

show its members which roles should be avoided and which should be emulated, these groups have occupied a constant position as folk devils: visible reminders of what we should not be. The identities of such social types are public property and these particular adolescent groups have symbolized – both in what they were and how they were reacted to – much of the social change which has taken place in Britain over the last twenty years.

In this book, I want to use a detailed case study of the Mods and Rockers phenomenon – which covered most of the 1960s – to illustrate some of the more intrinsic features in the emergence of such collective episodes of juvenile deviance and the moral panics they both generate and rely upon for their growth. The Mods and Rockers are one of the many sets of figures through which the sixties in Britain will be remembered. A decade is not just a chronological span but a period measured by its association with particular fads, fashions, crazes, styles or – in a less ephemeral way – a certain spirit or *kulturgeist*. A term such as ‘the twenties’ is enough to evoke the cultural shape of that period, and although we are too close to the sixties for such explicit understandings to emerge already, this is not for want of trying from our instant cultural historians. In the cultural snap albums of the decade which have already been collected¹ the Mods and Rockers stand alongside the Profumo affair, the Great Train Robbery, the Krays, the Richardsons, the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Bishop of Woolwich, *Private Eye*, David Frost, Carnaby Street, The Moors murders, the emergence of Powellism, the Rhodesian affair, as the types and scenes of the sixties.

At the beginning of the decade, the term ‘Modernist’ referred simply to a style of dress; the term ‘Rocker’ was hardly known outside the small groups which identified themselves this way. Five years later, a newspaper editor was to refer to the Mods and Rockers incidents as ‘without parallel in English history’ and troop reinforcements were rumoured to have been sent to quell possible widespread disturbances. Now, another five years later, these groups have all but disappeared from the public consciousness, remaining only in collective memory as folk devils of the past, to whom current horrors can be compared. The rise and fall of the Mods and Rockers contained all the elements from which one might generalize about folk devils and moral panics. And unlike the previous decade which had only produced the Teddy Boys, these years witnessed rapid oscillation from one such devil to another: the Mod, the Rocker, the Greaser, the student militant, the drug fiend, the vandal, the soccer hooligan, the hippy, the skinhead.

Neither moral panics nor social types have received much systematic attention in sociology. In the case of moral panics, the two most relevant

frameworks come from the sociology of law and social problems and the sociology of collective behaviour. Sociologists such as Becker² and Gusfield³ have taken the cases of the Marijuana Tax Act and the Prohibition laws respectively to show how public concern about a particular condition is generated, a ‘symbolic crusade’ mounted, which with publicity and the actions of certain interest groups, results in what Becker calls *moral enterprise*: ‘. . . the creation of a new fragment of the moral constitution of society.’⁴ Elsewhere⁵ Becker uses the same analysis to deal with the evolution of social problems as a whole. The field of collective behaviour provides another relevant orientation to the study of moral panics. There are detailed accounts of cases of mass hysteria, delusion and panics, and also a body of studies on how societies cope with the sudden threat or disorder caused by physical disasters.

The study of social types can also be located in the field of collective behaviour, not so much though in such ‘extreme’ forms as riots or crowds, but in the general orientation to this field by the symbolic interactionists such as Blumer and Turner.⁶ In this line of theory, explicit attention has been paid to social types by Klapp,⁷ but although he considers how such types as the hero, the villain and the fool serve as role models for a society, his main concern seems to be in classifying the various sub-types within these groups (for example, the renegade, the parasite, the corrupter, as villain roles) and listing names of those persons Americans see as exemplifying these roles. He does not consider how such typing occurs in the first place and he is preoccupied with showing his approval for the processes by which social consensus is facilitated by identifying with the hero types and hating the villain types.

The major contribution to the study of the social typing process itself comes from the interactionist or transactional approach to deviance. The focus here is on how society labels rule-breakers as belonging to certain deviant groups and how, once the person is thus type cast, his acts are interpreted in terms of the status to which he has been assigned. It is to this body of theory that we must turn for our major orientation to the study of both moral panics and social types.

The Transactional Approach to Deviance

The sociological study of crime, delinquency, drug-taking, mental illness and other forms of socially deviant or problematic behaviour has, in the last decade, undergone a radical reorientation. This reorientation is part of what might be called the *sceptical* revolution in criminology and the sociology of deviance.⁸ The older tradition was *canonical* in the sense that it saw the concepts it worked

with as authoritative, standard, accepted, given and unquestionable. The new tradition is sceptical in the sense that when it sees terms like 'deviant', it asks 'deviant to whom?' or 'deviant from what?'; when told that something is a social problem, it asks 'problematic to whom?'; when certain conditions or behaviour are described as dysfunctional, embarrassing, threatening or dangerous, it asks 'says who?' and 'why?'. In other words, these concepts and descriptions are not assumed to have a taken-for-granted status.

The empirical existence of forms of behaviour labelled as deviant and the fact that persons might consciously and intentionally decide to be deviant, should not lead us to assume that deviance is the intrinsic property of an act nor a quality possessed by an actor. Becker's formulation on the transactional nature of deviance has now been quoted verbatim so often that it has virtually acquired its own canonical status:

... deviance is created by society. I do not mean this in the way that it is ordinarily understood, in which the causes of deviance are located in the social situation of the deviant or in 'social factors' which prompt his action. I mean, rather, that *social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance* and by applying those rules to particular persons and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is *not* a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.⁹

What this means is that the student of deviance must question and not take for granted the labelling by society or certain powerful groups in society of certain behaviour as deviant or problematic. The transactionalists' importance has been not simply to restate the sociological truism that the judgement of deviance is ultimately one that is relative to a particular group, but in trying to spell out the implication of this for research and theory. They have suggested that in addition to the stock set of *behavioural* questions which the public asks about deviance and which the researcher obligingly tries to answer (why did they do it? what sort of people are they? how do we stop them doing it again?) there are at least three *definitional* questions: why does a particular rule, the infraction of which constitutes deviance, exist at all? What are the processes and procedures involved in identifying someone as a deviant and applying the rule to him? What are the effects and consequences of this application, both for society and the individual?

Sceptical theorists have been misinterpreted as going only so far as putting these definitional questions and moreover as implying that the behavioural questions are unimportant. While it is true that they have pointed to the dead ends which the behavioural questions have reached (do we really know what distinguishes a deviant from a non-deviant?), what they say has positive implications for studying these questions as well. Thus, they see deviance in terms of a process of becoming – movements of doubt, commitment, sidetracking, guilt – rather than the possession of fixed traits and characteristics. This is true even for those forms of deviance usually seen to be most 'locked in' the person: 'No one,' as Laing says, 'has schizophrenia like having a cold.'¹⁰ The meaning and interpretation which the deviant gives to his own acts are seen as crucial and so is the fact that these actions are often similar to socially approved forms of behaviour.¹¹

The transactional perspective does not imply that innocent persons are arbitrarily selected to play deviant roles or that harmless conditions are wilfully inflated into social problems. Nor does it imply that a person labelled as deviant has to accept this identity: being caught and publicly labelled is just one crucial contingency which *may* stabilize a deviant career and sustain it over time. Much of the work of these writers has been concerned with the problematic nature of societal response to deviance and the way such responses affect the behaviour. This may be studied at a face-to-face level (for example, what effect does it have on a pupil to be told by his teacher that he is a 'yob who should never be at a decent school like this?') or at a broader societal level (for example, how is the 'drug problem' actually created and shaped by particular social and legal policies?).

The most unequivocal attempt to understand the nature and effect of the societal reaction to deviance is to be found in the writings of Lemert.¹² He makes an important distinction, for example, between primary and secondary deviation. Primary deviation – which may arise from a variety of causes – refers to behaviour which, although it may be troublesome to the individual, does not produce symbolic reorganization at the level of self-conception. Secondary deviation occurs when the individual employs his deviance, or a role based upon it, as a means of defence, attack or adjustment to the problems created by the societal reaction to it. The societal reaction is thus conceived as the 'effective' rather than 'original' cause of deviance: deviance becomes significant when it is subjectively shaped into an active role which becomes the basis for assigning social status. Primary deviation has only marginal implications for social status and self-conception as long as it remains symptomatic, situational, rationalized or in some way 'normalized' as an acceptable and normal variation.

Lemert was very much aware that the transition from primary to secondary deviation was a complicated process. Why the societal reaction occurs and what form it takes are dependent on factors such as the amount and visibility of the deviance, while the effect of the reaction is dependent on numerous contingencies and is itself only one contingency in the development of a deviant career. Thus the link between the reaction and the individual's incorporation of this into his self-identity is by no means inevitable; the deviant label, in other words, does not always 'take'. The individual might be able to ignore or rationalize the label or only pretend to comply. This type of face-to-face sequence, though, is just one part of the picture: more important are the symbolic and unintended consequences of social control as a whole. Deviance in a sense emerges and is stabilized as an artefact of social control; because of this, Lemert can state that '... older sociology tended to rest heavily upon the idea that deviance leads to social control. I have come to believe that the reverse idea, i.e. social control leads to deviance, is equally tenable and the potentially richer premise for studying deviance in modern society.'¹³

It is partly towards showing the tenability and richness of this premise that this book is directed. My emphasis though, is more on the logically prior task of analysing the nature of a particular set of reactions rather than demonstrating conclusively what their effects might have been. How were the Mods and Rockers identified, labelled and controlled? What stages or processes did this reaction go through? Why did the reaction take its particular forms? What – to use Lemert's words again – were the 'mythologies, stigma, stereotypes, patterns of exploitation, accommodation, segregation and methods of control (which) spring up and crystallize in the interaction between the deviants and the rest of society'?¹⁴

There are many strategies – not mutually incompatible – for studying such reactions. One might take a sample of public opinion and survey its attitudes to the particular form of deviance in question. One might record reactions in a face-to-face context; for example, how persons respond to what they see as homosexual advances.¹⁵ One might study the operations and beliefs of particular control agencies such as the police or the courts. Or, drawing on all these sources, one might construct an ethnography and history of reactions to a particular condition or form of behaviour. This is particularly suitable for forms of deviance or problems seen as new, sensational or in some other way particularly threatening. Thus 'crime waves' in seventeenth century Massachusetts,¹⁶ marijuana smoking in America during the 1930s,¹⁷ the Teddy Boy phenomenon in Britain during the 1950s¹⁸ and drug-taking in the Notting Hill area of London during the 1960s¹⁹ have all been studied in this way. These

reactions were all associated with some form of moral panic and it is in the tradition of studies such as these that the Mods and Rockers will be considered. Before introducing this particular case, however, I want to justify concentrating on one especially important carrier and producer of moral panics, namely, the mass media.

Deviance and the Mass Media

A crucial dimension for understanding the reaction to deviance both by the public as a whole and by agents of social control, is the nature of the information that is received about the behaviour in question. Each society possesses a set of ideas about what causes deviation – is it due, say, to sickness or to wilful perversity? – and a set of images of who constitutes the typical deviant – is he an innocent lad being led astray, or is he a psychopathic thug? – and these conceptions shape what is done about the behaviour. In industrial societies, the body of information from which such ideas are built, is invariably received at second hand. That is, it arrives already processed by the mass media and this means that the information has been subject to alternative definitions of what constitutes 'news' and how it should be gathered and presented. The information is further structured by the various commercial and political constraints in which newspapers, radio and television operate.

The student of moral enterprise cannot but pay particular attention to the role of the mass media in defining and shaping social problems. The media have long operated as agents of moral indignation in their own right: even if they are not self-consciously engaged in crusading or muck-raking, their very reporting of certain 'facts' can be sufficient to generate concern, anxiety, indignation or panic. When such feelings coincide with a perception that particular values need to be protected, the preconditions for new rule creation or social problem definition are present. Of course, the outcome might not be as definite as the actual creation of new rules or the more rigid enforcement of existing ones. What might result is the sort of symbolic process which Gusfield describes in his conception of 'moral passage': there is a change in the public designation of deviance.²⁰ In his example, the problem drinker changes from 'repentant' to 'enemy' to 'sick'. Something like the opposite might be happening in the public designation of producers and consumers of pornography: they have changed from isolated, pathetic – if not sick – creatures in grubby macks to groups of ruthless exploiters out to undermine the nation's morals.

Less concretely, the media might leave behind a diffuse feeling of anxiety about the situation: 'something should be done about it', 'where will it end?'

or 'this sort of thing can't go on for ever'. Such vague feelings are crucial in laying the ground for further enterprise, and Young has shown how, in the case of drug-taking, the media play on the normative concerns of the public and by thrusting certain moral directives into the universe of discourse, can create social problems suddenly and dramatically.²¹ This potential is consciously exploited by those whom Becker calls 'moral entrepreneurs' to aid them in their attempt to win public support.

The mass media, in fact, devote a great deal of space to deviance: sensational crimes, scandals, bizarre happenings and strange goings on. The more dramatic confrontations between deviance and control in manhunts, trials and punishments are recurring objects of attention. As Erikson notes, 'a considerable portion of what we call "news" is devoted to reports about deviant behaviour and its consequences'.²² This is not just for entertainment or to fulfil some psychological need for either identification or vicarious punishment. Such 'news' as Erikson and others have argued, is a main source of information about the normative contours of a society. It informs us about right and wrong, about the boundaries beyond which one should not venture and about the shapes that the devil can assume. The gallery of folk types – heroes and saints, as well as fools, villains and devils – is publicized not just in oral-tradition and face-to-face contact but to much larger audiences and with much greater dramatic resources.

Much of this study will be devoted to understanding the role of the mass media in creating moral panics and folk devils. A potentially useful link between these two notions – and one that places central stress on the mass media – is the process of deviation amplification as described by Wilkins.²³ The key variable in this attempt to understand how the societal reaction may in fact *increase* rather than decrease or keep in check the amount of deviance, is the nature of the information about deviance. As I pointed out earlier, this information characteristically is not received at first hand, it tends to be processed in such a form that the action or actors concerned are pictured in a highly stereotypical way. We react to an episode of, say, sexual deviance, drug-taking or violence in terms of our information about that particular class of phenomenon (how typical is it), our tolerance level for that type of behaviour and our direct experience – which in a segregated urban society is often nil. Wilkins describes – in highly mechanistic language derived from cybernetic theory – a typical reaction sequence which might take place at this point, one which has a spiralling or snowballing effect.

An initial act of deviance, or normative diversity (for example, in dress) is defined as being worthy of attention and is responded to punitively. The deviant

or group of deviants is segregated or isolated and this operates to alienate them from conventional society. They perceive themselves as more deviant, group themselves with others in a similar position, and this leads to more deviance. This, in turn, exposes the group to further punitive sanctions and other forceful action by the conformists – and the system starts going round again. There is no assumption in this model that amplification *has* to occur: in the same way – as I pointed out earlier – that there is no automatic transition from primary to secondary deviation or to the incorporation of deviant labels. The system or the actor can and does react in quite opposite directions. What one is merely drawing attention to is a set of sequential typifications: under X conditions, A will be followed by A1, A2, etc. All these links have to be explained – as Wilkins does not do – in terms of other generalizations. For example, it is more likely that if the deviant group is vulnerable and its actions highly visible, it will be forced to take on its identities from structurally and ideologically more powerful groups. Such generalizations and an attempt to specify various specialized modes of amplification or alternatives to the process have been spelt out by Young²⁴ in the case of drug-taking. I intend using this model here simply as one viable way in which the 'social control leads to deviation' chain can be conceptualized and also because of its particular emphasis upon the 'information about deviance' variable and its dependence on the mass media.

The Case of the Mods and Rockers

I have already given some indication of the general framework which I think suitable for the study of moral panics and folk devils. Further perspectives suggest themselves because of the special characteristics of the Mods and Rockers phenomenon, as compared with, say, the rise of student militancy or the appearance of underground newspaper editors on obscenity charges. The first and most obvious one derives from the literature on subcultural delinquency. This would provide the structural setting for explaining the Mods and Rockers phenomenon as a form of adolescent deviance among working-class youth in Britain. Downes's variant of subcultural theory is most relevant and I would substantially agree with his remarks (in the preface of his book) about the Mods and Rockers events intervening between writing and the book going to press: 'No mention is made of these occurrences in what follows, largely because – in the absence of evidence to the contrary – I take them to corroborate, rather than negate, the main sociological argument of the book.'²⁵ At various points in these chapters, the relevance of subcultural theory will be

commented on, although my stress on the definitional rather than behavioural questions precludes an extended analysis along these lines.

Another less obvious orientation derives from the field of collective behaviour. I have already suggested that social types can be seen as the products of the same processes that go into the creation of symbolic collective styles in fashion, dress and public identities. The Mods and Rockers, though, were initially registered in the public consciousness not just as the appearance of new social types, but as actors in a particular episode of collective behaviour. The phenomenon took its subsequent shape in terms of these episodes: the regular series of disturbances which took place at English seaside resorts between 1964 and 1966. The public image of these folk devils was invariably tied up to a number of highly visual scenarios associated with their appearance: youths chasing across the beach, brandishing deckchairs over their heads, running along the pavements, riding on scooters or bikes down the streets, sleeping on the beaches and so on.

Each of these episodes – as I will describe – contained all the elements of the classic crowd situation which has long been the prototype for the study of collective behaviour. Crowds, riots, mobs and disturbances on occasions ranging from pop concerts to political demonstrations have all been seen in a similar way to *The Crowd* described by Le Bon in 1896. Later formulations by Tarde, Freud, McDougall and F. H. Allport made little lasting contribution and often just elaborated on Le Bon's contagion hypothesis. A more useful recent theory – for all its deficiencies from a sociological viewpoint – is Smelser's 'value added schema'.²⁶ In the sequence he suggests, each of the following determinants of collective behaviour must appear: (i) structural conduciveness; (ii) structural strain; (iii) growth and spread of a generalized belief; (iv) precipitating factors; (v) mobilization of the participants for action; (vi) operation of social control.

Structural conduciveness creates conditions of permissiveness under which collective behaviour is seen as legitimate. Together with structural strain (e.g. economic deprivation, population invasion) this factor creates the opening for race riots, sects, panics and other examples of collective behaviour. In the case of the Mods and Rockers, conduciveness and strain correspond to the structural sources of strain posited in subcultural theory: anomie, status frustration, blocked leisure opportunities and so on. The growth and spread of a generalized belief is important because the situation of strain must be made meaningful to the potential participants. For the most part these generalized beliefs are spread through the mass media. I have already indicated the importance of media imagery for studying deviance as a whole; in dealing

with crowd behaviour, this importance is heightened because of the ways in which such phenomena develop and spread. As will be shown, sociological and social psychological work on mass hysteria, delusions and rumours are of direct relevance here.

Precipitating factors are specific events which might confirm a generalized belief, initiate strain or redefine conduciveness. Like the other factors in Smelser's schema, it is not a determinant of anything in itself – for example, a fight will not start a race riot unless it occurs in or is interpreted as an 'explosive situation'. While not spelling out in detail the precipitating factors in the Mods and Rockers events, I will show how the social reaction contributed to the definition and creation of these factors. Mobilization of participants for action again refers to a sequence present in the Mods and Rockers events which will only be dealt with in terms of the other determinants.

It is Smelser's sixth determinant – the operation of social control – which, together with the generalized belief factors, will concern us most. This factor, which 'in certain respects . . . arches over all others'²⁷ refers to the counter forces set up by society to prevent and inhibit the previous determinants: 'Once an episode of collective behaviour has appeared, its duration and severity are determined by the response of the agencies of social control.'²⁸ So from a somewhat different theoretical perspective – Parsonian functionalism – Smelser attaches the same crucial importance to the social control factors stressed in the transactional model.

A special – and at first sight somewhat esoteric – area of collective behaviour which is of peculiar relevance, is the field known as 'disaster research'.²⁹ This consists of a body of findings about the social and psychological impact of disasters, particularly physical disasters such as hurricanes, tornadoes and floods but also man-made disasters such as bombing attacks. Theoretical models have also been produced, and Merton argues that the study of disasters can extend sociological theory beyond the confines of the immediate subject-matter. Disaster situations can be looked at as strategic research sites for theory-building: 'Conditions of collective stress bring out in bold relief aspects of social systems that are not as readily visible in the stressful conditions of everyday life.'³⁰ The value of disaster studies is that by compressing social processes into a brief time span, a disaster makes usually private behaviour, public and immediate and therefore more amenable to study.³¹

I came across the writings in this field towards the end of carrying out the Mods and Rockers research and was immediately struck by the parallels between what I was then beginning to think of as 'moral panics' and the reactions to physical disasters. Disaster researchers have constructed one of

the few models in sociology for considering the reaction of the social system to something stressful, disturbing or threatening. The happenings at Brighton, Clacton or Margate clearly were not disasters in the same category of events as earthquakes or floods; the differences are too obvious to have to spell out. Nevertheless, there *were* resemblances, and definitions of 'disaster' are so inconsistent and broad, that the Mods and Rockers events could almost fit them. Elements in such definitions include: whole or part of a community must be affected, a large segment of the community must be confronted with actual or potential danger, there must be loss of cherished values and material objects resulting in death or injury or destruction to property.

In addition, many workers in the field claim that research should not be restricted to actual disasters — a potential disaster may be just as disruptive as the actual event. Studies of reactions to hoaxes and false alarms show disaster behaviour in the absence of objective danger. More important, as will be shown in detail, a large segment of the community reacted to the Mods and Rockers events as if a disaster had occurred: 'It is the perception of threat and not its actual existence that is important.'³²

The work of disaster researchers that struck me as most useful when I got to the stage of writing up my own material on the Mods and Rockers was the sequential model that they have developed to describe the phases of a typical disaster. The following is the sort of sequence that has been distinguished:³³

1. *Warning*: during which arises, mistakenly or not, some apprehensions based on conditions out of which danger may arise. The warning must be coded to be understood and impressive enough to overcome resistance to the belief that current tranquillity can be upset.
2. *Threat*: during which people are exposed to communication from others, or to signs from the approaching disaster itself indicating specific imminent danger. This phase begins with the perception of some change, but as with the first phase, may be absent or truncated in the case of sudden disaster.
3. *Impact*: during which the disaster strikes and the immediate unorganized response to the death, injury or destruction takes place.
4. *Inventory*: during which those exposed to the disaster begin to form a preliminary picture of what has happened and of their own condition.
5. *Rescue*: during which the activities are geared to immediate help for the survivors. As well as people in the impact area helping each other, the suprasystem begins to send aid.
6. *Remedy*: during which more deliberate and formal activities are undertaken towards relieving the affected. The suprasystem takes over the functions the emergency system cannot perform.

7. *Recovery*: during which, for an extended period, the community either recovers its former equilibrium or achieves a stable adaptation to the changes which the disaster may have brought about.

Some of these stages have no exact parallels in the Mods and Rockers case, but a condensed version of this sequence (*Warning* to cover phases 1 and 2; then *Impact*; then *Inventory*; and *Reaction* to cover phases 5, 6 and 7) provides a useful analogue. If one compares this to deviancy models such as amplification, there are obvious and crucial differences. For disasters, the sequence has been empirically established; in the various attempts to conceptualize the reactions to deviance this is by no means the case. In addition, the transitions within the amplification model or from primary to secondary deviation are supposed to be consequential (i.e. causal) and not merely sequential. In disaster research, moreover, it has been shown how the form each phase takes is affected by the characteristics of the previous stage: thus, the scale of the remedy operation is affected by the degree of identification with the victim. This sort of uniformity has not been shown in deviance.

The nature of the reaction to the event is important in different ways. In the case of disaster, the social system responds in order to help the victims and to evolve methods to mitigate the effects of further disasters (e.g. by early warning systems). The disaster itself occurs independently of this reaction. In regard to deviance, however, the reaction is seen as partly causative. The on-the-spot reaction to an act determines whether it is classified as deviant at all, and the way in which the act is reported and labelled also determines the form of the subsequent deviation; this is not the case with a disaster. To express the difference in another way, while the disaster sequence is linear and constant — in each disaster the warning is followed by the impact which is followed by the reaction — deviance models are circular and amplifying: the impact (deviance) is followed by a reaction which has the effect of increasing the subsequent warning and impact, setting up a feedback system. It is precisely because the Mods and Rockers phenomenon was both a generalized type of deviance and also manifested itself as a series of discrete events, that both models are relevant. While a single event can be meaningfully described in terms of the disaster analogue (warning–impact–reaction), each event can be seen as creating the potential for a reaction which, among other possible consequences, might cause further acts of deviance.

Let me now return to the original aims of the study and conclude this introductory chapter by outlining the plan of the book. My focus is on the genesis and development of the moral panic and social typing associated with

the Mods and Rockers phenomenon. In transactional terminology: what was the nature and effect of the societal reaction to this particular form of deviance? This entails looking at the ways in which the behaviour was perceived and conceptualized, whether there was a unitary or a divergent set of images, the modes through which these images were transmitted and the ways in which agents of social control reacted. The behavioural questions (how did the Mods and Rockers styles emerge? Why did some young people more or less identified with these groups behave in the way they did?) will be considered, but they are the background questions. The variable of societal reaction is the focus of attention.

Very few studies have been made with this focus and the term 'reaction' has become reified, covering a wide range of interpretations. Does 'reaction' mean what is *done* about the deviance in question, or merely what is *thought* about it? And how does one study something as nebulous as this, when the 'thing' being reacted to covers juvenile delinquency, a manifestation of youth culture, a social type and a series of specific events? Using criteria determined by my theoretical interests rather than by how concepts can best be 'operationalized', I decided to study reaction at three levels, in each case using a range of possible sources. The first was the initial on-the-spot reaction, which I studied mainly through observation, participant observation and the type of informal interviewing used in community studies. The second was the organized reaction of the system of social control, information about which I obtained from observation, interviews and the analysis of published material. The third level was the transmission and diffusion of the reaction in the mass media. A detailed description of the research methods and sources of material is given in the Appendix.

To remain faithful to the theoretical orientation of the study, my argument will be presented in terms of a typical reaction sequence. That is to say, instead of describing the deviation in some detail and then considering the reaction, I will start off with the minimum possible account of the deviation, then deal with the reaction and then, finally, return to consider the interplay between deviation and reaction. In terms of the disaster analogue this means starting off with the inventory, moving on to other phases of the reaction and then returning to the warning and impact. The book divides into three parts: the first (and major) part traces the development and reverberation of the societal reaction, particularly as reflected in the mass media and the actions of the organized system of social control. This consists of three chapters: the *Inventory*; the *Opinion and Attitude Themes* and the *Rescue and Remedy Phases*. The second part of the book looks at the effects of the reaction and the third

locates the growth of the folk devils and the moral panic in historical and structural terms.

Organizing the book in this way means that in the first part, the Mods and Rockers are hardly going to appear as 'real, live people' at all. They will be seen through the eyes of the societal reaction and in this reaction they tend to appear as disembodied objects, Rorschach blots on to which reactions are projected. In using this type of presentation, I do not want to imply that these reactions — although they do involve elements of fantasy and selective misperception — are irrational nor that the Mods and Rockers were not real people, with particular structural origins, values, aims and interests. Neither were they creatures pushed and pulled by the forces of the societal reaction without being able to react back. I am presenting the argument in this way for effect, only allowing the Mods and Rockers to come to life when their supposed identities had been presented for public consumption.

themselves attracted by the publicity – they would not be defined as commercial assets – many adults as well came down to watch the fun. I was often asked, on the way down from Brighton station, ‘Where are the Mods and Rockers today?’, and near the beaches, parents could be seen holding children on their shoulders to get a better view of the proceedings. In an interview with a reporter during which I was present, a man said, ‘My wife and I came down with our son (aged 18) to see what all this fun is at the seaside on Bank Holidays’ (*Evening Argus*, 30 May 1964). By 1965 the happenings were part of the scene – the pier, the whelks, the Mods and Rockers could all be taken in on a day trip.

Prediction

There is another element in the inventory which needs to be discussed separately because it assumes a special importance in later stages. This is the implicit assumption, present in virtually every report, that what had happened was inevitably going to happen again. Few assumed that the events were transient occurrences; the only questions were where the Mods and Rockers would strike next and what could be done about it. As will be suggested, these predictions played the role of the classical self-fulfilling prophecy. Unlike the case of natural disasters where the absence of predictions can be disastrous, with social phenomena such as deviance, it is the presence of predictions that can be ‘disastrous’.

The predictions in the inventory period took the form of reported statements from local figures such as tradesmen, councillors and police spokesmen about what should be done ‘next time’ or of immediate precautions they had taken. More important, youths were asked in TV interviews about their plans for the next Bank Holiday and interviews were printed with either a Mod or a Rocker threatening revenge ‘next time’. The following are extracts from two such interviews: ‘Southend and places won’t let us in any more. It will get difficult here and so next year we’ll probably go to Ramsgate or Hastings’ (*Daily Express*, 30 March 1964). ‘It could have been better – the weather spoiled it a bit. Wait until next Whitsun. Now that will be a real giggle’ (*Daily Mirror*, 31 March 1964).

Where predictions were not fulfilled, a story could still be found by reporting non-events. So, for example, when attention was switched to East Anglian resorts in 1966, the *East Anglian Daily Times* (30 May 1966) headed a report on a play attended by a group of long-haired youths ‘Fears When Ton-up Boys Walked in Groundless’. Reporters and photographers were often sent

on the basis of false tip-offs to events that did not materialize. In Whitsun 1965, a *Daily Mirror* report from Hastings, where nothing at all happened, was headed ‘Hastings – Without Them’. In Whitsun 1966 there was a report (*Daily Mirror*, 30 May 1966) on how policemen on a ‘Mods and Rockers patrol’ in Clacton could only use their specially provided walkie-talkies to help two lost little boys. Again, headlines often created the impression that something had happened: the *Evening Argus* (30 May 1966) used the subheading ‘Violence’ to report that ‘in Brighton there was no violence in spite of the crowds of teenagers on the beach’.

These non-event stories and other distortions springing from the prediction theme, are part of the broader tendency which I will discuss later whereby discrepancies between expectations and reality are resolved by emphasizing those new elements which confirm expectations and playing down those which are contradictory. Commenting on this tendency in their analysis of the media coverage of the October 1968 Vietnam war demonstrations, Halloran *et al.*¹³ draw attention to a technique often employed in the Mods and Rockers inventory, ‘. . . a phrase or sentence describing in highly emotive terms either the expectation of violence or an isolated incident of violence, is followed by a completely contradictory sentence describing the actual situation’.

The cumulative effect of such reports was to establish predictions whose truth was guaranteed by the way in which the event, non-event or pseudo-event it referred to was reported.

Symbolization

Communication, and especially the mass communication of stereotypes, depends on the symbolic power of words and images. Neutral words such as place-names can be made to symbolize complex ideas and emotions; for example, Pearl Harbor, Hiroshima, Dallas and Aberfan. A similar process occurred in the Mods and Rockers inventory: these words themselves and a word such as ‘Clacton’ acquired symbolic powers. It became meaningful to say ‘we don’t want another Clacton here’ or ‘you can see he’s one of those Mod types’.

There appear to be three processes in such symbolization: a word (Mod) becomes symbolic of a certain status (delinquent or deviant); objects (hairstyle, clothing) symbolize the word; the objects themselves become symbolic of the status (and the emotions attached to the status). The cumulative effect of these three processes as they appeared in the inventory was that the terms Mods and Rockers were torn from any previously neutral contexts (for example, the

denotation of different consumer styles) and acquired wholly negative meanings. The identical effect is described by Turner and Surace¹⁴ in their classic study of the Zoot Suit riots* and by Rock and myself in tracing how the Edwardian dress style became transformed into the Teddy Boy folk devil.¹⁵

In their case study, Turner and Surace refer to this process as the creation of 'unambiguously unfavourable symbols'. Newspaper headlines and interpersonal communication following the initial incidents in Los Angeles, reiterated the phobia and hatred towards Mexican American youth. References to this group were made in such a way as to strip key symbols (differences in fashion, life style and entertainment) from their favourable or neutral connotations until they came to evoke unambiguously unfavourable feelings. Content analysis showed a switch in the references to Mexicans to the 'Zooter theme', which identified this particular clothing style as the 'badge of delinquency' and coupled such references with mention of zoot-suiter attacks and orgies. Invariably the zooter was identified with the generalized Mexican group. In the same way, the Mod and Rocker status traits were, in later stages of the reaction, to wash off on the generalized adolescent group. Their 'badge of delinquency' emerged as symbols, such as the fur-collared anorak and the scooter, which became sufficient in themselves to stimulate hostile and punitive reactions.†

Symbols and labels eventually acquire their own descriptive and explanatory potential. Thus – to take examples from an earlier folk devil – the label 'Teddy Boy' became a general term of abuse (for example, John Osborne being described as 'an intellectual Teddy Boy'); the devil was seen as a distinct type of personality (drugs were announced to soothe Teddy Boys and make them co-operative for treatment, statements made such as 'some of these soldiers here are just Teddy Boys in army uniform') and the symbols were seen as changing the person ('he was never in trouble before he bought an Edwardian suit'; 'since my son bought this thing a year ago his personality has changed').

* These riots took place in Los Angeles in 1943. Sailors indiscriminately beat up Mexicans and the 'zoot suit' – the long coat and trousers pegged at the cuffs worn by boys with long, greased hair – became the symbol around which the rioters rallied. In the decade preceding the riots, the treatment of Mexicans in the media gradually became less favourable and the concept of 'zoot-suiter' had been built up as a negative symbol, associated with all sorts of crime and deviance. See Turner and Surace.

† During the inventory period, scooter owners and manufacturers frequently complained about the bad publicity that they were getting. After Clacton, the general secretaries of the Vespa and Lambretta Scooter Clubs issued a statement dissociating their clubs from the disturbances.

Such symbolization is partly the consequence of the same standard mass communication processes which give rise to exaggeration and distortion. Thus, for example, misleading and inappropriate headlines were used to create unambiguously negative symbols where the actual event did not warrant this at all or at least was ambiguous. Accounts of certain events in Whitsun 1964, for example, were coupled with a report of a 'Mod' falling to his death from a cliff outside Brighton. Similarly, in August 1964 there were headlines 'Mod Dead In Sea'. In neither case had these deaths anything to do with the disturbances; they were both pure accidents. A reading of the headlines only, or of early reports not mentioning police statements about the accidents, might have led to a misleading connection. This sort of effect reached its bizarre heights in a headline in the *Dublin Evening Press* (18 May 1964) 'Terror Comes to English Resorts. Mutilated Mod Dead In Park'. The 'mutilated Mod' was, in fact, a man between 21 and 25 wearing a 'mod jacket' (?) who was found stabbed on the Saturday morning (the day *before* the incidents at the resorts) in a Birmingham park.*

Another highly effective technique of symbolization was the use of dramatized and ritualistic interviews with 'representative members' of either group. The *Daily Mirror* (31 March 1964) had 'Mick The Wild One' on 'Why I Hurlled That Chisel' and another boy who said, 'I take pep pills. Everybody does here.' The *Daily Herald* (18 May 1964) quoted one boy clutching his injured head as the police bundled him into a van saying, 'Carry on with the plan'; another said, 'We're not through yet. We're here for the holiday and we're staying. Margate will wish it was Clacton when we're finished.' The *Evening Standard* (19 May 1964) found 'The Baron' who hated 'Mods and Wogs' and said, 'I like fighting . . . I have been fighting all my life.' The *Daily Mirror* (8 May 1964) found a new angle with 'The Girls Who Follow The Wild Ones Into Battle' and who said about fighting: '. . . it gives you a kick, a thrill, it makes you feel all funny inside. You get butterflies in your stomach and you want the boys to go on and on . . . It's hard luck on the people who get in their way, but you can't do anything about that.'

It is difficult to establish how authentic these interviews are. In some cases they ring so patently absurd a note that they cannot be an accurate transcription of what was actually said; the *Daily Telegraph* (31 March 1964), for example,

* Newspapers farthest away from the source invariably carried the greatest distortions and inaccuracies. The *Glasgow Daily Record and Mail* (20 May 1964), for example, described Mods as being dressed in short-jacketed suits, with bell bottoms, high boots, bowler or top hats and carrying rolled-up umbrellas.

carried an interview with a Rocker who said, 'We are known as the Rockers and are much more with it.' If any group had a 'with-it' self-image and would even contemplate using such a term, it certainly was not the Rockers. It would be fair to describe these interviews and reports as being composite, not necessarily in the sense of being wilfully faked, but as being influenced by the reporter's (or sub-editor's) conception of how anyone labelled as a thug or a hooligan *should* speak, dress and act. This effect may have occasionally been heightened by a certain gullibility about the fantasies of self-styled gang leaders.¹⁶

Through symbolization, plus the other types of exaggeration and distortion, images are made much sharper than reality. There is no reason to assume that photographs or television reports are any more 'objective'. In a study of the different perceptions experienced by TV viewers and on-the-spot spectators of another crowd situation (MacArthur Day in Chicago), it was shown how the reporting was distorted by the selection of items to fit into already existing expectations.¹⁷ A sharpening up process occurs, producing emotionally toned symbols which eventually acquire their own momentum. Thus the dissemination of overwhelming public support in favour of MacArthur '... gathered force as it was incorporated into political strategy, picked up by other media, entered into gossip and thus came to overshadow immediate reality as it might have been recorded by an observer on the scene'.¹⁸

In this study, observers recorded how their expectations of political enthusiasm and wild mass involvement were completely unfulfilled. Through close-ups and a particular style of commentary ('the most enthusiastic crowd ever in our city... you can feel the tenseness in the air... you can hear the crowd roar') television structured the whole event to convey emotions non-existent to the participants. This effect explains why many spectators at the Mods and Rockers events found them a slight let-down after the mass media publicity. As Boorstin remarks in discussing the effects of television and colour photography: 'Verisimilitude took on a new meaning... The Grand Canyon itself became a disappointing reproduction of the Kodachrome original.'¹⁹

The Inventory as Manufactured News

The cumulative effects of the inventory can be summarized as follows: (i) the putative deviation had been assigned from which further stereotyping, myth making and labelling could proceed; (ii) the expectation was created that this form of deviation would certainly recur; (iii) a wholly negative symbolization in regard to the Mods and Rockers and objects associated with them had been

created; (iv) all the elements in the situation had been made clear enough to allow for full-scale demonology and hagiology to develop: the information had been made available for placing the Mods and Rockers in the gallery of contemporary folk devils.

Why do these sorts of inventories result? Are they in any sense 'inevitable'? What are the reasons for bias, exaggeration and distortion? To make sense of questions such as these, one must understand that the inventory is not, of course, a simple sort of stock-taking into which some errors might accidentally creep from time to time. Built into the very nature of deviance, inventories in modern society are elements of fantasy, selective misperception and the deliberate creation of news. The inventory is not reflective stock-taking but manufactured news.

Before pursuing this notion, let me mention some of the more 'genuine' errors. On one level, much exaggeration and distortion arose simply from the ambiguous and confused nature of the situation. It is notoriously difficult in a crowd setting to estimate the numbers present and some of the over-estimates were probably no more than would have occurred after events such as political demonstrations, religious rallies, pop concerts or sporting fixtures. The confusion was heightened by the presence of so many reporters and photographers: their very presence could be interpreted as 'evidence' that something massive and important was happening.

As I will show when analysing the setting in more detail, it was a problem for everyone present — police, spectators, participants, newsmen — to actually know what was happening at any one time. In such situations, the gullibility effect is less significant than a general susceptibility to all sorts of rumours. Clark and Barker's case study of a participant in a race riot shows this effect very clearly,²⁰ and in disaster research prospective interviewees are warned, 'People who have discussed their experiences with others in the community can rapidly assimilate inaccurate versions of the disaster. These group versions may quickly come to be accepted by a large segment of the population.'²¹

Important as such errors may be in the short run, they cannot explain the more intrinsic features of deviance inventories: processes such as symbolization and prediction, the direction of the distortions rather than the simple fact of their occurrence, the decision to report the deviance in the first place and to continue to report it in a particular way. Studies of moral panics associated with the Mods and Rockers and other forms of deviance, as well as detailed research on the mass communication process itself (such as that by Halloran and his colleagues) indicate that two interrelated factors determine the presentation of deviance inventories: the first is the institutionalized need to create

quoting rumours about resorts armour plating their deckchairs and insurance companies offering policies to the resorts to cover them against losses incurred through Mods and Rockers as well as normal storm damage. But it was clear throughout that it was not only property that was being threatened, but 'all the conventions and values of life'. As the *Birmingham Post* (19 May 1964) put it, drawing on Churchill's 'We will fight them on the beaches' speech: the external enemies of 1940 had been replaced on our own shores in 1964 by internal enemies who 'bring about disintegration of a nation's character'.

In the same way as most disasters are determined by impersonal, inexorable forces against which human action has little effect, an irrational, unreachable element was seen in the Mods' and Rockers' behaviour. A widely quoted article in *Police Review* spoke about the 'frightening' realization that when law and order – which is based on nothing more than individual restraint – is loosened, 'violence can surge and flame like a forest fire'. It could be compared with the football riot in Peru: 'a disallowed goal and over 300 dead before sanity could be restored. Clacton, Margate and Lima have one element in common – restraint normal to civilised society was thrown aside.'⁸ This orientation to crowd behaviour is identical to Le Bon's original conception of the mob as possessing the irrationality and ferocity of primitive beings.

Reaction from abroad sounded even more like reaction to a disaster. Italian papers forecast a tourist rush from English holidaymakers scared to go to their own resorts. At least two English MPs returned prematurely from Continental holidays to survey the damage in their stricken constituencies. The Chairman of the Clacton UDC had phone calls from Paris and Washington asking about conditions in the town.

Prophecy of Doom – As a result of the prediction element in the inventory, the deviance was not only magnified, but seen as certain to recur and, moreover, likely to get worse. The tone of some opinion statements was that of Old Testament prophets predicting certain doom and then following with exhortations about what could be done to avert the doom. So, after Whitsun, 1964, Mr Harold Gurden, MP, who had before the event successfully moved a resolution calling for intensified measures to control hooliganism, stated: 'The latest incidents reinforce what I said and the warning I gave. This thing has got worse and will get worse until we take some steps' (*The Times*, 20 May 1964).

Besides conforming to self-fulfilling prophecies, such statements illustrate Becker's point about the unique dilemma of the moral entrepreneur who has to defend the success of his methods and at the same time contend that the problem is getting worse.⁹

It's Not So Much What Happened – A variant of the previous two themes is the type of opinion that attempts to put the behaviour 'in perspective' by perceiving that the reports were exaggerated. It is not the behaviour itself which is disturbing but fantasies about what could have happened or what could still happen. Ominous visions are conjured up about what the behaviour might be leading to: mass civil disobedience, Nazi youth movements, Nuremberg rallies and mob rule.

It's Not Only This – If the previous theme looked behind what happened, this one looks all around it. Through a process of free association, statements conveyed that the problem is not just the Mods and Rockers but a whole pattern in which pregnant schoolgirls, CND marches, beatniks, long hair, contraceptives in slot machines, purple hearts and smashing up telephone kiosks were all inextricably intertwined. One must orient oneself not just to an incident, a type of behaviour or even a type of person, but to a whole spectrum of problems and aberrations.

The type of associated deviance varied: other deviance of a similar type (hooliganism, vandalism, violence), deviance of other types (drug-taking, promiscuity) or other more general social trends. The point of the association was determined by attitudinal or ideological variables: so the *New Statesman* was worried by other youths being exploited by the 'hucksters of music and sex' and the *Tribune* by other 'educational rejects'.

Associations were not only made with adolescent problems: 'The society which produces the Margate and Ramsgate neurotic adolescents is also producing a neurotic middle age which cannot sleep and a neurotic old age which fills our mental hospitals.'¹⁰ The invariably high figures for road deaths over Bank Holidays made other associations inevitable. Under headings such as 'Madness in the Sun', 'The Bank Holiday of Shame' and 'The Destroyers', it was made clear that bad drivers and bad teenagers could be seen as functionally equivalent. The *Daily Mail* (19 May 1964) imagined people saying, 'It's a lovely holiday – let's go out and smash something. Or kill someone. Or kill ourselves.' While admitting that drivers are more murderous and roads offer the bigger danger, the *Mail* thought there was little to choose between the 'mad variety' of wild ones on the roads and on the beaches.

Images

Spurious Attribution – The tendency towards spurious attribution on which the putative deviation is built, stems directly from the inventory. This tendency is not only present in 'popular' statements but in more informed attitudes and

also, as Matza has convincingly suggested, in the image of the delinquent held by contemporary criminologists. In all cases, the function of the spurious attribution is the same: to support a particular theory or course of action.

The initial stage in the labelling process was the use of emotive symbols such as 'hooligans', 'thugs' and 'wild ones'. Via the inventory, these terms entered the mythology to provide a composite stigma attributable to persons performing certain acts, wearing certain clothes or belonging to a certain social status, that of the adolescent. Such composites are of an all-purpose sort, with a hard core of stable attributes (irresponsibility, immaturity, arrogance, lack of respect for authority) surrounded by fringe attributes varied more or less logically according to the deviance in question. So, in the famous 1971 Oz trial, the youthful pornographers were awarded the hard-core attributes plus such specialized ones as moral depravity and sexual perversity.¹¹ It would be quite feasible to get the digital computer from *The Tin Men* to programme a few basic composite stigma stories.

Perhaps the first public catalogue of the auxiliary status traits attributed to the Mods and Rockers was made by Mr Thomas Holdcroft, the prosecutor at the first Clacton trial. In his speech, he listed the following traits: no views at all on any serious subject; an inflated idea of their own importance in society; immature, irresponsible; arrogant; lacking in any regard for the law, for the officers of the law, for the comfort and safety of other persons and for the property of others. This composite was captured in the term 'wild ones', which, however, was soon to be replaced in the mythology by the term used by the Margate magistrate, Dr Simpson: 'Sawdust Caesars'. The 'Sawdust Caesars' speech – to be discussed in detail later – made a tremendous impact: over 70 per cent of the immediate post-Margate statements used the term or its variations ('vermin' and 'ratpack'). Although less successful in passing into the mythology, other labels coined in editorials were equally picturesque: 'ill conditioned odious louts' (*Daily Express*); 'retarded vain young hot-blooded paycocks' (*Daily Sketch*); 'grubby hordes of louts and sluts' (*Daily Telegraph*); 'with their flick knives, their innumerable boring emotional complexes, their vicious thuggishness which is not cunning but a more bovine stupidity; their ape-like reactions to the world around them and their pseudo bravery born of the spurious comfort of being in a mob . . .' (*Evening Standard*).

Not all attribution was so emotive: ' . . . likely to be timid and shifty, backward, apathetic, ungregarious and notably inarticulate. Individually he will probably not seem particularly vicious. He is nearly always unattractive' (Lucille Iremonger in the *Daily Telegraph*). Intellectual opinion produced appropriately intellectual, but otherwise just as spurious attributes: 'a

new Outsider without Mr Colin Wilson's brains or the beatniks' blended flamboyance or stoicism . . . rarely intelligent . . . rarely individualistic . . . inadequate . . . under-developed' (*Guardian*).

In a series of one hundred randomly chosen opinion statements (post-Whitsun, 1964) the following descriptive nouns were used: louts (5), thugs (5), savages (2), ruffians, maniacs, hooligans, hoodlums, yobbos, brats, human wolves, lemmings, rowdies, apes, misfits and morons. Descriptive traits included: neurotic, sick or unstable (5), show-off or exhibitionist (4), violent (4), cowardly (4), aimless or rudderless (4), half-baked, immature (3), precocious (2), dirty, unwashed (2), slick, slickly dressed (2), foolish or slow-witted (2), cynical, inarticulate. The attributes of *boredom* and *affluence* were mentioned so often as to warrant discussion as separate themes.

Another type of spurious attribution is guilt by association; all teenagers going down to the resorts were attributed with the same guilt, and hence putative deviation, as those who actually caused damage or injury. Many opinion statements, for example, drew attention to the role of girls in egging on their boy friends; a letter in the *Evening Standard* (21 May 1964) claimed that the major stimulus to violence came from ' . . . the oversexed, squalid, wishful little concubines who hang about on these occasions, secure in the knowledge that retribution will not fall upon them'. This sort of attribution was supported by inventory interviews of the 'Girls Who Follow The Wild Ones Into Battle' type, although traits other than enjoyment of violence were more consistently attributed to girls; particularly promiscuity and drug-taking. These themes became more prominent after August 1965 when there were press reports, based on remarks made by the commander of the Margate police division, that parents summoned to the police station were shocked to find ' . . . that their daughters have been sleeping around with youths carrying the recognised weekend kit, purple hearts and contraceptives' (*Daily Telegraph*, 31 August 1965).*

The process of spurious attribution is not, of course, random. The audience has existing stereotypes of other folk devils to draw upon and, as with racial stereotyping, there is a readily available composite image which the new picture can be grafted on to. The emergent composite draws heavily on folklore elements such as the Teddy Boys, the James Dean–Marlon Brando complex, *West Side Story* gangs and so on. As with racial stereotypes there is no necessary logical connection between the components; they are often

* Not for the first time, the only two national papers to use this sort of story were the *Telegraph* and the *Daily Sketch*.

self-contradictory.¹² Thus Jews are intrusive, but also exclusive; Negroes are lazy and inert, but also aggressive and pushing; Mods are dirty and scruffy, but also slickly dressed; they are aggressive and inflated with their own strength and importance, but they are also cowardly. An image rationalizes a particular explanation or course of action; if an opposite image is perceived as being more appropriate to this end, then it is easily invoked. Such images are even mobile enough to be held simultaneously, as in a *Daily Mail* headline: 'They're Pin Neat, Lively and Clean, But A Rat Pack'.

Affluent Youth – The £75 Cheque – Attitudes and opinions are often bolstered up by legends and myths. The uncivilized nature of immigrants is illustrated by the story of empty tins of cat meat found in dustbins of Indian restaurants. Teenage sexual promiscuity is illustrated by the story of schools where girls who have lost their virginity wear a badge.

Perhaps the most recurrent of the Mods and Rockers stories was the one about the boy who said he would sign a cheque for a £75 fine (see p. 21). Although it took some time to circulate, this story was still being quoted as long as four years after the 'event'. The affluence theme is one of the most powerful and persuasive components in the Mods and Rockers image, based as it is on the more general stereotype of teenage affluence and serving itself as a rationalization for the widely held belief that 'fines won't hurt them'. Even if the mythical elements in the £75 cheque story and its variants were exposed, this attitude theme would persist.

Although the term 'classless' appeared both in the inventory and occasionally in subsequent stages, it was apparent that the dominant image was not of a group actually drawn randomly from all social classes. This was the 'new, new rich'.

Divide and Rule – Generals, captains of sports teams and gang leaders are all aware of the mechanism whereby attack on one's own side is deflected by exploiting grievances or jealousies among the enemy. Similarly, the adult community, faced with an apparent attack on its most sacred institution (property) and the most sacred guardians of this institution (the police) reacts, if not consciously, by overemphasizing differences among the enemy. The thought that violence might be directed towards oneself and, worse still, might be attributable to defects in one's own society, was neutralized by over-emphasizing the gang rivalry between the Mods and Rockers. This tendency may again be traced back to reports of the 'warring-gangs-clash-again' type and is attributable less to conscious and malicious policy than to the fact that the 'warring gang' image is the easiest way for the ignorant observer to explain such a senseless and ambiguous crowd situation:

... what in fact may be a confused situation involving miscellaneous youths with marginal membership and varied motives is too often defined by observers as a case of two highly mechanized and organized gang groups battling each other over territory. They project organization onto the gang and membership status onto a fellow curiosity seeker.¹³

This effect was compounded by the later commercial exploitation of the Mods and Rockers division. The apotheosis of the Divide and Rule theme was the suggestion that the problem could be solved by letting the two groups fight it out in a park or sports field.

Hot-blooded Youth or Lunatic Fringe – The themes discussed so far have not been threatened by counter themes, but in answering the question: 'how representative are the Mods and Rockers of young people in Britain as a whole?', we find two apparently contradictory opinions.

On the one hand, there is the recurrent ascription to the *whole* adolescent age group of a number of stereotypical traits. As Friedenberg suggests, the tendency of adults to see adolescence, delinquency and aggressive sexuality as functionally equivalent, creates the composite status of what he calls a 'hot-blooded minority'.¹⁴ Thus the entire age group and particularly the visible representations of teenage culture are endowed with the spurious deviation of the folk devils they have spawned. Partly because the teenage culture is less pervasive in Britain than it is in America, this type of identification was incomplete: distinctions *are* made between delinquents and the rest.

When moral panics like these reach their peak, though, such distinctions become blurred and the public is more receptive to general reflections on the 'state of youth'. On the basis of the 'It's Not Only This' theme, disturbing images are conjured up: all young people are going to the dogs, there is an adolescent malaise, this is just the top of the iceberg. Educationalists talked about 'letting our teenagers down' and invariably the 'Boredom' and 'Affluence' themes referred to the whole age group. Articles were headed 'Facing the Facts About Youth', 'What's Wrong With Young People Today' or (as in foreign papers) 'British Youth in Revolt'. Numerical estimates are difficult to make but somewhere near a half of the opinion statements expressed this theme. As usual, the popular press provided an archetypal statement:

For years now we've been leaning over backwards to accommodate the teenagers. Accepting meekly on the radio and television it is THEIR music which monopolizes the air. That in our shops it is THEIR fads which will

dictate our dress styles . . . we have watched them patiently through the wilder excesses of their ban the bomb marches. Smiled indulgently as they've wrecked our cinemas during their rock and roll films . . . But when they start dragging elderly women around the streets . . . etc. (*Glasgow Sunday Mail*, 24 May 1964)

To counteract this theme, however, the great majority of opinion statements reflected what might be called the 'Lunatic Fringe' theme. The Mods and Rockers were perceived as an entirely unrepresentative minority of young people: most young people are decent and conforming, and the Mods and Rockers were giving them a bad name. The Lunatic Fringe theme occurs in most editorials and public utterances of MPs, youth leaders and other self-styled experts who pontificated after the events. It pervaded the debate on the second reading of the Malicious Damage Bill:

The Bill has been provoked by the irresponsible behaviour of a small section of young people, and I emphasise again that it is an extremely small section. (Charles Morrison, MP)

. . . one cannot really judge the moral standard of our youth by the behaviour of those eccentrics who produced the hooliganism at the seaside resorts which resulted in the introduction of the Bill. (Eric Fletcher, MP)¹⁵

In the strong form of this theme, the 'rest' are seen as not only conforming and decent but positively saintly. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr Maudling) thought the Mods and Rockers untypical of 'this serious, intelligent and excellent generation', and according to one paper:

There are two kinds of youth in Britain today. There are those who are winning the admiration of the world by their courageous and disciplined service in arduous mountain, jungle or desert territory – in Cyprus, on the Yemen border, in Borneo. And there are the Mods and Rockers, with their flick knives . . . etc. (*Evening Standard*, 18 June 1964)

In the 110 opinion statements from public figures, there were 40 explicit references to this theme.

At first glance, the 'Hot-blooded Youth' and 'Lunatic Fringe' themes would appear to be incompatible; one can *either* say that the whole younger generation

is going from bad to worse and that the Mods and Rockers merely exemplify this trend, or that the younger generation are as good or better than any other and that the Mods and Rockers are the exceptions to the rule. It should be comparatively simple then to calculate which view is more widely held. In fact this is not so. As with stereotyping and labelling as a whole – and as cognitive dissonance theory makes clear – attitudinal logic is not necessarily logical. A logical explanation for the two themes appearing simultaneously – as they often did – might run like this: 'I know that in the pure statistical sense, the number involved in this sort of thing must be a minute proportion of the whole age group, yet so many things that young people get up to today disturb me ("It's Not Only This") and who knows what this sort of thing will lead to ("It's Not So Much What Happened")? So I can't help thinking that this is evidence of a much deeper malaise affecting youth in general.'

In practice, of course, such an argument is hardly necessary; the paradox is only apparent. In the same way as the first theme is part of the more general short circuit function of labelling and stereotyping, the Lunatic Fringe theme also has an important function: to reassure the adult community that all is well, they can rest secure in the knowledge that not the whole generation is against them. When the theme was repeated in the courts (as it often was, in the form of statements by police, counsel and magistrates about how well-behaved the majority of young people had been in contrast to the offenders) one can see its other function in ensuring that the denounced person is made to look fully deserving of his punishment by contrast to the ideal counter-conception. This is one of Garfinkel's conditions for a successful status degradation ceremony:

The witnesses must appreciate the characteristics of the typed person and event by referring the type to a dialectical counterpart. Ideally, the witnesses should not be able to contemplate the features of the denounced person without reference to the counter-conception, as the profanity of an occurrence or a desire or a character trait, for example, is clarified by the references it bears to its opposite, the sacred.¹⁶

Moral panics depend on the generation of diffuse normative concerns, while the successful creation of folk devils rests on their stereotypical portrayal as atypical actors against a background that is overtypical.*

* I am indebted to Jock Young for this notion of levels of typicality which he uses in his analysis of the mass media imagery of drug-takers.

Hastings, Eastbourne and Margate of a large number of retired and elderly persons to whom the behaviour was especially alien and frightening.

4. *Male and Female* – A general impression from various sources is that females were more intolerant than males. In the Brighton sample a larger proportion of the females (35.4 per cent) expressed initial disgust than the males (11.8 per cent). They were also more likely to want the police to use tougher measures and all eight of the sample who were in favour of using corporal punishment were women. The women were twice as likely than the men to name 'lack of parental control and discipline' as the cause of the Mods and Rockers phenomenon. There were no great differences on any of the other questions and the tendency for females to be more punitive in regard to deviance would need to be supported from other sources.

5. *Social Class* – Some more general remarks will be made later on the relevance of social class variables. The survey data alone showed very few significant social class differences, especially in terms of initial reaction and general orientation to the events. There was a slight tendency for working-class respondents to explain the behaviour in terms of 'lack of parental control' while middle-class respondents were more likely to invoke the 'looking for kicks' image as a causative explanation.

6. *Political Affiliation* – There was a tendency in the Brighton sample for the Conservative voters to be more likely to use the 'disgusting' or 'annoying' categories (64.3 per cent) compared to 38.7 per cent among the Labour voters. Conservatives were also more likely to want the police to be tougher and to favour the use of Detention Centres.

I must repeat that any generalizations from this data about public reactions as a whole, should be made with caution. In concentrating on the ways in which moral panics are transmitted through the mass media and reflected in the responses of the social control system, I have not dealt adequately – as future research should do – with the patterning of such reactions in the wider society.

Modes and Models of Explanation

From the inventory through to the opinion and attitude themes, one can trace the features by which the Mods and Rockers were identified as deviants of a particular type and placed in their appropriate position in the gallery of folk devils. Of course, moral panics are not intellectual exercises whereby correct labels are decided upon, in the same way, for example, as the doctor fits symptoms into diagnostic categories or the botanist classifies his specimens.

The point is that the process of identifying deviance, necessarily involves a conception of its nature. The deviant is assigned to a role or social type, shared perspectives develop through which he and his behaviour are visualized and explained, motives are imputed, causal patterns are searched for and the behaviour is grouped with other behaviour thought to be of the same order.

This imagery is an integral part of the identification process: the labels are not invented after the deviation. The labellers – and the ones I have concentrated on are the mass media – have a ready-made stock of images to draw upon. Once the initial identification has taken place, the labels are further elaborated: the drug addict, for example, may be fitted into the mythology of the dope fiend and seen to be dirty, degenerate, lazy and untrustworthy. The primary label, in other words, evokes secondary images, some of which are purely descriptive, some of which contain explicit moral judgements and some of which contain prescriptions about how to handle the behaviour.

Thus, what Lemert calls the *societal control culture* '... the laws, procedures, programs and organizations which in the name of a collectivity help, rehabilitate, punish or otherwise manipulate deviants'²⁸ contains not just official institutions and personnel but also typical modes and models of understanding and explaining the deviance. The fact that such models are seldom coherently articulated should not lead us to assume their absence and to interpret images such as those surrounding the Mods and Rockers as if they had a random relationship to each other. These images are part of what Berger and Luckman refer to as the 'conceptual machinery that accounts for the deviant condition', and as such, perform a basic function in justifying a particular view of the world: '... the deviant's conduct threatens the societal reality as such, putting into question its taken-for-granted cognitive and normative ... operating procedures.'²⁹ The devil has to be given a particular shape to know what virtues are being asserted. Thus, the senseless and meaningless image which is the dominant one attributed to vandalism, affirms the value of utilitarian, rational action. People in our society do things for certain accredited motives; behaviour such as vandalism which appears not to be motivated in this way, cannot be tolerated and is nihilated by describing it as senseless. The only way to make sense of vandalism is to assume that it does not make sense; any other definition would be threatening.

I will later analyse some of the functions of the conceptual machinery presented to account for the Mods and Rockers and consider the forces that shaped its content. The basic mode of explanation, one that is applied to most forms of deviance, was expressed in terms of a consensual model of society. Most people are seen to share common values, to agree on what is damaging,

threatening or deviant, and to be able to recognize these values and their violations when they occur. At times of moral panic, societies are more open than usual to appeals to this consensus: 'No decent person can stand for this sort of thing.' The deviant is seen as having stepped across a boundary which at other times is none too clear.

When this model is taken for granted, the apparent inconsistencies in the inventory and the opinion and attitude themes are reconcilable. From either side of the ideological spectrum, for example, one can subscribe to the Hot-blooded Youth and Sign of the Times themes – or various other notions postulating a widespread social malaise – and identify the deviant group in Lunatic Fringe terms. After all, the deviants were like animals, affected by some sort of disease or the gullible victims of unscrupulous ringleaders. Primitive theories of crowd behaviour (individuals losing their control because of the mob situation) could be invited to supplement the picture of under-socialized beings, continually searching for excitement through violence.

The model is not only flat and one-dimensional, but it is totally lacking in any historical depth. This is a direct consequence of the standard mass media coverage of deviance and dissent.³⁰ Symbolization and the presentation of the 'facts' in the most simplified and melodramatic manner possible leave little room for interpretation, the presentation of competing perspectives on the same event or information which would allow the audience to see the event in context.

The dominant societal models for explaining deviance need careful consideration by the sociologist, not only because of their intrinsic interest or because they afford him the opportunity to expose their more naïve and absurd bases but also because such models form the basis of social policy and the societal control culture. These conceptions, images and stereotypes affect how and at what point the deviant is fed into the social control apparatus. If the sexual offender is seen as sick, then one attempts to cure rather than punish him; if the typical shoplifter is seen as the 'harmless little old woman' or the 'kleptomaniac', then this group will be less subject to formal legal sanctions. An integral part of the conceptual machinery then, is the body of justifications and rationalizations for acting in a particular way towards the deviant. The actual way the control system did operate and was influenced by the beliefs transmitted by the mass media is the subject of the next chapter.

4 Reaction: The Rescue and Remedy Phases

This chapter is concerned with 'reaction' not in the sense of what was thought about the Mods and Rockers but what was done about them or what was thought should be done about them. My central focus is on the organized system of social control and the way it responded in terms of certain images of the deviant group and, in turn, helped to create the images that maintained these folk devils. While using the terminology from disaster to cover this whole phase of the moral panic, I will use three further categories to cover the responses: (i) Sensitization; (ii) the Societal Control Culture; (iii) Exploitation.

Sensitization

Any item of news thrust into the individual's consciousness has the effect of increasing the awareness of items of a similar nature which he might otherwise have ignored. Psychological cues are provided to register and act upon previously neutral stimuli. This is the phenomenon of sensitization which, in the case of deviance, entails the reinterpretation of neutral or ambiguous stimuli as potentially or actually deviant.

Sensitization is a form of the simplest type of generalized belief system, hysteria, which '... transforms an ambiguous situation into an absolutely potent generalized threat'.¹ Ambiguity, which gives rise to anxiety, is eliminated by structuring the situation to make it more predictable. On this basis, anxiety, say, about an unidentified flying object, can be reduced by defining the object as a flying saucer and then assimilating similar phenomena into this cognitive framework. Sensitization to deviance rests on a more complicated belief system because it involves not only redefinition but also the assignment of blame and the direction of control measures towards a specific agent thought to be responsible. This corresponds to Smelser's 'hostile

apply to vandalism in general, it was an emergency measure directed specifically at the Mods and Rockers. As such it may be seen as a normative formalization by the control culture, and the Act was justified by MPs and others almost wholly by appeal to the belief system. It would be a severe deterrent against violence and vandalism; it would 're-establish and reinforce the principle of personal responsibility';⁴⁸ it recognized the affluence of the potential offenders: 'We must not forget that many of these youngsters are the sons and daughters of comparatively well-to-do people. All that is necessary in their case once they are fined is to get their parents to pay the fine so that their little darlings can go free. There is no punishment for these youngsters at all.'⁴⁹

The measures were exclusively hailed as direct reprisals against the Mods and Rockers: 'Brooke Hits Hooligans in the Pocket', 'Brooke Rocks the Rockers', 'New Move to Stamp Out Mod Violence', etc. The specificity of the Act was shown in Mr Brooke's own statement: 'I hope that, with the help of the House, it [the Act] will be in operation before the August Bank Holiday.'⁵⁰

This statement underlines the ritualistic element in the Bill which, even on admission of its supporters, proposed fairly modest changes. In fact, the legislative changes took place in direct response to the demands to the suprasystem for 'something to be done — and soon'. As the Home Secretary stated:

I want the Bill also to be a reassurance to the long-suffering public. They were long-suffering at these holiday places, for many of them had their Whitsun holidays or their Whitsun trade spoiled by these young fools. I want to reassure them by showing them that the Government means business.

This reassurance was a true ritualistic response to deviance in the sense that Cohen intended: '... affirmations and gestures of indignation by means of which one aligns oneself symbolically with the angels, without having to take up cudgels against the devil.'⁵¹ Whatever the 'devil' was in the seaside resorts, it was not primarily vandalism. Parliament was not simply being misled by inventory exaggeration of the amount of vandalism; the two Members representing seaside resorts who spoke during the debate, went out of their way to inform the House that, in fact, there was very little damage done: 'in the main the Bill deals only with damage, there was practically no damage done in Brighton';⁵² 'I know that Brighton, which is a much bigger place, had all the damage and we had relatively little, with much talk and not very much harm.'⁵³

The explanation for directing exclusive normative control against what was really putative-deviation, lies in the nature of vandalism as the most visible manifestation of the phenomenon and the one most calculated to evoke social condemnation.⁵⁴ To align oneself symbolically with the angels, one had to pick on an easy target; the fact that the target hardly existed was irrelevant; it could be, and already had been, defined.

To summarize this long section on the control culture: the official reaction to the Mods and Rockers was mediated by a belief system and in turn generated a set of beliefs to rationalize the control methods used. The methods and beliefs were supplemented by the not altogether successful attempts by unofficial agents to create an exclusive control culture. A few rules were created — mostly ritualistic in nature and not evidently effective — and these survived beyond the period of their initial usage. More to the point, the whole amalgam of the societal reaction survived its origins in the form of mythologies and stereotypes about the folk devils it had partly created.

The burden of my analysis in the next chapter will be to show that the reaction did not have its intended or anticipated effect, but, in fact, increased or amplified the deviance. Before going on to this, one further element in the reaction to deviance, exploitation, needs some attention.

The Exploitative Culture

Without defining precisely what he meant, Lemert drew attention to the phenomenon of *deviance exploitation*.⁵⁵ His examples of the special exploitative culture which surrounds deviants were confined mainly to direct exploitation on the basis of the deviant's marginal status or aspirations to normality. Thus, the physically deformed, the aged, widows, the mentally ill, members of minority groups, ex-convicts, are preyed upon by fraudulent individuals and organizations, offering patent medicines, faith cures, youth restorers, skin lighteners and other treatments or services. Not all exploitation is so crude though; there is also what Lemert called 'the socioeconomic symbiosis between criminal and non-criminal groups'.⁵⁶ This refers to the direct or indirect profit derived from crime by persons such as bankers, criminal lawyers, corrupt policemen, court officials and lawyers involved in 'fixes'.

I will categorize these types of exploitation (to which Lemert and Goffman tend to confine their remarks) as *commercial exploitation*. There is another exploitative pattern, though, in the use of the deviant in communication, particularly public, to defend or announce an ideology, for example, religious or political. The latter is illustrated in Erikson's study of the early Puritans'

reactions to various forms of religious deviance.⁵⁷ This pattern is exploitative in the sense that the deviant is being used for societally defined ends without any regard to the consequences of this on the deviant himself. I will refer to this type as *ideological exploitation*. Another type, which may contain both ideological and commercial elements, is the exploitation of the deviant as an object of amusement or ridicule. The historical case of hunchbacks being used as court jesters has its contemporary variants in the practice of exhibiting those with more bizarre physical deformities at circuses and fairgrounds.

The commercial exploitation of folk devils such as the Mods and Rockers is obviously linked with the general market in teenage consumer goods. While the stereotype of the scheming millionaires who 'exploit' innocent teenagers into buying clothes and records against their will is grossly oversimplified, it is nevertheless clear that the market is quick to seize a peg on which to display its products. (A well-known non-commercial salesman, Billy Graham, promised, before his 1966 visit to London, to preach on the theme 'Mods and Rockers for Christ'.)

The Mods and Rockers division was ready-made for such exploitation, and commercial interests were able to widen this division by exaggerating consumer style differences between the two groups. Special Mod boutiques, dance halls and discotheques were opened, a book was published called *Dances for Mods and Rockers*, and in at least one large dance hall in South London, a white-painted line was drawn in the middle of the floor to separate the Mods and Rockers. Consumer goods were advertised using the group images; some of the very shops in Brighton which had protested about loss of trade caused by the disturbances were selling 'The Latest Mod Sunglasses'. Clubs and coffee bars in seaside resorts were advertised as 'The Top Mod Spot of the South' or 'The Mods' Own Club'.

This type of symbiotic relationship between the condemners and the condemned, the 'normal' and the 'deviant', was shown nowhere more clearly than in the mass media treatment of the Mod-Rocker differences. The *Daily Mail* quiz 'Are You A Mod or Rocker?', published immediately after Clacton, was only the most notorious example of this. The whole inventory phase may be seen as an exploitation or manipulation of symbols by the mass media; even symbols at times must be seen to stand for some real event, person or idea, and if these did not manifest themselves, then they had to be manufactured.

Seaside resorts were invariably full of journalists and photographers, waiting for something to happen, and stories, poses and interviews would be extracted from the all too willing performers. One journalist recalls being sent, in response to a cable from an American magazine, to photograph Mods in

Piccadilly at five o'clock on a Sunday morning, only to find a team from *Paris Match* and a full film unit already on the spot. 'Mod hunting,' as he remarks, 'was at that time a respectable, almost crowded subprofession of journalism.'⁵⁸ The fact that those who were hunted were willing performers, does not make the pattern any less exploitative; presumably hunchbacks were not always unwilling to perform the jester role. A boy persuaded by a photographer to pose kicking a telephone kiosk, is in a real sense being used. It is clear that people who denounce deviance may at the same time have a vested interest in seeing deviance perpetuated, at least temporarily, until the phenomenon loses its 'sales value'.*

Ideological exploitation involves a similar ambivalence in the sense that the exploiter 'gains' from his denunciation of deviance and would 'lose' if the deviance proved, in fact, to be less real and less of a problem than is functional for his ideology. This type of exploitation occurs as part of the sensitization process as it involves the use of the Mods and Rockers symbols in previously neutral contexts. At annual meetings of Chambers of Commerce, Boy Scout and Air Training Corps ceremonies, school prize-givings, mayoral inaugurations and in numerous other public contexts, the Mods and Rockers symbols were used to make an ideological point. Audiences were told what to do to prevent themselves or others from becoming Mods and Rockers or were congratulated on not already being Mods and Rockers. The events and their symbolic connotations were used to justify previous positions or support new ones:

The men in the B.B.C. who feed violence, lust, aimlessness and cynicism into millions of homes nightly must squarely consider their responsibility.

One of the main reasons for what happened is the present Government's attitude to working-class adolescents as fair game for blatant exploitation by commercial interests.

... consider now the effect of TV violence in relation to happenings at Brighton and Margate and use your great power to help provide an answer.

* Social scientists are clearly not immune from this sort of involvement with their subject matter. The researcher who, in spite of himself, hopes that the phenomenon will take a particular form in order to prove his theories or give him some other more ideological satisfaction, is only the more obvious example of this and I cannot claim that I always viewed the Mods and Rockers without any such involvement. When the object of study is deviance, there is the risk of other sorts of involvement. As one researcher⁵⁹ notes: 'Many criminologists have an intense (and perhaps vicarious) personal interest in the criminal exploits of their subjects. Many are intrigued voyeurs of the criminal world.'

The true criminals are the maladministrators of this country, an inadequate educational system, lack of decent housing and all the amenities that make a decent citizen.⁶⁰

Exploitation was often for more specific ends: the President of the National Association of Chief Educational Welfare Officers called for more officers to be recruited: 'The matter is urgent if we wish to avoid these Clacton and Brighton affairs spreading into other parts of the country.' Similarly a Marriage Guidance Council called for volunteers to run group discussions for young people. Numerous youth clubs called for more funds to build up facilities which would prevent the Mods and Rockers 'disease' from spreading. All such appeals, which, of course, negatively polarized the Mods and Rockers even further, were made in terms of interest group perspectives (particularly useful for political parties as 1964 was election year). The fact that the deviance was reacted to in terms of such perspectives, and that the Mods and Rockers were all things to all people, was shown in those instances where the Mods and Rockers, instead of being denounced, were welcomed for ideological reasons. So, for example, some of the Provos and members of the Destruction in Art movement hailed the Mods and Rockers as the *avant-garde* of the anarchist revolution. On his arrival in London, the Provo leader, Bernard de Vries, was optimistic about the spread of the movement in Britain and was sure that if the Mods and Rockers were given opportunities for demonstrations and happenings, they would turn pacifist.⁶¹

Like other aspects of the societal reaction, the exploitative culture both reflects and – as the next chapter considers – creates the amplification of deviance. What I have suggested in this chapter is that, in addition to the ordinary deviation amplification sequence (initial deviance, societal reaction, increase in deviance, increase in reaction, etc.), a similar process is at work within the reaction itself. This is indicated, during the moral panic, by the presence within the control culture of such features as sensitization, diffusion, escalation, dramatization and exploitation. These were parasitic on each other, as were the different groups of reactors: for example, the media reacting not so much to the deviance, but to what the magistrates said the deviance was. Thus, almost independent of the deviance, the reactors amplified the situation. One of the flows that can be visualized runs something like this:

- (i) *Initial deviance* leading to:
- (ii) the *inventory* and (iii) *sensitization* which feed back on each other so as to produce:

- (iv) an *over-estimation* of the deviance which leads to:
- (v) an *escalation* in the control culture.

Such escalation (in addition to feeding back on the other reaction stages, for example, by proving that the deviance *is* threatening enough to require all this effort) affects the way in which the deviance itself develops, the subject of the next chapter.

A more convincing sociological explanation is that the Mods and Rockers events were viewed as a ceremony. This was a modern morality play,* in which good (the police and the courts) met evil (the aggressive delinquent). Like all morality plays – or bull fights, which the atmosphere often resembled – there was little doubt about which side would win: the devil's place was known in advance. This type of morality image was sedulously cultivated by the mass media in the interest of consensus, and the audience reaction showed that the image was absorbed. The passive fascination (which might correspond to the psychoanalytical 'vicarious satisfaction' and the aficionado's admiration for the brave bull) was livened only when the forces of good triumphed. On a number of occasions spectators were observed cheering the police when they made an arrest and when boys were bundled into a police van, the type of remark one heard was 'that'll teach them a lesson', or 'put them in Lewes for a few nights, that'll show them'. In the courts there was applause from the public benches when the Chairman praised the police.

Whatever the reason for the spectators' presence and involvement, it is as important to observe their *effect* on the behaviour during the impact, remembering that just about everyone present – including the Mods and Rockers – played the spectator role at one time or another. One direct effect of the numbers of spectators was, in fact, to hinder the police in performing their duties of crowd control. The more important effect of the audience, though, was more subtle in that its very presence provided an encouragement to deviance. The audience is part of the crowd, and even if it may disapprove, it makes the crowd larger numerically and increases the expression of strength and support for what is being done. Turner and Killian quote the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynchings to show that the spectators often constituted a source of protection for the very elements of which they might disapprove.¹⁹ In the presence of an audience, the more active members of the crowd become committed to a line of action, because to back down would be to lose face. A passive audience may also have unwittingly contributed to creating what F. H. Allport originally termed 'the impression of universality' whereby the crowd member loses some responsibility through assuming that

* A team of researchers studying football hooliganism have noted a similar element in these public confrontations between policemen and deviants '... Spectators seemed to adopt the attitude that the scenes were comparable to those shown at old-fashioned music halls where villains and heroes were booed and cheered in a ritualized manner.'²⁰ There is a crucial difference, though, between these situations: at football matches it is often the police who are the villains, at the resorts it was always the Mods and Rockers.

'everybody is doing it'. Exaggeration – by observers and participants – of the numbers involved, only heightens this effect.

In the case of violence, as Westley suggests,²¹ the presence of others can lead to a direct escalation. In each type of violence he analyses – by mob members, concentration camp guards and police – the violators have a symbiotic relationship to a supportive audience. The police, because of public support for the use of violence against criminals and other non-persons such as the insane, can use an audience to legitimate illegal forms of violence. Escalation occurs when there is a combination of a group willing to use violence and an audience to which it plays and will encourage it and give it moral support. For the crowd the presence of spectators and cameras might have decreased inhibitions about provoking the police. The kids were one up in a situation which called for some restraint on the part of the police and they knew that the police image would suffer if unnecessary violence was observed by the audience.

The Mass Media

This is the point at which to analyse the more explicit on-the-spot role of the mass media which, as we have seen, operated from the outset in reinforcing and giving shape to the crowd's sense of expectancy and in providing the content of rumours and shared definitions with which ambiguous situations were restructured. Although popular commentators on the Mods and Rockers often blamed 'publicity' for what happened (and the press responded with indignant editorials about its 'duty' to publish the 'facts'), the term 'publicity' was used in a somewhat restricted sense. It either referred to the publicity immediately before the event (during the warning phase), which advertised the disturbances and pin-pointed the resorts where they would take place, or to the supposed gratification young people derived from the exposure to publicity during the event.

The first of these factors operated in the gross sense of publicizing the event in such a way that it might look attractive, but it is unlikely to have directly influenced the choice of target: asked where they got the idea from (of going to Margate), 82.3 per cent of the Barker–Little sample mentioned friends as their source, only 2.9 per cent mentioned newspapers and 2.9 per cent television. Only a handful I spoke to at any stage said that anything in the press or television *initially* decided them on a particular resort. The media more likely reinforced rather than initiated rumours already current. There were certain exceptions, though, when during the weekend a sensational report or

TV interview might have directly attracted new crowds. One notorious BBC interview in which two Rockers said that reinforcements would be arriving was followed by a sudden influx of both Mods and Rockers, large numbers of whom might have been attracted by the excitement the interview promised.

There were also signs of direct publicity-seeking behaviour in the sense that on-the-spot attention from journalists, reporters and photographers was a stimulus to action. The following account is by one of the boys in the Barker-Little sample: 'By the railway station a cameraman asked, "Give us a wave". So me and a group ran about and waved some flags we bought. My picture was in the paper. We were pleased; anybody would be.'

If one is in a group of twenty, being stared at by hundreds of adults and being pointed at by two or three cameras, the temptation to do something – even if only to shout an obscenity, make a rude gesture or throw a stone – is very great and made greater by the knowledge that one's actions will be recorded for others to see. There is a tendency for the participant in such situations to exaggerate the extent of his involvement and to look for some recognition of it. Thus at every weekend, young people could be observed at newspaper kiosks buying each edition of the evening paper as it appeared and scanning it for news of disturbances. The exploitative element in this feedback is reflected in the rumours – which, at least in one case, I am certain were firmly based – that press photographers were asking suitably attired young males to pose kicking in a window or telephone kiosk.

The cumulative effects of the mass media, though, were at the same time more subtle and more potent than simply giving the events pre-publicity or gratifying the participants' need for attention. Through a complex process that is not yet fully understood by students of mass communication, the mere reporting of one event has, under certain circumstances, the effect of triggering off events of a similar order. This effect is much easier to understand and is better documented in regard to the spread of crazes, fashions, fads and other forms of collective behaviour, such as mass delusion or hysteria, than in cases of deviance. The main reason why this process has been misunderstood in regard to deviance – particularly collective and novel forms – is that too much attention has been placed on the supposed direct effects (imitation, attention, gratification, identification) on the deviants, rather than the effects on the control system and culture and hence (via such processes as amplification) on the deviance.

The simple triggering-off or suggestibility type effects can be seen even in apparently individual forms of deviance such as suicide. A particularly vivid example is the spread in self-immolation as a form of suicide following the

report in 1963 of a Vietnamese monk burning himself to death as an act of political protest. This is a form of suicide almost completely unknown in the West; in the period 1960–63, there was only one such case in England, yet in 1963, there were three and in 1964, nine. A similar progression in numbers occurred in America.²² In this case, the contagious or imitative effect was in the technique rather than the motivation behind the act. Cases where the motive as well as the technique is stimulated by mass communication, might be the spread of prison riots, prison escapes and racial and political riots. A particularly well-documented example is the Swastika Epidemic of 1959–60. The contagion effect could be clearly shown in plotting the curve of the epidemic.²³

An example closer to the Mods and Rockers is the spread during the fifties of the Teddy Boy riots and similar phenomena elsewhere in Europe. Most commentators on these events acknowledged the role of publicity in stimulating imitative or competitive forms of behaviour²⁴ and some studies have been made on the mass media coverage of such events.²⁵ At the same time, though, blame was put on 'publicity' in the restricted sense and there was little awareness of the complex ways in which mass communication operates before, during and after each 'impact'. The causative nature of mass communication – in the whole context of the societal reaction to such phenomena – is still usually misunderstood.

The common element in all these diverse examples of the amplification of violence is that an adequate medium of communication must be present for spreading the hostile belief and mobilizing potential participants. The mass communication of the news of one outbreak is a condition of structural conduciveness for the development of a hostile belief which, in turn, has to sensitize the 'new' crowd (or individual deviant) to incipient or actual action and lower the threshold of readiness by providing readily identifiable symbols. The possibility that the mere reporting of one event might have a triggering and eventually amplifying effect, has been apparent to many observers of contemporary crowd violence. This recognition lies behind suggestions to consciously use the media to achieve aims of crowd control.²⁶

The triggering-off, sensitization and other such effects of mass communication described so far, deal with the way in which the likelihood of deviant behaviour during the impact was increased: one almost *had* to attempt to see or take part in trouble. The inventory and subsequent opinion themes, though, also affected the *form* and *content* of the behaviour. The societal reaction not only increases the deviant's chance of acting at all, it also provides him with his lines and stage directions.

The crucial effect here is the way in which deviant behaviour is shaped by the normative expectations of how people in that particular deviant role should act. Much of the Mods and Rockers behaviour can be conceptualized in terms of a role-playing model. Posing for photos, chanting slogans, making warlike gestures, fantasizing about super-gangs, wearing distinctive insignia, making a mock raid on an ice-cream van, whistling at girls, jeering at the 'other side': all these acts of 'hooliganism' may be seen as analogous to the impersonation of mental illness resorted to by those defined as mentally ill. The actor incorporates aspects of the type cast role into his self concept and when the deviant role is public – as hooliganism is by definition – and the deviants are in a situation of heightened suggestibility, then this incorporation is often more conscious and deliberate than in those types of 'private' deviance such as mental illness, homosexuality and drug-taking, to which transactionalist writers have applied such concepts.

New recruits might search for and positively try to exemplify the values and imagery portrayed in the stereotypes. The media created some sort of diversionary side-show in which all could seek their appropriate parts. The young people on the beaches knew very well that they had been type cast as folk devils and they saw themselves as targets for abuse. When the audiences, TV cameras and police started lining themselves up, the metaphor of role-playing becomes no longer a metaphor, but the real thing. One acute observer at the live TV coverage of the Mod Ball at Wembley (a week after the initial Clacton event) described a girl in front of the cameras worshipping a hair salvaged off Mick Jagger's trousers, as being like a man acting drunk when he is hardly tipsy, 'acting out this adoration. She sees she is being watched, grins sheepishly and then laughs outright.'²⁷

In the present context, the importance of the role-playing perspective is that the content of the type cast role was present in the inventory and crystallized more explicitly in the process of spurious attribution or labelling. This is not to say that a new one to one link between the labelling and the behaviour was formed. For one thing, the type cast hooligan role was known to the potential actors before the deviance even began; like the labellers themselves, they could draw upon an existent folklore and mythology. The point, however, was that the normative element in the role was reinforced by the societal reaction: although the actors might already have been familiar with the lines and the stage direction, they were now confirmed in their roles. In the same way as the 'chronic' schizophrenic begins to approximate closer to the schizophrenic role, so did the Mods and Rockers phenomenon take on every time an increasingly ritualistic and stereotypical character.

Although the hooligan role was ready made and had only to be confirmed by the labelling process, there were other elements in the behaviour which could be directly traced to the societal reaction. The first of these was the way in which the gap between the Mods and Rockers became increasingly wider and obvious. Although (as I will show in the next chapter) the Mods and Rockers represent two different consumer styles – the Mods the more glossy fashion-conscious teenager, the Rockers the tougher, reactionary tradition – the antagonism between the two groups was not initially very marked. Despite their real differences in life styles – visible in symbols such as the Mods' scooters and the Rockers' motor-bikes – the groups had a great deal in common, particularly their working-class membership. There was, initially at least, nothing like the gang rivalry that is supposed to characterize the type of violent conflict gang enshrined in folklore by the 'Sharks' and 'Jets' of *West Side Story*. Indeed, one could not justifiably talk of 'gangs' at all in any meaningful sociological sense. The only structured grouping one could find in the early crowds was based on slight territorial loyalty and it was tenuous enough to be broken up in the crowd situation.

Constant repetition of the warring gangs' image, however, had the effect of giving these loose collectivities a structure they never possessed and a mythology with which to justify the structure. This image was disseminated in the inventory, reinforced through the symbolization process, repeated in the 'Divide and Rule' and 'Cabalism' themes, used to advantage in the form of commercial exploitation and repeated during the warning phase. Even if these images were not directly absorbed by the actors, they were used to justify control tactics, which, as we shall see, still further structured the groups and hardened the barriers between them.

The mass media – and the ideological exploitation of deviance – also reinforced another type of polarization: between the Mods and Rockers on the one hand, and the whole adult community on the other. If one is seen as the 'enemy' in the 'war against crime', it is not difficult to respond in similar spirit: one 'rejects the rejectors' and 'condemns the condemners'. The specialized effect of the Lunatic Fringe theme, is to segregate and label those involved by emphasizing their difference from the majority. A striking parallel from a similar form of deviance was the labelling by the motor-cycling 'Establishment' of riders identified with the Hells Angels image as the 'one per cent who cause all the trouble': the term 'one percenter' was then used by the groups as an honorific epithet, reinforcing their commitment.²⁸

The Control Agents

The police – the main control agents operating during the impact period – had two types of effect on the behaviour; the one immediate and the other more sustained. The immediate effect of police policy and action was to create deviance – not only in the sense of provoking the more labile members of the crowd into losing their tempers but in Becker's sense of making the rules whose infraction constituted deviance. The types of control tactics adopted by the police under the impact of sensitization and symbolization involved a certain arbitrary element. The practice, for example, of designating certain areas in advance as 'trouble spots' meant that youths with the appropriate symbols could be moved along even if they were causing no apparent harm. In one case in the Brighton court, a constable from Eastbourne, who had been helping the local force, gave evidence that he had seen a number of youths standing under a bus shelter; they were not doing anything, but he 'had heard that this was a trouble spot' and had told them to move away. Not all moved away quickly enough and one was arrested. 'If you allow him to get away with what he did,' the constable told the court, 'and not move when the police told him to, then others would be free to come down. It was necessary in the public's interest that these youths should not shelter from the rain in this particular shelter.'

The police (and the courts) acted on the assumption that certain forms of behaviour, although not criminal in themselves, were, under the particular circumstances, so situationally improper* as to call for official action. It must be emphasized that the majority of arrests throughout were for offences which are both potentially provokable and involve considerable police discretion. This means that the sheer number of charges could give a distorted picture of the disturbances. In Brighton, Whitsun, 1965, for example, there was little serious trouble: the weather (there was hail and sleet) had sent people home early and the Chief Constable even issued an official statement that most young people had been well behaved and the police were in control. But 'in control' meant making a large number of discretionary arrests; from late Saturday to Monday there were over 110 arrests. These were not clear-cut offences, such as possessing an offensive weapon or assault, but charges which required highly

* The notion of situational impropriety is derived from Goffman; his discussions of attitudes to 'loitering' and 'loitering' are particularly apposite to the situation on the beaches where the police appeared to be given a license to move people along who were doing nothing; one had to appear purposeful.²⁹

subjective definitions of what constituted 'obstruction', 'abusive', 'threatening', 'insulting', 'disorderly' or 'unruly' behaviour. These terms could only acquire an objective and reified status through the acceptance of situational logic which, in turn, was based on the belief system. The following are examples of this situational logic; the first two are from statements by the Inspector prosecuting in the Brighton court, the second two are from Hastings:

In a case of wilful obstruction: 'In the circumstances which operated in Brighton at the time, it can be seen that what the boys did was likely to provoke a breach of the peace.'

In a case of using threatening behaviour: 'We will allege that he was one of nine or ten Rockers chanting "We want blood" and we would also allege that in these particular circumstances in Brighton at the time he should be classified as unruly and we will oppose bail on these grounds.'

An 18-year-old girl was at the back of a crowd which was being moved. She refused to move quickly and turned round to her side where the constable was walking and said, 'Don't push me, you . . . copper; I will report you.' The prosecutor commented: 'This is a case where in ordinary circumstances the police would shrug the thing off, but in an inflammable situation of this nature, silly little girls like this could cause a great deal of trouble.'

In one of the few cases that were actually dismissed in Hastings (August 1964) on the grounds of insufficient evidence, a boy, P.G., was charged with abusive behaviour. According to the evidence, a constable had seen a large group of 'unruly youths' walking along obstructing the road. Along with other officers, the constable moved one part of the group along the promenade. P.G. was one of the group and the constable heard him jeer at another officer and make personal observations including the remark, 'Look at freckles.' This sort of remark 'might not have been taken much notice of in normal circumstances, but because of the inflammatory nature of the occasion, it assumed much greater proportions. Things could snowball very rapidly.'

The last two cases, together with personal observation of similar incidents, bear out Becker's point that a great deal of enforcement activity is devoted not to the enforcement of the rules, but getting respect from the people the enforcer deals with: 'This means that one may be labelled as a deviant, not

because he has actually broken a rule, but because he has shown disrespect to the enforcer of the rule.³⁰ This factor assumed a particular significance at the seaside resorts, where police were hypersensitive to being exposed to public ridicule. In view of the audience watching their actions, this feeling was understandable. No matador wants to be laughed at.

The more sustained effects of police action were less visible, but, in terms of the amplification model, as important. These effects were to increase the deviance by unwittingly solidifying the amorphous crowd forces into more viable groups for engaging in violence and by further polarizing the deviants against the community.

These sorts of effects are well known to students of gang behaviour. The early Chicago sociologists – particularly Thrasher and Tannenbaum – documented the ways in which attack, opposition or attempted suppression increase the group's cohesion. According to Thrasher, such attack was virtually a necessary prerequisite for any embryonic street group to become a gang. More recently, Yablonsky has shown the same effects and they have also been documented in the general literature on crowd control in political, racial and other types of disturbances.

The crowd situation offers, *par excellence*, the opportunity for police intervention to have the unintended effect of solidifying the opposition. Such solidification and polarization takes place not simply in the face of attack, but attack that is perceived as harsh, indiscriminate and unfair. Even if the attack was not like this, the ambiguity of the crowd situation offered the maximum possible opportunity for rumours of such police action to spread. In the same way that the Mods and Rockers were perceived symbolically and stereotypically by the police, the police too were perceived by the crowd as the 'enemy'. Here was a Punch and Judy show, with each side having a partially false perspective on the other and each acting in order to justify this perspective.

It was not just a question, though, of a nexus of mutual misunderstandings; the police did objectively act in such a way as to increase solidification and polarization. In the first place, their control tactics were based on the assumption that the young people present were either divided into two homogeneous groups, Mods and Rockers (the Divide and Rule theme) or constituted a single homogeneous mass. Both these assumptions were false. By emphasizing the Mods and Rockers' difference (e.g. by preventing the two groups from coming into proximity) the police might have widened the gulf between the groups. In one particular case (not in a seaside resort) the police, under full publicity, attempted to call two groups together for a peace

treaty.* By seeing the crowd as a homogeneous mass, to be controlled on the basis of the visible stigmata of dress, a greater sense of cohesion develops. If subject to indiscriminate harassment or even if only witnessing the innovative use of violence by the police, the more marginal and passive sections of the crowd could quite easily develop a sense of resentment and grievance. This could be the first step towards a sense of identity and common purpose with the real or imagined hard core of the crowd, with 'police brutality' as a convenient rallying point.

It should be noted that feelings of persecution were particularly acute among the Rockers, who were observably discriminated against by the police. This group was more visible than the amorphous Mod crowds and also occupied in the public mind the traditional 'yobbo' status. Their existent minority group status *vis-à-vis* the Mods and their sense of fighting a rearguard battle against the new emancipated teenagers, was reinforced by the police who naturally enough found it easier to identify a minority group. The literature on crowd control points to this type of partiality as being particularly provocative and police are usually impressed with the necessity to avoid entering into issues that move the crowd.

Another source of solidification stemmed from the fact that the opposition was largely ineffectual. From the initial incident at Clacton, the police were faced with a new situation for which there had been little precedent. Unlike the Metropolitan Police, the police forces of small seaside resorts have little or no experience in handling potentially violent crowd situations such as political demonstrations. The tactics of crowd control emerged on an *ad hoc* basis and were necessarily over-influenced by false perceptions of the situation and the highly charged emotional atmosphere. This meant that hallowed strategies such as 'the show of force', which most manuals on crowd control advocate in such situations, were not properly implemented. Either the 'force' was not strong enough, or had a comic opera aspect (e.g. the use of converted public health vehicles as patrol vans), or police action was often hesitant instead of quick and decisive, or action went beyond the show of force to the actual use of force. In the face of control that was manifestly inadequate to deal with the crowd if it did, in fact, become a viable violent mob, the crowd could easily

* Yablonsky comments on a similar peace treaty: 'The meeting gave a degree of official recognition to the illegal activity of a disorganized connection of neighbourhood youth. Moreover the treaty may have structured a loosely developed conflict. The meeting confirmed the fact that there was trouble brewing between rival groups. Now two "gangs" had a war truce.'³¹

develop a sense of its potential power. If one hundred Mods are chasing a handful of Rockers across the beach, the sight of a handful of policemen in turn pursuing the Mods can only appear somewhat ludicrous and undignified. It only needed one unfortunate policeman's helmet to fall off for the situation to move very far from a successful show of force.

The third source of solidification and polarization was the effect of dramatization. Although, by definition, a show of force has to be publicly demonstrated if it is to have a deterrent effect, it need not be overdramatized. The dramatic techniques described earlier, such as frogmarching two youths to the police station or marching a group through the streets, could only have the effect that Tannenbaum intended in his phrase 'the dramatization of evil'. These techniques effectively polarize the forces of good and evil and solidify by creating the sense of resentment, which is a natural reaction to being exposed to public ridicule. If such effects are combined with a sense of persecution, the whole situation could take on a mythical, chimerical meaning. The activist Mod or Rocker (real or imaginary) could, like Shellow and Roemer's 'Hells Angels' function not only as vicarious exemplars of behaviour that some young people might fantasise but also act as legendary champions who will rescue the persecuted; they quote one motor-cyclist witnessing police harassment: 'Just wait till the Hells Angels hear about this when they come in tomorrow. They'll come down and tear this place apart.'³²

That this type of polarization did, in fact, occur, can be seen in the changing attitudes towards the police. In the first series of events, the crowd, with a few exceptions, maintained fairly good-humoured relations with the police. 'Attacks' on the police were usually disrespectful gestures, such as knocking off helmets. As the moral panic progressed, though, the lines hardened and relationships between the crowd and the police deteriorated. In Brighton, August 1965, a policeman attempting to arrest the apparent leader of a group of one hundred Mods charging across the beach, was immediately stoned and when he lost his helmet in a scuffle, it was pounced upon and used as a football. In Great Yarmouth at Easter, 1966, four policemen were assaulted and one of them kicked about the head. The following incidents illustrate the strained atmosphere and the way in which hostility to authority became generalized:

A policeman walked quite peacefully between two rows of boys near the aquarium. Some of them started whistling the Z-car theme and one shouted out 'Sprachen the Deutsch constable?'

A boy was throwing stones outside a shop under the archway. The owner

came out and shouted at him: 'If you come down here you must behave.' The boy retorted (not quite loud enough for the man to hear): 'Or else you'll get your fuckin' army on to us.'

(Notes, Brighton, Easter, 1966)

The role of the courts in the control culture can be seen as reinforcing the tendency towards solidification and polarization. The sentences were seen as not only sanctioning police action, but as being intrinsically harsh and unfair: this was the overwhelming response among the boys in the Barker-Little sample. The use of the remand in custody as a punitive measure was a particularly widely felt grievance. The dramatization effect achieved by the magistrates' pronouncements left little doubt – certainly among the offenders' friends and relatives waiting in the foyer of the Brighton court – that the magistrates were using their powers for ritual reasons: they were denouncing deviance by making an example of the offender. Such denunciations – combined with the widely held view that the police had been arresting on a 'quota' system – led readily enough to feelings of resentment and martyrdom.

It should be noted throughout that the amplificatory effects of the control culture were fed back into the mass media, which further exaggerated them, thus producing another link in the sequence. If the policemen did not see themselves as 'the brave men in blue' fighting the evil mob, nor the magistrates themselves as society's chosen mouthpieces for denouncing evil, these polarizations were made on their behalf by others.

Summary

Before providing a brief summary of this chapter, two footnotes should be added to my argument about the unintended effects of the societal reaction.

The first relates to the supposed 'inevitability' of the societal reaction. While it is true that each stage of the reaction appears to be a logical product of the prior one, the deviance amplification model is a typical rather than an inevitable sequence. There are no overwhelming technical reasons why it should not be broken or at least re-routed at various points, for example, by creating alternative modes of presenting the news. Even direct intervention by control agents could be different and not produce all the effects I have suggested. Thus – to take examples on an admittedly small scale – one might compare the Mods and Rockers' events with a similar situation where disturbances were, in fact, prevented. Shellow and Roemer have described a case of threatened Hells Angels' disturbances and the polarization of crowds