict and Working Class Community*".
- [12] One of the problems of this 'subversion' is that it carries dangers of violent sexism. A number of punk songs have contained lyrics which have sadistic and anti-women overtones: most recently the appalling "*Rip Her to Shreds*" by Blondie.
- [13] "*Temporary Hoarding*" the Rock Against Racism paper provides heartening evidence in its letter columns of the way many Punks are thinking about politics and music. In fact, this initiative as a whole and the development of other groupings like '*Music For Socialism*' is one of the most positive things happening.
- [14] This pamphlet was put together by a few people in Leeds who had previously been involved in schools leafleting, including some people who were in *Big Flame*. Although we had strong disagreements with the style and content of the schools activity, the resulting paper '*School's Out*' had built on the strengths and was much better all round.
- [15] A non-antagonistic contradiction is one that can be resolved (despite real and ongoing conflict) within the struggle against the main class enemy, whereas antagonistic ones cannot. The term was used by Mao.
- [16] This has been particularly evident in the styles adopted, for instance, by Mod and Skinhead girls and in the imitation of other forms of gang behaviour and authority structures. But we have to be careful as most study has been done through male eyes, including this. A counterweight is provided by '*Girls and Subcultures*' (Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber) and '*A Note on Marginality*' (Rachel Powell and John Clarke) in '*Resistance Through Rituals*'.