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SELF-WORSHIP IN THE SIXTIES THE CULTURE OF NARCISSISM

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INTRODUCTION

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The 1960s were the years of economic stability, of mass consumerism, of private affluence and social mobility. After the slow redevelopment of the late forties and early fifties Britain had once again secured its economy, but this time society had changed. The traditional values of Britain's pre 1939 society were declining rapidly.

Among the mature generation of the 1960s who had grown up during and immediately after the war, there was a sense of loss and a search for pride. This generation felt that their country had been cheated by the war. Britain, before 1945, had power which stretched over nearly one third of the globe - now it had lost most of that. The nation's pride was suffering and it was the younger generation who decided to make Britain noticeable again.

The youth were the most powerful and determining force of the sixties. They, as a group formed a new culture of their own. This 'Youth Culture' had new ideas and new means of expression. The most important form of this 'expression' was their incessant departure from social, religious and moral values of former generations. Youth culture in the 1960s became a totally new conception. This conception was understood only as part of a mass consumerist society. Brian Roberts states in Resistance through Rituals:

The term is premised on the view that what happened 'to youth' in this period is radically and qualitatively different from anything that had happened before. It suggests that all the things which youth got into in this period were more significant than the different kinds of youth groups or the differences in their social class composition. It sustains certain ideological interpretations - e.g. that age and generation mattered most, or that youth culture was incipiently classless even, that youth itself had become a class. Thus,

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it identified 'youth culture' exclusively with its most phenomenal aspect - its music, styles, leisure consumption.¹

In this dissertation I am going to take a critical look at the youth culture of the 'swinging sixties' of Britain between the years of 1960 and 1966. My investigation is of a social-psychological nature and is directed at youths' attitude to, and reasoning of ideas of sexuality, expression and style through the media of Fashion and Image, Music and the Printed Media.

YOUTH CULTURE

YOUTH CULTURE

Culture is ...that level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life and give expressive form to their social and material...experience.²

Dick Hebdige's definition of culture is a good one to apply to the youth of the sixties. Different cultures emerge for different reasons. Youth Culture in the 1960s was a commercial creation but its emergence as a dominant culture was the result a combination of factors - psychological and socio-economic.

Post-war social change meant that affluence was generated among the working classes and hence consumer spending increased among working and middle-class people. This produced new social arrangements and values and the 'rapid bourgeoisification of the working class'. This in turn resulted in the breakdown of cultural and social barriers and general affiliation with middle and lower class values. Most young people directly involved in the heat of the swinging sixties were from middle or upper class backgrounds. It is interesting however to note that these young people were deliberately adopting lower-class values, they projected images of 'toughness' - the streetwise look. excitement and indulgence. The main reason for this adoption of lower-class values was a conscious decision on behalf of the young generation to oppose the values of their parents, to make 'youth' modern, and rebellious against values of past generations. Another reason for the popularity of the lower-class 'image' was its trendiness in a new, changing, socio-economic society. The idea was to break British class structure, and so youth constructed a 'make-believe' lower class society. This ideology meant that youth culture in the 1960s was an 'ideological concept' lacking any real values other than those suitable to a growing commercial permissive society.

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The generation born during the war had not experienced the traditional pre-war society of Britain. They had no commitment to old austere values except through what their parents taught them. This young generation were direct beneficiaries of a new educational system and welfare state. For them pleasure and leisure were as important as they were feasible. With the emergence of the sixties spirit - consumerism, capitalism and spending power, youth became directly involved in its pleasures. Not having any strong identity with former spiritual or social morals, neither with any strong, or at least believable hopes for the future youth culture became self-absorbed - detached from the older generation of that time. Stuart Hall highlights this detachment in <u>Resistance through Rituals</u>:

In all that related to a knowledge of the world around him, ...of the workings of society, of the many social and economic problems which must force themselves daily $\frac{\mu p \sigma}{p \phi \pm n t}$ the attention of the working man, the mind of the growing youth was left to his own direction.³

Finally, it was the arrival of mass communications, mass entertainment, mass art and mass culture that fired the imaginations of the younger generation. The 'dominance' of youth had created a need for a new market especially for 'youth'. They demanded new styles, new images, new ideas anything creative and fantastical which would satisfy their needs and highlight their uniqueness:

In the age of consumerism the old idea of a singular 'good' or correct taste was being replaced by a social and plural view in which taste was an expression of a group's identity and outlook.⁴

Youths' lifestyle expressed the 'swinging' sixties and all its 'wonderful' free opportunities. Youth culture became the model of a decade of hedonistic and limitless outlook. While youth formed an 'alternative' culture, they did not form an alternative society. Youths' hope to break British class structure and austerity, and in turn form a 'new' society was obliterated by their own obsession with their 'self' - their

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personal image and their vanity. The whole romantic and idealistic imagery of the 1960s, created by objects of mass-consumerism removed youth culture from ordinary life. It absorbed them in themselves - their images and their egoes. It made them into a nihilistic culture - 'a generation without any values save those of flashy, instant pleasures'.

It is in the areas of Music, Image and Fashion and Printed Media that youth culture of the 1960s expressed motivations and liberal ideals. It is also in these areas that we see youth as a narcissistic culture - more caught up with personal well-being and self-esteem than with society's problems. Youth during the sixties were optimistic about everything but their optimism was blind - it was fabricated by their helpless dependency on material objects and illusions (such as clothing, music and magazines). Their optimism was generated by their grandiose illusions of self-sufficiency, but this self-sufficiency was too shallow to think of involving itself in society's moral well-being. Youth Culture, having earned an important title for themselves did not have much power or success in producing a 'Cultural Revolution' in the 1960s.

CHAPTER ONE

FASHION AND IMAGE

By 1960 youth had already become an expressive group making new demands from society. Youth culture had, in kind, a uniform energy, youths' outlook was one of self-indulgence, everyday life could be their outlet for fantasies, however whimsical. There was a general feeling of movement, excitement, a feeling that youth - the 'new' generation could challenge all boundaries by exploiting the possibilities. Youth culture of the sixties tended to eschew terms like 'responsibility' and 'conformity', after all it had come to flower during a period of economic security. With the growth of bureaucracy social interaction became more powerful, ambitions became more possible and possibilities were less restricted. Youth in the 1960s took advantage of this and in the fashions of those years we see their reflection of themselves as a permissive culture.

Fashion and 'youth' in the 1960s went hand-in-hand. Fashion became one of youths' most important forms of expression, - in 1959 Vogue commented that '...for millions of working teenagers now, clothes...are the biggest pastime in life; a symbol of independence and the fraternity mask of an age group'. In the consumerist decade of the sixties, the young generation indulged themselves in new images of expression and flamboyance. They were there for exploitation by the business minds but youth culture can not be separated from materialism during those years. Simon Frith confirms this in <u>The Sociology of Rock:</u> 'As teenagers were seen as a leisure group, the assumption was made that consumption determined identity, that style determined behaviour'.

Fashion, as an expressive form and factor in the make-up of youth culture, is one of the three constituents which make up a youth culture's 'style'. The other two elements are demeanour, which is expression, gait and pasture, and Argot vocabulary. these elements are important when looking at the make-up of a youth culture. The authenticity of 'style' among the narcissistic young generation of the sixties is questionable. In M Horkheimer's and J Adorno's book - <u>Dialectic</u> <u>of Enlightenment</u> they state that the notion of genuine style is seen to be an aesthetic equivalent of domination in the culture industry (domination here being associated with the narcissistic personality who is caught up with his image to impress others and obtain admiration and envy). Horkheimer and Adorno go on to say that style considered as mere aesthetic regularity is a romantic dream of the past. The narcissistic temperament of youth's style in the sixties is seen in their dependance on fashion for identity and projection of 'spontaneity'.

On a broad term, fashion in the 1960s expresses youths' hedonistic and unrealistic outlook. On a deeper level it deals with youths' relation with sexuality and their 'permissive' approach to it. Beside the 'media' - youth of the sixties, there were other subcultures in existence at this time. These subcultures were the real working class youths in London - the 'Mods', and 'Skinheads' and 'Rockers'. While these groups were not as concerned with the lower-class imitation values of the general young population, they were in their own ways concerned with style and fashion. I will talk about their dependence on fashion and image later.

Image and Sexuality

Sexuality was a very popular 'theme' in the sixties. It was during this decade that Britain was forced to face its staid approach to sex and issues of sexuality. It was also during this decade that attitudes to sex and relationships were drastically altered. A new fickle, promiscuous attitude to sex emerged, while intensifying the narcissistic youth culture, it caused the decline of old morals linking love and sex to marriage, and more importantly contorted the authenticity of youths' emotional expressions. In Britain, controlled censorship over books, theatre, readings and poetry was finally confronted. Youth demanded freedom to choose their own entertainment material. Subjects like 'The Profumo Scandal', Lady Chatterly's Lover, The Naked Lunch, and general issues of sexuality were popular for discussion. The whole enthusiasm of sexual expression was generated in fashion, and clothing became a 'hot' expressive medium.

It was designers like Mary Quant, Barbara Hulaniki and John Stephen who recognised the need for fashions which expressed youthful energy and vitality. They catered for the young male and female market, created 'outrageous' designs and became very popular in the process. In 1955 Mary Quant already recognised a gap in the market for young fashions with a touch of excitement. She opened her first boutique in Kings Road, Chelsea - 'Bagaar' and many more soon followed. The interior ambience of her boutiques was that of 'a sort of permanently running cocktail party'. Her clothes were more expensive than average but they were certainly 'nouvelle'. Bagaar's success was fused by the overall image of flamboyance and romance that it pursued. It enticed young people to partake in its highpowered glamorous lifestyle - to acquire fame and esteem, if only on a fleeting level. Bagaar exhibited the 'mini' and produced some wonderful flexible styles - simple loose cuts, dropped waistlines, strong colourful patterns and always 'feminine' clothing. Quant's clothing also reflected the excitement and 'impermanence' of the sixties in the manufacture

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of attachable accessories like 'white plastic collars', large belts, co-ordinating boots and make-up. People didn't have so much value in Quant's clothes as artistic creations but rather as good 'image-makers'. Quant had definite ideas for the female market - for her sex appeal had number-one priority in female fashion.

Barbara Hulaniki's Biba, first opened in 1964. Her clothing was, like Quant's, exciting and experimental. Its exotic interiors and art-nouveau like decor catered for image-conscious young females. Biba's interior was definitely theatrical - 'windows which let in very little light - relying on creating an air of mystery and exoticism through which to sell clothes'. Scarlet walls in the changing rooms, gilted mirrors and deep red carpets certainly pulled British girls out of mundane reality - giving them an experience of fantasy and make-belief, encouraging hedonism and 'instant' pleasure. Biba's clothes, like Quant's were also feminine and held lots of sex appeal but Biba also created fashions of Eastern style fluid gowns with decorative additions - flowers, frills, lace. These styles of an ecclectic make were simply exciting 'costumes' in which to act out the 'spontaneous' time of the sixties.

Carnaby street became the focal area for trendy fashion in the 1960s. Most boutiques and shops on that street catered for the young and so flourished in the new 'consumerist' age. John Stephen owned half of the boutiques in Carnaby Street by the mid-sixties. A male entrepreneur of fashion, Stephen applied the 'Italian look' to men's fashion. He lifted young men's fashion from the conservative stereotype and produced bright pastel coloured shirts and trousers made from light material which 'flared' at the foot. Young men, now too were modelling their sexuality and even though their image was more 'feminine', this did not alter their role in society, or did it alter the function of men's clothing. As far back as social interaction is recorded men's clothing was worn to denote status - women's clothing was designed to make her attractive. The fact that

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female clothing in the sixties was extremely 'sexy' and even 'saucy' highlights the demonstration of female as a sexual being, attractive and 'feminine' - as in sexually desirable. Feminine treatment of men's clothes during this time was not an attempt at 'softening' men's attitude to the 'macho' image, rather it was simply saying that the young men in the sixties were laid back, they were in control of their sexuality and not afraid to express it. This was an understatement - young men in the 1960s were most definitely anxious to express their sexuality, but in the promiscuous manner that made sex easily accessible to them. Their macho image was definitely being boosted and men's fashions indirectly expressed this.

Women's bodies and the messages which clothes can add, are the repositories of the social definitions of sexuality. Men are neutral. Women must perform femininity and fashion is part of that performance.⁵

On a general level the young generation of the 1960s felt that they were unique and they employed fashion as demonstrator of this uniqueness. It is in the female image that we see the expressions of the new 'counter-culture'. In the female image we see the tackle of sexuality, gender and social-psychological behaviour.

The mini-skirt is associated with fashion of the sixties as is 'skinny' models and 'youth'. The idealised curvaceous figure of the fifties became unfashionable - the maternal womanly image was discarded for a youthful 'girlish' image. The new female stereotype was a fun-loving one, liberal minded and active. The introduction of the pill in 1960 further induced anti-maternal imagery. The popularity of the mini-skirt, simple-shapeless tunics and 'girlish' imagery could be compared with the corset and tight-lacing of women in the nineteenth century as a demonstration against the maternal image, and signification of a self-determined sexuality. In the fashion shots taken for magazines and publicity in the 1960s we see models such as Twiggy and Jean Shrimpton 'prancing' about in newest fashions minis,

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trouser-suits, simple cut dresses and body suits. The models are shot in urban and interior environment. The shots show movement and excitement, they show the female being active, she is a 'modern' girl - liberal and 'sexy'. The identity of the models' face with the public intensifies the overall feeling of change in British society. While the female stereotype is flaunting her freedom to choose, her expression is contradictory. The sixties model exploited the 'girlish' look it is a naive gaze - almost helpless and scatty. This look was projected in the way the models sat - knees together, toes apart and in their make-up. Eyes were highlighted with pencil and false-lashes to make them wide and innocent. This kind of make-up technique together with the prevailing emphasis on the 'natural' look made the sixties female stereotype carrier of a face of a child-like innocence. The contradiction between the modern, 'sexually-liberating' fashions for women and the pubescent, naive like demeanour of these women totally eroticised the female stereotype in the sixties. If 'erotic' was what the female generation wished to be described as they certainly didn't realise what the implications of this stereotype meant.

Pop Art celebrated the (plastic) inauthenticity of mass consumer-culture - its counterpart in fashion was found in a sophisticated pose of doll-like infantilism.⁶

The age of mass consumerism, of space-age technology, of futuristic designs affected the mood of society in general. For the young it was a reason to be alive, to indulge, to be hedonists, to live for the present - who knew what was to come in the future. In fashion the theme - 'here today, gone tomorrow' was experimented with. The mini-skirt was transformed into temporary 'space-like' materials such as pvc with metal accessories. Clothing for a while was 'futuristic', it also touched on the realms of fetishism. The inauthenticity of 'doll-like infantilism' complicated female sexuality. The mixture of images - 'space-age' pubescent imagery, material for clothing which was fetish and 'doll-like' poses of 'modern' thinking females contorted any ideology of femininity that the sixties female, or society in general had.

Women's understanding of femininity was rather schizophrenic in the sixties. Their experimentation with sexual identity through fashion and image went too far and it created a The contradiction almost similar to that of the whore/virgin. female obsession with fashion as image maker was increased by the consumerist surroundings. Their wish to confront any staid ideas of sexuality was distorted by the 'inauthenticity' of a consumerist-opportunist age. This encouraged a narcisstic temperament in the young generation. The young females in the sixties were caught up with their own images and the way society should perceive them. They were more concerned with an instant or abstract reward of success than with any real ideas for the future. This didn't do much good for their role in society but made them more accessible to the clutches of male sexism. Sexual availability was important in the sixties and women became trapped by this through their own need for identity as independent personalities in a consumerist society.

My arguement that youth in the sixties belonged to a narcissistic culture is verified in youth's attitude to sex and emotional involvement. Economic security in Britain and ever-increasing capitalism encouraged the young generation to be self-indulgent, to enjoy material offers, to live in its 'cradle' so to speak. It encouraged hedonism in youth and also permissiveness. As the young generation began to loose respect for the old social puritanical morals of the nineteenth century, they got caught up in 'personal well-being'. Not having any definite ideas about the future either (threat of bombs, nuclear waste etc.) they engrossed themselves in the pursuit of 'instant' pleasure. The shallow aims of the narcissistic youth culture made youth restless and promiscuous. The neglect of important values put youth aside from any real intellectual engagement with the world. Their argument that sexual availability was their idea of freeing society from austere 'hang-ups' was more a cover up for their own personal search for 'emotional titillation, for instantaneous intimacy and personal gratification.'

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Youth in the sixties began to value sex purely for its own sake. The overall thought that permissiveness was 'liberating' society was far from the truth. As youth began to separate emotional involvement from sexual relations they cultivated a cynical detachment. The narcissistic personality of this youth culture was consumed by his own appetite and vanity. He achieved a calm detachment beyond emotion and asked only for a casual connection without promise of permanence on either side. Psychological barriers against strong emotion erode any values in love and 'duty', and sex valued purely for its own sake 'loses all reference to the future and brings no hope of permanent relationships.'

The 'Sexual Revolution' of the sixties fed the narcissistic temperament of youth culture. It magnified youths' shallow attitude to relationships and reduced any purposes in society to a selfish need for self-gratification, for 'instant' pleasure, purely for the self. Christopher Lasch in his book - <u>The</u> <u>Culture of Narcissism</u> investigates the implications of the narcissist's attitude to emotional display.

Determined to manipulate the emotions of others while protecting themselves against emotional injury, both sexes cultivate a protective shallowness, a cynical detachment they do not altogether feel but which soon becomes habitual and in any case embitters personal relations merely through its repeated profession⁷.

Image and fashion was very much part of the narcissistic youth culture of the 1960s. Youth craved glamour and excitement - the offers of an ascendant capitalism. They were obsessed with image. 'People talk constantly not of things themselves but of their images'. While fashion may have generated manay creative styles in the 1960s, it contributed to the social and psychological behaviour of youth and helped form a culture revolving around hedonism, living a confined society of materialistic values.

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Right: Jean Shrimpton displays the new popular mini skirt. Below: Mary Quant's first best seller, 1961 and her original girdle.



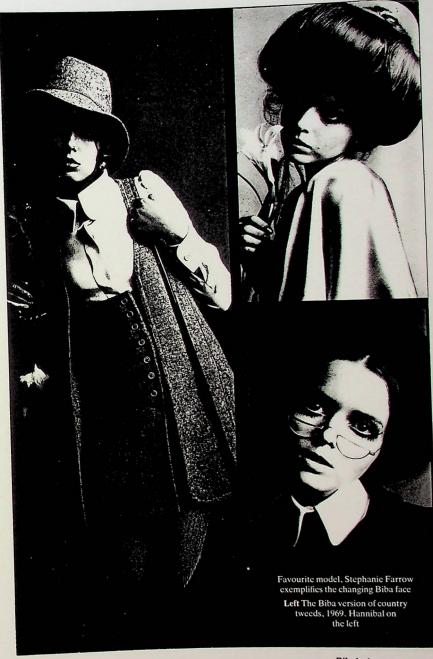








Biba's classic logo designed by John McConnell, and hats for all ocassions and every eventually.



Biba's favourite model Stephanie Farrow exemplifies the changing Biba face.



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AT TO





Here, Twiggy displays the opulence, style and luxury of Biba. Also the revival of Art Deco style.



Short dresses of soft colours, frills and pale pastel shades were designed with child-like imagery in mind.This together with innocent faces and demeanour surrounded women with ideas of innocence and purity, while provoking kinkiness.

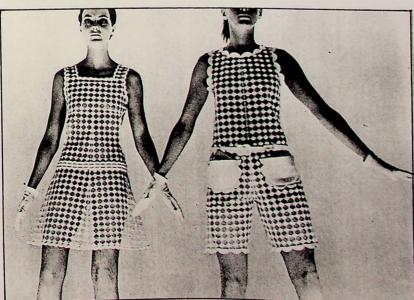






Above: 'a snap crackle pop dress of sliver-fine silver', metal covered melinex which is virtually indestructable - sold in a pack and made in a second. Left: Pierre Cardin's

space -age suit, and below: geometric, revealing minis.







Above: Space-Age clothes for the film Maroc 7 - 1967 and another geometric mini.

PROTOGRAPHS BY WILLIAM



by ERICA CROME of Men's Wear

Now that so many top stores are opening high fashion departmentsorboutiques-within-shops, we take a look at Trend at Simpsons, the first of them all. Trend, which recently celebrated its second birthday, has

brated its second birthday, has been run since its inception by twenty-seven-year-old Gordon Deighton. He has given it very much his own stamp, which is the combination of highly individual, avant garde styles with the Simpson tradition of quality clothing and excellent cut

LEFT: a typical Deighton brown twill double-breasted jacket with small peaked lapels and long side vents. Worn with selfbelted black slacks with a white bouelé chalk stripe, and lilac Crepon shirt with a fly-front, long point collar and double cuffs. The wide silk tie is in an exotic flower print in dusky pink, black and white, and the handkerchief is plain black silk

RIGHT: tantalising Trend suit in grey horringbone with waisthigh shanting side vents and selfbetted trousers. The pyjamastriped grey and white shirt has a separate white collar and double cufts. The wide tie is plain white and the silk handkerchief is in a black and white swirl design.



This fashion article from Queen magazine shows new men's fashions of the sixties. While the idea is to promote extravagance and style, the stance and set-up is undoubtedly macho and 'cool'.



Mods were a group of working class teenagers from East and South London who formed their own subculture, apart from the dominant youth culture and had their own intricate lifestyle in the sixties.

Mods were fashionable - they loved clothes, their image was impeccable and their participation in self-indulgence and leisure time was an important part of their make-up. With clean cut, slicked back hair, sober suits and smart lively appearance they would almost earn the approval of an older generation, if it were not for the lingering superficiality of this image. The ideology of the Mod was complicated by his roots as a working class teenager and his narcissistic addiction to self-indulgence and flamboyance, linked to consumerist society.

The forefathers of the Mod style were looked upon as a group of working class dandies devoted to the Italianate style of dress and demeanour. The Mods' image was extremely important, in fact the Mods' 'style' was their very essence. Their lifestyle and leisure time revolved around night clubs and city centre bars. Their social life was full of activity, hence they applied a certain exquisiteness of dress. The Mods' ideal style would have been the 'Italian Mafiosi-type' depicted in crime films. Because the Mods had so many ideals, so much of their culture being embedded in a rejection of reality, they needed 'pills' to make the existence and the tolerance of life possible;

The wide gap between the inner world where all was under control, contained and lit by self-love and the outer world, where all was hostile, daunting, and loaded in 'their' favour, was bridged by amphetamines.⁸

The Mods were of working class origin but they, like the dominant youth culture were narcissistic and hedonistic. They longed for escapism from their working class origins. The new 'technological age' of the 1950s and 1960s created many changes and complications in working class areas.

City housing projects designed to perpetuate the individual as a supposedly independent unit in a small hygienic dwelling make him all the more subservient to his adversary - the absolute power of capitalism.⁹

New high rise blocks meant firstly, that the family unit was being broken up and segmented and secondly, that there was a feeling of depersonalisation amidst these concrete vertical housing conditions. Children brought up in this environment missed out on 'traditional' family relations and grew up finding their own alternative.

The combination of emotional detachment with attempts to convince a child of his favoured position in the family is a good prescription for a narcissistic personality structure.¹⁰

The Mods were part of the 'unskilled' labour force. These working class youths had menial jobs - van boys, office boys, warehouse men and so on. For the Mods work was simply a day time necessity to acquire money. It was the night that they lived for:

Every Mod was existing in a ghost world of gangsterism, luxurious clubs and beautiful women even if reality only amounted to a draughty parker anorak, a beaten up Vespa, and fish and chips out of a greasy bag.¹¹

Mods were probably the most pitiful subculture of the sixties. Totally narcissistic they had no link with past generations or with the future. They lived in a materially constructed fantasy world where all revolved around image and 'style'. Their fantastical existence could not survive - while they were on top the only thing that kept them content was their continuous search for an 'ideal'. This was accentuated by the use of amphetamines. The Who's song 'The Searcher' highlights the endless search;

I ain't gonna get what I'm after Till the day I die.

Skinheads

The skinheads, another working class subculture, were not in fact to be seen in full force in London until 1966, but it is important to consider them within the realms of youth culture and its reaction to the ethics of sixties consumerism. The Skinheads' culture revolved around their working class origins and their concern was the very structure of their working class community.

Clad in leather jackets, tight denims and dock martin style boots and of course the skinhead haircut, the members of this subculture were not aspiring to any upward ideals. Skinheads rejected hedonism, they held an aggressive attitude toward the 'high glitz' element of sixties youth culture. They felt excluded from this public parade in the same way that they felt oppressed by the authoritative structure. Instead they were concerned with redefining and restructuring their own working class community - a community of their parents' traditions which had now disintegrated.

London's East end had a reputation as a 'hard' area in the sixties. This complimented the Skinheads' image. Elements of their lifestyle were the street corner, the football ground and the pub. Skinheads' concern with toughness was emphasised in the marking of territory and in their concern with masculinity. Physical toughness is linked with a traditional working class stereotype. Skinheads could not stand any form of 'dandyism', neither would they accept outsiders. Their shallow outlook and adherences to strict moral codes made them extremely racist and two activities synonymous with their image were 'Paki-bashing' and 'Queer bashing'.

Skinheads' concern with working class 'traditional' puritanism made them outlaws from the narcissistic culture. However, their aggressive way of holding onto past values distorted any goodness behind their intentions. Skinheads did

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not have the intellectual capacity to deal with any new social changes and the intimidation which they felt from any authoritative structure was dealt with possessively and violently. This subculture was a reaction to the consumerist society, as it was a narrow minded attempt to glorify and hold onto any working class puritan values.

Rockers

Rockers, or leatherboys, were the subculture of working class youths who emerged as identifiers with the outcast idols of the fifties - Brando, Dean and Elvis. Before 1960 there was no real brand name for this group. The British equivalent of the French 'Blousons Noirs' only emerged with the arrival of the rival youth style - the Mod.

Rockers in the sixties retained the classic image of alienation created in the fifties. Their image reflected their disenchantment with society on the one hand and 'intoxicating energy and escapist thrill' on the other. Rockers in the sixties were responsible for keeping rock n' roll alive during the years of hippy dominance. Music had a lot to do with the rockers' image - it served as a metaphor for his whole lifestyle as did the motorbike and leather jacket, jeans and cigarettes. The rockers came across as cool and detached, not as caught up in social functions as they were with their own world of excitement, speed and danger.

Unlike the Mods, Rockers abhorred drugs, they were into 'adrenaline rushes and body chemistry'. In the sixties they got into the new 'rock hedonism' for a while but became outcasts with the arrival of the hippies. Rockers were out of touch with current realities. They stuck to their image of alienated 'living life with excitement and danger' routine and until the late 1970s the Rocker in all his mystery held an eye-catching presence on the roads.

By 1964 Mod Culture, with the additional uniform of anorak and be-mirrored scooters, had developed into a following of 1000's. The subdued looking youths looked more harmless than they really were.





The original Mod look with it's neat collar, narrow tie and trousers originated among young wealthy East-Enders.



Part of the Mod ritual was the Bank Holiday motorbike ride down to the south coast of England - 1964.



The Skinheads and violence: how they tackled problems.



The Skinhead's environment, the council estate. There was little flattery in the skinheads image, if anything he aspired toward regression of normality.









The bikers Image was strong and they looked good, posing as the outlaw on the edge of society.



Summary

Fashion and image in the 1960s played a very important part in youths' expressions. While fashion explored the boundaries of youths' identity with, and connection to the new decade of consumerism, 'Image' was youths' mark of morality.

If the sixties was the decade of confrontation with issues of prostitution, homosexuality, abortion and sexual liberation it was also the decade that youths' narcissism was incapable of applying these issues with any sense of universal disciplinary codes. Material gain and consumerism in the 1960s stressed themes of success and power - the nineteenth century cult of success placed surprisingly little emphasis on competition. 'It measured achievement not against the achievements of others but against an abstract ideal of discipline and self-denial'. Success then, retained moral and social overtones, 'by virtue of its contribution to the sum of human comfort and progress'. In the 1960s success appeared as an end in its own right. Young people's indulgence and hedonism can be seen as a struggle for power and self-approval - delayed gratification went out of style.

Fashion and image became an intricate part of youths' circle - of their alternative culture. This culture had not any great intellectual revelations to make to the world - it was too caught up in its own shallow struggle for power. Instead youth became obsessive about fashion, about image, about themselves it was all that seemed to matter any more;

Image serves for the members of the groups themselves as a means of marking boundaries, of articulating identity and difference. The regulation of body posture, styles and looks becomes anxious and obsessive.¹²

CHAPTER TWO

'Come fathers and mothers throughout the land And don't criticise what you can't understand' (Bob Dylan)

The common feeling that youth culture had a radical streak in the swinging sixties is echoed here in the lyrics of Bob Dylan - the most poetic and thought - provoking musicated that decade. Dylan was just one of the many musicians whose music served as a context for youthful leisure, expression and identity. In the 1960s music became a very strong metaphor for youth and alternative culture.

It was during the 1950s that music, or more precisely rock n'roll came to the rescue of a young generation, restless and anxious to release and demonstrate their newly-conceived energy and excitement. Elvis, the major cult figure of the fifties, gave rock n' roll that 'naughty' image with his masculine moves, his revolving hips and his penetrating lyrics often consisting of suggestive moans and groans. He also introduced raw sexuality into music, which at that time seemed very blatant but which caught on very fast in the sixties. Rock n'roll soothed the rebellious teenager's soul in the fifties. It branded them with their own identity apart from their parents traditional one. Idols like James Dean, Marlon Brando (both actors) and Elvis had images to be copied. Dean and Brando portrayed the outsider, the youth outcast, misunderstood but ready to fight his cause. (The 'Rockers' were a result of this theme). Elvis had the rhythm - the teasing sex appeal. This was not very acceptable among the older generation, but then that was part of the ploy.

Music in the sixties moved along varied themes - from rhythm n' blues to rock, hard rock and reggae. Musicians like -The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, The Who, Jimmy Henrix, Bob

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Dylan, Marianne Faithful and Jannis Joplin became notorious as artists performing youths' new 'open' outlook on the world. Music inspired youths' 'revolutionary' stand; their haste to be outlandish, to be loud and unrelentless. The 'beat' was louder, more aggressive and emotional and the musicians knew that blatant sexuality was what the young people wanted to see and hear. It wasn't until 1964 that the BBC realised they would have to open a new station given totally to pop music. Prior to this the BBC were neglectful of young addicts of pop music. They had a monopoly over the airwaves which meant that whatever one listened to, ultimately came from the broadcasting house. The one exception to this was radio Luxembourg - a pirate station presented by Pete Murray and Jimmy Saville.

By looking at the leaders in the music industry of the sixties we can be more clear about their success and their strong hold on youth culture.

Rock is a capitalist industry and not a folk form but its most successful products do, at some level, express and reflect its audiences concerns. This is its significance as popular culture.¹³

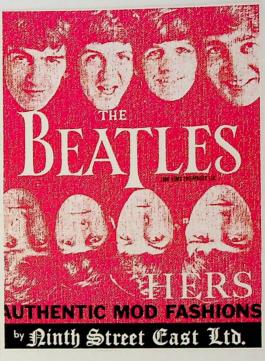
The Beatles were the ideal band of the sixties. As four Liverpool art students, they were able to exploit the new sixties image of 'working classness'. The traditional hierarchical ranking of art, design and culture was out and the new 'classless' age was in. The working class image was on the move - it needed its symbols and the Beatles 'in their very class mobility' were perfect. 'Their success was hyped into instant myth'.

The Beatles music was sweet and melodic yet it was fused with a rough rhythm n' blues beat to give it an edge of power. The early songs were a celebration of youth. They were lively and they seduced the whimsical dreams of youth - they also nurtured youths' carefree attitude and publicised their vanity. The optimism generated by the Beatles as 'symbol' emancipated

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A 1964 sales tag from the official Beatles line of clothing.





youth from patriarchal authority. This optimism was superficial. While the Beatles' music glorified youth, gave them independence and freedom they were also subjecting this new generation to the new paternalism of the advertising and consumerist industry - thus promoting consumption as a way of life.

The Beatles' image was so apt and seemed so natural in a decade wanting to popularise upper class values. The four 'lads' were quite ordinary looking, they didn't wear flashy clothing except for the occasional costume as used for the 'Sergeant Petter' album. They definitely did not have an aggressive image but the feeling that was put into, and came out of their music had a great amount of control. There was confidence in their style of playing. This complimented their easy going image and gave the music considerable power and 'muscular control'. The Beatles image was ambiguous. While they looked quite feminine and friendly, their music was harmonious but strong with a masculine edge. The ambiguity is symbolised in their lyrics:

'I saw her standing there' 'She loves you'.

If the Beatles' music was a celebration of youth for the sixties the Rolling Stones' music was an enticement for hooliganism and permissiveness among youth. Mick Jagger, the Stones' lead singer was for the male youth what Twiggy was for the female - an idolised image to be envied and copied. Jaggers' lithe pliable body was expressive and very animalistic and sexual on stage. The Stones' music began with strong simple rhythms and conventional chord patterns and meter taken fairly directly from Chicago rhythm n' blues. Their music had a lot of black influence, the vocal style was that of black singers like Chuck Berry, Muddy Waters, Bo Diddly and Howlin Wolf, the only influence from a white singer was from Buddy Holly. The spirit of the Stones' music was dynamic and could be described as harsh. This especially could be applied to their early music of the sixties. It was vigorous and expressive and for the new youth extremely rebellious.

It was bands like the Stones and The Who who changed the understanding of the word musician. They showed a scornful contempt for taste and for a repressed society. By being blatantly pushy on themes of sexuality, permissiveness and self-satisfaction, these bands crowned the narcisstic youth culture of the sixties and gave youth more incentive to indulge. The Stones' popularity became even more widespread when they violated the moral codes and broke the law by urinating against the wall of a petrol station in 1965. They were found guilty of 'insulting behaviour' and fined five pounds each. It was publicity like this and reports of drug hauls on musicians which increased the 'star' quality of bands in the eyes of young fans and gave the rock musician an exciting, liberated label - an example being the charmed phrase - 'sex, drugs and rock n'roll'. The musician's acquaintance with the 'high-life' was a far cry from reality and very tempting to glamour obsessed youths of the sixties.

If bands like the Stones, The Who and the guitarist Jimmy Hendrix were to introduce aggression and 'raw' expression into rock music of the sixties for the first time, their significance in the analysis of youth culture during this consumerist time is very important. Taking into account that the ideology youth developed in the sixties had as its sexual component the assumption that a satisfying sexual relationship meant 'spontaneity' and free expression, we can see just how 'hard' rock music could express and fantasise this ideology. Not only that but hard rock clearly distinguished youth from the older generation thus giving it power to manipulate and formulate ideas of the young generation.

I have already said that the Beatles' image was ambiguous, 'neither boys-together aggression nor boys-next-door pathos'. Their fusion of 'yearning vocal harmonious' derived from Black and White romantic pop, with a rough rhythm and blues beat,

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formed a music articulating simultaneously the conventions of feminine and masculine sexuality. Thus there was a contradiction between the Beatles and the Rolling Stones and also the knowledge that the distinction between female music and boys' music was blurred in the sixties. This however does not mean that the emphasis wasn't on male sexual freedom at that time. When Mick Jagger or Jimmy Hendrix or Jim Morrison from The Doors were performing, there was a consistent electric charge sent to the crowd. Sometimes aggressive, sometimes controlled but expressive, it was always the expression of male sexuality. Accepted ideologies of male and female sexuality are very different. 'Male sex being no more naturally wild and uncontrollable than feminine sexuality is passive, meek and sensitive'. In the context of music, rock or 'cock rock' - as labelled in Simon Friths' book On Record, allows for 'direct physical and psychological expression of sexuality'. Pop music on the other hand is about romance and emotional affairs. Pop songs that are aimed at female audiences deny or repress sexuality. This is still true today as it was in the sixties.

The ideology of 'love and romance' was overpowered by the masculine expression of sexuality in the sixties. In rock music there was an assumed superiority over women, a denial to them of personal authenticity - any natural instincts they might have felt towards 'love' and emotional involvement were held back by their need to belong to the alternative culture. The superiority expressed in rock music was very close to the attitudes of the boys themselves.

Efficient contraceptives, legalised abortion and a 'realistic' and 'healthy' acceptance of the body have weakened the links that once tied sex to love, marriage, and procreation. Men and women now pursue sexual pleasure as an end in itself, unmediated even by the conventional trappings of romance.¹⁴

The popularity of a 'healthy acceptance of the body' among the young people in the sixties only stresses the obsession of youth with self-gratification and hedonism. Youth in the

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sixties were very caught up in their image - 'youth', and every individual was caught up with the requirements of this image. Rock music gave youth a collective security but stressed the need for promiscuity and play.

Some of the symptoms of narcissism which Christopher Lasch examines in the Culture of Narcissism can be directly applied to youth culture here. Lasch states that the media and entertainment intensify narcissistic dreams of 'fame and glory'. The media encourages the common man to identify himself with the stars and to hate the 'hard' and make it more and more difficult for him to accept the banality of everyday existence. The occupation with amphetamines and other drugs would have been just one of the many ways that the youth of the sixties would have avoided this 'banality' of life. The narcissist's search for instantaneous intimacy - for 'emotional titilation without involvement and dependence' turns him into a personality that is chronically bored, who loses a sense of curiosity about other people, which impoverishes his personal life and 'reinforces the subjective experience of emptiness'. As youths' emotional detachment in the sixties made them increasingly vain, constantly looking for reassurance and approval, they found it less easy as time went on, to restore meaning to everyday life.

A shot of Mick Jagger in the early 70's strutting his stuff.

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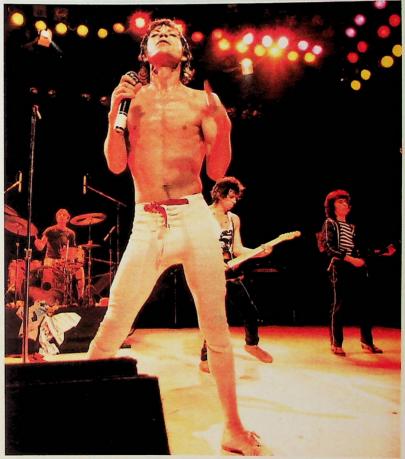
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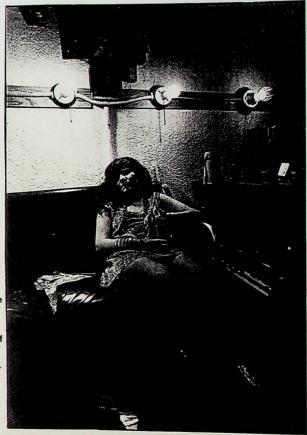
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Jannis Jopiin backstage at Winterland San Fransisco -1968. She often had a bottle of Southern Comfort in hand.

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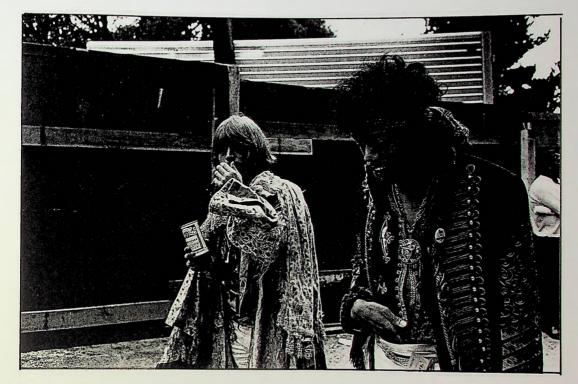
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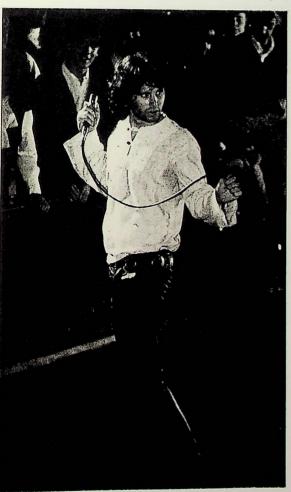
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Brian Jones and Jimmy Hendrix backstage at Montery pop festival, June 1967." A hippy god with the common man's beer".



Great Idol of the sixties, Jim Morrison, both musician and Poet,he was very sensual and sexual on stage.



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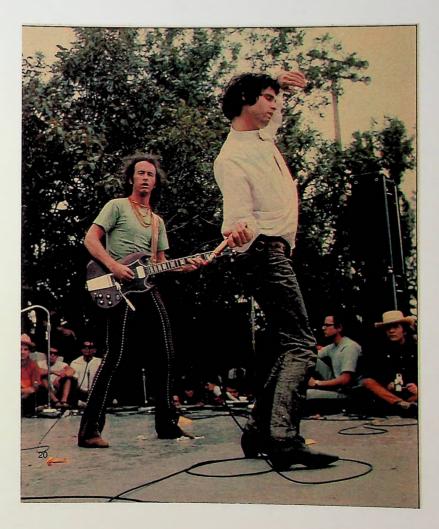
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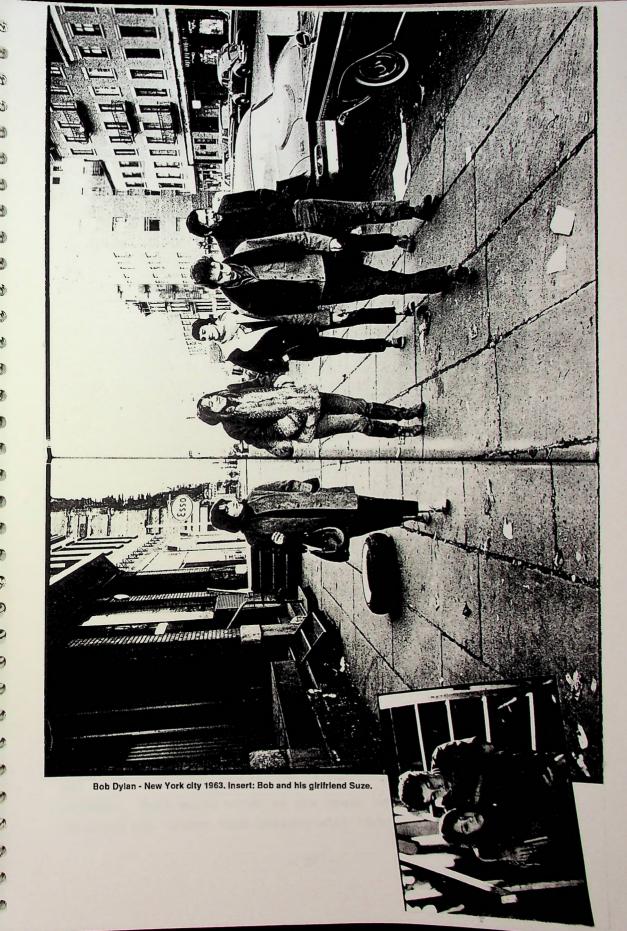
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As forms of music, both rock and folk were important media of expression for youth in the sixties. Their hedonistic values were to weaken the sense of continuity with earlier generations. Youth, alienated from a previous sense of continuity were to see their liberal cultural revolution turn into the 'survivalist mentality' of the seventies - every person became concerned with their own existence, their own personal well-being, without any particular concern for 'moral' duties or for their contribution to society's well-being.

Music was then, and still is the accompaniment of youths' activity - not so much the expression of that activity. 'Popular' music became a way of displaying control over territory, be it rooms, clubs, street corners or pubs. The demands made of it were general rather than specific. Although derisive and scornful lyrics of the Stones came very close to the turmoil bubbling under the surface in the young generation of the sixties, their music and music in general was the background rather than the focus of youths' expression. Music as a form of entertainment, with its abstract quality didn't have the power to deal realistically with social class or gender politics. It displayed movements and shifts but only on a subliminal level.

'Pop music expresses, generally in the most banal language, the universal doubts and uncertainties of adolescence. It has little critical content, and what it had at the outset has diminished with the growth of commercial interests.¹⁵

By understanding the music scenes of the consumerist sixties as a capitalist industry (keeping in mind that it also had significance as a popular culture reflecting and expressing the audience's concerns) we question its authenticity and its contribution to the fickle values of that decade's youth culture. Rock music works on the power of fears, dreams and emotions but rather than dealing with them it tends to exploit them. Because most teenage culture and youth culture is a contradictory mixture of the authentic and the manufactured its commercial needs must no doubt be exploited.

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Within a narcissistic youth culture the fantastical elements of rock music promote self-esteem and self-indulgence. They encourage permissiveness and liberality but oppose 'ambition' - the sense of private worth to the community. The excitement and glamour attached to rock music thrives on the narcissist's personality - on the one hand there is the world of 'romance' and hedonism, on the other the narrow channel of vision: the inability to restore meaning to everyday life, the obsession with oneself, and the constant need for reassurance from others. The youth culture of the consumerist sixties did not address the quality of personal life, rather, the ideology of personal growth was superficial and confined.

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Reality has come to seem more and more like what we are shown by cameras. We distrust our perceptions until the camera verifies them. Photographic images provide us with the proof of our existence, without which we would find it difficult even to reconstruct a personal history.¹⁶

This quote from Susan Sontag in The Culture of Narcissism can be applied to our dependance, on a broad scale, on all forms of printed and mass media. Almost everywhere we look there is printed material of a graphic nature which sculpts our society for us, if not realistically, then superficially. The commercial boom of the sixties created a market for more magazines with more colour and design content. As youth was now the most important market, printed media focused mainly on them, publicising their 'beauty'. London's Sunday Times launched its colour supplement and The Observer soon followed, creating a fresh outlet for photography in colour and black and white. The most popular magazines in the early 1960s were Vogue, Queen, Harpars Bazaar and Nova. All directed at the female market. they reflected the new image of the 'liberated' young and set the standards to be followed.

The content of magazines like Queen and Vogue at this time were supposedly based on the new liberated female within a changing British class structure. Whatever about popularising working class behaviour as opposed to upper class values, their attempt at liberating the female was a failure. While the fashion photography focused on desirable styles using a personal touch or identification with the model as 'image-maker', the literature of text inside had not moved far from the convention of the fifties. Most of the articles revolved around the new exciting feminine image, but the attempt to liberate this image was controlled by the knowledge that the female still was destined to find a man to marry and settle down with. An article in one of Queen's editions - 'Twenty most eligible men in London' was cushioned by ads depicting the woman as man-trapper but always needing the the man. There was the image of the modern woman jet-setting around the world, but this image did not free itself from the cemented association with man as husband and provider.

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As printed media became more 'glossy' - as the printed word and image became 'real' representations of society, youth became more dependant on their (printed media's) ability to satisfy their expectations:

In a simpler time, advertising merely called attention to the product and extolled its advantages. Now it manufactures a product of its own: the consumer, perpetually unsatisfied, restless, anxious and bored. Advertising serves not so much to advertise products as to promote consumption as a way of life.¹⁷

Developed printing techniques and clever marketing abilities in the 1960s coaxed the young generation into seeing consumption as the answer to all their problems. Consumption promised to fill any 'aching void' - it filled young people's lives with illusions of fulfilment and acquisitiveness and enticed them to rejoice in the wonderful creative discoveries in the commercial field.

Photographers like David Bailey, Terence Donovan and Brian Duffy from the East end of London based their fashion photography on a classless youthful energy. The most famous models, Jean Shrimpton and Twiggy conveyed youths' new challenge to romance and image, and their popular association was copied by most young women, trying desperately to look 'different' with a hunger for the new up-to-date lifestyle. The covers of Vogue and Queen show images of women challenging us with their new defiance in a changing society. They represent youths' carefree optimistic outlook - their (attempted) identify with working class values, they give an overall feel of excitement, movement, joviality and control. Bailey's use of high speed camera work was a new contribution to photography. Because he didn't have to pose his subjects, he could create movement and spontaneity in his prints. Lighting techniques and effects had also improved dramatically in the late fifties which meant that there was now much more control over studio shots.

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Design quality improved in the 1960s. Structure, format and visual impact were studied more closely. Graphic design became entwined with market orientation and psychological identification. While covers of 1950's Vogue still had a vagueness above their subject matter - there was the model posing in various atmospheres suggesting various personalities. 1960s Vogue covers began to deal with the facial expression of the model, a tendency toward portrait covers began to appear. Cover design in the sixties became more clinical, more exact and defined. The image (mostly photographic) was designed - its elements played on the balance of negative and positive space, (silhouettes, or dark angular shapes against white and neutral space). Structure and tension were created by lines, forms and clothing. The image, less cluttered, had more impact, the model's face gazes at us, her personal identity challenging the audience's wish to partake in the glamour.

Because most of the models of the magazines in the sixties were popular enough to be known by name, a more personal affiliation with them was generated among the young public. This accentuated the unity of youth culture as a strong force and gave youth more reason to be rebellious and defiant. What is different about the 'look' of the fashion photograph in the sixties is the contact between model and camera - or audience. A positive charge is conveyed by models of the sixties. They look at us with optimism, a new challenge in their gaze but there is a vaqueness in this gaze. It seems pretentious when compared with the 'upfront' directness of model shots today. I have already talked about sexuality and women in the 1960s, how fashion played with sex and how this, together with the adopted. 'naive' demeanour of women created a 'neurotic sexy image'.

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Almost avoiding the glamour and elegance of the past, the sixties fashion photograph concentrated on the woman's identity - her new role. She displayed a raw sexuality shown through the play of big open eyes, parted lips, playful laughing mouths. This was the face as icon, a face playing on confrontation with sexuality - a 'modern' printed image of youth culture in the 1960s.

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The dynamism and playfulness of these fashion shots for printed media do stress a challenge and period of activity and experimentation, but the challenge is not quite believable. The new-found liberation of the sixties female icon was more lacking in confidence than its image tried to suggest. The model's gaze is more constructed, it uses the 'natural' face, the innocent look but this look doesn't have any concrete relevance to society or womens' role in society. It is merely constructed as a false, applied image, relevant only to the experimental phase in the 1960s. The female icon of the sixties is lost in fantasy - in a society shedding its ties with the past, involved in the 'light-hearted' approach taken on by youth in this decade - made believable for them by the opulent offers of consumption.



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call your father Sir.

THE lists are open and the tournament MEN

L begun. On the previous pages we have photographed a few of the prizes to he won, most like to see standing on their fron: doorsteps when they answer the door hell during the Season. There are some that will indeed spur into the ring at the drop of a glove. These are those who are relatively fresh and thus more vulnerable. But there are others, tough and untouched after many seasons of combat, the most dangerous of whom gained their experience over ten seasons ago. As the red carpets are unfurled and the saxophonists sound forth, let dancing comand here we show a selection of twenty men we think the debutantes' mothers would mence and let the best girl win.

Our 1960 selection deserves your immediate confidence. All are either very rich or very NOTE FOR DEBUTANTE MOTHERS itled. Most are both. All have either a house

Must have both. All have either good manners or good looks. Few have both. All in London or a stately home in the country. like parties and debutantes.

SPECIAL NOTE FOR DEBUTANTES: Twelve are tall, three are medium, five are small. Fourteen are dark, five are fair, one Army, four are students, two simply own two simply huge estates (most of the others do this as well). Six are obsessed by motoris red. Eleven go to an office, three are in the well. All can read and write (in fact, sixteen to do so. All have tremendous stamina. All cars. Six by horses. All, except two, shoot went to Eton, although it doesn't necesknow cach other well (except two). All usturally own motor-cars (one has twelve). Eight have Jaguars. All of them (except one) sarily follow), but few admit to having time will be civil to your mother. Six will even



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all events an impression. N.B. = This is associating assess-ment: we take no responsibility at all for numerations. —1.0

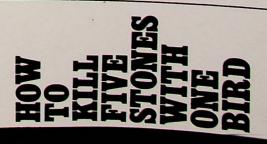






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get herself noticed by boys in the limelight like the Re stealer of limelight, Mary Quand Her Ginger Group cl municado jungle) gives you every season (with extra si You see what this kind of ginger did to the Rolling S fans all over the country. They list among their likes It takes a thief to catch a thief. So any girl who war Stones had better get herself the super aid of that phenor are now gingering up the landscape all over the place. Ginger Group (in case you've just come back from an ir five meteoric boys (average age 21) who are gathering 1 at half-time) clothes that all go together; so you can out and do a mad bit of compulsive buying when your drives you on, without fatal effect. In fact, all to the hobbies: women, science fiction, records, women, zirls, p cashew nuts, girls, sleeping, boats, records, girls, cl boats, having showers, and girls. Three out of five like

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daything but Fade-4-11'Dr. Slippy order dress culted Miss Muffet with long sliurith wargs white cuffs flowing over the hands and wargs white cuffs. In blus pind, or jade, 9 gus at Woollends 21 Shop, and Joshun Taylor, Shing Street, G.



Fifties Vogue covers demonstrating wideness of subject matter.Here, a French christmas gift from Cartier, and below an American 'Busy Beauty' is having difficulty in handling all her calls.

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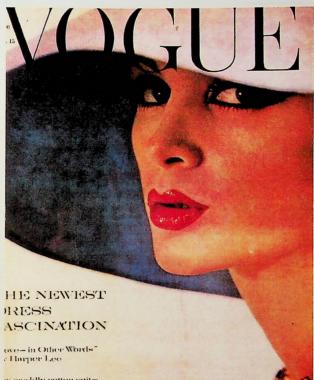
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APRIL

for the Busy Beautie

> New Face fo City Cotton

> > - 50 CENT



Uncluttered elements. The hat's sweeping line creates a dynamic impact on this cover.

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e worldly cotton suitpages of this years best

VOGUL

750 most-usked

ver-out-of-season

Lots of light and soft treatment creates this romantic image. The emphasis is on the eyes and mouth.

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INATE ANTIDOTE

new oortance American hion: orted in full

tis. hion news great beguty wears it Strong colour, line and structure create impact in this cover. The image is very demure - the model's thick mascare'd eyelashes set off the assymetrical cloche. One of Bailey's oliveskinned Israell models showing a healthy fun-loving look and a suggestive tongueshowing smile.

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st beauty repairs: ck-change coiffure

lainbocher 4-point clothes-plan

Sesly ROBERT DESCRILEY. ROBERT MAUGHAM, FRANK SULLIVAN. Robert MAUGHAM, FRANK SULLIVAN.

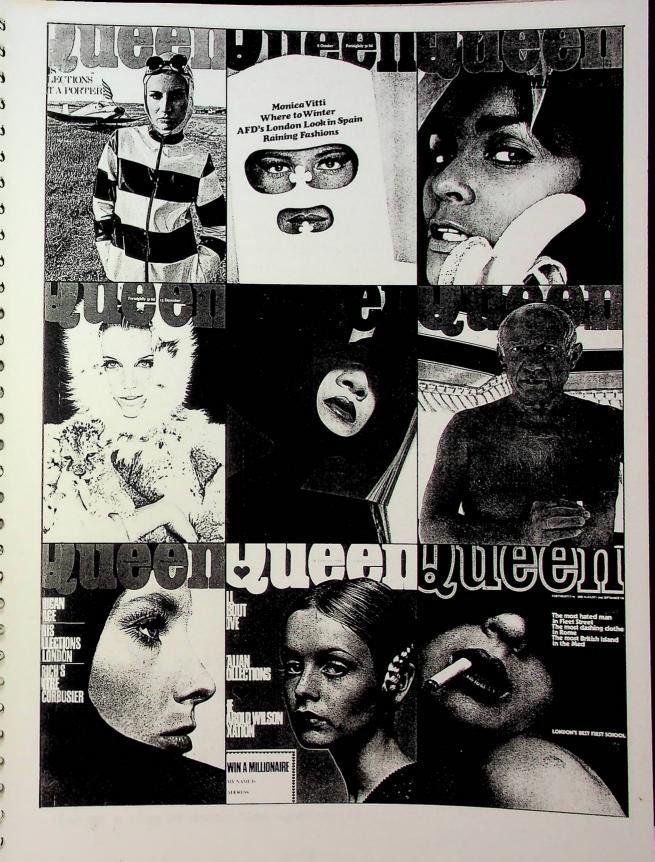
This American portrait cover gives a cool gaze with a more calculated message.





a nouvelle couleur

French Vogue cover with a spoon fed beauty eating a phallic Sundae.



Packaging and Consumption

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Graphics of packaging, posters and advertising also became an integral part of youth culture in the sixties. Consumerism meant superfluous production, general household and everyday needs were more plentiful than ever. The supermarket became a focal area for indulgence in mass-manufactured products, it had items which held instant appeal for the eager consumers instant canned products, comics, magazines - anything which could be consumed immediately and forgotten after use.

As Britain's economy reached the point where its technology was capable of satisfying basic material needs it began to rely on the creation of new consumer demands. People began to feel the need for these new offers even though they didn't really need them. The mass media made people crave for commodities which could superficially brighten up their lives and their surroundings. 'Advertising is the method by which the desire is created for better things'. As youth became dependant on consumer goods in the 1960s society began to be dominated by appearances - by the illusion of prosperity and well-being.

When economic necessity yields to the necessity for limitless economic development, the satisfaction of basic and generally recognised human needs gives way to an uninterrupted fabrication of pseudo-needs.¹⁸

Graphics on products for consumption were bold, simple and strong. They were created to grab attention, to make the consumer want the product's fleating glamour. Blatant graphics on Omo washing powder, Sainsbury's cornflakes and the more humble Campbell's soup can (made icon by Andy Warhol) engulfed people with a constant desire to consume, to surround themselves by artifacts of the 'great age'. Marketing techniques and psychological persuasion enticed the young generation to be part of the future, to see a solution for every personal problem. As life began to depend on the printed image, personal acquaintance with material offers became inseparable and youths' lifestyle became a haze of controlled spontaneity.

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To the performing self, the only reality is the identity he can construct out of materials furnished by advertising and mass culture, themes of popular film and fiction, and fragments torn from a vast range of cultural traditions.¹⁹

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The hedonistic youth culture in the sixties can be seen as a definite transition from the puritanical ethic of personal gain for the purpose of ones neighbour and society, to the modern self-indulgent ethic where self preservation and living for the moment is all that counts.

Printed media - magazines, packaging, advertising and posters became a central point in lifestyle and personal existence in the sixties. Youths' rebellious outlook - their attempt at forming a cultural revolution was made believable by the propaganda of printed material. It is true that printed media have always focused on the ideals and dreams of the consumer but in the sixties, printed media and consumerism became very important - they were part of the functioning of everyday life. Printed media formed a safety net for aspiring dreams of a 'new' culture but media substituted reality with a shallow and manufactured existence.

As youth culture became more caught up with image, fashion, style and presentation youth became obsessed with 'symbolically mediated information'. This made youth self-conscious of their behaviour. It also constricted their belief in the reality of the external world, the future and personal values, which altogether resulted in a culture more caught up in the spectacle of their image, rather than in the idea that they were trying to create an alternative society.



The supermarket provided everything for the sixties consumerist. Most packaging was simple, strong and bold: campbell's soup can and below Omo in primary colours, blue, red and yetlow.

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The housewife's life becomes easier and more enjoyable; more offers, new products - the invention of tupperware.

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CONCLUSION

It was Spike Hawkins who said that, in the swinging sixties - 'there was an alternative society in ones own head, but not in the everyday world'. Christopher Logue stated -'there was no alternative society, it was play time', and Andy Warholl's conclusion to the decade was - 'the 1960s were too full just like the 1970s were too empty'. In writings of neo-Conservatives and moral puritans alike, the consumerist sixties stand for all that has gone wrong. Claiming that it was the key moment of 'moral collapse' - the source of the detritus that marks and mars our contemporary world.

If youth culture was the source of a 'detritus' which marked society it was only because it fell into the clutches of a new culture industry - a monopoly under which all mass culture became identical. It wasn't long before the lines of this artificial framework began to show through, to reveal a culture industry formed under capitalism and pure domination:

A technological rationale is the rationale of domination itself'. (Adorno and Horkheimer, New York, 1972).

Socio-economic developments in the 1960s allowed youth culture to be an area of indulgence and self-absorption. Youth and their new narcissistic culture became dependant on technology - on material gains, for psychic comfort and well-being. A new society emerged independent of myths that might blacken the soul, dependant on the industrial society, the state, the corporation and other bureaucracies. This dependence submerged youths' identity in a larger cause rather than establishing the essence of personal identity.

Our society distinguishes itself by conquering the centrifugal social forces with technology rather than terror, on the dual basis of an overwhelming efficiency and an increasing standard of living.²⁰

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Narcissism in the 1960s developed from the increasing growth of bureaucracy. Youth believed that they had power over their destiny - they should have freedom to choose. Christopher Lasch states that the growth of bureaucracy creates an intricate network of personal relations, it puts a premium on social skills and erodes all forms of patriarchal authority. This weakens the 'social superego', formerly represented by fathers, teachers and preachers but the decline of 'institutionalised authority' in an ostensibly permissive society does not, however lead to a decline of the superego in individuals. It encourages instead the development of a 'harsh, primitive superego that derives most of its psychic energy, in the absence of authoritative social prohibitions, from the destructive, aggressive impulses within the id':

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The struggle to maintain psychic equilibrium in a society that demands submission to the rules of social intercourse but refuses to ground those rules in a code of moral conduct encourages a form of self-absorption.²¹

Youths' 'self-absorption' in the sixties was reflected in their indulgence in, and dependence on fashion, image, music, printed media and general consumption and leisure time. These shallow, but unendless dependencies made it difficult for the narcissistic culture to find satisfaction in love and work, while at the same time they were surrounded with manufactured fantasies of total gratification.

The contemporary 'therapeutic' climate is a direct trait of narcissism. People are longing for the feeling, 'the momentary illusion of personal well-being, health and psychic security'. They are not looking for salvation or for the revival of codes from past generations, but for personal and mental health. They are dependant on some form of medical authority or another to reassure themselves of their own personal well-being. The narcissist's life seems to be structured only from things and people who are in close proximity to himself - the beneficiary.

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Youth Culture of the sixties and the alternative society which youth lived in was irrational as a whole. That society hindered the mental-emotional development of 'man' leaving him in a thwarted state of narcissism. Marcuse in his book -<u>One-Dimensional Man</u> argues that modern society's peace is maintained by the constant threat of war, that its growth is dependent on the repression of the real possibilities for pacifying the struggle for existence.

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 In the 1960s youth and their culture was irrational. One of the first cultures to fall into the fatal clutches of narcissism, youth could see only optimism and acquisitiveness as the procreations of their new culture. Because the attitudes of the young generation in the 1960s were so completely at odds with everything that had gone before, because narcissism is irrational, we can only see their influence - any positive influence, as frivolous, shallow and trivial. FOOTNOTES

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