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“An evaluation of the prevalence and continuity of moral panics associated with working-class experiences of youth culture in Hamilton during the 1950’s and early 1960’s”



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Chapter 1: Introduction, Literature Review and Methodology

Growing up as a young adult in Hamilton today, I have had an excellent experience of “youth culture” due to varied opportunities within my hometown, transport links and the internet partly creating access to a universal experience for all youths. Through speaking to my grandparents, I became interested in their local experiences of youth culture and how this compared to mine. However, I could not find any analysis focusing specifically upon local experiences. These conversations highlighted that, although unrecorded, local memories of the 1950’s and early 1960’s were extensive and brought to my attention the difficulties faced by some local youths in accessing popularised images of youth culture and the concept of moral panic surrounding the experiences of such youths during this time period. To begin to understand our own lived experiences we must understand where we have evolved from, therefore I elected to provide an account of my predecessors lived experiences of youth culture, focussing upon associated moral panics throughout, through an analysis of their access to and participation in both active and passive commodification.

Within the available literature on youth culture in the 1950’s and early 1960’s, several negative and positive aspects are noted. For example, youths are depicted as enjoying more free time with greater disposable income, within a market aimed at providing for youths in terms of popular culture through music, fashion and suchlike.¹ However, these aspects of affluence and prosperity are juxtaposed with continuing ideas of youth as a social problem and the associated moral panics with this position.² On this basis, I intend to test the applicability of

¹ B. Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998); G. Mitchell, ‘“Reassessing ‘the Generation Gap”’: Bill Haley’s 1957 Tour of Britain, Inter-Generational Relations and Attitudes to Rock ‘n’ Roll in the Late 1950’s’, *Twentieth Century British History* 24 (4) (2013); B. Osgerby, ‘“Well, it’s Saturday night an’ I just got paid”’: Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain’, *Contemporary Record* 6 (2) (1992)

² L. Jackson and A. Bartie, *Policing youth: Britain 1945-70*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014); J. Springhall, *Youth, popular culture and moral panics: penny gaffs to gangsta rap, 1830-1996*, (Palgrave:

these ideas by providing an evaluation of the lived experiences of youth culture in Hamilton, during this time, using oral history theory. The historiography of youth culture has expanded significantly since the 1970's, although understandings of the 19th Century, moral panics and delinquency predominate.³ It is only in the last decade issues of gender and commercialisation have grown.⁴

Moreover, 19th Century studies have focused on how cultural shifts affected the behaviour of youths or the ways in which youths resisted attempts to shape their socio-cultural outlook.⁵ Much discussion has been based upon Marxist depictions of experiences of youth and working-class people in general in the historiography of 19th Century youth culture. However, Child's findings speak of the concept of the working classes becoming more homogenous in general with developments aided by social and cultural changes, such as the shared educational experiences of most children after 1870 and changes in employment patterns aiding the growth

Basingstoke, 1998); J. Springhall, *Coming of age: adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*, (Gill & Macmillan: Dublin, 1986); K. Nathaus, ' "All Dressed Up and Nowhere to Go?" -Spaces and Conventions of Youth in 1950's Britain', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 41 (1) (2015); G. Mitchell, *Ibid*; B. Osgerby, ' "Well, it's Saturday night an' I just got paid": Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain'; L.A. Jackson, 'The Coffee Club Menace: Policing Youth, Leisure and Sexuality in Post-War Manchester', *Cultural and Social History* 5 (3) (2008)

³ J. Springhall, *Youth, popular culture and moral panics: penny gaffs to gangsta Rap, 1830-1996*; J. Springhall, 'Censoring Hollywood: youth, moral panic and crime/gangster moves of the 1930s', *Journal of Popular Culture* 32 (2) (1998), pp.135-154; A. Davies, 'Youth gangs, masculinity and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford', *Journal of Social History* 32 (2) (1998); S. Humphries, *Hooligans or rebels? An oral history of working-class childhood and youth, 1889-1939*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), p.179; A. Davies, *Leisure, gender and poverty: working-class culture in Salford and Manchester*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992); A. Davies, 'Youth gangs, gender and violence, 1870-1900' in S. D'Cruze (ed.), *Everyday violence in Britain, 1950-1950*, (Harlow: Longman, 2000); J. Springhall, *Coming of Age: adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*

⁴ C. Langhamer, *Women's leisure in England 1920-1960*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2000); F. Skillen, *Women, sport and modernity in interwar Britain*, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2013); P. Tinkler, 'Cause for Concern: young women and leisure, 1930-50', *Women's History Review* 2003 12 (2) (2003); A. Bevan and D. Wengrow (eds.), *Cultures of commodity branding*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016)

⁵ J. Springhall, *Youth, popular culture and moral panics: penny gaffs to gangsta Rap, 1830-1996*; J. Springhall, 'Censoring Hollywood: youth, moral panic and crime/gangster moves of the 1930s'; J. Springhall, *Coming of Age: adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*; J.M. Childs, 'Boy Labour in Late Victorian and Edwardian England and the Remaking of the Working Class', *Journal of Social History* 23 (4) (1990); A. Davies, *Leisure, gender and poverty: working-class culture in Salford and Manchester*; B. Melman, *Women and popular Imagination in the twenties: flappers and nymphs*, (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1986); J. Walvin, *Leisure and society 1830-1950*, (London: Longman, 1978); P. Tinkler, 'Cause for concern; young women and leisure, 1930-50'; H. Hendrick, *Images of youth: age, class and the male youth problem, 1880-1920*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); M. Hilton, ' "Tabs", "fags", and the "boy labour problem" in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Journal of Social History* 28 (3) (1995)

of a national working-class youth culture.⁶ Similar themes of broad cultural changes are expressed by Tranter with regards to women and class concepts tied to leisure experiences through his discussions of social life being defined in relation to paid work throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries and also by Walvin's depiction of urbanisation and industrialisation changing the leisure patterns of all social classes in the late-19th Century and social levelling between the wars.⁷ Such discussions provide a broad context in terms of outlining the changes which apparently allowed for a more recognisable construction of a distinct "youth culture" but do not provide much detail about the daily lives of those said to be affected by such cultural shifts. Much of the literature on the 19th Century also focuses on Marxist approaches of social control and the pre-occupation with streaming mainly boys into respectable leisure pursuits via the voluntary sector.⁸ Although, such focuses can aid discussions of the 1950's and 1960's by determining if any continuity can be observed. The discussions are instrumental in looking beyond the concept of rational recreation as merely a form of social control and determining whether working-class people were actually very receptive of the several benefits which such forms of supposed control may have brought.⁹

More recently, research into youth culture has concentrated on deviance and in part working-class male delinquency.¹⁰ For example, Springhall's work contains mainly elements related to

⁶ J.M. Childs, *Ibid*, pp.797-798

⁷ N. Tranter, 'Sport and the Middle-Class Woman in the Nineteenth-century Scotland' in 19th c, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 6 (1) (1989), p.234; J. Walvin, *supra note*, p.161

⁸ J.M. Childs, *supra note*, p.793; H. Hendrick, *supra note*; M. Hilton, *supra note*

⁹ K. Bradley, 'Rational Recreation in the Age of Affluence. The Café and Working-Class Youth in London, ca. 1939 -1965' in E. Rapport, S.T. Dawson and M.J. Crowley (eds.), *Consuming behaviours: identity, politics and pleasure in twentieth-century Britain*, (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp. 71-86; P. Bailey, *Leisure and class in Victorian England: rational recreation and the contest for control 1830-1885*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978); C. Brown, 'Popular Culture and the Continuing Struggle for Rational Recreation' in T.M. Devine and R.J. Finlay (eds.), *Scotland in the Twentieth Century*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), pp.210-229

¹⁰ A. Davies, 'Youth gangs, masculinity and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford'; S. Humphries, *supra note*; K. McClelland, 'Masculinity and the "Representative Artisan" in Britain, 1850-1880' in M. Roper and J. Tosh (eds.), *Manful assertions: masculinities in Britain since 1880*, (London: Routledge, 1991), p.81; A. Davies, *Leisure, gender and poverty: working-class culture in Salford and Manchester*; A. Davies, 'Youth gangs,

the deviance of males and moral panic, with many of his leading examples dating back to the mid-19th Century and the interwar period.¹¹ This focus on moral panic has led to much discussion being centred around specific groups such as the Teddy Boys, as observed again in Springhall's work but also by Horn in his works surrounding the alleged Americanisation of British culture.¹² Springhall focuses on Teddy Boys and not girls- arguing girls were deemed to be less dangerous.¹³ Whilst there has been limited work on findings in the Scottish context, Jackson along with Bartie published research on the experiences of youths in Scottish locations, however, again this was constructed in terms of delinquency and crime rates.¹⁴ Additionally, Jackson is deemed a crime historian and this book mainly looks at attitudes to venues frequented by youths and the troubles faced by particular cities, as opposed to towns and rural areas.¹⁵ The perpetual focus on cities and large towns has been a common theme not only within evaluations of delinquency in Scotland, but also in the English context in which most of the literature is based, with cities such as Liverpool, Manchester and London taking centre stage.¹⁶

Tendencies to resort to discussions of delinquency can further exclude the involvement of females in evaluations of experiences. Humphries work, in line with other literature, produces the idea that the focus regarding delinquency should remain upon men and only refer to girls in terms of sexual deviance.¹⁷ Tinkler and Langhamer speak of the associations of sexual

gender and violence 1870-1900'; G. Pearson, *Hooligan: a history of respectable fears*, (London: MacMillan, 1983)

¹¹J. Springhall, *Youth, popular culture and moral panics: penny gaffs to gangsta rap, 1830-1996*; J. Springhall, 'Censoring Hollywood: youth, moral panic and crime/gangster movies of the 1930s', pp.135-154

¹² J. Springhall, *Coming of age: adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*; A. Horn, *Juke box Britain: Americanisation and youth culture, 1945-1960*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2009)

¹³ J. Springhall, *ibid*

¹⁴ L. Jackson and A. Bartie, *supra note*

¹⁵ L. Jackson and A. Bartie, *ibid*

¹⁶ A. Davies, 'Youth gangs, masculinity and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford'; A. Davies, *Leisure, gender and poverty: working-class culture in Salford and Manchester*'; L. Jackson and A. Bartie, *ibid*

¹⁷ S. Humphries, *A Secret world of sex; Forbidden Fruit: The British Experience 1900-1950*, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1988), pp.141-164

delinquency being the basis of moral concern for young women in the interwar period as opposed to the stereotypes of violence associated with young men and highlight continuities, with moral concern surrounding the leisure activities of young women predating the post-war period.¹⁸ Davies acknowledges young women did play a small but active part in youth gangs but continually refers to moral constraints imposed on females throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries.¹⁹ Despite such evidence from the earlier period, and Campbell asserting female participation in street subcultures associated with violence was also visible in the 1950's and 1960's, this is viewed in pathological terms with regards to moral concerns and not in terms of delinquency.²⁰ As this dissertation will highlight, the tendency to explore the behaviour of girls in relation to sexual morality can be expanded to include other perceived forms of deviancy by utilising oral history to "fill the gaps".

Research into the gendered nature of popular culture has grown, alongside a considerable number of sociological studies, which contributes to our understandings of women and leisure in the second half of the 20th Century, but this history of popular culture and leisure as it relates to young women has only begun to develop in the last decade or so.²¹

Langhamer has noted that much of the earliest work was "topic" based.²² Examples of this approach include Proctor's work concerning female roles in the Girl Guides and Tinkler's work on females and magazines.²³ Such topic based work provides a backdrop to general ideas

¹⁸ P. Tinkler, *supra note*, p.243; C. Langhamer, *supra note*, pp.123-124

¹⁹ A. Davies, "These Viragoes are No Less Cruel than the Lads": Young Women, Gangs and Violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford', *British Journal of Criminology* 39 (1) (1999); A. Davies, *Leisure, gender and poverty: working-class culture in Salford and Manchester*

²⁰ A. Campbell, 'Self-report of fighting by females', *British Journal of Criminology* 26 (1) (1986), pp.28-46; L.A. Jackson, *supra note*

²¹ A. Mcrobbie, *Feminism and youth culture: from 'Jackie' to 'Just Seventeen'*, (Basingstoke: MacMillan Education, 1991)

²² C. Langhamer, *supra note*, p.5

²³ T. Proctor, '(Uni)Forming youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-1939', *History Workshop Journal* (1) (1998); P. Tinkler, *Constructing girlhood: popular magazines for girls growing up in England, 1920-1950*, (Taylor & Frances: London, 1995)

relating to consumption and leisure patterns in a context largely related only to women. Skillen in her study of women and sport in the interwar period, takes a different approach of using women's sport, by attempting to correlate increases in female participation within the sporting sector, which is dominantly viewed as a male realm, with Bingham's findings on "modernity".²⁴ Hilton's studies on smoking in Britain between the years 1800 and 2000 also dedicate a chapter to female smoking trends.²⁵ Within this chapter, a process of continual changing perceptions of respectability and the role of commerce are discussed with a predominant focus on the interwar period and WW2 as catalysts for changing outlooks.²⁶ Whilst much of his discussion on women is based in the first half of the 20th Century, research on smoking and health after 1950 places both female and male youth smoking patterns in the broader social context.²⁷ We can understand the bigger picture of youth culture from the discussion of individual elements such as smoking, magazines and suchlike and form understandings of both historical continuity and change but with a few exceptions, e.g. Skillen, Elliot, McRobbie and Tinkler, these discussions are largely English and male centric, with a focus on urban city life. However, as demonstrated by Elliot, topical research written on the 1950's and 1960's allows us to engage in discussions highlighted within the literature to ascertain whether any respondents had access to any of the above commodities and leisure activities and if they prioritised certain aspects such as cigarette smoking over other disposable goods.²⁸

Indeed, it was not until the seminal work of Clare Langhamer in "Women's leisure in England 1920-1960", that a general overview of the complex relationship between women and leisure throughout this period was provided, through examining leisure activities undertaken by

²⁴ F. Skillen, *supra* note; A. Bingham, *Gender, modernity, and the popular press in Inter-War Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

²⁵ M. Hilton, *Smoking in British popular culture, 1800- 2000: perfect pleasure*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp.138-157

²⁶ *Ibid*, pp.138-157

²⁷ *Ibid*, pp.182-241

²⁸ R. Elliot, ' "Everybody did it"- or did they?: the use of oral history in researching women's experiences of smoking in Britain, 1930-1970', *Women's History Review* 15 (2) (2006)

women at distinct life stages.²⁹ Female access to youth culture is noted as becoming increasingly liberalised, but remaining restricted due to time and financial factors.³⁰ The author invites us to consider several issues which have arisen in respect of research on women's experiences, mainly that existing research overwhelmingly focuses on the Victorian and Edwardian periods, with post-WW2 experiences being largely side-lined.³¹ Despite such issues, Langhamer does note: "The period is, in fact, a contradictory one in the history of women. Significant changes across both the so-called "public" and "private" spheres are accompanied by considerable continuity of experience, rooted in notions of gender difference which persisted throughout the period".³² The value Langhamer places on oral history is evident. We are reminded "work" and "leisure" are historically shifting categories which gain meaning only if seen in the context of women's everyday lives.³³ Whilst Langhamer does provide insights into women's lives in the 20th Century and provides historical context for the purposes of this dissertation, her work does not cover the period from 1960 in any great detail.

There has also been a lack of literature which focuses mainly on working-class people in post-war Britain. Fowler's work has emphasised the class-divided nature of experiences of youth culture, however he has failed to provide a balance of literature featuring both middle-class and working-class experiences during our time period.³⁴ Four chapters are provided on the 1950's and 1960's, but frequent reminders of the origins of youth culture beginning in the interwar period relates much of the information on working-class youth back to the 1920's and 1930's, at the expense of a working-class outlook during our period.³⁵ Often featuring in his work are

²⁹ C. Langhamer, *supra note*

³⁰ *Ibid*, pp.72-88

³¹ *Ibid*, p.4

³² *Ibid*, p.7

³³ *Ibid*, pp.7-8

³⁴ D. Fowler, *Youth culture in modern Britain, c.1920-c.1970: from ivory tower to global movement- a new history*, (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2008)

³⁵ *Ibid*

references to the history of middle and upper-class movements.³⁶ Whilst such discussions relating to working-class youth in the interwar period are useful to an extent in developing theories of both continuity and change in working-class experiences, more working-class based research is required in our period. This is again aptly illustrated by Langhamer, whereby it is observed that different social classes have been examined in varying detail at different points in history - it is far more helpful to have an abundance of excellent literature outlining the experiences of various social classes at a point in time. To properly evaluate the experience of one class we must evaluate their position in terms of the general experiences of the wider population. This requires an insight into the lived experiences of the various social classes.³⁷

Therefore, much of the literature is important in its own right but not in the wider context as the focus is on distinct groups and it is heavily Marxist driven. Whilst individual readings can aid understandings of a particular area of youth culture, a broad-based knowledge is difficult to establish and understand. Evidently, greater acknowledgement and research of the experiences of working-class people, women and the activities undertaken by youths is required. Such research should not focus too deeply on particular subcultures as such practices risk detracting from the circumstances and behaviours of a large cohort of “middle of the road” youths. Greater analysis is also needed of aspects of youth culture outside the realm of moral panic and delinquency.

This dissertation contributes to existing literature currently circulated on the topic by going beyond the city, with a specific focus on lived experiences of working-class youths in Hamilton, Scotland- a small town on the periphery of Glasgow. This dissertation will approach experiences from a different perspective by forming a comparative evaluation of the experiences of both young men and women.

³⁶ *Ibid*

³⁷ C. Langhamer, *supra note*, p.4

To address these concerns regarding gaps in the existing literature, I have elected to use oral history as my primary research. Ten participants were interviewed, who were defined as “youths” at some point during the period of 1950 to 1965. Some participants were drawn from personal connections and others were complete strangers. All participants elected to take part on an entirely voluntary basis. During my research, I interviewed five men and five women, who grew up in Hamilton and remained there throughout their youth. Ideally, it would have been preferable to interview at least one further participant who was slightly older, to give an insight into the outlook of those in their thirties and forties during this time and their attitudes towards youths of the 1950’s and 1960’s and the activities they participated in. However, given the age such participants are required to have reached to provide the opinion of an adult during this time, it was challenging to find willing participants who lived in Hamilton at this time, were old enough to assist and possessed the required mental capacity to be interviewed. For this reason, I also utilised local newspapers to gauge contemporary attitudes to youths over the period.

Many social historians hold oral history theory in an esteemed position, arguing that for excluded sections of society such as the working class, ethnic minorities and women, where original primary sources are rare, oral history can play a “recovery role” in generating a mostly reliable account of their life experiences.³⁸ Abrams provides an excellent overview of oral history theory and acknowledges seemingly exceptional cases and alternative theories can be developed through a two-fold process of interaction and interpretation.³⁹ This is true of the working class in Hamilton at a time where limited opportunities existed to document their perceptions of the world around them and voice their opinions in a meaningful way regarding the social changes which occurred around them. Oral history allows for interviewees to be probed in a way which other sources cannot.

³⁸ H. Young, ‘Hard Man, New Man: Re/composing Masculinities in Glasgow, c.1950-2000’, *Oral History* 35 (1) (2007), pp.78-79

³⁹ L. Abrams, “The Peculiarities of Oral History” in *Oral history theory* (London: Routledge, 2010), p.18

However, as with the use of all primary sources, inherent issues do exist.⁴⁰ When interviewees have had harrowing or emotive experiences, their accounts can be altered by their own need for composure to help them process and cope with events. We must not disregard these accounts but instead draw meaning from the composure, questioning why interviewees may want to alter their memories.⁴¹ Also, the interviewee may voice collective memories instead of their individual experiences.⁴² In such situations, a delicate balance must be struck between guiding interviewee's answers to questions posed by the research demands, while allowing the interviewee to provide their own version of events.⁴³ Abrams recognises interviewees borrow memories from wider cultural influences and stereotypes of the time- these borrowed memories can reveal a lot about the collective memories held by communities and the factors which influenced the forming of these memories.⁴⁴ Young also recognises interviewees can change their answers to present what they perceive to be a more respectable representation of themselves, meaning researchers can often be sceptical of their findings.⁴⁵ However, the two-fold process outlined by Abrams can alleviate the risk of some of these findings being taken as factually true memories by researchers.

Despite Summerfield arguing oral history can be merely "anecdotal" and non-representative of the views of the wider community due to exaggerated and factually incorrect memories, the examination of several interviewee transcripts allows us to gather an image not just of the lived experiences of the individual but of wider societal beliefs and changes which were occurring and shaping the everyday lives of these youths in various ways.⁴⁶ When considered alongside

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp.18-32

⁴¹ A. Davies, A. Hajek and L. King, 'Gender, Subjectivity and Oral History', *History Workshop Journal* 73 (1) (2012), p.361

⁴² J. Tosh, *The pursuit of history*, 'memory and the spoken word', (New York: Longman, 2010), p.304

⁴³ L. Abrams, *supra note*, pp.26-27

⁴⁴ L. Abrams, *ibid*, p.34

⁴⁵ H. Young, *supra note*, pp.78-79

⁴⁶ P. Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews', *Cultural and Social History* 1 (1) (2004), pp. 65-66

existing literature and other primary sources, oral history theory becomes invaluable in identifying discourses and building a generally more realistic picture of the influences felt by these youths and the daily trials and tribulations they faced, even via participant's silences and omissions in interviews.⁴⁷ The expansive nature of the discussion provided by the interviewees allows my research question to be based around a broad evaluation of the prevalence and continuities of moral panics associated with working-class youths in Hamilton, c.1950-1965.

Alongside oral history, I also examined various archive records such as newspaper articles, cartoons, photographs, magazines, advertisements and song lyrics from this period. Whilst these sources are undoubtedly useful, researchers must be aware of the possibility of exaggeration, selectivity and bias amongst them. During considerations of all the above primary sources, including oral history, I was aware of ethical issues and complied with both archive guidance and Data Protection, to protect the identities of those I interviewed as well as the details relating to certain individual cases which appeared in photographs and newspaper archives.

When using such a vast range of sources, we must examine these sources collectively and meticulously consider the strengths and weaknesses of each source type. Giving previously unheard individuals the opportunity to be given a voice alongside other primary sources and secondary literature acts as a means to explore various themes related to youth culture such as education and employment, leisure activities including music, cinema and the use of public spaces, smoking, fashion and magazines and also realities of and attitudes towards delinquency, in the context of broader topics such as rational recreation and social levelling. It empowers us to witness both continuity and change in working-class experiences of youth culture in a time of social and economic change.

⁴⁷ J. Sangster, 'Telling our Stories: Feminist debates and the use of oral history', *Women's History Review* 7 (3) (1998), p.9

Notions of change are emphasised by interviewees in relation to access to employment and increased spending power which came with some areas of employment, particularly within the developing lighter industries involving unskilled factory work.⁴⁸ All participants acknowledged change to some degree in the obtainability of mass marketed items geared towards a teenage market as a result of an increase in advertisement and the influence of the media.⁴⁹ Amongst the interviewees a keen sense of differentiation of their generation from that of their parents was expressed in terms of their new outlook on life and their understanding of a generation breaking away from traditional ideology, as opposed to their parents debilitating and depressing experiences and memories of war-time Britain.⁵⁰ However, as will be shown throughout, at certain key points the interviewees provided contradicting accounts of life as a youth in “affluent” post-war Britain, both between themselves and in terms of the available academic literature on the subject.

It becomes clear there were varying experiences of youth culture both between and within the social classes, due to differing views on “respectability”. Additionally, during the 1950’s and 1960’S, youths in Hamilton experienced popular perceptions of youth culture to a lesser degree than those in large cities, but to a greater degree than those in rural areas such as Northern villages for example. Finally, it becomes apparent that there were markedly contrasting experiences at times for males and females and different social expectations were placed upon both genders, altering their access to and the public’s reaction to popular forms of youth culture.

⁴⁸ B. Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945*; Interview with author on the 22nd of September 2017, interview no.2, born in 1936 in Aberdeen

⁴⁹ *Albemarle Report on the Youth Service in England and Wales*, PP. (1960), pp.23-24; Interviews with the author from the 21st of September 2017- 27th of November 2017, interviews no.1-10, born between 1936 and 1951 in various locations

⁵⁰ J. Springhall, *Coming of age: adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*, pp.219-222; B. Osgerby, ‘ “Well, it’s Saturday night an’ I just got paid”’: Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain’, p.298; Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton

Chapter 2: Perceived notions of a distinct youth culture and associated moral panics

In the post-war period, some commentators identified youths' culture and lifestyles as uniquely distinct from wider "adult" society.¹ During this time of social, economic and cultural upheaval, Springhall suggests that from the mid-1950's onwards, "deviancy amplification" become a pastime of the press whereby reported incidents of hooliganism and rowdiness were associated with the new topic of conversation- "the teenager"- and degrading attitudes towards youths.² Although, the general concept of youth was scrutinised, the main focus between 1945 and 1970 related to working-class, white youths.³ Panic was directed at both active and passive elements of commodification and non-respectability widely associated with commercial leisure. As it will be shown, there existed many legitimate and falsely founded moral panics associated with the evolving idea of a distinct youth culture, based on a series of more widely associated cultural shifts in terms of employment, demography and a supposed decline in traditional values.

Background

Changes in education and employment patterns

Butler's Education Act of 1944 reflected the idea of "full and appropriate educational opportunity for every boy and girl throughout the period of compulsory schooling".⁴ This Act utilised "One Nation Conservatism", calling upon the upper-classes to be paternalistic towards their working-class counterparts.⁵ The tripartite schooling system aimed to keep working-class

¹ B. Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), p.28

² J. Springhall, *Coming of age: adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*, (Gill & Macmillan: Dublin, 1986), p.205

³ L. Jackson and A. Bartie, *Policing youth: Britain 1945-70*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p.1-11

⁴ Education Act 1944. ss.7 and 8; H.C. Dent, *The Education Act 1944*, (London: University of London Press, 1968), p.13.

⁵ B. Simon, 'The 1944 Education Act: A Conservative Measure?', *History of Education* 15 (1) (1986), pp.31-43

children in education for longer. However, Springhall argues schooling remained largely irrelevant, boring and authoritarian to working-class youngsters due to the continued inherent focus upon middle-class values.⁶ Osgerby believes the increased school-leaving-age had a significant impact on the concept of youth- schools marked a distinction between youths within the labour market and the “adult” world and those ‘children’ awaiting entry to this new world.⁷

Interviewees spoke of “failures” of the schooling system, whereby working-class children were marginalised and financial impediments prevented access to further or higher education.⁸ Joan Maizels study in North London as late as 1970 affirms the participants’ position, stating the education system “...sifts and sorts children into manual and non-manual positions according to their social class rather than their basic endowment”.⁹ The role of education was instrumental in maintaining class divisions as confirmed by sociologists in our period who found working-class youths to be realistic and unambitious in terms of their future employment opportunities upon leaving school.¹⁰

The transition into work for youths is often depicted as a smooth transition from school into unskilled labour. Even before WW2, deskilling and opportunities within light industries increased as the movement of labour was of direct proportion to distribution levels- by the 1950’s light industries were soaring, with working-class people and youths feeling the greatest impact of such trends as the demand for their unskilled and semi-skilled work increased.¹¹

⁶ J. Springhall, ‘Entering the World of Work: The Transition from Youth to Adulthood in Modern European Society’, *Paedagogica Historica* 29 (1) (1993), pp.43-44, Springhall’s findings are based upon Michael Carter’s study of two hundred working-class school leavers in Sheffield, which recognises youths were unenthused by their schooling.

⁷ B. Osgerby, *supra note*, pp.18-19

⁸ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.4, born in 1946 in Hamilton, see also interviews 1, 2, 9 and 10

⁹ J. Maizels, *Adolescent needs and the transition from school to work*, (London: The Athlone Press, 1970), p.316

¹⁰ K. Roberts, ‘The Entry into Employment: An Approach Towards a General Theory’, *Sociological Review* 16 (2) (1968), p.180

¹¹ B. Osgerby, *supra note*, pp.22-23; B. Osgerby, ‘“Well, it’s Saturday night an’ I just got paid”: Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain’, *Contemporary Record* 6 (2) (1992), p.292

Table 1: Numbers of persons aged 15-17 years entering employment (in thousands)

Year	Male	Female
1950	273.2	263.5
1954	258.4	246.6
1958	269.8	253.8
1962	336.0	321.3
1966	270.2	251.7

Department of Employment, 1971, British Labour Statistics Historical Abstract 1886-1968, London: HMSO, Table 151, p.297 in B. Osgerby, Youth in Britain since 1945, p.22

Interviewee 2 is particularly insistent this was the case and employment was easily found- "...you could walk out a job on a Friday and start a new job on the Monday".¹² Not all the interviewees are as adamant this was true but it does seem as though employment was fairly easily sought. Interestingly, this outlook also forms part of a wider collective memory.

This contributed to the revival of wartime fears that youths were having a deleterious impact on the national economy and Britain would develop serious shortages of skilled workers as demand for youth labour outstripped supply- in reality such fears did not materialise as there was simply far less need for skilled workers.¹³

However, Springhall notes that in villages and small towns, parents were likely to have a great influence on the job choices of youths and most of the British literature related to job opportunities is provided by teachers, youth employment agencies and suchlike and not those youngsters who experienced the employment prospects first-hand- this signifies the important of oral history in contributing to understandings in a way that is not packed with moral judgements.¹⁴ Interestingly, the interviewees paint a somewhat different picture of the majority

¹² Interview with author on the 22nd of September 2017, interview no.2, born in 1936 in Aberdeen

¹³ B. Osgerby, *supra note 1*, pp.22-24

¹⁴ J. Springhall, *supra note 6*, pp.48-49 and 44

of working-class youths. Their aim was to find respectable employment and several recall their parents speaking with future employers to ensure the role allowed for progression. Memories of friends aspiring to trades and the aim of young girls to fulfil clerical roles are validated by further data collated by Osgerby, highlighting a rise in the number of boys entering apprenticeships.¹⁵

Table 2: Percentage of young people aged 15-17 entering apprenticeship to skilled occupation in the UK

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
1950	33.8	8.0
1954	34.2	6.0
1958	34.5	6.9
1962	36.2	6.6
1966	42.3	6.7

Department of Employment, 1971, British Labour Statistics Historical Abstract 1886-1968, London: HMSO, Table 153, p.304 in B. Osgerby, Youth in Britain since 1945, p.23

Whilst many interviewees strived to secure an apprenticeship, those who did not were discouraged by poor wages and many remembered other youths avoiding apprenticeships to secure a relatively higher wage in unskilled work.¹⁶ Regardless of the fine details of the figures, the decline in the apprenticeship system did not have the predicted destructive effect.¹⁷ Furthermore, young women benefited greatly from the changing employment structure- as late as 1931 almost a quarter of females were in domestic service but after 1945 this figure was almost eradicated with girls seeking employment in expanding consumer, retail and business sectors and commanding better wages.¹⁸

The further expansion into light industries, along with the relaxation of economic controls post-election of Churchill's Conservative administration in 1951, allowed working-class people

¹⁵ B. Osgerby, *supra note 1*, p.23; see also interviews 2 and 11

¹⁶ Interview with author on the 21st of November 2017, interview no.10, born in 1936 in Hamilton, see also interviews 1, 2 and 10

¹⁷ B. Osgerby, *supra note 1*, p.23

¹⁸ B. Osgerby, ' "Well, it's Saturday night an' I just got paid": Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain', p.292-293

to exploit the consumer market in previously unheard of ways, leading to Harold MacMillan to claim in 1957 working-class people had “never had it so good”.¹⁹ From this discourse, the term “affluent youth” grew at a time when the generation gap was viewed as overtaking the class war as Britain’s decisive factor of social division.²⁰ Abrams contributed largely to the discussion of the affluent youth with his studies on unmarried youths aged 15-25 and their average earnings and total expenditure.²¹ His findings suggest real earnings of this group rose by 50% and their “discretionary” spending most likely rose by 100%.²² This increase in real earnings led Osgerby to claim it was the new “teenage market” which set youth apart as a new social group, with a mass drive on consumer products being promoted for youths, with rock ‘n’ roll becoming central to this mass market in the mid-late-1950’s.²³ Osgerby noted, “...the teenage market is almost entirely working-class...not far short of 90% of teenage spending is conditioned by working-class taste and values” and with 44% of the total expenditure of youths being on records and record players, this symbolised “distinctive teenage spending for distinctive teenager ends in a distinctive teenage world”.²⁴ Additionally, despite women receiving lower wages, their increasing prominence in society allowed for many specific commodities to be specifically targeted at women.²⁵ This exclusion of the middle-classes was partly due to their tendency to remain in education longer, therefore delaying their economic independence.²⁶ Interviewee 6 affirms this in his discussion of pupils at a mainly middle-class grammar school looking down on the consumer patterns of the few working-class boys attending his school, being embarrassed at the thought of being seen in a dance hall wearing fashionable clothes and

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.290

²⁰ *Ibid*

²¹ M. Abrams, *Teenage consumer spending in 1959*, (London: London Press Exchange, 1961), p.3

²² M. Abrams, *The teenage consumer*, (London: Press Exchange, 1959), p.9

²³ B. Osgerby, ‘ “Well, it’s Saturday night an’ I just got paid”: Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain’, p.294

²⁴ P. Cohen, ‘Subcultural Conflict and Working-Class Community’, *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* 2 (1972), pp.4-51; M. Abrams, *supra note* 21, p.10

²⁵ B. Osgerby, *supra note* 1, p.52

²⁶ *Ibid*, pp.26-27

middle-class boys being left behind as they remained in education and did not have the same disposable income.²⁷

Despite such claims by Abrams, he took no account of regional variations in income and expenditure.²⁸ Whilst a definite increase can be seen in average weekly earnings of young manual workers, we must account for regional disparities.²⁹ Pearl Jephcott found that unlike the picture of 'teenage affluence' painted by Abrams, the position in Scotland was very different, even by 1967 59% of 15-17 and a half year olds had less than £1 a week spending money.³⁰ Transcripts collected from interviewees also assert this position, some identify gross differences between those south of the border and themselves, with many remembering difficult economic times for the working classes in general, albeit they were less frequent. Interviewee 1 states- "...it was even worse during The War...but it wasn't all fixed in the 50's...maybe in London...but here there was lot of ordinary folk, poor folk".³¹

Interviewees 2, 5 and 11 also spoke of mainly enjoying their jobs and knowing their wages were poor in comparison to factory workers but persevering due to notions of respectability. Interviewee 2 did not want to be a "...basic factory or shop girl...my dad would have thought it was a waste...something tough girls did whose parents were rough".³² Springhall believes, with the exception of the North of England where an exceptional minority still handed over most of their pay packet to their parents by the 1950s, this practice was becoming obsolete and teens could enjoy controlling their own income.³³ Conversely, all interviewees insisted they somehow handed over their wages to their parents and were given limited spending money back or their

²⁷ Interview with author on the 21st of September 2017, interview no.6, born in 1937 in Peterborough

²⁸ B. Osgerby, *supra note 1*, pp.25 and 179-180

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.25

³⁰ Also, by 1967 81% of those aged between 17 and a half and 19 had less than £3 spending money per week, P. Jephcott, *A time of one's own*, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1967)

³¹ Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton, see also interviews 2, 3, 8 and 9

³² Interview with author, *supra note 12*, see also interviews 1 and 4

³³ J. Springhall, *supra note 2*, p.217

mother kept their full wage and paid for their travel to work. Interviewee 9 recalls how he had "...as much spending money as my mum handed me back...it wasn't a lot, enough for the bus and wee things for myself".³⁴ Therefore, clear variations in financial positions are observable. Despite inequalities remaining, discussions of social change in the 1950's and early-1960s centred around classlessness, affluence and consensus, within the broad concept of embourgeoisement.³⁵ As it will be seen moreover, such economic emancipation working-class people and particularly of youths was central to fuelling moral panic.

Active commodification

Music

Given the extremely significant role music played in the consumer market specifically targeted at youths, the lyrics and associated dances were the basis of many moral panics. Introduced in 1952, 7 inch, 45 r.p.m. singles accounted for 80% of British based record sales by 1963 and music was being brought further into everyday lives of youths via the *New Musical Express* and the *Record Mirror's* "Top Fifty" in 1952.³⁶ As rock 'n' roll began to emerge further onto the music scene in the late-1950's, pop stars became a cultural phenomenon, the initial wave of such stars were American men such as Bill Haley, Little Richard, Chuck Berry and Elvis Presley exploding onto the British music scene.³⁷ This American influence was quickly supplemented by British artists such as Bill Fury, Tommy Steele and Cliff Richard.³⁸

³⁴ Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton

³⁵ J. Clarke et al, 'Subcultures, Cultures and Class', in S. Hall and T. Jefferson, *Resistance through rituals*, (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 1989), pp.21-25

³⁶ B. Osgerby, *supra note 1*, p.38

³⁷ *Ibid*, p.38

³⁸ *Ibid*. Cliff Richard was deemed the British answer to Elvis Presley- although, it was not until into the 1960's and the rise of British beat and rhythm and blues that British performers once again regained control of the British pop market, B. Osgerby, *ibid*. Klaus Nathaus does assert however, that in the early-1950's Teddy Boys associated with rock n roll and jiving youths were beginning to become noticed and the influence of rock 'n' roll in the late-1950's is therefore overstated, K. Nathaus, ' "All Dressed Up and Nowhere to Go?" -Spaces and Conventions of Youth in 1950's Britain', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 41 (1) (2015), p.68

The dominance and popularity of American artists were central to the panic surrounding musical influences throughout the 1950's. Intellectuals such as Richard Hoggart who lamented on the decline of traditional working-class communities, viewed the American-derived manifestation of teenage culture, via elements such as rock 'n' roll, as symbolic of the general cultural decay within British society.³⁹ Elements of Americanisation manifested themselves in the interwar period with the rise of the flapper and suchlike, alongside jazz, however access to rock 'n' roll, due to the end of rationing and the expanding youth consumer market, meant youths now had their own distinct tastes which at times adults found difficult to understand.⁴⁰ This generational identity is also a recurring issue in contemporary song lyrics.⁴¹ Interviewee 1 speaks of purchasing an Elvis Presley record entitled "All Shook Up".⁴² Her mother was baffled as to why someone would want to listen to such rubbish and struggled to understand the way Elvis sang, asking why anybody would sing about an "...emulsion cup...".⁴³ The interviewee strongly insisted her mother and the older generation were frustrated and concerned about their children listening to such 'degrading music'.⁴⁴ Other interviewees remember similar concerns and the firm generational line drawn in the form of this music.⁴⁵ Sinfield suggests, in the 1950's, rock 'n' roll was embraced by youths in an act of generational defiance.⁴⁶ Whilst some interviewees agreed, others claimed their parents were largely passive and not to have

³⁹ R. Hoggart, *The uses of literacy: aspects of working-class life, with special reference to publications and entertainments*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958), p.203

⁴⁰ D. Fowler, *The First Teenagers: the lifestyles of young wage-earners in inter-war Britain*, (London: Taylor & Francis, 1995); M. Abrams, *supra note 21*

⁴¹ S. Frith, *Sound effects: youth, leisure and the politics of rock 'n' roll*, (London: Constable, 1983); M. Brake, *The sociology of youth culture and youth Sub-cultures*, (London: Routledge, 1980).

⁴² Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton

⁴³ *Ibid*

⁴⁴ *Ibid*

⁴⁵ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.7, born in 1946 in Hamilton, see also interview 9

⁴⁶ Sinfield believes the hostility portrayed by education and political authorities only heightened their love for the genre, A. Sinfield, *Literature, politics and culture in post-war Britain*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p.154. Martin and Seagrave develop this position, claiming rock music to be the universal language of youth, cutting across demographic and cultural barriers with governments around the world believing "rock was somehow subversive", L. Martin and K. Seagrave, *Anti-Rock: The opposition to rock 'n' roll*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1993), p.79

heard much hype about rock 'n' roll , interviewee 4's mother "...didn't mind me listening to all the hits...as long as she didn't have to...it didn't bother her".⁴⁷

Fears of Americanism were highlighted by restrictive policies of the BBC and British music publishers.⁴⁸ By the late-1950's the BBC were reluctant to play rock 'n' roll music due to fears of moral decline and youths had to tune into pirate radio stations such as Radio Luxembourg.⁴⁹ For many interviewees this added to their enjoyment of rock 'n' roll.⁵⁰ One male respondent recalled feeling empowered by accessing censored music his parents did not enjoy via pirate radio stations.⁵¹

The basis for censoring music is a prime example of the gendered nature of moral panics, with rock 'n' roll viewed as a synonym for sex and the potential sexualisation of young females since Elvis Presley's first swivelled his hips in public- the overt sexuality of Elvis and suchlike created concerns amongst adults over the corruption of their children.⁵² Girls played their most crucial role in rock 'n' roll via their capacity to consume and some of the worst judgements were reserved for women.⁵³ Female fans showing their love for their idols with "Huge faces, bloated with cheap confectionary and smeared with chain-store make-up..." was apparently the "...collective portrait of a generation enslaved by a commercial machine", reaching its peak in the early-1960's with the Beatles and the Rolling Stones⁵⁴. This element of public displays of adoration for stars is limited in its applicability to youths living outside large urban centres- no

⁴⁷ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.4, born in 1946 in Hamilton

⁴⁸ W. Kaufman and H.S. Macpherson, *Britain and the Americas: culture, politics and history*, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005), p.624.

⁴⁹ B. Osgerby, *supra note 1*, p.39

⁵⁰ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.8, born in 1946 in Hamilton, see also interview 10

⁵¹ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.7, born in 1946 in Hamilton

⁵² A. McRobbie, *Feminism and youth culture: from 'Jackie' to 'Just Seventeen'*, (Basingstoke: MacMillan Education, 1991), p.137; U.G. Poiger, *Jazz, rock and rebels: cold war politics and American culture in a divided Germany*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p.171

⁵³ B. Osgerby, ' "Well, it's Saturday night an' I just got paid": Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain', p.300

⁵⁴ B. Osgerby, *supra note 1*, p.58; P. Johnson, 'The Menace of Beatlism' in *New Statesman*, 28 Feb. 1964, p.327; B. Osgerby, *ibid*, p.59

interviewees recalled having money to attend concerts in Glasgow or famous acts playing in Hamilton, aside from The Rolling Stones in 1964. The *Hamilton Advertiser* reported on this raucous event with out of control male and female fans in an overcrowded venue, but interviewees were more reserved in describing a relatively tame event where "...a few extra tickets were copied but the majority of folk went for a good night not trouble..." as opposed to the newspapers description of "...angry fans..." who "...smashed windows and ripped cords from the roofs of buses, and others stoned parked cars".⁵⁵ Despite such negative descriptions, the newspaper article finished by stating only two people out of approximately three thousand were arrested for breach of the peace.⁵⁶

More applicable to females in Hamilton, were the moral panics related to dance halls and coffee clubs which played rock 'n' roll music. One military captain in 1956 even claimed rock 'n' roll could potentially destroy the structure of the countries Christian edifice.⁵⁷ These fears came at a time of anxiety over illegitimacy and teenage pregnancy rates, alongside talk of the availability of contraception throughout the 1950's and 1960's and a supposed increase in venereal diseases.⁵⁸ Such fears were founded not solely in the "moral management" of sex per se but in desires to return to times of being able to police acceptable boundaries of class, race and gender.⁵⁹ Clearly though, fears were directed at females in welfare rather than criminal terms.⁶⁰ Female interviewee accounts are consistent with this view. Several women remember their fathers waiting at the door for them coming home, demanding they remove their make-up and scaring off men they had met at the dancing who were not respectable. Most women agreed though, although some parents appeared strict, most were fairly lax if they were aware

⁵⁵ *Hamilton advertiser*, 22 May. 1964, p.16

⁵⁶ *Ibid*

⁵⁷ 'Mailbag', *Daily Mail*, 11 Sept. 1956, p.6

⁵⁸ B. Osgerby, ' "Well, it's Saturday night an' I just got paid": Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain', p.297; B. Osgerby, *supra note 1*, p.46

⁵⁹ L.A. Jackson, 'The Coffee Club Menace: Policing Youth, Leisure and Sexuality in Post-War Manchester', *Cultural and Social History* 5 (3) (2008), pp.304-305

⁶⁰ P. Cox, *Gender, Justice and welfare in Britain, 1900-1950*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003 p.15

of their daughter's movements and when they would be home - "...some of my friend's dads would maybe wait up on them...mine did from time to time...but usually they were fine, they knew where we were and what we were doing". Most females cited coffee bars and dance halls as their main source of leisure and did not identify any issues with this. These views are perhaps more representative of lived experiences, with parents trusting their daughters. Even in large, Southern urban areas such as Manchester, only the minority of females engaged in morally "dangerous" activities.⁶¹ Whilst most young women did not get involved in street violence, their participation was not obsolete as the lack of attention given to issues of female violence suggests -one interviewee noted some rough girls were as bad as the men and partook in physical fights.⁶² Therefore, many youths' experiences are ignored by perpetually focusing on sexual conduct due to the nature of often misplaced moral panics.

For young men, similar fears were pronounced, in terms of violence rather than sexual morality due to associations of Teddy Boys with rock 'n' roll in the 1950's and anxieties over perceived increases in juvenile delinquency.⁶³ During our period, Richard Hoggart singled out "the juke-box boys... whom it seems spent their evenings listening in harshly lighted milkbars to the 'nickelodeons'... with drapesuits, picture ties and an American slouch".⁶⁴ Also, a few isolated incidents following the release of "Rebel Without a Cause" which fuelled concerns, with one youth leader rallying national support after calling for authorities to "birch the rioters".⁶⁵ The stereotype attached to the image of Teddy Boys associated with rock 'n' roll is confirmed by several interviewees with one man remembering youths being turned away from dance halls

⁶¹ L.A. Jackson, *supra note*, p.292

⁶² Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.3, born in 1939 in Hamilton. This is confirmed by Anne Campbell who believes women were also visible in the public arena and street subcultures involving violence but were viewed solely in pathological terms, A. Campbell, 'Self-report of fighting by females', *British Journal of Criminology* 26 (1) (1986), pp.28-46

⁶³ B. Osgerby, ' "Well, it's Saturday night an' I just got paid": Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain', p.296-297; A. Willis, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', *Past and Present* 187 (2005), pp.157-185

⁶⁴ R. Hoggart, *supra note*, pp.246-248

⁶⁵ 'Make it Rod and Roll, he says', *Evening Chronicle*, 14 Sept. 1956, p.17

due to their style of dress and the associations with riotous music- "...the guys on the door looked you up and down...if you were wearing anything like a Teddy Boy you were shown out...they were known for going mad with the rock 'n' roll music ...". Although, the vital part of his answer is his assertion that he knew of few Teddy Boys and probably people panicked more in the city-centre of Glasgow as himself and his friends could mostly frequent wherever he wanted. When assessing this testimony, we must remember Teddy Boys, mods and rockers are now often remembered affectionately and stripped of the "threat" that shaped initial public reaction to them.⁶⁶ We can rely on the interviewees memories with considerable accuracy here though as he does not depict Teddy Boys as angels, instead acknowledging a few issues occasionally occurred in Hamilton with fighting and suchlike but generally if problems arose, they were confined to inner-city areas. Again, regional differences are highlighted via oral history which are not obviously evident from the literature.

One claim as to why young men turned to the Teddy Boy and rock 'n' roll lifestyle is based on the assumption of a "troublesome hiatus" period between leaving school at fifteen and beginning national service at eighteen, with boys said to be rebellious and unwilling to settle into tying and onerous routines before being called up.⁶⁷ Therefore, groups of youths were said to find a "generational consciousness" as they all experienced similar fears and came across as wild, delinquent gangs.⁶⁸ This assertion was reflected in interviews of men who completed national service and maintained gangs were not prevalent- occasional fights may have broken out over territory but "gangs" were only formed for the duration of an affray. National service was spoken of with excitement as Britain was no longer at war and it offered a break from monotonous everyday life. The frequency of the positive way in which national service is spoken

⁶⁶ L. Jackson and A. Bartie, *supra note*

⁶⁷ B. Osgerby, *supra note 1*, p.20; *Evening Angus*, 4 May. 1954; J. Springhall, *Coming of age: adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*, p.211

⁶⁸ B. Osgerby, *ibid*, p.21

of suggests it was an event to look forward to. Overall, media coverage overstated and caricatured youths' behaviour to avoid directly addressing wider societal issues and since youths represented a new cultural and social driving force, government officials were reactive to this.⁶⁹

Due to the somewhat increased economic prosperity of youths they were more able to assert and express themselves in new and unique ways, consequently the "generation gap" increase was a firm discussion point amongst parents, the media and government officials in social, behavioural and cultural contexts.⁷⁰ However, widespread reactions of horror to the influx of rock 'n' roll are often assumed without evidential grounding, suggesting concerns were far less widespread than assumed.⁷¹ That said, fears over the quality of the nation were transferred onto a visible social group due to anxiety in the context of the aftermath of WW2 without considering the varying attitudes possessed by youths, all of whom did not passively accept "dangerous" Americanism.⁷² Also, we must remember regional factors partly determined the extent to which a moral panic could take hold of a community.

Cinema-going

Fears of the corruptive nature of rock 'n' roll music were enshrined in many aspects of everyday life, including the cinema. Perhaps the most ferocious outcry erupted with the screening of "Rock Around the Clock" in August 1956.⁷³ For many American and British citizens the soundtrack was a prime example of "perceived links between the wild abandon of the music

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p.46; B. Osgerby, *Youth Media*, (Routledge: London, 2004), pp.9-10

⁷⁰ G. Mitchell, ' "Reassessing 'the Generation Gap": Bill Haley's 1957 Tour of Britain, Inter-Generational Relations and Attitudes to Rock 'n' Roll in the Late 1950's', *Twentieth Century British History* 24 (4) (2013)

⁷¹ *Ibid*. Horn also concludes that despite the gendered differences, generally negative parental and media reactions to phenomena of youth culture such as rock 'n' roll and Teddy Boys were far less negative and widespread than popular memory portrays, A. Horn, *Juke box Britain: Americanisation and youth culture, 1945-1960*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2009), pp.79-80 and 132-133

⁷² J. Springhall, *supra note 2*, p.205; D. Fowler, 'From Juke-Box Boys to Revolting Students: Richard Hoggart and the study of British youth culture', *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 10 (1), p.80

⁷³ J. Springhall, *Ibid*, p.212

and the apparent post-war increase in juvenile delinquency”.⁷⁴ According to officials, disturbances were rife when youths began dancing and refused to sit down, leading to their ejection from the cinema and subsequent confrontation.⁷⁵ All bar one of the interviewees recalled the influence of “Rock Around the Clock” and identified this as a catalyst for inciting panic. One lady recalled her mother being horrified by a neighbour telling her that her son was caught dancing in the aisles as “...this wasn’t the done thing”.⁷⁶ Her mother then said she would be punished if she entered the cinema. She was disappointed as she could only afford a weekly cinema trip. However, unlike images portrayed in the media, interviewees do not remember “riots” aside from occasional bravado displayed to cinema managers and dancing harmlessly “...simply in the name of fun” and cinemas were apparently mostly quiet places where you would take a date to escape noisy dance halls and enjoy a more relaxing night.⁷⁷ Contrastingly, newspapers told of “Teddy Boy gangs” and hooliganism, victoriously reciting the punishments handed to stereotyped youths and of the Glasgow Odeon recruiting assistant managers to act as stewards.⁷⁸ These stereotypes were not always well received, some authorities blamed the press for goading youths by non-discriminatorily applying labels and inciting moral panic.⁷⁹ One interviewee’s recollections also suggests the prevalence of moral panic is exaggerated as he cannot remember much hype aside from a few newspaper articles, none of which were in the

⁷⁴ G. Mitchell, *supra note*; J. Gilbert, *A cycle of outrage: America’s reaction to the juvenile delinquent in the 1950s*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986)

⁷⁵ B. Ward, ‘ “By Elvis and All the Saints”: Images of the American South in the World of 1950s British Popular Music’, in J.P. Ward (ed.), *Britain and the American South: from colonialism to rock and roll* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), pp.196, 199–200; Bradley, *Understanding rock ‘n’ roll: popular music in Britain, 1955-64*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992), p.89

⁷⁶ Interview with author, *supra note 12*

⁷⁷ Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.3, born in 1939 in Hamilton, see also interviews 1 and 9

⁷⁸ “Prison for ‘King of the Teddy Boys’”, *Manchester Guardian*, 25 Sept. 1956, p.22; ‘Police Arrest Haley Fans’, *Daily Mail*, 19 Feb. 1957, p.7

⁷⁹ ‘Rock ‘n’ Roll Scenes: Press Blamed: Challenge to Teddy Boys’, *Manchester Guardian*, 19 Sept. 1956; S. Cohen, *Folk devils and moral panics*, (London: MacGibbon & Kee Ltd, 1972); P. Rock and S. Cohen, ‘The Teddy Boy’, p.320 in V. Bogdanor and R.J.A. Skidelsky, *The age of affluence:1951-1964*, (London: MacMillan, 1970)

local paper and only a couple featured in Glasgow/Scottish based newspapers.⁸⁰ This accords with another man describing youths as “...very well behaved compared to today...” and recalling not daring to speak during showings.⁸¹ Caution must be taken though when interpreting statements which appear nostalgic and compare historical situations to the present day as what is widely accepted today may have been abhorrent during the 1950’s.⁸²

Thus, we can ascertain panic of varying degrees was manifested due to the growing nature of teen consumption occurring in the public realm in contrast to consumption centred on the home. This contributed to ideas of a discrete and “affluent” generation to be feared and controlled.⁸³ However, as adult cinema-going began to decline, cinema began to focus more upon the youth market with Americans pioneering the “teenpic”.⁸⁴ Several films were “...exemplary of the way in which youth emerged as a motif for post-war ideologies of confidence and growth”.⁸⁵ Interviewees remember cinemas as working-class hubs but recognise the most visible group there were youths. Female interviewees recall viewing American films as “grown up” and emulating sophisticated stars by copying their clothing and habits such as smoking - “...it was the in thing to do...you wanted to be like the actresses...even if you didn’t like smoking you did it anyway because the big stars did”.⁸⁶ Unsurprisingly, most remember their parents scathing their fantasies. Interviewee 3’s parents would “...get all wound up when we would speak about the future...they’d tell me about the war and the 30’s when people had nothing and how we would be brought back down to earth with a bang when we entered the

⁸⁰ Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.9, born in 1935 in Hamilton

⁸¹ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interviewee no.8, born in 1946 in Hamilton

⁸²“Hantsweb”, Reading Oral History, Oral History, Nostalgia or Scholarship, <http://www3.hants.gov.uk/archives/community-archives/how-to/recording-oral-history.htm>, accessed 28th of October 2017

⁸³ B. Osgerby, *supra note 1*, p.38

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp.38-39; J. Romney, *Celluloid jukebox: popular music and the movies since the 1950s*, (London: BFI, 1995), pp.60-71

⁸⁵ B. Osgerby, *ibid*, p.39

⁸⁶ Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton, see also interviews 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6

real world".⁸⁷ Generational tensions are evident, as parent's views of 'unrealistic' dreams were shaped by the difficult times of the 1930's and 1940's which still played heavily on their minds. Their children drew on notions of prosperity and increasing social harmony, an ideology which only grew in the early-1960's and were not necessarily rebelling or deluded.⁸⁸ Generally, it is important to view notion of mass moral panic sceptically and reassess adults' interpretations of certain behaviours of youths.

Passive commodification

Smoking

Intrinsically linked with moral panic surrounding cinema-going was increased female smoking rates post-1945, marking changing attitudes towards respectable femininity from Victorian times and the prominent role played by commercial products in undermining previous notions.⁸⁹ By 1959 one third of boys leaving school and just under 10% of girls were regular smokers, with two thirds of females having experimented with smoking.⁹⁰ In the 1950's and 1960's youths began smoking to symbolise adulthood but for females, sophisticated images of Hollywood glamour were a growing influence since the 1920's.⁹¹ Health officials were battling with the wider population of smokers by the 1950's but the sexual and erotic connotations of smoking regarding females were a large target for officials as opposed to lesser panics relating to males smoking to assert masculinity.⁹² Officials quickly fretted about females as increased fragmentation of the family and absent mothers, post-WW2, were considered issues mainly

⁸⁷ Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.3, born in 1939 in Hamilton

⁸⁸ *Ibid*

⁸⁹ M. Hilton, *Smoking in British popular culture, 1800- 2000: perfect pleasure*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p.318

⁹⁰ A Study Group of the Public Health Department, 'The smoking habits of school children' *British Journal of Preventative and Social Medicine* 13 (1959), pp.1-4

⁹¹ M. Hilton, *supra note*, p.238; P. Tinkler, ' "Red Tips for Hot Lip": advertising cigarettes for young women in Britain, 1920-1970', *Women's History Review* 10 (2) (2001), pp.249-272; A. Amos and M. Haglund, 'From Social Taboo to "Torch of Freedom": the marketing of cigarettes to women', *Tobacco Control* 9 (2000), pp.3-8; R. Elliot, "Everybody Did It' - or Did They?: The Use of Oral History in Researching Women's Experiences of Smoking in Britain, 1930-1970', *Women's History Review* 15 (2) (2006), p.301

⁹² M. Hilton, *ibid*, pp.191-241

relatable to girls as they supposedly relied fundamentally on their families for moral influences regarding femininity.⁹³ The cigarette as a product of mass consumption is viewed as vital in breaking down accepted concepts of femininity, which was made possible by the expansion of employment opportunities for young women in public environments and subsequent financial independence.⁹⁴ Many interviewees spoke of friends buying cigarettes and smoking more when they were dressed up and out at night, highlighting nearly all girls' awareness of glamorous images of Hollywood stars in films, showing smoking women as feisty and adored by handsome men.⁹⁵ Interviewee 3 remembers "...the girls were so glamorous and well-kept...men were taking them on dates and it was real love stories...sleek men everyone adored...you'd see girls at the dancing...their hair done...smoking the fags...they took ideas from them about how to get a man...".⁹⁶ Abrams showed in 1959 media channels influenced working-class expenditure patterns which were higher than those of middle-class youths in terms of cigarettes; 10.6% of their total expenditure went on tobacco, although he does indicate males consumed more tobacco than females.⁹⁷ This emulative behaviour of youths was of great concern, by 1962 the Postmaster General banned advertisements which overemphasised pleasure, fashion and romance in television adverts and attempted to restrict glamorisation and sexualisation of smoking in films.⁹⁸

Abrams findings and interviewee accounts appear consistent with data showing women smoked less, thus hinting at social smoking patterns.⁹⁹ This is furthered by the idea women were not seeking to enter the male world of smoking but rather wanted to embrace a new distinctly

⁹³ P. Tinkler, 'Cause for Concern: young women and leisure, 1930-50', *Women's History Review* 2003 12 (2) (2003), p.244; J.M. Brew, *In the service of youth: a practical manual of work among adolescents*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1943), p.175

⁹⁴ M. Hilton, *supra note*, p.140

⁹⁵ See interviews 1, 2, 3 and 4

⁹⁶ Interview with author, *supra note* 86

⁹⁷ M. Abrams, *supra note* 21, (Part II): Middle-class and Working-class Boys and Girls

⁹⁸ M. Hilton, *supra note*, p.187

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, pp.147-148

female and autonomous symbol of cultural change.¹⁰⁰ Whilst we do not profoundly lack sources on female smoking, sources often radiate male constructions, making oral history useful.¹⁰¹ Whilst most male interviewees speak of spending large proportions of their incomes on tobacco for themselves, many females hinted even social smoking patterns of women were overstated and needlessly panicked about.¹⁰² Three women agreed their parents did not question their spending habits as they were not drinking or smoking.¹⁰³ Additionally, whilst all females mentioned the prevalence of smoking and the associated glamour, only one interviewee admitted smoking herself, with another saying it was an indulgence of “...really common lassies...”.¹⁰⁴ However, interviewees may be altering their accounts due to awareness’s of social stigmas attached to smoking nowadays but their responses may also reflect attempts to curtail female independence during the 1950’s. Nevertheless, again panics related to destructions of respectable femininity were largely unfounded in many regions within Britain and varying practices existed within the working classes.

Fashion and magazines

Much spending by youths was to impress their peers, construct an identity and find belonging within a contemporary group with shared tastes.¹⁰⁵ During the 1950’s and 1960’s breakdowns of traditional restraints on self-expression were complemented by increased advertisement of fashions aimed at youths.¹⁰⁶ Interviewees gave mixed responses regarding fashion with slightly younger participants claiming fashion was beginning to take a hold of youths, “...it was really starting to matter...we wanted nice things for going out like we saw other people wearing...you

¹⁰⁰ R. Elliot, *supra note*, p.317

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p.299

¹⁰² See interviews 7, 9 and 10

¹⁰³ See interviews 1, 2 and 3

¹⁰⁴ Interview with author on the 27th of November 2017, interview no.5, born in 1946 in Hamilton; Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton

¹⁰⁵ M. Abrams, *supra note* 22, pp.10-11; *Albemarle Report on the Youth Service in England and Wales*, PP. (1960), p.24

¹⁰⁶ J. Springhall, *supra note* 2, pp.219-222

wanted the right stuff and people to comment on it".¹⁰⁷ Most male participants thought fashion was based around the Teddy Boy image of creepers, drainpipe trousers and long suit jackets.¹⁰⁸ In 1950's Britain the central focus was upon Teddy Boy criminality and this flamboyant dress sense was crucial to their image.¹⁰⁹ Associations of certain fashions with delinquency lead newspapers to proclaim, if "...Teddy Boy suits etc., can produce exactly the same effect on the youngsters as alcohol does, then their sales should be restricted in exactly the same way".¹¹⁰ Nearly all interviewees felt Teddy Boys were degraded and spoken about for the "...ridiculous gear they wore..." by adults and some other teenagers.¹¹¹ Ironically it was the media which allowed sub-culture trends like the Teddy Boy and mod to become nationalised to some extent and explode beyond locally confined subcultural variants such as the peaky-blinders beforehand.¹¹²

Nevertheless, these assertions and vivid memories of a whole new style specific to one group contrast with interviewees claiming to have dressed similarly to their parents, especially young men who recall their mothers' picking their clothes.¹¹³ One woman also recalled her younger sister bringing home Mods from her work in Glasgow during the early 1960's and them being viewed as "...awfully queer..." by the locals, with nobody sure where they could have found their clothes.¹¹⁴ We may conclude, at least locally, panic amongst the elder community was due to 'strange' desires of a few youths to look "different", perhaps to discover their self-identity,

¹⁰⁷ Interview with author, *supra note 103*, see also interview 4

¹⁰⁸ See interviews 6, 7, 9 and 10

¹⁰⁹ B. Osgerby, *Youth media*, p.72

¹¹⁰ E. Perrick's column, *Daily Express*, 15 Sept. 1956, p.3

¹¹¹ See interviews 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9 and 10

¹¹² B. Osgerby, *supra note 1*, p.40/1

¹¹³ Interview with author, *supra note 27*, see also interview 10

¹¹⁴ Interview with author, *supra note 12*

being incomprehensible to older generations who suffered the drabness of everyday life- including rationing- and had a far more “practical” outlook on life.¹¹⁵

Slightly younger female participants provided different perspectives at times when speaking of the rise of boutiques and fashion exploding, especially in the early-1960’s, with supermodels becoming iconic.¹¹⁶ The rise of the fashion industry was spoken within memories of the 1950’s too- “...we wanted massive taffeta skirts and nothing my mother would wear”.¹¹⁷ Feasibly, female participants had stronger opinions because although their earnings were significantly less than males, the majority of products such as clothes and cosmetics were targeted at women.¹¹⁸ With this came concerns over the sexualisation of young women through mass-marketed images in contrast to anxiety about sub-cultural activity, such increases in discourses related to females are attributable to their increasing employment and wages and the inherent links between leisure and labour.¹¹⁹ Interviewee 4 confirms this concern.¹²⁰ She recalls many girls queuing up for dressing-rooms in dance halls to apply their heavier make-up and removing it at the end of the night in the dressing-room before returning home to their fathers who had not been accustomed to their mothers wearing heavy make-up. This account asserts young women had access to the fashion industry but is mitigated by numerous other accounts which mentioned visiting shops that were not specifically teenage stores and having to travel further afield to access “teenage” clothing.¹²¹ In accordance with Skillen’s findings in the interwar period, several women also remembered altering old clothes to modernise them and using

¹¹⁵ J. Springhall, *supra note 2*, p.222

¹¹⁶ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.4, born in 1946 in Hamilton, see also interview 5

¹¹⁷ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.4, born in 1946 in Hamilton, see also interviews 1 and 2

¹¹⁸ P. Laurie, *The teenage revolution*, (London: Anthony Blood, 1965), p.151

¹¹⁹ B. Osgerby, ‘ “Well, it’s Saturday night an’ I just got paid”: Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain’, p302; P. Tinkler, *supra note 93*, p.237

¹²⁰ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.4, born in 1946 in Hamilton

¹²¹ Interview with author, *supra note 12*, see also interviews 1, 3, 4, 6 and 10

cheaper material to make their own items.¹²² Ironically, interviewees 1 and 2 recall finding these patterns in newspapers.¹²³

Overall, fashion was of central importance to the teenage market. Although local access to fashion was stifled to a degree by a lack of stores to cater for youths, the traditional and unrelenting attitudes of some ignored this.

Broadly related to ideas of fashion and the considered liberalisation of women is the role of magazines. Magazines are viewed by McRobbie as a consumer object that encouraged continued consumption and a powerful ideological force.¹²⁴ In a world in perceived decline, a circular trend between fashion and magazines was identified with one informing the other and thus appearing to contribute jointly to the moral decline of females. The main concern regarding magazines was that they encouraged women to act as active citizens through items such as problem pages, fashion and beauty and music.¹²⁵ These fears were gathering during the 1930's and 1940's but were accelerated by catalytic economic and social shifts associated with WW2.¹²⁶ Concern was furthered by the disposable nature of the goods promoted by magazines- fashions were ever-changing, bought regardless of need, and "predicated upon change and modernity".¹²⁷ This notion of the loss of traditional sources of fulfilment was scrutinised and apparently perpetuated by the mass media.¹²⁸ When asked about issues surrounding magazines though, every woman seemed confused and brushed over the subject, interviewee 5 stated

¹²² F. Skillen, "'Women and the Sport Fetish': Modernity, Consumerism and Sports Participation in Interwar Britain", *The International Journal of History of Sport* 29 (5) (2012), p.757

¹²³ Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton; Interview with author, *supra note 12*

¹²⁴ A. McRobbie, *supra note*, p.74

¹²⁵ A. McRobbie, *ibid*, pp.79-99

¹²⁶ P. Tinkler, *supra note 93*, p.233; O.A. Wheeler, 'The Service of Youth', *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 13 (2), p.71

¹²⁷ A. McRobbie, *supra note*, p.102

¹²⁸ P. Tinkler, *supra note 93*, p.233

“...eh I’m not...I don’t know...I remember what was in the magazines though”.¹²⁹ Whilst the interviewees could have been pressed for more information, a balance was struck between overly guiding the interviewee and allowing the interviewee to provide their own account.¹³⁰ When questioned about problem pages similar reactions reoccurred and many made sure to emphasise “...problem pages weren’t like they are nowadays...” and kept referring to fashion items being influential but the rest being “...taken with a pinch of salt by myself and my mum”.¹³¹ This suggests the paranoia of the minority was blown out of proportion and moral panics which ensued ignored the passive attitudes of the majority.

Summary

Overall, post-WW2, cultural, social and economic circumstances were changing, however this change was not well received by many. This led to mass panic as ideals did not evolve at the same rate as material circumstances. In a time of uncertainty, coupled with increased prosperity of the working classes, fears concerning socio-economic and political instability emerged. The effect of such concerns continued to highlight the importance of citizenship and cause anxiety over the state of youth culture by the 1950’s and 1960’s. These moral panics manifested themselves in different ways and were gendered, although all panics of most concern revolved around the idea of Americanisation.

The full extent of the panics which have received attention in the literature did not reach Hamilton and even if some did, the local community were aware they should be treated with caution- although they were aware of the legitimacy of some panics in certain situations they

¹²⁹ Interview with author on the 27th of November 2017, interview no.5, born in 1946 in Hamilton, see also interviews 1, 2, 3 and 4

¹³⁰ M. Frisch, *A shared authority: essays on the craft and meaning of oral and public history*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989); L. Abrams, “The Peculiarities of Oral History” in *Oral history theory* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.26-27

¹³¹ Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton, see also interview 2

did not feel such inner-city concerns were applicable at all times to their small town where youths faced several regional and financial barriers. The majority of those panics which took hold were irrational and we should remember "...media or moral panics often tell us a great deal more about adult anxieties- fear of the future, of technological change, and the erosion of moral absolutes- than about the nature of juvenile misbehaviour".¹³²

¹³² J. Springhall, 'Censoring Hollywood: youth, moral panic and crime/gangster moves of the 1930s', *Journal of Popular Culture* 32 (2) (1998), p.150

Chapter 3: The mundane realities of everyday life- continuities of discourses, values and practices

Moral panic was clearly prevalent within Britain regarding increased notions of a distinct youth culture, however, such discourses have continually arisen since 1945 in a variety of settings, with a dominant focus upon working-class lives. For example, using rational recreation as a form of social control has long been associated with increasing working-class autonomy and economic and social levelling. Examining both active and passive commodification, we observe continuities of moral panics existing pre-1945 and continuing into the present day, as well as continuities in the attitudes and practices of youths which prove to be not all too different from those held before WW2.

Active Commodification

Music

The main panic surrounding the popular music of the post-war period as it relates to youths was the “new” American genre which permeated almost all areas of musical culture. The sense of panic was identifiable in the interwar period with commentators fixating on the “dance craze” with a modern jazz basis, leading one writer to ask; “Dance Mania. Has it a degrading tendency?”¹ This report reflects a society in a similar state of shock post-WW1, which saw new musical trends as symbolising social decay.² During this period, some parents forbid their daughters from frequenting dance halls on “respectability grounds”.³ Interviewee 2 recalled this behaviour being repeated after 1945 -“...my parents down right refused to let me go to up to

¹ *MEN*, 10th of February 1920, p.4 in Langhamer. C, *Women's leisure in England 1920-1960*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2000), p.63

² M. Hurstwitt, “‘Caught in a whirlpool of aching sound’: the production of dance music in Britain in the 1920’s”, in R. Middleton and D. Horn (eds), *Popular Music 3: Producers and Markets*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.12

³ C. Langhamer, *Women's leisure in England 1920-1960*, (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2000), p.68

the dancing at the Motherwell Civic...apparently it was too rough for a girl my age".⁴ This supports Davies findings that evidence of parental control can be seen in all backgrounds, even the working classes, and the ideal of respectability has been complex and multi-layered throughout time.⁵

Contrary to popular beliefs, not all music listened to by youths was promoted by American stars- British artists such as Tommy Steele proved extremely popular by the late 1950's. He aimed to lift the "...teenage thing..." out of its "...teddy boy rut, give it class, and get society as well as the thousands of ordinary decent kids singing and dancing it".⁶ By the early 1960's Teddy Boy influences were almost forgotten, suggesting changes in style and fashion: Hall and Whannel argue by the early 1960's the "...teenage thing..." had been "...sanitised and streamlined...".⁷ Blake suggests music was not monocultural, instead a transatlantic "...cultural exchange..." occurred throughout the 20th century and Mitchell described many British artists such as Cliff Richard as "clean cut" compared to Elvis Presley, for example.⁸ Moreover, the American influence was overstated and not all adults were fearful of its increased influence as they were influenced by American jazz during the interwar period.⁹ Whilst the media have been long-fixated with anti-establishment music, the *Glasgow Herald* also recognised rock 'n' roll had "...too many predecessors..." to be regarded as unique- "...swing, jive, and bop among them, and some people who are ready to condemn it forget that they were once caught in a similar

⁴ Interview with author on the 22nd of September 2017, interview no.2, born in 1936 in Aberdeen

⁵ A. Davies, *Leisure, gender and poverty: working-class culture in Salford and Manchester*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992), p.172

⁶ J. Springhall, *Coming of age: adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*, (Gill & Macmillan: Dublin, 1986), p.221

⁷ S. Hall and P. Whannel, *The popular arts*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965), p.289 in J. Springhall, *Coming of age: adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*, p.221

⁸ A. Blake, 'Americanisation and Popular music in Britain', pp.148-149 and 155 in N. Campbell et al (eds.), *Issues in Americanisation and culture*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004); G. Mitchell, 'Reassessing 'the Generation Gap': Bill Haley's 1957 Tour of Britain, Inter-Generational Relations and Attitudes to Rock 'n' Roll in the Late 1950's', *Twentieth Century British History* 24 (4) (2013)

⁹ G. Mitchell, *Ibid*

enthusiasm for the Charleston”.¹⁰ Interviewee 5 recalls her mum enjoying American music- “...my mum used to listen to it all with me, she’d always be telling me, ‘I was young once too’...she was alright that way...”.¹¹ Whilst not all interviewees recall this, with some maintaining their parents were against American influences, interviewee 7 claims his father was “...horrified by the rubbish I was listening to...”.¹² This belief perhaps fits within the concept of a popular memory having being adopted via retrospective knowledge from media and literature assertions about the period.

The greater use of dance halls for teenage consumers represented a shift to an extent, but the variety of music genres and age groups which these catered for emphasises some continuity. Traditional cultural forms such as ballroom dancing were reducing but had by no means died, with dance halls attracting a wide demographic.¹³ Interviewee 10 provides the greatest evidence of this, describing how several dance halls were operational, providing ballroom dancing to “teenybop” sessions for “...mostly the younger kids about fifteen or sixteen who wanted all rock ‘n’ roll stuff...by the time we were nearly twenty we were too old for that, we were settling down...”.¹⁴ Interviewees 2 and 4 also speak of “...the dances? They were the same as what everyone before us had done I suppose...”, “...the waltz, things like that...like Strictly Come Dancing...aye we would do the odd dance to the new music but not every night...”. Most interviewees said once frequenters hit their early twenties they began to look “... old and past it...most never came back once they paired off”.¹⁵ Others speak of old and new styles mixing, allowing older patrons to continue dancing but mostly these patrons in their late-twenties were

¹⁰ ‘New Outlet for Youthful Energy’, *Glasgow Herald*, 18 Sept. 1965, p.5

¹¹ Interview with author on the 27th of November 2017, interview no.5, born in 1946 in Hamilton;

¹² Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.7, born in 1946 in Hamilton

¹³ G. Mitchell, *supra note*

¹⁴ Interview with author on the 21st of November 2017, interview no.10, born in 1936 in Hamilton

¹⁵ Interview with author, *supra note 4*; Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.4, born in 1946 in Hamilton

said to look ridiculous.¹⁶ The mixing of these styles is evidenced by song lyrics of the period, with ballads remaining popular- interviewee 1 recalled her “...favourite...” artists, all of whom had associations with ballads and classical music -“...it wasn’t all just rock ‘n’ roll, we liked the Crooners...”.¹⁷ The popular image of the 1950’s characterised by songs such as “Rip It Up” and “Jailhouse Rock” can be juxtaposed by the tamer tempo and mild lyrics of “Here in my Heart” mentioned by interviewee 1.¹⁸ Popular lyrics such as “Here is my heart, my life and my all, dear. Please be mine and stay here in my heart...” heavily contrast with those by Haley, including: “Well, Saturday night...Fool about my money don’t try to save...I’m gonna rock it up”. Within dancehalls the moral standards of previous generations were also largely upheld, the consumption of alcohol remained an activity mostly undertaken by men in public houses until the end of our period.¹⁹ All female interviewees refused to admit to drinking alcohol and were especially insistent they would “...never dare to enter pubs in those days...they were for men”.²⁰ These attitudes are consistent with Hughes’ findings regarding the interwar period, whereby patrons of public houses were mainly working males.²¹ Male interviewees mostly recalled Hamilton having no licensed halls and needing to visit a select few halls in Glasgow to consume alcohol, even if you did go for a drink in the pub beforehand, “...they shut at nine and no lassie would dance you if you were too far gone...you couldn’t just jump on a train to Glasgow so easily then... but if you wanted a drink you could find a way I suppose even if you were too

¹⁶ Interview with author, *supra note 4*, see also interviews 1 and 3

¹⁷ Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton, see also interview 2

¹⁸ B. Haley & His Comets (1960), *Rip It Up*, <https://genius.com/Bill-haley-rip-it-up-lyrics>, accessed 21st of November 2017; E. Presley (1957), *Jailhouse Rock*, <https://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/elvispresley/jailhouserock.html>, accessed 21st of November 2017; A.Martino (1955), *Here In My Heart*, <https://genius.com/Tony-bennett-here-in-my-heart-lyrics>, accessed 21st of November 2017

¹⁹ C. Langhamer, *supra note*, p.73

²⁰ Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.3, born in 1939 in Hamilton, see also interviews 1, 2, 4 and 5

²¹ A. Hughes, *Gender and political identities in Scotland, 1919-1939*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp.130, 142 and 144

young for the pub...it's hard to mind really".²² These findings are consistent with the conclusion it took until the end of the 1960's for the pub to begin to influence the habits of young women and regional differences appearing in pub-going trends between the North and South.²³ Using oral history is important, as we can witness variation within the working class to some extent. Where the interviewee hesitates, and mentions he "supposes" underage drinkers could find a way to obtain alcohol, we see meanings can be found in accounts through not just what is said but also how it is said and what is omitted.²⁴ This suggests alcohol consumption may have been slightly greater than some are willing to admit or if actual consumption was impossible, there was at times a desire for greater access to it. Portelli reminds us "...oral history tells us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do...".²⁵

That said, music partly led to the emancipation of young women, although female fanaticisms are not unique to the 1950's and 1960's but witnessed regarding hype surrounding film stars such as Rudolph Valentino during the interwar period.²⁶ During the 1950's they did become more specifically associated with music with the advent of the term "teenybopper".²⁷ Osgerby argues this adoration of pin-ups and suchlike allowed females to enter the public sphere en-masse and challenge conformity boundaries.²⁸ McRobbie and Garber feel traditional roles were upheld by this, as women were symbolically subordinated through the gendered role of the "...adoring female in awe of the male on a pedestal".²⁹ Such continuity is observable to a certain

²² Interview with author on the 21st of November 2017, interview no.10, born in 1936 in Hamilton, see also interviews 6, 7 and 9

²³ B. Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), p.58; C. Langhamer, *supra note*, pp.72-73

²⁴ L. Abrams, "The Peculiarities of Oral History" in *Oral history theory* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.21-23

²⁵ A. Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different?' in A. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), p.50

²⁶ B. Osgerby, *supra note*, pp.58-59

²⁷ *Ibid*

²⁸ *Ibid*, pp.60-61

²⁹ A. McRobbie, *Postmodernism and popular culture*, (London: Routledge, 1994), pp.198-219; J. Garber, 'Girls and subcultures: an exploration', in S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds.), *Resistance through rituals: youth subcultures in Post-War Britain*, (London: Hutchinson, 1979), pp.209-221

extent but the advent of rock 'n' roll music paved the way for further change for females in the longer term, as eluded to by at least one female interviewee who places her experiences of youth culture as "...far more free than my mothers, she was at home more but as for my daughter...well she was ten times freer again than me".³⁰

Nevertheless, clearly there was condemnation of musical cultural as outlined previously irrespective of the fact that in reality there was largely continuity in practices and standards.³¹ The concept of a musical genre distinctly for youths began before our period but was by no means completed with many new considerations being informed by old traditions.

Cinema-going

Perhaps the most striking continuity of moral panic is associated with cinema-going, a largely working-class activity, and can be seen clearly since the interwar period. Early 1930's campaigns focused desires for censorship of American influenced genres, especially gangster films and by the late 1930's the focus moved onto films showing slum gangs.³² Clearly fears of popular culture encouraging delinquent behaviour in young men were not new post-WW2. Instead anxieties linked to popular culture were repetitive from at least the 1930's. Each time British or American society finds itself in crisis, juvenile crime rates are blamed on contemporary entertainment.³³ Those who attempt to wean youths away from such entertainment forms are suffering from profound cultural amnesia.³⁴

In the interwar period, gangster films were seen as igniting increased crime rates in Scotland and as discussed in the previous chapter this was similarly witnessed in our period with

³⁰ B. Osgerby, *supra note*, p.61; Interview with author, *supra note 4*, see also interview 1

³¹ This condemnation has been continuous and recently observed with the disapproval of rap music.

³² J. Springhall, 'Censoring Hollywood: youth, moral panic and crime/gangster moves of the 1930s', *Journal of Popular Culture* 32 (2) (1998), p.150

³³ *Ibid*

³⁴ J. Springhall, *Youth, popular culture and moral panics: penny fairs to gangsta rap, 1830-1996* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 1998); J. Springhall, *ibid*, pp.136, 150 and 315; J. Springhall, *Youth, popular culture and moral panics: penny fairs to gangsta rap, 1830-1996*, p.160

reactions to “Rock Around the Clock”.³⁵ All interviewees spoke of enjoying cinema visits but few recalled any trouble, stating they mostly went to the cinema with a date or their partner.³⁶ James and Moore also identified this trend during the interwar period.³⁷ Most interviewees recall only attending the cinema approximately once a week due to restricted funds and mostly spending time outside or in cheaper cafes.³⁸ Again, little change can be observed from the interwar period as James and Moore also show, despite the rise of the cinema, most youths participated in communal or informal leisure due to financial constraints.³⁹ Surveys as late as the mid-1960’s showed youths still often had little disposable income and were reluctant to spend it on frequent leisure pursuits.⁴⁰

Even within cinemas, the films shown and traditions carried out in the local cinema were mainly in-keeping with pre-WW2 trends. The cinema was deemed far more forward-reaching post-WW2 and more willing to associate itself with post-war changes in popular music and youth culture than other media outlets such as British radio.⁴¹ However, this “modern” outlook was not as revolutionary as it seems- the “teenpic” was far less accessible in Britain than America.⁴² When asked about films they watched, interviewees 3 and 7 mentioned films were “...nothing out of the ordinary, just your everyday good cop bad cop...and all the romance ones”.⁴³ Interviewee 9 also felt films were “...nothing worse than what my mum and dad watched as kids but definitely nothing like the real nitty gritty violence shown today”.⁴⁴ Also,

³⁵ J. Springhall, *supra note 32*, p.139

³⁶ Interview with author on the 21st of September 2017, interview no.6, born in 1937 in Peterborough, see also interviews 3 and 9

³⁷ A. Davies, *supra note*, p.94

³⁸ Interview with author, *supra note 11*, see also interviews 3, 4, 6 and 8

³⁹ A. Davies, *supra note*, p.96

⁴⁰ B. Osgerby, *supra note*, pp.25-26; D. Hebdige, *Hiding in the light: on images and things (Comedia)*, (Routledge: New York, 1988) p.69

⁴¹ B. Osgerby, *ibid*, p.39

⁴² *Ibid*

⁴³ Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.3, born in 1939 in Hamilton; Interview with author, *supra note 12*

⁴⁴ Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.9, born in 1935 in Hamilton

interviewees 7 and 8 both seemed confused when asked if violence was witnessed in the cinema and spoke of remembering the national anthem being played at the end of every film and how everyone had to sing along or you risked someone who knew your parents telling them you had been disrespectful.⁴⁵ Since neither interviewee answered the question directly this could be interpreted as symbolising a deeper meaning to the avoidance of the conversation and an attempt to conceal bad behaviour. Perhaps, simply due to the non-existence of such violence in local cinemas within a relatively small town with little scope to misbehave without the knowledge of known adults and parents, the desire of the interviewees to present themselves in a positive light or an attempt to conceal guilt they have carried for their behaviour and not promoting a respectable image during our period. Although, the lack of discussion of any real menacing behaviour by any interviewee allows for a broad conclusion that youths mostly conformed with traditional ideals.

During the 1920's and 1930's cinema-going was the most popular activity of youths.⁴⁶ However, Springhall has shown it also faced a great deal of scrutiny.⁴⁷ Given music was the most popular commodity of our period, and also faced scrutiny, a pattern of continuity is established between societal uncertainties and the pinning of these anxieties on popular entertainment forms to conceal the root of such issues.⁴⁸

Gangs

Some hype around cinema-going surrounded the idea gang violence erupted during showings and also due to film content. As shown previously, delinquency has been connected with

⁴⁵ Interview with author, *supra note 12*; Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.8, born in 1946 in Hamilton

⁴⁶ A. Davies, *supra note*, p.94

⁴⁷ J. Springhall, 'Censoring Hollywood: youth, moral panic and crime/gangster moves of the 1930s'

⁴⁸ *Ibid*; J. Springhall, *Youth, popular culture and moral panics: penny fairs to gangsta rap, 1830-1996*, p.161

notions of affluence and breakdowns of traditional working-class communities.⁴⁹ Change or continuity may be observed by analysing crime statistics, although this is not a reliable method.⁵⁰ Instead, we must look behind the figures at the process which shaped them.⁵¹ Yet, it is especially difficult to compare trends between decades as the “seriousness” of crimes vary over time and changing economic and social circumstances affect rates of specific types of crime.⁵² Oral history is useful in providing realistic accounts beyond the emphasis placed upon figures, as crime is largely associated with the working classes, a group who are underrepresented in providing their own accounts of history.⁵³

When asked about youth crime rates, many interviewees were keen to show what was perceived as youth crime was not nearly as serious as nowadays, one woman repeatedly stated; “...there wasn’t young folk mugging old ladies and stabbing folk...nothing like that, nothing like that at all...there wasn’t any trouble...your knuckles maybe got rapped for smashing a window with a ball or something...”.⁵⁴ Whilst this may be accurate, it is highly unlikely crime levels were non-existent; this account is nostalgic and problematic in relation to contemporary perceptions of reported crimes being discussed. Other accounts were more “realistic” with participants recognising some individuals were involved in mild criminal activity but remembering hearing more about juvenile crime via the press.⁵⁵ One man stated “...you’ll not have much luck finding

⁴⁹ Osgerby has noted however, that this distinction is not as clear-cut as Cohen had previously suggested as many communities began to break-up prior to 1945 and some communities found ways to stick together even after the demographic changes imposed by WW2, B. Osgerby, ‘ “Well, it’s Saturday night an’ I just got paid”: Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain’, *Contemporary Record* 6 (2) (1992), p.292. Also, many towns and cities were redeveloped to situate large council-housing schemes on urban outskirts before 1945, *Ibid*; James Cronin estimates nearly a fifth of British workers were rehoused between the wars, J. Cronin, *Labour and Society in Britain 1918-79*, (London: Batsford Academic, 1984), p.82

⁵⁰ Taylor states they reflect “...political and economics of policing and bureaucratic process...”, H. Taylor, ‘Rationing crime: the political economy of criminal statistics since the 1850’s’, *Economic History Review*, LI (1998), pp.569-90

⁵¹ L. Jackson and A. Bartie, *Policing youth: Britain 1945-70*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014)

⁵² J. Springhall, *supra note 6*, pp.197-198

⁵³ L. Abrams, *supra note*, p.24

⁵⁴ Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton, see also interview 10

⁵⁵ Interview with author on the 21st of September 2017, interview no.6, born in 1937 in Peterborough

out about crimes here, it was a quiet-ish place...it was more down south, in London this all happened...or the centre of Glasgow, the Tongs and that".⁵⁶ The use of the word "quiet-ish" suggests more crime existed than some interviewees are willing to discuss. The response also suggests elements of a discourse which has been mediated or has over-played the occurrence of youth crime in highly populated areas.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, this account aligns with that of an interviewee cited within Jane Dansers' work, who recalls more traditional values in rural areas being upheld compared to cities where greater anonymity allowed youths greater independence.⁵⁸

Nearby Glasgow has been characterised by violence for several years, especially during the interwar period.⁵⁹ Razor-gangs of the 1930's fought on sectarian and territorial grounds for many years before the interwar period, although they were largely eradicated, there had been a large scale moral panic surrounding their existence and heavy-handed police approaches to their presence.⁶⁰ It was not until the 1960's and 1970's "young teams" associated with new housing schemes such as Easterhouse and Castlemilk evolved due to the lack of basic amenities, for example.⁶¹ When this issue began to bubble below the surface throughout the early 1960's,

⁵⁶ Interview with author, *supra note 44*

⁵⁷ S. Norris and R.H. Jones (eds.), *Discourse in action: introducing mediated discourse analysis*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005)

⁵⁸ John Chalkley, interviewed by Jane Danser, 1999, Millennium Memory Bank, British Library Catalogue Reference C900/18061 ©BBC.

⁵⁹ A. Davies, *City of gangs: Glasgow and the rise of the British gangster*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2013)

⁶⁰ "The history of Glasgow's street gangs: The violent life and death of the young teams", <http://www.glasgowlive.co.uk/news/history/rise-fall-glasgow-young-teams-12243019-link>, accessed 4th of November 2017 ; "The history of Glasgow's street gangs: Brighton's Billy Boys", <http://www.glasgowlive.co.uk/news/history/history-behind-glasgow-street-gang-12243020?service=responsive>, accessed 4th of November 2017

⁶¹ "The history of Glasgow's street gangs: The violent life and death of the young teams", *ibid*

panic amongst authoritative figures was reminiscent of discourses on the extreme violence Glasgow had witnessed during previous decades.⁶²

Just as was the case post-1945, earlier delinquency was often based on employment patterns of youths- “blind-alley” employment was deemed a cause of delinquency in Glasgow as early as 1911.⁶³ Also, an “English Board of Education Report of 1916 on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment After the War”, concluded youths were disillusioned by transitions into employment on the “...threshold of adult life...”.⁶⁴ Humphries uses a class-centred approach to analyse youth violence, promoting the idea working-class youths fought to assert a rebellious identity.⁶⁵ Davies challenges this, believing Humphries characterisation of “gang members” as rebellious is inaccurate because when examining the activity of these young men from a gendered perspective they were embodying the working-class ideal of the “hard” man- therefore portraying established patterns of behaviour which had existed for several generations.⁶⁶ These young men aspired to role models who were either breadwinners, skilled workers or “tough” men.⁶⁷ This suggests, with unskilled work increasing overall, there may well have been less opportunities to assert masculinity via skilled work and therefore increasing desires of a select few males to become “tough” men to fulfil masculine roles.

During interviews, it became apparent gang problems associated with Glasgow had an outward effect to some extent in Lanarkshire. When asked if gang violence existed in our period, interviewee 4 quickly replied with- “Oh, aye, Tongs Ya Bass...they shouted that” and interviewee

⁶² “The history of Glasgow’s street gangs: Tongs ya bass”, <http://www.glasgowlive.co.uk/news/history/history-glasgows-street-gangs-tongs-12252432>, accessed 4th of November 2017

⁶³ J. Springhall, *supra note 6*, p.181

⁶⁴ J. Springhall, ‘Entering the World of Work: The Transition from Youth to Adulthood in Modern European Society’, *Paedagogica Historica* 29 (1) (1993), p.40

⁶⁵ Humphries, *Hooligans or rebels? An oral history of working-class childhood and youth, 1889-1939*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), p.179

⁶⁶ A. Davies, ‘Youth gangs, masculinity and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford’, *Journal of Social History* 32 (2) (1998), p.363; A. Davies, ‘Youth gangs, gender and violence, 1870-1900’ in S. D’Cruze (ed.), *Everyday violence in Britain, 1950-1950*, (Harlow: Longman, 2000), pp.81-82

⁶⁷ A. Davies, ‘Youth gangs, gender and violence, 1870-1900’, p.74

5 remembered "...the infamous Tongs".⁶⁸ Perhaps such accounts reflect collective memories rather than individual experiences of gang culture and are built upon today's freely circulated knowledge of Glasgow's violent past.⁶⁹ However, interviewees 1 and 10 provide particularly interesting accounts.⁷⁰ Interviewee 1 remembered relatively few issues with new housing scheme developments, but the Lighthstonehall scheme brought several issues due to sub-contracting of council housing leading to "...the most, probably what you would call...eh...undesirable families moving in".⁷¹ She speaks of "...never bothering whether you had money for the telly or not..." when living there as "...all you had to do was watch out the window...folk would batter each other with clothes poles and use bin lids as shields...all over their wee bit of ground".⁷² Similarly, interviewee 10 mentions certain streets within Lighthstonehall and Whitehill being off limits to outsiders due to the severe violence which occurred but maintains "...they weren't all bad people, you could beside them on the bus, you just wouldn't go near those streets...it didn't really affect everyone though...they weren't terrorising the place, people have fought over ground forever, it's a human thing".⁷³ This hints some youths were asserting authority within a world where they felt far from figures of affluence and prosperity but also that the issue was relatively well contained and some saw beyond the sensationalised media response to youths to observe continuity in elements of even their negative behaviours.

Evidently, there were continuities of gang violence being concentrated more in urban centres but slowly trickling outwards to more rural areas, albeit to a far lesser degree. This gang violence was also more territorial with links to urban overflows and had little to do with popular culture.

⁶⁸ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.4, born in 1946 in Hamilton; Interview with author, *supra note 11*

⁶⁹ L. Abrams, *supra note*, p.23

⁷⁰ Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton; Interview with author on the 21st of November 2017, interview no.10, born in 1936 in Hamilton

⁷¹ Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton

⁷² *Ibid*

⁷³ Interview with author on the 21st of November 2017, interview no.10, born in 1936 in Hamilton

Hamilton no doubt had its share of gang violence but within a close-knit community with good access to local amenities, there was not great deal of change in patterns of delinquency during our period compared with the interwar period, for example. Such panics had been brewing for years with peaks occurring at certain key points, where this panic existed it had also been based on similar causes throughout time such as youths' employment patterns and ideals of masculinity.

Voluntary sector

With the leisure activities and moral standards of youths under intense scrutiny, during the 1940's rational recreation, religious observance and education were heralded as the solution to the nation's problems.⁷⁴ Burts claimed multiple factors such as economic, social, environmental, medical and psychological conditions, as opposed to hereditary defects or "unnatural" living conditions in inner-city slums were responsible for the moral decline of youths.⁷⁵ "...preventative" and multi-agency approaches were considered necessary to detract youngsters from corrupt lifestyles.⁷⁶ This educative approach was hegemonic until the late 1950's.⁷⁷ Strategies such as youth clubs, as seen in the 18th and 19th centuries, were deployed to control youths' leisure time in the face of uncontrollable commercial leisure provision.⁷⁸

The core of rational recreation before and during the period was that adolescents had the potential to achieve but also to be destructive within society, with links observed between supposedly "unrespectable employment" and moral corruption.⁷⁹ Leisure commentators also

⁷⁴ L. Jackson and A. Bartie, *supra note*

⁷⁵ C. Burt, *The young delinquent*, (London: University of London Press, 1925), p. 610

⁷⁶ *Ibid*

⁷⁷ L. Jackson and A. Bartie, *supra note*

⁷⁸ P. Tinkler, 'Cause for Concern: young women and leisure, 1930-50', *Women's History Review* 2003 12 (2) (2003), pp.247-248

⁷⁹ H. Hendrick, *Images of youth: age, class and the male youth problem, 1880-1920*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); T. Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, (London: Hutchinson, 1989), p.412; J.M. Childs, 'Boy Labour in Late Victorian and Edwardian England and the Remaking of the Working Class', *Journal of Social History* 23 (4) (1990), p.793

frequently blamed, “uneducated leisure” on the “degeneration” of society.⁸⁰ It was not until post-WW2 state resources were mobilised on a greater scale to promote voluntary leisure activities due to increasing anxieties associated with commercial leisure and affluence, coupled with the government recognising they must take responsibility for producing a well-functioning generation who could serve the country.⁸¹

Every interviewee was involved in a religious-based voluntary organisation at some point in their youth. Interviewees 2 and 3 remembered extravagant Girl Guides parades and becoming leaders themselves with such groups remaining an important part of their lives into adulthood.⁸² Interviewee 7 also recollected attending church dances, saying: “...they were for the young ones, you’d dance and have a coke...something like that, they’d have them quite often”.⁸³ This is easily aligned with the idea of churches trying to bring elements of everyday life into their interactions with youths and further evidenced by reports of such dances in the local newspaper alongside images of youths who attended.⁸⁴

However, not all youths were so readily engaged. Interviewee 9 was resistant- “...I could discipline myself when I needed to, I didn’t like being tied down to going there however many times a week...I wanted to see my pals...go out and about...I wasn’t a bad lad, we just wouldn’t go there, my friends wouldn’t have thought much of going”.⁸⁵ Despite claiming not to be a “bad lad”, he hinted at not being a perfectly behaved youth and wanting to promote a certain image to his friends. His insistence he was not a “bad lad” suggests those not involved in the voluntary sector were more open to commercial entertainment and so more likely to be tarred as

⁸⁰ P. Tinkler, *supra note*, p.238; *Ibid* p.239, see for example G.H. Holroyd, *Education for Leisure with special reference to the senior school*, (Leeds: E.J. Arnold & Sons, 1942), p. 9 and see also section I

⁸¹ P. Tinkler, *ibid*, pp.245- 248

⁸² Interview with author, *supra note 4*; Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.3, born in 1939 in Hamilton

⁸³ Interview with author, *supra note 12*

⁸⁴ M. Brown, ‘Rockin’ in the Aisles’, *Daily Mirror*, 3 Oct. 1959, p. 13.; M. Morse, *The unattached*, (Harmondsworth: Baltimore; Victoria, 1965), pp.164 and 175–180; *Hamilton Advertiser*, 25 Jan. 1958 p.12

⁸⁵ Interview with author, *supra note 44*

delinquent. This is consistent with views that in earlier periods, the voluntary sector only attracted the respectable working-class.⁸⁶ If this interviewee's account is correct we see variations within the working class and their willingness to conform to the status quo regarding allegiance to religious voluntary groups.

Gender differences are also key to an analysis of rational recreation.⁸⁷ As in the past, boys were deemed in the 1944 revolution of outdoor education as the root of most social problems and girls were subsequently predominantly excluded from outdoor activities.⁸⁸ Newsom's 1948 book "The Education of Girls" did recognise girls should be involved even if their role was to "grow into a woman" and "re-learn the graces", such as homemaking and 'feminine' qualities.⁸⁹ This difference is evident within the interviews— men recalled "...tying knots and lighting fires with sticks...", whilst women remembered "...baking cakes, sewing...to get badges...we weren't rolling in mud or climbing mountains".⁹⁰ Focusing upon teaching girls to be 'good little mothers' and concerns about their sexual conduct were not entirely new concepts.⁹¹ Such examples include youth services established in 1939 for both boys and girls and desires to remove young women from Italian ice-cream parlours in Glasgow during the interwar period to prevent miscegenation, illegitimacy and venereal disease.⁹² We see similar attitudes in our period with desires to regulate females rather than males in terms of sexual morality concerns.⁹³ Yet, in our period it seems there was an increase in mixed sex activities within the voluntary sector so both

⁸⁶ A. Freeman, *Boy life and labour: the manufacture of inefficiency*, (London: University of California Libraries, 1914), p.129

⁸⁷ L. Cook, 'The 1944 Education Act and outdoor education: from policy to practice', *History of Education* 28 (2) (1999)

⁸⁸ *Ibid*

⁸⁹ J. Newsom, *The Education of Girls*, (London: Faber & Faber, 1948), p.109- 110 and 11 in L. Cook, 'The 1944 Education Act and outdoor education: from policy to practice', pp.170 and 171

⁹⁰ Interview with author, *supra note 53*; Interview with author, *supra note 4*

⁹¹ C. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 104-114

⁹² P. Tinkler, *supra note*, p.233; P. Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare: Bad Girls in Britain, 1900-1950*, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003); R. Davidson, *Dangerous Liaisons: A Social History of Venereal Disease in Twentieth-century Scotland*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000)

⁹³ P. Tinkler, *ibid*, p.251

continuity and change are noted. Several interpretations of working-class responses to attempts at rational recreation are observed, with Bailey claiming working-class people utilised forms of rational recreation to their advantage as early as the 19th century.⁹⁴ Interviewees indicated attendance at clubs was limited to once or twice a week, limiting the applicability of rational recreation being able to “reform” the working class.⁹⁵ Several interviewees stressed the importance of religion in their lives as a child and teenager and the convenience of using religious spaces for entertainment purposes in a relatively austere time - “...it was free, we didn’t have a lot of money to be out every other night...we’d go to the church and help out or whatever...”.⁹⁶ For some individuals oral history allows them to use thematic genres or motifs to make sense of their own lives in historical terms, such as ideas of the disempowered challenging the dominant powers in society, perhaps some interviewees felt repressed as youths and have instead constructed this image of their experience.⁹⁷ This suggests some youths used this deemed method of social control to their advantage whilst upholding their religious values which appeared far from representative of an increasingly secular society- for many interviewees the church was the centre of the community for the old and the young, but also a means of expanding an already growing youth culture.

Youths in our period were faced with similar ridicule and moral panics as young workers had been in the 19th century and beyond. These youths sometimes used the concept of rational recreation to their own advantage to engage with their peers, effectively resisting moral reform

⁹⁴ P. Bailey, *Leisure and class in Victorian England: rational recreation and the contest for control, 1830-1885*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978)

⁹⁵ Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.3, born in 1939 in Hamilton, see also interviews 5, 6 and 9

⁹⁶ Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.3, born in 1939 in Hamilton, see also interview 9

⁹⁷ L. Abrams, *supra note*, p.28

attempts which resembled earlier initiatives to instil "rational recreations", with the aim of controlling, educating and civilising working-class people.⁹⁸

Passive commodification

Fashion and magazines

Fashion was mostly aimed at females and associated with mass produced items. However, feminist accounts of youth culture and consumption do not easily equate commercialisation with conformism of young females to buy mass produced items.⁹⁹ This aligns with accounts of interviewees 1, 2 and 5 who recall making their own clothing.¹⁰⁰ Interviewee 1 remembers "...wanting something a bit different..." and her elder sister sewing for her and making "...all sorts of creations by copying the shop windows, we started to care about what we wore".¹⁰¹ This account tells of one area of youth's lives where they could be creative and exercise free agency unlike during their time in school, work and sometimes strict constraints of the family. Whilst some accounts of poverty were maybe exaggerated and reflective of the interviewees wishes to emphasise the 1950's were not affluent for everyone, interviewees 2 and 5 inform us financial constraints meant many clothes were handmade with material bought in sales to remain fashionable on a budget- "...my mum made all her own clothes during and before the war...she knew what she was doing, I didn't worry".¹⁰² Whilst it was maybe difficult for interviewees to purchase high fashion trends, there appears to have been an increase in youths aspiring to achieve fashionable images. Interviewee 5 confirms this -"...my mum would let me get stuff out the catalogues...she would pay it up...or we would go into the wholesalers, she

⁹⁸ K. Bradley, 'Rational Recreation in the Age of Affluence: The Café and Working-Class Youth in London, ca. 1939 -1965', in E. Rappaport et al. (eds.), *Consuming Behaviours. Politics, Identity and Pleasure in Twentieth Century Britain*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015)

⁹⁹ A. McRobbie, 'Dance and Social Fantasy', in McRobbie and Nava, *Gender and Generation*, M. Nava, 'Consumerism and its Contradictions', *Cultural Studies* 1 (2) (1987)

¹⁰⁰ Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton; Interview with author, *supra note 4*; Interview with author, *supra note 11*

¹⁰¹ Interview with author on the 20th of November 2017, interview no.1, born in 1937 in Hamilton

¹⁰² P. Summerfield, 'Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews', *Cultural and Social History* 1 (1) (2004), pp. 65-66

didn't want me looking naff just because we didn't have the money...".¹⁰³ McRobbie feels increased pressure on girls to follow fashion and beauty trends shown in the media, often placed females back in the home and was not much different from their mothers leisure time being encroached upon in a domestic manner, for example, by knitting in the evening.¹⁰⁴ Interviewee 4 partially confirmed this when speaking of enjoying buying make-up but feeling life was much simpler for her mother's generation regarding fashion and beauty –"I...was the first to start this nonsense about not stepping out without your make-up on..." and her tone seems resentful when explaining she spent "...hours cutting and sewing...that was only for my own...I had sisters to make clothes for too...I'd dread them saying they had a dance or a wedding...".¹⁰⁵

Magazines also provide a good example of continuity of panics across the decades and the upholding of traditional ideals. During the interwar period, magazines rapidly expanded from a class specific to a mass industry, allowing greater working-class access.¹⁰⁶ "*Woman's World*" was described as having a "...domestic and romantic character, modern setting of a type likely to appeal to the working-class woman".¹⁰⁷ Interviewees highlighted several magazines which did not have a distinctly teenage market, including weeklies such as "*Women's Own*" and "*Women's World*".¹⁰⁸ Interviewees 2 and 3 identified "*The People's Friend*" as "...naff and for old folk...". Nobody identified a magazine circulated in the 1950's or early 1960's which was read solely by youths.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Interview with author, *supra note 11*

¹⁰⁴ A. McRobbie, *Feminism and youth culture: from 'Jackie' to 'Just Seventeen'*, (Basingstoke: MacMillan Education, 1991), pp.105-107

¹⁰⁵ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.4, born in 1946 in Hamilton, see also interviews 2 and 5

¹⁰⁶ B. Melman, *Women and popular Imagination in the twenties: flappers and nymphs*, (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1986), pp.111- 112; P.Tinkler, *supra note*, p.246

¹⁰⁷ B. Melman, *ibid*, p.116

¹⁰⁸ Interview with author, *supra note 4*, see also interviews 1 and 3

¹⁰⁹ Interview with author, *supra note 4*; Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.3, born in 1939 in Hamilton

McRobbie recognises the first distinctly teenage magazine, “*Jackie*”, beginning in 1964, caused panic but much of this was unfounded as fashions contained within it were rarely overly eccentric and traditional sexual standards were upheld in problem pages and fictional sections.¹¹⁰ Just as panics were largely unfounded in the 1960’s, interviewees suggest within magazines in the 1950’s, traditional gender roles and standards were upheld via snippets on knitting or cooking and there was little controversy. Rather than taking the interviewees’ accounts at face value, I was aware many of these females still acknowledged gendered norms when speaking of their husbands still not helping with housework and their moral standards were evidenced from their immaculate homes and smart clothing, hinting that even if they read “controversial” snippets they may have been reluctant to discuss them to maintain their respectable image.¹¹¹ It appears though the main difference between magazines read in the interwar and post-war period was a decline in fictitious content but there did not appear to be any drastic shift in the content, with no interviewees describing any controversial or prohibited contents.¹¹²

Magazines caused similar concerns regarding the feared moral corruption of the working-class female, reflecting concerns relating to the increasingly financially independent and open-minded female which had been evolving more rapidly since the interwar period.¹¹³ Whilst now understood by many as symbolic of the autonomous female, magazines were still largely written by men post-WW2 and frequently reinforced traditional gender roles.¹¹⁴ Interviewee accounts confirm this, highlighting the little impact magazines had on some females and notions of feminism during the 1950’s and early 1960’s, even after supposed shifts in attitudes post-WW2.

¹¹⁰ A. McRobbie, *supra note 104*; *Ibid*, pp.82 and 92-94

¹¹¹ L. Abrams, *supra note*, p.22

¹¹² B. Melman, *supra note*, p.113

¹¹³ *Ibid*, p.110

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*

Summary

It is possible to overstate the originality of the concept of moral panics in the post-war era. Whilst new specific moral panics existed, generally, there existed an almost continual phase of social fear regarding delinquency and the possible moral corruption of youths, backdating to at least the 19th century.¹¹⁵ Yet the 1950's were a "...period of flux, of social evolution, continuities and contradiction..." as new aspects of everyday life appeared to clash but importantly intersect with more traditional and enduring cultural attitudes.¹¹⁶ Clearly, increased social levelling over time has brought fears over increasing working-class autonomy and desires to control their leisure, this cyclical pattern arguably continues today.

Revisionist arguments outlined above suggest the "generation gap" was at least partly a false construct.¹¹⁷ Many areas of life were not drastically changed by the affluent 1950's for youths in Hamilton. For many, their leisure activities, moral standards and religious affiliations were not a far cry from their parents'. Whilst some changes in cultural habits and practices occurred, youths were far from occupying a counter-world and youth culture was falsely portrayed as occupying a different world by those who were extremely resistant to even subtle changes.¹¹⁸ In a small-town setting, continuities were even more evident and clear varieties of practices were witnessed within the working class regarding how leisure time was spent and which attitudes were adopted.

¹¹⁵ L. Jackson and A. Bartie, *supra note*

¹¹⁶ G. Mitchell, *supra note*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*

¹¹⁸ K. Nathaus, ' "All Dressed Up and Nowhere to Go?" -Spaces and Conventions of Youth in 1950's Britain', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 41 (1) (2015), p.69

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Post-war “youth” has been given considerable attention by sociologists but not a comparatively great deal by historians.¹ Utilising oral history, I have attempted to build upon existing literature, whilst giving a voice to a social group largely underrepresented within historical analysis. Whilst conducting interviews and placing my findings within the wider literature, I was conscious of the need to use a two-fold method of evaluation and the reciprocal relationship between the interviewee and researcher which is required to make sense of and situate the accounts provided within a historical context. Oral history was vital in providing first-hand accounts of a somewhat neglected time-period. Clearly, from the accounts provided, the 1950’s heralded great change in consumption and leisure patterns of youths, with some adopting the stance that they desired to be considered “different” from their parent’s generation and seen as a distinct social group with their own aspirations and outlook on life which they did not want to be tarred with memories of war and of a morally traditional and conformist British society. Todd and Young have cited some post-war parents being supportive and receptive of their children’s new distinct leisure forms where they existed, this concurs with many of the interviews conducted.² Yet this also resulted to some extent in mass media outcry and moral panic circulating, much of the “blame” for societies perceived instability and destruction was placed upon youths due to their rise as a distinct social group resulting from demographic, educational and employment based factors.³

¹ B. Osgerby, ‘ “Well, it’s Saturday night an’ I just got paid”: Youth, Consumerism and Hegemony in Post-War Britain’, *Contemporary Record* 6 (2) (1992), p.287

² G. Mitchell, ‘ “Reassessing ‘the Generation Gap”: Bill Haley’s 1957 Tour of Britain, Inter-Generational Relations and Attitudes to Rock ‘n’ Roll in the Late 1950’s’, *Twentieth Century British History* 24 (4) (2013); S. Todd and H. Young- ‘Baby-Boomers to “Beanstalkers”: Making the Modern Teenager in Post-War Britain’, *Cultural and Social History* 9 (3) (2012), pp.451-2

³ D. Sandbrook, *Never Had It So Good: A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*, (London: Abacus, 2006) p.453; B. Osgerby, *supra note*, pp.290 and 298

Oral history allows us to evaluate moral panics and consider whether they were largely perceived to be confined to urban areas and the outskirts of city centres, with national newspapers fuelling the fire in more rural areas as opposed to the fears being homegrown. We can make the analogy that circumstances would likely have been similar in other small towns. However, due to a lack of interviewees from other nearby towns, it is difficult to apply the findings to other areas with any degree of certainty. Some interviewees spent time in Motherwell, Bellshill, Uddingston and other small towns, often due to work, family ties or recreation activities and they have not highlighted marked differences between the towns, much of their comparison focuses on their understanding of life being different in a small town compared to a village or a heavily urbanised area. Therefore, we determine with a degree of certainty, experiences in Hamilton were broadly similar to other small towns, moral panics were exaggerated in terms of the actual fears which were being conveyed and the existence of the roots of the panics.

Whilst the panics were largely unrelatable to the majority of youths, even in Hamilton variations existed in experiences both between and within the classes. Clearly, access to many activities and commodities interviewees described were mainly for working-class youths. This is furthered by the theory of social levelling which was accelerated by the “affluent” 1950’s, allowing working-class people as a whole more access to consumerism- a concept not welcomed by all, especially those middle-class males in positions of authority.⁴ Giving a voice to the working class therefore provides depth to their experiences and rather than viewing their social class as a whole, we discern that within the class a variety of attitudes and experiences existed. Differing interpretations of and adherence to notions of “respectability” within working-class

⁴ L. Jackson and A. Bartie, *Policing youth: Britain 1945-70*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014). Every interviewee also asserts this position in some way.

families become apparent and are vital in examining each youth's access to and adoption of popular ideas related to 1950's and early-1960's youth culture.

Also, experiences varied by gender in terms of the nature of the moral panics and practices of youths. As discussed, literature on female experiences has been comparatively less than their male counterparts. In this research, as much attention was given to the experiences of women and men and the topical questions encompassed many aspects of the interviewees' young lives. This allowed me to examine the broader picture of these women's lives when writing about topical aspects such as their smoking habits or consumption of magazines, seeing these topical issues as part of their overall experiences of youth culture. Clearly, in a period often characterised by the increasing emancipation of females, for many young women in Hamilton "new" forms of popular culture and consumer goods actually re-enforced gender norms and upheld traditional values. Whilst, in general women did benefit from changing employment patterns, an increased sense of comradeship from pop idol adoration and suchlike, these experiences were not universal. Many note these cultural changes did not reach Hamilton until later, with geographical restrictions being placed upon them, many believed "...things were probably different in Glasgow".⁵ Oral history has been invaluable in gaining a deeper understanding of young women's outlooks during our period and the physical and cultural barriers they faced in gaining further equality with males.

As well as observing some changing attitudes and practices, continuity in the prevalence of moral panics and practices are noted. Historically there has been a tendency to divert general issues onto the working class and more specifically young workers, with even subtle changes resulting in moral panic. This is evidenced as reoccurring in our period by the interviewees in direct and indirect ways. As much of this literature focusing specifically upon the working class

⁵ Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.4, born in 1946 in Hamilton, see also interviews 1 and 9

was situated in an earlier period, the interviews used here have helped to build the bridge between frequently discussed periods in the literature in terms of the working class and our examinable period.

The interviewees also showed awareness of sexual morality concerns surrounding girls and fears of juvenile violence circulating about young males. This correlates with earlier attitudes backdating to the late-19th Century and the interwar period and is reflected in the disparate literature which either highlights concern about males or females in discussions of moral panics. Whilst the discussion of episodes of moral panics inform readers of the wider concerns during our period, they tell us little about the realities of everyday life for these youths: oral history helps rectify this.⁶ Understanding is aided through discussions of the continual prominence and importance of rational recreation activities and suchlike. As a result, elements of continuity are highlighted with realities of working-class life being far more subdued and conformist than popular images portray but despite this reality for those in Hamilton, some moral panics were still observed, therefore continuity of unfounded panic is also applicable.

Overall, whilst oral history theory has positive and negative aspects and certain precautions and analysis' must be utilised, it's value to this complex topic is unprecedented. Osgerby effectively sums up the issues of both continuity and change operating together: "...points of continuity cannot be ignored but after 1945 a range of factors combined to highlight the social "visibility" of young people, giving youths a distinct cultural entity as never before and convincing many contemporary commentators that post-war youth was palpably different from previous generations".⁷ Therefore, we witness both change and continuity in experiences of youth culture in the 1950's and early-1960's whilst being reminded lived experiences of

⁶ B. Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), p.46

⁷ *Ibid*, p.17

working-class youths in Hamilton were shaped by their location and gender and experiences also varied between and within the classes.

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Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.4, born in 1946 in Hamilton

Interview with author on the 27th of November 2017, interview no.5, born in 1951 in Hamilton

Interview with author on the 21st of September 2017, interview no.6, born in 1937 in Peterborough

Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.7, born in 1946 in Hamilton

Interview with author on the 16th of October 2017, interview no.8, born in 1946 in Hamilton

Interview with author on the 18th of October 2017, interview no.9, born in 1935 in Hamilton

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Appendix 1: List of Interviews

Females

Interview 1:

- born in 1937, born and living in Hamilton during our period, interviewed on the 20th of November 2017

Interview 2:

-born in 1936, born in Aberdeen and living in Hamilton during our period, interviewed on the 22nd of September 2017

Interview 3:

-born in 1939, born in and living in Hamilton during our period, interviewed on the 18th of October 2017

Interview 4:

-born in 1946, born in and living in Hamilton during our period, interviewed on the 16th of October 2017

Interview 5:

-born in 1951, born in and living in Hamilton during our period, interviewed on the 27th of November 2017

Males

Interview 6:

- born in 1937, born in Peterborough, lived in Carlisle and Dumfries and living in Hamilton during our period, interviewed on the 21st of September 2017

Interview 7:

- born in 1946, born in and living in Hamilton, interviewed on the 16th of October 2017

Interview 8:

-born in 1946, born in and living in Hamilton during our period, interviewed on the 16th of October 2017

Interview 9:

-born in 1935, born in and living in Hamilton during our period, interviewed on the 18th of October 2017

Interview 10:

-born in 1936, born in and living in Hamilton during our period, interviewed on the 21st of November 2017