

# The Working Class Audience of Rock Music, Liverpool in the 1960s

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**Abstract:** Postwar Liverpool, a de-industrialized and declining port town, once a centre of Atlantic trade, was animated with American music. Sailors brought home records of jazz and early R & B. It is there that began to spark a totally new form of working class culture. In the 1960s the Beatles, originally an R & B outfit of four Liverpoolian lads, was in vogue. Unlike mass-produced, marketable American pop music scene, British rock music was nurtured by its working class audience. Performers and audiences stimulated each other in an unprecedentedly crazed manner. Few indeed understood what was happening. The phenomenon was visible among the older generation only as delinquency. Why were young people screaming and yelling? Here is my answer.

## Introduction

There is a myriad of writings about popular music. It was very clear, however, on launching my research for this essay, that I would not be able

to read all the titles. Any serious critic of popular music would agree with Dave Harker, the author of *One for the Money: Politics and Popular Song*, who says "80 per cent of the texts" in his voluminous bibliography he has painstakingly collected are "garbage" and "will not be required reading."<sup>1</sup> The reason is obvious. The production and distribution of recorded music is now part of one of the biggest industries in the late capitalist era, and almost all the writing concerning popular music may fall into the category of marketing rather than criticism. These books and articles are clearly on the side of the "producers," not the "consumers." This situation is, however, somewhat similar to literary criticism before the 1970s. With some rare exceptions most of the literary critics had been concerned exclusively with writers, paying little attention to how literary production itself had been consumed, until what is called reader-response criticism emerged in North America in the late 1960s.

The aim of this essay is to consider how this relatively recent form of popular culture came into being in Britain in the period between the late 1950s and the early 1960s with the special reference to the working class community. However, it is next to impossible to cover every aspect of this vast cultural phenomenon in the limited space of this paper. First of all, the cultural revolution or so-called youth culture starting in the 1960s was transatlantic and later worldwide. Even within Britain there were said to be some 20,000 bands operating in 1963, and 400 of them were based in Liverpool.<sup>2</sup> In this essay, therefore, a particularly significant aspect has been chosen for my investigation, namely the Beatles and their working-class audiences in Liverpool.

In the United States rock music gradually evolved through secondary channels of communication, that is, through the elaborate network of

specialized radio stations and disc jockeys. On the other hand, Britain had no comparable network of secondary media. British youth had to depend on the limited service of Radio Luxembourg before pirate radio emerged. In these circumstances, communication between performers and audiences was only possible through live performances. In America the incentive has always been from record companies, radio stations, and TV stations. A notable example can be found in the Motown record label company which literally produced hit songs one after another exactly as Ford produced its cars.<sup>3</sup> In sharp contrast to the American pop music scene, in Britain, rock music developed through the collaboration of performers and audiences.

In the first place the unique position of Liverpool, both in history and geography, will be surveyed, for the condition of Liverpool in the late 1950s and in the early 1960s has a great deal to do with the birth of 'British Rock'. Then we will examine the birth and transformation of rock music. In the course of the discussion, special attention will be given to the problem of Americanization. A wave of new music came from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. But it was the British working-class youth that changed this music into an unprecedented form of popular culture before it was changed again into market-oriented culture.

### **1. Liverpool**

Liverpool is first of all a seaport facing the Irish Sea and Ireland over which the Atlantic Ocean spreads out. This geographical position, as in the case of other British cities, had a great deal to do with the rise and fall of Liverpool. The importance of this city was first enhanced in the eighteenth century by the slave trade and the Lancashire cotton industry. Liverpool became, consequently, a major world trading centre and the most important seaport

for Atlantic trade in Britain. Tony Lane begins his *Liverpool: Gateway of Empire*, with the sentences:

Encounters with Liverpudlians followed by enquires about their families lead to the sea lanes of the world. So many people from this city were once crew members of merchant ships that almost everyone can find a seafaring relative.<sup>4</sup>

Biographers remind us that John Lennon's father was a seaman too, but perhaps John Lennon belonged to the last generation who could boast seafaring relatives. In the 1960s Britain began to direct its eye towards Europe as trading with Commonwealth countries rapidly declined. What is worse for Liverpool, with the development of technology the airplane was replacing the ship as an instrument of commerce. Inevitably Liverpool became less important than it had been.

De-industrialization is the term often employed in discussions of Liverpool as a decaying city. In the early 1980s the Toxteth riot became the subject of TV and newspaper coverage and Alan Bleasdale's *Boys from the Blackstuff* drew public attention. Especially its most eccentric character Yosser Hughes became a working-class hero. At this time throughout the nation traditional heavy industry declined, old ports were decaying, and many mines and factories were closed. In turn, service-oriented industry expanded and more foreign investment was introduced. But we are told that, at least as far as Liverpool was concerned, de-industrialization had set in early in the nineteenth century. M. J. Power gives an interesting account:

As England industrialized, however, Liverpool de-industrialized.

Investment was concentrated on trade and the port rather than manufacturing after 1800. Shipbuilding moved across the Mersey to Birkenhead; potteries closed down; salt refining moved upriver to Garston, and later to Widnes (and with it the nascent chemical industry); the cotton mills failed. By 1840 the occupation structure had changed dramatically; skilled craftsmen were few, and the Liverpool workforce had adapted to its nineteenth-century port-oriented pattern, dominated by commerce, and serviced by an army of mariners and unskilled and semi-skilled workers.<sup>5</sup>

The passage above implies that a considerable amount of capital moved out of Liverpool and this city came to function as "a centre" of commerce. This "centre," however, was most vulnerable to the volatility of economic situations. In other words, a centre can be easily decentralized when a new dispensation requires it. The incentive is, needless to say, in the hands of national and/or international capitalists. What happened to Liverpool in the 1960s and after proves this assumption. In 1966, Liverpool was still the second largest UK port, but in 1985 it dropped down to the sixth. According to Tony Lane:

Between 1966 and 1985 the relative importance of East and West coast ports was reversed. In 1966 there were only four East coast ports in the top ten whereas in 1985 there were only four West coast ports. Dover and Felixstowe which *together* handled one-ninth of the volume of Liverpool's goods in 1966 were both, *separately*, handling 10 per cent more than Liverpool in 1985.<sup>6</sup>

The prominence of Liverpool came from cargo liners but they were to be replaced by the container ships. It was easier and less expensive to build a new port fit for the container ships than to rebuild the old port which Herman Melville admired as the best port in the world in the nineteenth century. What is more, as Tony Lane states, the decline of Atlantic trade severely undermined the importance of ports on the West coast. These factors, along with the expanding trade with Europe, brought about the shift which seriously damaged the economy of Liverpool.

By the 1980s Liverpool ceased to be significant as a port, but in 1957 there was still a transatlantic passenger route. Ships returning weekly from America brought home young Liverpudlian deckhands and stewards. They were called 'Cunard Yanks' because of their flashy New York fashion.<sup>7</sup> It was during this period that the Beatles were growing up. They saw the last glow of the sinking Empire with thousands of post-War 'teds,' while the Cunard Yanks brought home the music of Chuck Berry and Ike Turner every week.

## **2. Rock Music**

Giving a fully satisfactory definition to rock music or to pop music is indeed a difficult task. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia*, for example, defines pop music as "popular commercial music, with its audience mainly among the young, current in the developed countries since the late 1950s." As usual, any attempt of defining a highly charged and consequently slippery term is not immune to criticism. In the first place, pop music is not solely current in "the developed countries." PolyGram is going into partnership with MTV and they are jointly planning to broadcast two music satellite channels to the entire Asian market.<sup>8</sup> It is certain that nowadays pop music

is so diversified that generalization is inevitable. In fact, a score of music styles belonging to this genre are entirely different from each other in their origin and development, so that even pop music critics are often confused.<sup>9</sup>

It is generally believed that rock music is by definition apt to be included in pop music. This is partly because the early rock bands such as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones developed into enormously successful commercial bands. But my understanding is that rock music was, and has been, a means of communication between the working-class performers and audiences, giving expressions to deprived, depressed, and oppressed youth. It was even a form of culture discovered and created by the teenagers who had been inaccessible to the established culture. It was a breakthrough. Naturally it was iconoclastic and anti-establishment.

Today rock music is as legitimate as the preferred art forms such as theatre, classical music, painting, poetry and fiction. But in the 1950s and 1960s parents, teachers, and governors were not enthusiastic of this emerging youth culture. In the United States, the objection to rock music was based to a considerable extent on racial prejudice. Rhythm and blues, from which rock and roll evolved, is rooted in Black music. It was natural, therefore, that 'decent girls from good families' would not be encouraged to approach this 'nigger music.' Eric Burdon's account is most telling. He was the lead singer of the Animals. He left England for America where he saw the appalling racial prejudice. One day in Mobile, Alabama, a young white girl came up to Burdon for an autograph. Burdon recalls:

During the conversation I mentioned that Otis Redding had played there the night before. She said, "Yeh man, he's too much, isn't he? I think his recording of *My Girl* is fantastic." I told her, "Yeh, it's my

favorite record too." Then I asked her if she had seen him perform. She said, "Did I see him? You got to be joking, man, the place was full of niggers."<sup>10</sup>

In Britain, however, the disapproval came from a different direction. Britain has a more class-based society than any other Western country. Even after social democracy realised the so-called welfare state, Britain is still class-riven.<sup>11</sup> The term 'classless society' is an oxymoron in British idiom but the paranoia is, to some extent, based on reality.<sup>12</sup> Grammar school boys and 'decent girls from good families' in Britain were discouraged from approaching the working class festivity called rock music. In Britain both performers and audiences were "generally identified with the working-class."<sup>13</sup>

But on both sides of the Atlantic, a big change came in the mid 1960s. Though rock music was not yet wholly accepted by society, it suddenly became popular. The reason was less romantic. The establishment and capitalists realised that rock music makes a lot of money. In the increasingly affluent society the young people became the major consumers. They were already into the age of electricity and mass production. British production of record players and radiograms reached its peak in 1964, selling about 600,000 a year. By 1973, about 70 per cent of British households had record playing equipment.<sup>14</sup> As Arthur Marwick states, in the 1950s the hit-parade was judged on sales of sheet music but in the 1960s it was compiled from the sales of individual records.<sup>15</sup> In October 1962 the first single record of the Beatles was pressed and distributed. Hereafter their success story is well known. They were soon to be in the centre of the massive commercial enterprise. In the cynical words of Harker, "The Beatles did not get their

MBEs for charitable works. They got them for their considerable contribution to British exports."<sup>16</sup>

The popularity of rock music has more to do with the transformation of capitalism than the victory of the youth revolt. According to Harker, "even in 1972, the rate of return on capital in British music companies was higher than in the majority of other firms. In the USA, by the mid 1970s, rock was 'supposed to be outselling both Hollywood and organized sport.'"<sup>17</sup>

A history of rock music proves that commercial success is the beginning of trouble for many artists. Along with the growing popularity, rock musicians, most of them from the working class, have to face the logic of capitalism and they are being cut off from their audience in one way or another. Apart from pressure from the music industry, separation from the audience who nurtured them and pushed them up is most disastrous. Musicians are made to suffer from the sense of isolation while their audience feel betrayed. From the tragedies of John Lennon, Jimi Hendrix (born in America but Britain saw his debut) to Sid Vicious, there are countless examples.

However, the impact of rock music upon British society since the 1960s has been tremendous. We cannot disregard the intervention of the British pleasure industry. Nevertheless, the performers keep sending their messages and the audiences in turn react to them. They communicate through rock music. Even their lifestyle is based on this music. Britain has still kept the tradition of the 'gig' at clubs and pubs, which is really amazing when we look at the situation of American and Japanese rock music scene. In order to comprehend this peculiarity it is necessary to see, though in a very limited way, its social origins. First, a brief sketch must be given of the transatlantic cultural exchanges of this period.

### 3. Americanization

T. S. Eliot's *Waste Land* was published in 1922. It is a highly imaginative poem with rich allusions and it is full of quotations from different languages including Sanskrit. This work dramatically changed the concept of poetry of this century and enjoys a reputation as one of the most influential yet difficult poems. But when we re-read it today, we can realise its structure with less difficulty thanks to the generations of Eliot's critics and imitations. The poem largely consists of a series of internal monologues in different voices. Its external description is patchy and much less urban than some parts of its powerful original manuscript, which went through Ezra Pound's draconian surgery and was transformed into the published text. In the 1920s and even in the 1970s the poem was considered modern, that is to say, urban in imagination. The impression comes from such fragments as follow:

But

0 0 0 0 that Shakespeherian Rag—

It's so elegant

So intelligent

and:

The river bears no empty bottles, sandwich papers,

Silk handkerchiefs, cardboard boxes, cigarette ends

Or other testimony of summer nights.

and:

But at my back from time to time I hear  
The sound of horns and motors, which shall bring  
Sweeney to Mrs. Porter in the spring.

and:

She smooths her hair with automatic hand,  
And puts a record on the gramophone.<sup>18</sup>

What we hear in these passages is a distinctly urban tone and likewise what we find here is images controlled by modern consumerism. Urbanization and consumerism are the two key principles of contemporary popular culture. Iain Chambers makes a point:

Rapid transport, rapid communication and fast food: these were all important signs of a culture coming to be based on the indiscriminate circulation of goods and messages—ones not necessarily tied to any particular social or cultural place.<sup>19</sup>

The general impression might be that Dylan Thomas might have been on the side of pop music if he had lived longer rather than Eliot, because the Welsh poet is often associated with a bohemian life and the passionate poetry readings. But Thomas' poetic imagery is basically rural, if not pastoral. Eliot, on the other hand, had nonchalantly introduced ragtime jazz ("O O O O that Shakespeherian Rag"), consumed items of city dwellers ("empty bottles, sandwich papers, cigarette ends, etc."), motorcars, and gramophone as early as the 1920s. It is not simply that the poet was from St

Louis, Missouri. Cinema and dance music, for example, two forms of mass produced American culture, were said to be widely spread in Britain by this time.<sup>20</sup> This Americanization, which is a euphemism of market-oriented culture, is an aspect we cannot disregard for post-War British cultural study.

As Andrew Gamble points out, the post-War world economy was being rebuilt around the United States and British experiments in social democracy were not utterly free from this framework.<sup>21</sup> In accordance with this political hegemony, American commercial culture flowed into Britain in the form of Coca-Cola, chewing gum, and pop music. One of the most earliest agencies of this invasion was the "GIs." In 1942, US troops were stationed in Britain in preparation for the invasion of the continent. The American Forces Network, accessible to a British audience who only listened to the formal BBC, was broadcasting swing jazz and comedy shows.

In addition, Atlantic commerce was relatively stable by the late 1950s. Eric Burdon, mentioned above, grew up in Newcastle, a city in a prominent ship-building and coal-mining area. When Burdon was a young man, one of his neighbours was a merchant seaman who frequently visited the United States and brought back records with him. It was through these records that Burdon was introduced to the Afro-American music.<sup>22</sup> There were thousands of 'Eric Burdons' at the time. Reaction to this newly discovered music in Britain was tremendous as thousand of bands soon imitated it, but few could have realised then that a new music, which became so influential among young people throughout the world, was being born on this side of the Atlantic. Charlie Gillett made an important point in his lengthy study of rock music, *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll*. "In 1962," he writes,

A major source of the new music was Britain, which had made no previous significant contribution to popular music in the twentieth century. But in the years around 1962, Britain served the useful function of re-establishing popular music as a medium for personal expression rather than as the raw material for mass-produced entertainment, which it once again had become.<sup>23</sup>

Soon British bands were all over the pop charts in America. The year 1964 saw the American debuts of the Animals, the Dave Clark Five, Herman's Hermits, the Kinks, the Searchers and the Zombies and many more. Of course, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones dominated the American charts, starting in 1964. America was shocked by the impact of the British invasion. Both performers and audiences became "a part of mass consumer society."<sup>24</sup> John Lennon was aware of the intrigue, saying: "As soon as we made it, we made it, but the edges were knocked off."<sup>25</sup> It is these edges that really matter. Let us get back to the brief but critical period in which the transition came.

#### **4. Working Class Audience**

Rock music was not created by a single band. The phenomenon was deeply rooted in working-class culture. Before the Beatles unwittingly exploded the working-class image as four mop-headed Liverpool lads defying the prospect of the decaying northern seaport town with their shouts and noisy music, there were such films as John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* in which Richard Burton played the role of Jimmy Porter, and Alan Sillitoe's *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* and *The Loneliness of the Long*

*Distance Runner*. It was the films rather than the original literary works that presented working-class life as being more real, interesting, and honest than middle-class life.<sup>26</sup> Unlike Bob Dylan in America, the Beatles did not explicitly express their criticism of established society. But it does not necessarily mean that they did not evoke resentment among their audience. Their message was transmitted in the form of the 'gig' rather than in lyrics. It was the bodily, rather than intellectual, message through the direct confrontation with the audience. And the early Beatles, when they called themselves the 'Silver Beatles,' loved it as much as their audiences.<sup>27</sup> Above all, it was their total lifestyle that appealed to their audiences: their defiant attitudes towards convention, their bizarre clothes and hairdos which they chose on their own. Today we enjoy the freedom of choice from hairstyles to clothes, but it was sensational in the 1960s to reject social standards and choose your own. The 'Liverpool lads,' if not entirely single-handedly, made it happen.<sup>28</sup>

The positive side of working class culture is the belief in one's own taste and the energy to create a new form of culture if it is not available in the market. It involves the rejection and the deconstruction of the established forms imposed by the privileged ruling class. The Beatles inherited this class consciousness from their experience in the Liverpool working class community and they attached it to their music. The energy and the straightforward expression which they incorporated into their music has formed the core of rock music. In a sense, this tradition, if you like, was inherited by the later generations including Johnny Rotten and Sid Vicious of the Sex Pistols. It was their "sonorial infrastructure," to borrow Chambers' phrase, that produced an aura of impatience with convention which was so appealing to the audience.

There is a description of the Cavern Jazz Club in Liverpool, where an early encounter took place between the Beatles as performers and their working-class audience:

Mathew Street belongs to the system of cobbled lanes which carry goods traffic up from Liverpool docks into a hinterland of dark Victorian warehouses. By day, the lanes are alive with heavy goods lorries, unstacking and loading in the squeak of airborne hoists. By night, they are empty, but for cartons and cabbage leaves, and the occasional meandering drunk.

Underneath the warehouse at 10 Mathew Street, in 1960, could be found the Cavern Jazz Club. Its entrance was a hatchway, under a single naked light bulb. A flight of 18 stone steps turned at the bottom into three arched, interconnecting brick tunnels. The centre tunnel was the main club area, with a stage against the inner wall and an audience of wooden chairs. In the nearer tunnel, the money was taken; in the further one, beyond obscuring pillars, you danced. The best British Jazz bands had performed down there, in an atmosphere pervaded by damp and mould and the aroma of beer slops and small, decaying mammals and the cheeses that were kept in the cellar adjoining.<sup>29</sup>

Here the Beatles began their lunch-time sessions in 1961 and instantly the queues formed. The place was dismal and symbolic. Literally they met underground. There is beer, loud music, and dance. That is enough for the people who got together to spend their leisure time. It was, and is, impossible for the working class to choose their work, but at least they

could choose their leisure at this time.

It is symbolic that the Cavern Jazz Club, as its name tells, had been a stronghold of jazz music before it was replaced by rock music. In Britain from the late 1950s to the early 1960s 'Trad' and Modern only appealed to the intellectual minority and were gradually giving their place to rock and roll. The working class audience chose to take new music rather than to preserve the already established music.

But what distinguished the new audience from those of the former generation was that the majority of them were young. That is, those who had left school at fifteen and gone out to work. The more important difference was that while the former working class community was highly male-dominated, the new audience to which the Beatles and other rock groups communicated included girls and later even middle-class youth. This is not to say early rock music abolished the class and gender distinctions. But certainly their music forced the puzzled and confused mass media to seek out the renewed standard of popular culture and class. We must not forget the economic factor which was working behind the scene. Chambers quotes Mark Abrams' remark that "not far short of 90% of all teenage spending is conditioned by working class taste and value."<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, it remains true that the working class community in Liverpool in the early 1960s created their own form of culture.

## **5. Conclusion**

Examining John Lennon's lyrics of 'Working Class Hero,' Harker questions Lennon's working-class credentials. While his argument is interesting, it is not based on fact. He says:

It is symptomatic that his 'Scouse' accent came as a surprise to his father: 'He spoke lovely English. When I heard his scouse accent years later I was sure it must be a gimmick.'<sup>31</sup>

It was true that Fred Lennon, the father who left his family, made this remark to Hunter Davies whom Harker quotes. But Davies states that when Fred met John, John was only five years old. Harker, as well as Fred Lennon, took Lennon's scouse accent as a gimmick because their judgement was troubled by the mass-produced image of the Beatles as superstars. Biographical data is the most difficult material to deal with. Philip Norman, the author of *The True Story of the Beatles*, for example, did not write of the reemergence of Fred Lennon. I tremble with fear as my research is partly based on these data.

I am aware of another limitation which is even more serious. The accounts of the reception and response to the performers by the audiences were not systematically explored. What I have attempted to show here, however, is how Liverpool, Americanization and the working-class audience were related in giving birth to rock music. Liverpool, both geographically and culturally, stood closer to America than any other place in Britain. There was an enormous American airbase at Burtonwood and of course sailors would come back to the port of Liverpool with blues records from America in the ships. And the time was in the 1960s when older cultural forms which Richard Hoggart described in his *The Use of Literacy* were either disappearing or being dispersed. Rock music was attractive for working-class youth who had been, up until then not only economically but also culturally, deprived of their own form of communication.

## Notes

- 1 Dave Harker, *One for the Money: Politics and Popular Song* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), p.11.
- 2 Harker, p.78.
- 3 Actually Berry Gordy Jr., the founder of Detroit's Motown had an experience as an assembly line worker at the Ford plant in Fort Wayne, Indiana. See David Standish, 'Hope I Die before I Get Old,' *Playboy*, April 1995, 110-116, 136-143 (p.116).
- 4 Tony Lane, *Liverpool: Gateway of Empire* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1987), p.9.
- 5 M. J. Power, 'The Growth of Liverpool,' in John Belchem, *Popular Politics, Riot and Labour: Essays in Liverpool History 1790-1940* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), pp.21-37 (p.28).
- 6 Lane, p.46.
- 7 Philip Norman, *Shout!: The True Story of the Beatles* (London: Penguin, 1993), p.38.
- 8 *Times*, April 20, 1995.
- 9 As for the complicated relation between rock music and pop music, see Graham Vulliamy, 'Music and the Mass Culture Debate,' in John Shepherd et al., *Whose Music?: A Sociology of Musical Languages* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1977), pp.179-200 (pp.191-195).
- 10 Charlie Gillett, *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll*, revised ed. (London: Souvenir, 1983), p.272.
- 11 Denis Healey, for example, stresses the difficulty of this problem in relation to British management: "I noticed that foreign managers were often more successful in Britain than British managers in the same industry, while British managers were

often more successful abroad than in Britain. This I attributed, as did many of my foreign friends, such as Helmut Schmidt, to the uniquely persistent class divisions in British society." Denis Healey, *The Time of My Life* (London: Penguin, 1990), p.406.

12 For the discussion of the immutable class system, see François Bédarida, *A Social History of England 1851-1975* (London: Methuen, 1979), pp.200-225.

13 Vulliamy, p.189.

14 Harker, p.80.

15 Arthur Marwick, *British Society since 1945* (London: Penguin, 1982), p.133.

16 Harker, p.87.

17 Harker, p.87.

18 T. S. Eliot, *Collected Poems 1909-1962* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), p.67, 70, 72.

19 Iain Chambers, *Urban Rhythms: Pop Music and Popular Culture* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1985), p.1.

20 Chambers, p.2.

21 Andrew Gamble, *Britain in Decline* (London: Macmillan, 1990), p.104.

22 Gillett, pp.271-72.

23 Gillett, p.250.

24 Marwick, p.24.

25 Pearce Marchbank (ed.), *Beatles in Their Own Words* (London: Omnibus Press, 1978), p.17.

26 Gillett, p.264.

27 In an interview John Lennon insisted that: "We were performers—in spite of what Mick [Jagger] says about us—in Liverpool, Hamburg and other dance halls." (Marchbank, p.17.) They were. During one of their early performances at Neston Institute, a 16-year-old boy was booted to death. (Norman, p.69.)

- 28 Even after the Beatles gained popularity, their lifestyle was not generally accepted. At press conferences they went through a shower of questions about their hairstyles, such as "What excuse do you have for your collar-length hair?", "Which of you is really bald?", "Do you wear wigs?", "Don't you feel icky and dirty with your hair so long, flopping in your eyes and down your neck?", "What is the biggest threat to your careers, the atom bomb or dandruff?", etc. Marchbank, p.69.
- 29 Norman, p.99.
- 30 Chambers, p.27.
- 31 Harker, p.212.

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- Times*, April, 20, 1995.

#### 1960年代のリヴァプールにおけるロック音楽と労働者の聴衆

田口哲也

リヴァプールはすでに19世紀から産業構造の転換が始まった都市であった。第二次世界大戦後にイギリスはその帝国の大部分を失い、かつての大西洋貿易の中心であったリヴァプールは転落の一途をたどる。しかし情報メディアや音楽産業が大衆文化を支配する前段階において、アメリカの大衆音楽を独自に発展させた新しい大衆音楽がこの街で生み出されていった。基本的には現在でも続いているアメリカの大衆文化とイギリスの大衆文化の差異は、1960年代のイギリスのいくつかの地方都市で起こった「文化革命」に由来するが、この小論はリヴァプールをモデルにしたケース・スタディーである。