

Baby why do you treat me this way? The evolving role of women, from pub rock to punk (UK, 1970s)

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Abstract

Pub rock in the UK was notable for its near complete absence of women. Drawing on first-hand interviews with singer-songwriter Helen Reddington and artist and founding member of The Moodies, Anne Bean, this chapter shows that rather than simply being symptomatic of the 1970s, pub rock contrasted with contemporaneous, more radical/progressive art and music scenes, where women had a more prominent role. The output of bands such as Dr Feelgood and Brinsley Schwartz is explored in the context of gender, identifying a progression from the blues rock scenes that preceded pub rock, while also interrogating the extent to which crossover artists such as Ian Dury brought chauvinistic attitudes from pub rock into their punk incarnations. Contrarily, the chapter problematises a predominant narrative that punk was unambiguously emancipatory for women, looking at the output of bands including The Stranglers and Johnny Moped. Testimony from figures such as Chrissie Hynde and Chiswick Records co-founder Roger Armstrong are used to explore the extent to which misogyny persisted in male dominated punk spaces. The chapter ultimately concludes that punk provided a continuum with the exploratory art and music spaces of the early 1970s, while providing space for more explicitly feminist strands to emerge through post-punk.

Introduction

This chapter looks at how the role of women in music scenes evolved in the UK throughout the course of the 1970s, using the genres of pub rock and punk as microcosms for this exploration. Women were notable by their absence in pub rock, mirroring the situation in the blues and rock scenes that preceded it, and this chapter explores the reasons for this in the context of contemporaneous movements in which women were finding a voice. It also explores how pub rock segued into punk, and the extent to which this latter milieu was freeing for women and/contrarily a space where oppressive and exploitative tendencies seen in wider society were repeated, and even magnified.

By the time punk arrived in the UK in the mid-1970s, egocentric prog and stadium rock bands who had lost touch with their audiences were already alienating punk's hippie forerunners as well as the young generation who would embrace punk.ⁱ Indeed, the radical/anarchistic hippie underground of the early 1970s, provides a lineage with punk that has been well established in more recent literature on the subject.ⁱⁱFor example,

The Pink Fairies were involved with the counterculture, notably the Free Festivals movement and anarchism, not least through their prominent member, Mick Farren (1943-2013), formerly of The Deviants (1966-), who periodically edited the underground publication, *International Times* (1966-).ⁱⁱⁱ Bands, such as Edgar Broughton Band (1968), Hawkwind (1969-) [Johnny Rotten was a fan], The Pretty Things (1962-) and Arthur Brown (The Crazy World of Arthur Brown) [1965-] all undermined the notion that hippies were synonymous with passivity.

This lineage contrasts with the mythology generated by Malcolm McLaren and Vivienne Westwood that punk's inception via the Sex Pistols in 1976 constituted 'Year Zero.'^{iv} It was McLaren's failed attempt to manage The New York Dolls in the United States that inspired his return to the UK to form Sex Pistols, and the role of bands from New York and Detroit, including the New York Dolls (1971-), The Ramones (1974), Iggy Pop and the Stooges (1967-), MC5 (1963-), Patti Smith (Patti Smith Group, 1973–1979) and Television (1973-78) in creating the 'punk' sound is also well documented. By 1976, prominent music press writers, Nick Kent (*NME*) and Giovanni Daddomo (*Sounds*), had brought this Stateside sound to the attention of their UK readership, which was largely comprised of aspiring young musicians.^v There was, however, a burgeoning scene closer to home that exerted an equally powerful influence on the genesis of punk – pub rock.^{vi}

Punk provided continuity with pub rock through its egalitarianism, its shunning of what the practitioners considered to be overblown stadium rock, in favour of smaller pubs and venues that charged an affordable entry price, and by making the audience a constituent role in the formation of the genre.^{vii} This lineage between pub rock and punk was established at the time via the music press and pioneering punk fanzine, *Sniffin' Glue* started by Mark Perry (July 1976-).^{viii} Newly formed independent labels, notably Chiswick (1975) [set up and run by key pub rock figures, Roger Armstrong and Ted Carroll] and Stiff Records (1976) [set up by two managers of pub rock bands, Dave 'Robbo' Robinson and Jake Riviera]^{ix} were instrumental in this crossover between the two genres. Similarly, both genres rejected major record labels and their requirement for bland 'transnational' music driven by a commercial imperative to reach as wide an audience as possible.^x The cheaper recording process and lower overheads available to the indies meant they needed to sell less to break even and could therefore take more of a risk in releasing more novel music.

These independent labels and the network of venues established by the pub rock scene provided a platform, both for new punk acts to reach audiences, and for established pub rock bands to develop their new musical direction in the aftermath of the advent of punk. London venues such as The Kensington (Olympia), The Tally Ho (Kentish Town), The Hope and Anchor (Islington), the Nashville (West Kensington) were all pub rock venues,

which later featured punk bands. The latter hosted the Sex Pistols, The Stranglers and The Damned in early 1976.^{xi}

As well as creating the infrastructure that allowed punk to thrive, many of punk's performers were also pub rock's direct descendants. Ian Dury made a seamless transition from performing with his pub rock band, Kilburn and the High Roads, to his incarnation with his backing band, The Blockheads (signed with Stiff Records in 1978). Several future punk protagonists were already fans, and his on-stage persona was reported to have inspired Johnny Rotten.^{xii} The pub rock band, the 101ers, was impacted by the arrival of punk, with member Joe Strummer forming The Clash as a result.^{xiii} Mick Jones (The Clash) and Rat Scabies (The Damned) were formerly in pub rock band, London SS. Elvis Costello, formerly of pub rock band, Flip City (1974-76) [under the name D.P. Costello] signed to Stiff Records (1976). The Stranglers evolved from the pub rock band, The Guilford Stranglers (1974).

While pub rock acts such as Brinsley Schwartz and their country-rock antecedents Eggs Over Easy had a sound that was very far from punk, it was arguably the 'Canvey Island Sound' of bands such as Eddie and the Hot Rods and Dr Feelgood, and the latter's 'incendiary' live performances, that exerted the strongest influence on a younger generation of punks.^{xiv} One such-inspired youth was Eric Goulden, later known as Wreckless Eric. He describes seeing the grimy, monochrome artwork on Dr Feelgood's first album 'Down by the Jetty', and how the music on it, bereft of overdubs and overlays, 'changed his life.'^{xv} Unlike many pub rock proponents, the Feelgoods would stick resolutely to their roots in rock and roll following the advent of punk. But this didn't stop a young Billy Bragg, who had grown up in nearby Dagenham, declaiming on seeing the Feelgoods' performance on *Supersonic* (an ITV music show) in 1975, 'four men from Canvey Island rode down the A13 to herald the coming of punk rock.' Bragg was enthralled by the menace singer Lee Brilleaux exuded on stage, where he 'fixed the crowd with the kind of look that would start a fight in any Southend bar.'^{xvi} It was the guitarist, Wilko Johnson, however, who epitomised what would become a punk archetype. He was the '...sort of kid that would get picked on in every school playground in the country, yet here he was, the coolest guitarist I'd ever seen.'^{xvii} Bragg lists Dury, Rotten, Strummer, Weller, and Costello as epitomising the 'loser with attitude' pose he first saw in Wilko Johnson. Tellingly, three of those five punk icons came from pub rock. Also tellingly, they are all men.

On stage, Dr Feelgood was on the face of it the epitome of macho Essex attitude. Brilleaux was the embodiment of this, and while the band were seen as a double act of Brilleaux and Johnson, to Johnson himself the star was always Brilleaux.^{xviii} Live performances bristled with male sexual energy, nowhere more than in performances of 'I'm A Hog For You Baby'^{xix} in which Brilleaux would simulate sex while singing about a girl he was infatuated with, with an intensity that bordered on sexual violence.^{xx}

Performances would often end with the microphone which had stood in for his sexual organs flying across the stage in simulated orgasm.

On the face of it, this has little to do with the sexual ambiguity that would characterise punk, but a closer reading of Dr Feelgood's output offers a different perspective. Wreckless Eric was particularly taken by their song 'Twenty Yards Behind', which includes the lines,

The cars are moving sideways, and the traffic lights change to blue

I'm walking twenty yards behind her 'cause I'm frightened of the damage she'll do

This hints at an anxiety about male primacy in sexual politics that was largely missing from the output of bands that had influenced the pub rock sound. Their most enduring song, 'Roxette' (7", United Artists, 1974), goes further, bemoaning the infidelity of the singer's promiscuous girlfriend. The song evokes the world of pubs and dingy venues that characterised the pub rock scene, with the hapless male narrator spying on his girlfriend as she brags about cheating on him at a gig. While the song contains threats if she continues her behaviour, the abiding impression is of the inevitability of her continuing to cheat on him. While there had always been a strand in rock and roll that reflected male anxiety about female infidelity, for example in The Rolling Stones' 'Who's Been Sleeping Here' (LP, Decca, 1967), or in the numerous versions of the traditional song In the Pines (including one by pub rock precursors The Four Pennies), there is a sense of inevitability in 'Roxette' that points to a new era of sexual politics.

Radical bohemianism in the pre-Punk 1970s

Indeed, coinciding with societal changes fostered by the radical politics of the 1970s, changes to chauvinistic music scenes, exemplified in rock ('cock rock')^{xxi}, were afoot. Movements for women's and gay rights and liberation as well as the sexual freedom of the era made incursions into music, theatre, and performance art scenes. The bohemianism of the art schools, from which many rock and pop acts hailed,^{xxii} was key to these more experimental forms of creativity.^{xxiii} They had, in common with higher education institutes more widely, undergone democratisation during the post-war decades, which meant the arbiters of new art, music and culture came from an increasingly diverse social mix.^{xxiv} Many of these former students, a number of whom had been active in the student uprisings of 1968, formed bands, became publicists, independent record label owners, producers, distributors and created art and music graphics. These people, who often met at art schools, subsequently interconnected, providing a network that developed new culture.^{xxv}

While there were numerous radical artists, including Jo Spence and Mary Kelly, from this era who created work with an unambiguously feminist message, others strongly

resisted an association with the Women's Movement, or any other form of what was perceived to be restrictive labelling. Instead, they placed value in the countercultural togetherness of people challenging and undermining social norms and creating new culture.^{xxvi} Experimental art collectives arising from the counterculture, including The Exploding Galaxy (initiated by the artist, David Medalla, 1967), which evolved into the Transmedia Commune (Islington, London), whose member, Genesis P-Orridge went on to form COUM Transmissions (UK, 1969-76) with Cosey Fanni Tutti were subverting social constructs, while resisting being associated with any political doctrine.

One performance outfit that overlapped with these collectives was The Moodies (formerly known as Moody and the Menstruators) [1971], which consisted of six women and one gay, male pianist. Their heavily female composition and uncompromising, cross-gender appeal meant they stood out from the mainstay of male rock, as did their avant-garde, arty leanings. In an article on the band for *The Wire*, Adrian Whittaker (who had been friends with the band) noted that, '...playing games with appearance, identity, gender and sexuality was the basis of much of The Moodies' style – an approach which, to the blues-based religion of rock music at the time, was nothing short of heretical.'^{xxvii}

Despite being shaped in part through the musicians' emergence from bohemian art school milieus, pub rock was essentially conservative; its lineage descended from the overwhelmingly masculine, and white, English blues. While female performers had a presence on the wider circuit, notably Cado Belle lead singer Maggie Reilly (who would later sing on a string of hits for Mike Oldfield), and as backing singers, for instance for Bazooka Joe (whose bass player, Stuart Goddard, formed post-punk band, Adam and the Ants on seeing Sex Pistols' inaugural show at Central St Martins School of Art, 1975), women were most notable by their absence. This applied not only to the bands but also the audiences. As Chiswick Records co-founder Roger Armstrong notes, 'The majority in the audience were blokes with pints. Sometimes women went along as girlfriends. Blokes went to the pub in the evening. Women stayed at home. In folk, women played on stage, whereas pub rock was a very male dominated domain.'^{xxviii}

This was arguably the most dramatic thing to change with the advent of punk. In its early, art-school influenced days, punk provided space for notable female protagonists like Vivienne Westwood, Jordan, Sooo Catwoman and Siouxsie Sioux. By the end of 1976, this was also reflected in the composition of bands. A headline article in *Sounds* (11th December, 1976) reported this demographic shift: 'Suddenly there seems to be an awful lot of women musicians, or women bands, in the *Sounds* gig guide. It seems that a women's underground is suddenly emerging overground.'^{xxix} The musician, academic and writer, Vivien Goldman, who was the author of this original article, later reflected on why this was. 'Where were the rest of the women? Simple: at that particular moment when punk first stirred, in our pop world, there kinda weren't any.'^{xxx}

This female punk rebellion was key to a wider egalitarianism within punk that brought marginal, nonconformist voices to the fore. Prior to that the ideal was for women to look good and provide vocal harmony. Academic, singer-songwriter and bass guitar player, Helen Reddington, who formerly played in punk bands Joby and the Hooligans and The Chefs, and has made the neglect of female musicians and performers in punk rock history central to her research, observes that it became more acceptable for women to be loud and impolite via punk, noting how beforehand it had been ‘...very much accepted for men to tell women how to behave. One man told me I was “loud, like an American.” You were meant to say yes to everything men said, including sleeping with them.’^{xxxix}

Many women, both high profile and within the subculture itself, found punk empowering. For some, including singer Siouxsie Sioux, this meant embracing their own power or ability to intimidate. Pauline Murray (Penetration) and Chrissie Hynde (the Pretenders) both refused to adopt a ‘feminised’ look in order to practice their music. Gaye Advert (The Adverts), Poly Styrene and Laura Logic (X-Ray Spex), and The Slits all played with, transcended, or subverted gendered looks and expectations.

Despite its role in empowering women, punk was ambiguous in its relation to 2nd wave feminism, being both indebted to it, and disavowing any affiliation. Lucy Toothpaste, who started feminist punk fanzine *Jolt* (1977), and also wrote for RAR fanzine *Temporary Hoarding* and *Spare Rib* has observed that none of the punk women she interviewed would identify as feminist, as they believed this tag to be ‘too worthy’.^{xxxix} Reddington recalls,

I hated feminism. Feminists I tended to come across had lots to say about wombs. I liked the freedom of not being gendered. They would say I shouldn’t say certain things. I would sing sexist things from a point of view where I was taking the piss. They had so many rules and rules were what punks were trying to get away from.^{xxxix}

However, in hindsight Reddington acknowledges,

Now I’m grateful (for feminism). I was busy fighting my own battles. I came across lots of misogynist men. I knew lots of women who were attacked and raped. I didn’t recognise what feminism stood for in that respect. Later I did. Now I’m proud to be a feminist.^{xxxix}

If there was a disavowal of feminism among sections of the radical art world and early punk women, the suspicion cut both ways. The women’s movement was not unanimously onboard with the more outré forms of expression practiced by outfits such as The Moodies. While write ups in the feminist magazine *Spare Rib* were supportive, some feminists were alienated by their performances, and considered them not to be

serious.^{xxxv} However, The Moodies would have a formative influence on one group of punk pioneers, with all-female punk band, The Slits, claiming they were inspired by their example.^{xxxvi}

Some of the male musicians that made the transition from pub rock to punk also adapted to the shifting socio-political terrain as the 1970s progressed, commenting on sexism in society at large. One key pub rock figure, Nick Lowe, who was the singer, songwriter and bass player for Brinsley Schwarz and went on to play instruments and produce punk records for Stiff Records, sang the track, 'Born a Woman', originally sung by Sandy Posey and released as the A side of a best-selling record (1966), on his EP, *Bowi* (Stiff, 1977). His version subverts the schmaltzy orchestration of the original by replacing it with a jaunty punk guitar track and reflects the playfulness in terms of gender enabled by punk.

Elvis Costello likewise attempted to challenge misogynist rock music lyrics, namely 'Stupid Girls' by the Rolling Stones, though his song, 'This Year's Girl' (included on the album, *This Year's Model*, by Elvis Costello and the Attractions, Radar Records, 1978, produced by Nick Lowe). Ironically, the music press coverage sometimes missed the irony, declaring the song itself to be sexist.^{xxxvii}

Pub Rock Chauvinism to Punk Misogyny

While some male musicians became attuned to issues of sexism and female oppression, several punk rock acts continued the chauvinistic attitudes evident in the pub rock scene they were formerly involved with. The Stranglers, for example, used the license to cause offence afforded by the new movement to incorporate misogyny into their punk identity. Thriving on the shock value of rapists and serial killers, deploying strippers for their live performance (Battersea Park, 1978) and the sexual objectification evident in songs such as 'Peaches' and 'Nice 'N' Sleazy' (whatever pretext there may have been that this was simply tongue in cheek) formed a *de facto* backlash against feminism, tied to a desire to upset conventional morality. Perhaps acknowledging this on some level, the music video to 'Something Better Change', their follow-up single to 'Peaches', included a shot of some corrugated iron fencing (emphasising their new-found embrace of a 'declinist' punk aesthetic) on which the feminist slogan 'Women need men like fish need bicycles' had been sprayed in black paint.

Despite his immense charm, affability and talent as a wordsmith, Ian Dury displayed depressing double standards where women were concerned.^{xxxviii} In his pub rock days, he had used the growing popularity of his band Kilburn And The High Roads to pursue numerous women, while his wife, Elizabeth "Betty" Rathmell held the fort on the domestic and parenting front.^{xxxix} The lyrics to The Kilburns' songs are typical of pub rock, dealing as they do with love and relationships, albeit through Dury's irreverent eye.

He took this a stage further once he'd embraced, and been embraced by, the punk scene. 'Billericay Dicky', one of his most celebrated songs, describes the serial philandering of an Essex lad, mining the music hall tradition, and using humour to simultaneously celebrate and lampoon its subject.

Had a love affair with Nina

In the back of my Cortina

A seasoned-up hyena

Could not have been more obscener

She took me to the cleaners

And other misdemeanours

But I got right up between her

Rum and her Ribena

Elsewhere, the sexual objectification is more blatant. The lyrics to 'More than Fair', a Kilburn and the High Roads song that appeared as a B-side to the Blockheads release 'Sweet Gene Vincent' (7", Stiff Records, 1977), reduces its subject's appeal to their sexualised body parts. In 'Plaistow Patricia' (released on the LP, *New Boots and Panties*, Stiff Records, 1977), which, with a punk pose that would have been unthinkable a year before, begins with the line 'Arseholes, bastards, fucking cunts and pricks', derogatory language is used to denigrate the character on the basis of her aged body.

A more complex case study is afforded by the band Johnny Moped. Hailing from Croydon, the band had existed under various line ups and guises since 1970, without ever making any impact, and by 1975 had broken up, as the singer, Paul Halford, had left to get married. In the interim, some of the remaining band members enlisted an unknown Chrissie Hinde to play with them, and recorded demos of some songs that would go on to be huge hits for The Pretenders. Losing interest in the project, however, drummer Dave Berk played briefly with another Croydon band, Tor. When the Mopeds reformed in the aftermath of punk, he brought that band's guitarist, Slimy Toad, into the mix, who provided the lyrics for their most misogynist song.

Walking down the road with my incendiary device

Looking for an ear to blow it up with gelignite

Stick it in her lughole

Watch it blow her head apart

Stick in her lughole

Stick it in her other part

My device is nearly ready

Grab her neck and hold her steady

Stick it in her

Armstrong observes, 'The lyrics are very hard to take now. They were young men in their teens/early twenties, who like many young men of the time, did not have a lot of experience with relationships.'^{xi} After an appearance at The Roxy, the band signed to Chiswick Records, where Armstrong enlisted artist Barney Bubbles to produce a video for the track. On the face of it, the video reinforces the misogyny in the lyrics. It features the girlfriend of Elvis Costello guitarist Steve Nieve being tied up by the members of the group, while wearing a T-shirt that reads SLUT, which is gradually cut away with scissors. The band have retrospectively been fairly dismissive of the video, perhaps because it embraces some pretty generic punk tropes. Sex and violence had been integral to punk since its inception in Vivienne Westwood's SEX! Shop on the Kings Road, which featured bondage clothing, pornography, and items such as the Cambridge Rapist T-shirt. This 'Sadecan' tendency can either be interpreted as subverting social norms to expose the moral hypocrisy of politicians and church leaders, or as reinforcing the subjugation, exploitation, and objectification of women by reinforcing the Freudian 'Madonna-whore' dichotomy. Armstrong favours the former interpretation, seeing the Incendiary Device video as a piece of outsider art. In this it reflects the outsider status of the band as a whole; driven mainly by their talismanic lead singer whose special needs gave him added kudos in a punk environment. Armstrong notes, 'Johnny was very on the spectrum. His dole card had a number that indicated they should never force him into a job. But he was an amazing live performer.'^{xli}

Chrissie Hynde's interaction with the band also points to the ambiguity of the new status quo. Having been abandoned as Johnny Moped's singer, she had inadvertently applied to rejoin the band for their first Roxy gig, only to be summarily dumped a second time when Slimy Toad gave them an ultimatum to choose either her or him to play guitar. Despite this, Hynde maintains that Johnny Moped taking her on as guitarist saved her, during a period when she was alienated from a heavily male-dominated scene. Prior to her interactions with Johnny Moped, Hynde had been guitarist for another proto-punk group put together by Malcolm McLaren, Masters of the Backside, whose other members, Dave Vanian, Captain Sensible and Rat Scabies, went on to form The Damned. Armstrong notes, 'Chrissie seemed tougher than most of the men on the punk

scene, and I think she scared off many of the musicians who were forming bands at the time. She sang backing vocals for the Johnny Moped group, who welcomed her in. Fred the bassist in the band said to me “Chrissie writes great songs” and he wasn’t wrong there. But it took a while before others realised that.^{xlii}

Captain Sensible (who had been a founder member of Johnny Moped before he joined The Damned) later reflected, ‘she was a mega-talent’, and that the sacking had therefore been ‘the best thing for her’,^{xliii} propelling her to the next stage of her career as lead vocalist, rhythm guitar player and songwriter in The Pretenders. In this sense, despite punk having sexist and misogynist tendencies discussed here, it also provided the opportunity for female musicians such as Hynde to be valued on their own terms.

This emancipatory component to punk had an antecedent not in pub rock, but in the more radical, experimental forms of music and art that emerged during the early-mid 1970s. As we have seen, the protagonists often valued a sense of ‘togetherness’ seen in the counterculture, rather than being aligned with the women’s movement. Along similar lines, punk women overwhelmingly rejected political doctrine and labelling, including the feminist tag. Despite emerging alongside the women’s movement in the UK, Pub rock featured a dearth of female protagonists and participants. It is hard to see much influence from this contemporaneous movement, but Pub Rock can be characterised as more chauvinistic than explicitly misogynist in its lyrical content and social mores and practices. Punk by contrast could be alternately liberating and transgressive regarding sex and gender roles and constraints, or oppressively misogynist, and sometimes a combination of the two. However, as punk evolved a strand emerged that left behind its reservations about feminism and embraced the movement. Both anarcho-punk (Poison Girls and Crass) and post punk (The Raincoats and The Au Pairs) would provide space for bands with an explicitly feminist perspective to come to the fore.

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ⁱ See Laing (2015)

ⁱⁱ See McKay (1996), Rimbaud (1999), Farren (2001), Birch (2003), Poulsen (2005), Berger (2006), Bestley (2007), 115-116 and Binns (2022).

ⁱⁱⁱ See Farren (2001).

^{iv} This narrative, which affirms the importance of the inner circle of Malcolm McLaren and Sex Pistols and is centred on their shop, SEX! On the Kings Road, was circulated by early attempts to historicise punk. See for instance *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century*, by Greil Marcus (1989) and *England's Dreaming*, by Jon Savage (1991).

^v Birch, 163.

^{vi} Mod bands from the 1960s also influenced punk bands, including Sex Pistols, while The Jam spearheaded a Mod revival that was intertwined with punk/New Wave in the late 1970s. See Jones, 121, 87-88.

^{vii} *Sniffin' Glue*'s emblazoned aim was to be 'For PUNKS' (Issue 1, cover).

^{viii} Bestley (2007), 42-43, mentions music journalists, Tony Parsons (*NME*) and Caroline Coon (*Melody Maker*) referencing this crossover, also noting the pub rock acts considered to be Proto-Punk by *Sniffin' Glue* (113-114).

^{ix} See Laing, 18 for more on the birth of these two independents labels that proved essential to supporting pub rock and facilitating the crossover with punk.

^x Laing, 21.

^{xi} Laing, 18.

^{xii} See Birch, 117, 158 and Hynde, 182.

^{xiii} Laing, 18.

^{xiv} Birch, 163. Laing (18) observes that 'by 1975-6 Eddie and the Hot Rods were being classed by commentators like Mark Perry of *Sniffin' Glue* as part of punk, not pub rock.

^{xv} Goulden, 2022.

<https://www.facebook.com/wrecklesseric/posts/pfbid02PeKXMungPYosSwJeuhpXCZt7CB1RpZHidSPUE nMhzQvPe8LL3FHWQxev2KfVikZ3I>. Accessed Dec 22. Wreckless Eric went on to record on the first punk tracks to be released, *Whole Wide World* (Stiff label sampler, A Bunch of Stiff Records, April, 1977), with pub rock proponent Nick Lowe playing guitar on the record.

^{xvi} Bragg, *Obit for Wilko Johnson*, 2022. At:

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^{xvii} Bragg, 2022.

^{xviii} In conversation at David's Book Shop, Letchworth Hertfordshire. 9/7/2012. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8DgV5t1VkNg>. Accessed 2nd January, 2023.

^{xix} This track was originally recorded by the Noth American r&b/rock 'n' roll band, The Coasters (1955-).

^{xx} See *Dr Feelgood-Live at Southend Kursaal*. Available at

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GzF0AETdRF8> Accessed 2nd January, 2023.

^{xxi} See Frith and McRobbie (1990).

^{xxii} See Frith and Horne (1987).

^{xxiii} See *Vivienne Westwood: Fashion, Perversity and the 1960s Laid Bare* by Fred Vermorel (1996) and *Give the Anarchist a Cigarette* by Mick Farren (2001).

xxiv See *Cross-overs: Art into Pop/Pop into Art* by John A Walker (1987).

xxv Malcolm McLaren and Fred Vermorel attended Harrow School of Art during the 1960s. McLaren also attended Croydon Art School where he met Situationist inspired artist, Jamie Reid, who went on to create the iconic graphics for the Sex Pistols. The Walthamstow School of Art hosted Ian Dury and prior to him, Pop Artists including Peter Blake and Derek Boshier, filmmakers Ken Russell and Peter Greenaway and fashion designers Celia Birtwell, Marion Foale and Sally Tuffin. Whittaker, 36-42 highlights the interconnection between art departments in different higher education institutes that facilitated participants in new art and culture to emerge.

xxvi Anne Bean in interview with Binns, 20th September, 2022 (zoom). Gee Vaucher, who was part of performance group EXIT (1968-72) and later created the designs for anarcho-punk band and collective, Crass (1977-84) likewise valued the togetherness of youth culture in the late 1960s-70s, rejecting political labelling as restrictive (interview with Binns, 24th October, 2017, quoted in Binns, 2019).

xxvii Whittaker, 36-42.

xxviii Roger Armstrong in interview with Binns, 30th September, 2022 (phone).

xxix Goldman, *Sounds*, 11th December, 1976, quoted in Goldman, 1.

xxx Goldman, 5.

xxxi Helen Reddington in interview with Binns, 14th November, 2022 (zoom).

xxxii Toothpaste quoted in Savage, 2002, 418.

xxxiii Reddington in interview with Binns, 2022

xxxiv Reddington in interview with Binns, 2022. Anne Bean from The Moodies likewise revised her former reluctance to label herself feminist in 1973, by arguing (against her former self) that the advances made by the movement enabled women to live more fulfilling and active lives (in Buszek, 2019).

xxxv Whittaker, 36-42.

xxxvi Whittaker, 36-42.

xxxvii *This Year's Girl by Elvis Costello* Available from <https://www.songfacts.com/facts/elvis-costello/this-years-girl> Accessed 2nd January, 2023.

xxxviii See Birch, 90-92, 100 and 118.

xxxix Birch, 110-112.

xl Armstrong in interview with Binns, 2022.

xli Armstrong in interview with Binns, 2022.

xlii Armstrong in interview with Binns, 2022

xliii Captain Sensible quoted in the film, *Basically Johnny Moped* (Fred Burns, 2013).