

2066

11 51 63047
APR 10 2009

7079

JUN 5 1986

NF 019

L 340

435

MAR 03 1992
5365936

ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF DRESS IN THE HIP

SUBCULTURE: 1966-1970

by

Susan Claire Sweatt

Research in the clothing field has shown that dress is often used as a social tool, allowing individual adaptation to social norms. Dress has also been used symbolically to indicate discontent with social norms and to express a desire for social change. Informal observation of the hip subculture in America in the late 1960's reveals a manner of dress that differed radically from the norms of the larger society. Little research exists as to the factual or symbolic nature of the hip style of dress, the motivations of those who wore it, or its evolution over time. The objective of this study is to investigate these areas of dress for the years 1966 through 1970, paying particular attention to changing social roles, self-concepts, and social philosophies as symbolically expressed in dress modes.

Because this time period has passed into American history, the design of the study is necessarily historical. The research is drawn from written data about the hip subculture and its effects on the larger society. It was decided to use data from the "popular press," or mass media, to explore the use of dress in a "popular" movement. From Newsweek, a regularly-published and widely-read news magazine, specific issues were selected to reflect changes in the reporting of hippie apparel during the five-year period. These issues were searched for descriptive words or phrases that applied to the personal appearance of

any person between 15 and 30 years of age. Another count was made from the photographs accompanying the magazine text. The data for both the Verbal and Visual counts were then divided by year into three categories, including "Hair," "Clothing and Accessories," and "Opinion Adjectives."

The data totals for the five years included in the study show a tremendous interest on the part of the mass media in the hip style of dress, its symbolic content, and the motivations for wearing it. This interest lends credence to the hypotheses concerning the changing social roles and philosophies of youth, as reflected in modes of dress.

Those hypotheses concerning changing self-concepts of youth as reflected in modes of dress could not be directly supported without altering the research design. Further research using similar data sources is needed to clarify the complex inter-relationships between dress, self-concept, age, and social role in this historical period.

Comparison of the data totals for each of the five years shows a sharp increase in all categories between 1969 and 1970. This rise clearly reflects the emergence and increased use by writers of the hip dress stereotype, including the specific items "long hair" and "denim jeans."

This study should be considered exploratory in nature, for it poses many researchable questions about the dress used within the hip subculture, and about the reactions of the larger society when confronted with this atypical attire.

THE ROLE OF DRESS IN THE HIP
SUBCULTURE: 1966-1970

by

Susan Claire Sweatt

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Human Environment and Design

1975

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis was made possible by the co-operative efforts of many people at Michigan State University. To my thesis director and committee members, Dr. Joanne B. Eicher, Dr. Kathleen E. Musa, and Dr. Peter K. Manning, I offer my sincere thanks for their experience, criticism, and encouragement. With their guidance the research process became a useful tool rather than an obstacle.

Special thanks go to Dr. Robert Summitt, whose kindness allowed me to continue my studies when other sources failed, and to Dr. Denton E. Morrison, who offered his course as a forum to introduce my theories.

Finally, my thanks go to my friends and fellow graduate students, who operated as my support system during the writing of this thesis. Their love and faith made the struggle worthwhile.

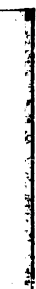


TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION	1
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	2
A CASE STUDY OF SOCIETAL CONFLICT	3
Conflict Theory	4
Case Study	7
Clothing and Personal Appearance as a "Weapon"	14

CHAPTER II:

HYPOTHESES	19
THE RESEARCH DESIGN	20
METHODOLOGY	21

CHAPTER III:

DATA RESULTS	25
ANALYSIS OF RESULTS	25
DISCUSSION OF RESULTS	33
SUMMARY OF RESULTS	42
PROBLEMS WITH THE RESEARCH DESIGN	43
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	45
APPENDIX	48
BIBLIOGRAPHY	51

LIST OF TABLES

1. VERBAL DATA--"HAIR" and "OPINION ADJECTIVES"	31
2. VERBAL DATA--"CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES"	32
3. VISUAL DATA--"HAIR"	37
4. VISUAL DATA--"CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES"	38

LIST OF FIGURES

1. "HAIR" MENTIONS: BY YEAR--FROM VERBAL DATA	27
2. "CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES" MENTIONS: BY YEAR--FROM VERBAL DATA	28
3. "OPINION ADJECTIVES" MENTIONS: BY YEAR--FROM VERBAL DATA . . .	29
4. COMPARISON OF THREE VERBAL CATEGORIES "HAIR," "CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES," AND "OPINION ADJECTIVES": BY YEAR	30
5. "HAIR" ITEMS RECORDED: BY YEAR--FROM VISUAL DATA	34
6. "CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES" ITEMS RECORDED: BY YEAR--FROM VISUAL DATA	35
7. COMPARISON OF TWO VISUAL CATEGORIES "HAIR" AND "CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES": BY YEAR	36

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the latter half of the 1960's, American culture was under fire--its own members were criticizing and questioning the validity of its previously viable value system. In the forefront of this attack from within were the young, particularly the adolescents. This was not a new pattern in American history, for the "bohemians" of the 1920's and the "beatniks" of the 1940's were also youthful critics of their society. They flared up briefly, upsetting the status quo for a short while, and faded away when the public's interest turned to newer phenomena. However, the most recent youth movement in America, involving the "hippies," seems to have had a considerably greater impact on the society than its predecessors.

The membership of the hip movement consisted primarily of adolescents, an enormous group due to the "baby boom" occurring after the Second World War. (Douglas, 1970, p. 46) Its primary goal was to expose the weaknesses and contradictions of the American social system. (Simmons, 1967, p. 12) Various alternatives to these social wrongs were proposed, all of which emphasized freedom of choice for the individual, or what became known as the "do your own thing" ethic. Due to the size of this group of young people, its apparent attacks on the structure of the adult world drew the attention of the communications media. (Douglas, 1970, pp. 55-56) The resulting publicity spread the ideas behind the movement throughout the society, causing such a rapid growth

in its membership that it was eventually incorporated as a valid alternative lifestyle for Americans. (Bronsteen, 1967, p. 10)

The hip movement was characterized by its radical and innovative tactics, its methods of calling attention to itself and spreading its beliefs. Chief among its "weapons" against the established social system was an emphasis on atypical dress and personal appearance, and the popular stereotype of the hippie invariably included some mention of clothing, accessories, or grooming. This particular style of dress¹ proved to be such an evocative symbol of the movement that it came in time to represent youthful disaffection of any kind.

If we are to learn from historical lessons, we must first understand the motivations underlying overt actions. How and why dress came to play such a major role in the hip movement are questions that demand answers, especially for the student of history or sociology. In this study a clear delineation of several important functions of dress in a complex, mass society will be made, using the hippies as a recent and highly visible example.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Focus of the study:

Research in the clothing field has shown that dress is one of many devices available to members of a society that facilitates individual adaptation to the norms of the social system. As the structure of the society evolves, so do these adaptive devices.

The evolution of dress as a social tool cannot be fully understood on a broad scale without in-depth research into specific changes

¹"Dress" refers to all aspects of an individual's personal appearance.

in dress modes, found in specific societies during specific time periods. Due to the manipulative quality of dress, a highly plastic medium, it has throughout history been used symbolically to indicate discontent with social norms and to express a need for social change. When used thus, dress can become a "weapon," since much social change involves conflict between members of the society in question.

In the case of the hip subculture in America in the late 1960's, it is generally accepted that dress was used in a manner that differed radically from the norms of the larger society. Little formal research exists as to the nature, symbolic or factual, of the hip style of dress, much less the motivations of those individuals who chose to wear it. There is also little known about the evolution of this dress style over the years between its first appearance and the subsequent rise and decline of the hip movement.

Objective:

The main objective of this study is to investigate the role of dress in the hip subculture in America, between the years 1966 and 1970. In particular, attention will be given to the use of dress to symbolize a desire for change in the existing social structure, the perception of hip dress by the larger society, and the temporal dimension in the evolution of hip dress over the five-year period.

A CASE STUDY OF SOCIETAL CONFLICT

In order to understand the role of dress in the hip subculture, it is first necessary to understand the basic conflicts involved in the social upheaval in America between 1965 and 1970.

The following pages explore several of the elements of conflict. First, the theoretical basis of societal conflict is presented, drawn

from sociological literature. Secondly, the theory is applied to the specific case under discussion, with descriptions of the two conflicting groups, their motives and tactics, and some of the end results of that conflict. Finally, the function of dress as a symbolic element in the conflict is delineated.

Conflict Theory

Conflict theory is that body of sociological thought that deals with social change as a result of intra-societal conflict. According to Karl Marx, one of the first advocates of this theoretical approach, ". . . every society generates in its structure conflicting classes which develop in a certain way and the conflict of which eventually leads to structural upheavals." (Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 73) Ralf Dahrendorf maintains that ". . . societies create out of their structure with predictable certainty the conditions of social antagonisms, . . . therefore society is not an integrated cooperative system but at best a relatively integrated system of conflicting structural forces, even more, a permanently changing structure of integrative and disruptive factors." (Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 113) While there are many theories that deal with the proper place of conflict within a society, conflict theorists believe that conflict is necessary for any social change. To Lewis Coser,

. . . conflict is a form of socialization . . . no group can be entirely harmonious, for it would then be devoid of process and structure. Groups require disharmony as well as harmony, dissociation as well as association; and conflicts within them are by no means altogether disruptive factors. Group formation is the result of both types of processes. (Coser, 1956, p. 31)

While social conflict may take any form, from mild disagreement to violent revolution, when delineating a specific conflict ". . . it is

necessary to emphasize that . . . the unit of analysis is always a specific association and the dichotomy of positions within it."

(Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 171) Of primary importance is the formation and constituency of the groups in conflict. Speaking in terms of who controls what power in the society, one group is always dominant, characterized by an interest in maintaining the social structures that give it authority. The other group is in a state of relative subjection, interested in changing the conditions that deprive it of authority. These opposing positions set the stage for all the ensuing events. (Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 176)

The basic two positions in any conflict can be simplistically diagrammed. However, when individual motivation for membership in either group is explored, the theory becomes complex. "Individuals form a class only in so far as they are engaged in a common struggle with another class; and the force that affects class formation is class interest." (Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 14) Often these class interests are unclear even to participants until the conflict is actually joined, at which time the boundary lines dividing the groups are clarified. This can be a beneficial aspect of conflict, for once the opposing groups have organized themselves, the most uncontrollably violent form of conflict, guerrilla warfare, is temporarily excluded. The very fact of organization presupposes some degree of societal recognition that the grievances are legitimate, and more peaceful methods of conflict resolution thus become feasible. (Dahrendorf, 1959, p. 213)

Dahrendorf's theoretical constructs of social conflict and change involve discovering the variables of each particular case as well as the factors affecting each variable. Among these variables are:

1. Intensity - if the cost of victory or defeat is high for the groups concerned, the conflict is of high intensity.

2. Violence - this relates to the manifestations rather than the causes of the conflict; it is a matter of the weapons chosen by the conflicting groups to express their hostilities.

3. Superimposition - since there are usually several conflicts going on at once within a society, it is not possible to give one's full attention to them all, therefore they tend to be lumped together and reduced to just a few dominant conflicts.

4. Superimposition and Intensity - if the same two groups oppose each other in different conflicts, the energies expended will be combined for each side and again channelled into one dominant conflict.

5. Segmentalization - each conflict is confined to just one of an individual's social roles and absorbs only part of the individual's energy and personality. Commitment to one conflict entails withdrawal from all others.

6. Social Mobility - if the society does not allow movement up and down the social scale, the conflict will increase in both Intensity and Violence. (Dahrendorf, 1959, pp. 213-222)

Several other factors to consider in any one case of social conflict are the various temporary coalitions between previously unrelated groups to achieve a common goal, common or dissimilar backgrounds of the antagonistic groups, the extent of change that is demanded, both in structures and in personnel, and the previously existing and/or traditional modes of dealing with conflict in the society involved. (Dahrendorf, 1959, pp. 222-235) If all these factors and variables can be identified for one given case of conflict, it is

then possible to predict the most efficient way for the society to deal with dissent, and yet to preserve a viable structure.

In the present study, it is felt that by identifying the specific issues around which the conflict between the "hippies" and the "straights" centered, much insight into the nature of the then-existing American social system and its effect on its members can be gained. More specifically, it is possible, by delineating the social variables involved, to follow the conflict to the point when dress became an active agent in the hip movement.

Case Study

While divisive, often violent conflict is not unusual in American history, the events that occurred in the late 1960's seemed to cut across every American consciousness on a scale not seen since World War II. One journalist was moved to write, "The riptides of contemporary history have estranged Americans from one another by age, by race, even by class in ways Karl Marx could not have imagined: the hard-hat, union-label workingmen at the barricades in Wall Street defending The System against its own mutinous children." (Newsweek July 6, 1970, p. 19)

As in all conflicts, there were two opposing groups involved, known by the slang terms "straights" and "hippies." Because such terms are stereotypes in themselves, they say nothing about the characteristics of the members of the groups. The researcher interested in absolute definitions encounters this problem again and again, for despite the joined conflict, definitive "battle lines" appeared only briefly if at all. So many individuals were involved on so many different levels that generalizations became useless--they were disproven too

readily. The only general agreement that emerged relatively intact from the literature was that the membership of the two groups was age-graded in some manner.

The most frequently cited dichotomy speaks of adolescent hippies and adult straights. (Wakefield, 1969, p. 121; Johnson, 1969, p. 36; Reich, 1970, p. 235) It seems clear that the conflict had its roots in the difficulties encountered in becoming an adult in American society. Partridge, whose anthropological study of a hippie ghetto shows great insight into the nature of the hip criticisms of straight society, states, "Hippies are adolescents or young adults . . . males and females who are at the point in the human life cycle when the transition from adolescence to adulthood is to be made." The hip lifestyle ". . . is sought out as an alternative to adulthood in straight society, for in American society--as in every other society--adulthood is not a biological phenomenon, but a social and cultural one." (Partridge, 1973, p. 19) For Partridge, and for the less formal researchers of the hip scene, "The central question . . . is the relationship between the people called hippies and the larger American society of which they are both part and product." (Partridge, 1973, p. 18)

Accepting the assumption that the hippies were adolescents, the conflict could be said to center around social role exploration, the major task of the adolescent. (Friedenberg, 1959, p. 17) As the subjugated group, adolescents had few social responsibilities to fulfill, a fact that was both liberating and confusing. Unlike the adults ". . . who work an eight-to-five job and use only socially acceptable drugs such as alcohol," (Partridge, 1973, p. 12) the teenagers were largely uncommitted to routine work, available for social

experimentation, and had most major life-style options open to them. Lack of responsibility has its drawbacks, however, for it is the dominant, responsible group in the society that holds the power. Given the size of the adolescent group, the largest single age group in the society, a paradoxical situation arose. Adolescents were a numerical majority but a powerless minority in terms of social authority--the many were being told how to live by the few. Understandably, for young people raised under a democratic system, this situation was far from appealing.

It should be emphasized that this adolescent discontent did not bloom suddenly in the time period under discussion. As early as 1959, Friedenberg wrote that the ambivalence of adults toward teenagers was a kind of repressed panic-response to the liquidation of authority over them, that this loss of authority was real, and that the adult empire was tottering. (Friedenberg, 1959, p. 27) Through social processes worthy of further study, the stage was set in the ensuing years for a major confrontation between the adolescents and the older society, the former searching for relevant ways to cross into adulthood and the latter fearing complete social upheaval and a resultant casting-out of all persons "over 30."

The overt conflict began when adventurous adolescents in the large American cities first appeared in non-normative dress and longer hairstyles. They looked and acted differently from their peers. They demanded, when questioned, their right of self-expression, their right to hold different values, their right to be individuals. Taught that a good citizen is one who has been socialized to control emotions, inhibit antisocial behavior, repress urges, and be receptive to the sanctions of

group opinion, they realized that the socialization process itself must be attacked, broken through, so that the individual could be free to discover. (Partridge, 1973, p. 60) One by one, the adolescents began stepping outside acceptable boundaries in all areas of social life, using a great variety of tactics to educate, confuse, or enrage the adult society and at the same time spread the word "Freedom!" to their peers. The basic dogma of this youthful movement was "Anything goes," and "I'll never do anything I don't want to again," phrases expressing at once the painful mixture of human dignity and egocentrism that was the newly independent adolescent. (Partridge, 1973, p. 9)

Using Dahrendorf's list of conflict variables to sort out the elements involved in this case study, it becomes clear that this challenge to straight society was a very serious one, far removed from the frivolous antics of a few misguided teenagers. Looking at the antagonism between the two broad groups, adolescents and adults, an analysis of the conflict can be made as follows:

1. Intensity - On the adult side, the "repressed panic-response" was no longer repressed when the young in the society took a demanding, militant stance. For such panic to exist there had to be a real fear of "losing" the battle. The adolescents, having no formal roles to fulfill, had to "win" or face severe retribution. This was a conflict that would decide the next step in the American "love affair with youth." (Friedenberg, 1959, p. 179) It was highly Intense for both sides.

2. Violence - Any confrontation between youth and age in a society is also a confrontation between parents and their children. Thus the weapons chosen by each side could not be fatal, lest the whole fabric of society be destroyed. Since both sides had a stake in the

future of the society, guerrilla warfare was ruled out and other methods had to be found. The actual choice of weapons will be discussed at a later point, but given the Intensity at the outset of the conflict, the choice had to be effective in order to "win."

3. Superimposition - It is this variable that was primarily responsible for the Youth/Age dichotomy. Each participant in the conflict was individually concerned with the events in their daily lives, handling encounters with others on a one-to-one basis. As the conflict developed it was clear that the majority of the individuals on each side fell into one of the two age groupings. Given the American love of convenience, as well as the number of persons involved in the conflict, it is not surprising that the easy course of stereotyping by age was chosen.

4. Superimposition and Intensity - Because there were so many instances of the young versus the old already existing in the society, in the form of the parent against the child, the student against the teacher, the novice against the boss, more fuel was added to the Youth/Age stereotyping. It was very easy to conserve energy in this manner and channel the conflict into a narrower course, ignoring the exceptions along the way.

5. Segmentalization - The adults in the society were at a disadvantage in this instance, for they were previously committed to several social roles such as parent, provider, employee, and mate. The adolescents had no such commitments and were both willing and able to channel all their energy into this one conflict. The effect of this difference in social roles was to equalize the balance of power in the conflict, giving both sides a real chance to "win." The adult position

of power and authority was matched by the whole-hearted participation of the adolescents, a fact which also affected the Intensity, making a "win" more vital for each side.

6. Social Mobility - Although the mobility in American society has become part of the traditional American life-style, the chronological aspect of this conflict in effect locked the participants into set patterns of behavior. The role-typing involved in the labels adult and adolescent did not allow for such deviants as the immature adult or the early-maturing youth. Once again, the process of stereotyping did not allow individual mobility, based as it was on how many years the person had lived. It was, in fact, this very immobility that the young were protesting, making the conflict more Intense and potentially more Violent.

Other Variables:

Coalitions - The Youth/Age dichotomy worked here as a recruiting mechanism. High school students and college students, drop-outs and stay-ins, and other traditional "foes" felt that the individual right of expression was their fight, too. Adults also experienced similar coalitions, such as the executive and the factory worker, the teacher and the farmer. All these groups were temporarily bonded together by the age factor, and the stage was further set for a major social upheaval.

Backgrounds - As in the parent versus child confrontation, common backgrounds tended to de-fuse fatal explosions. After all, it is most efficient in warfare to treat the enemy dispassionately in order to destroy without personal involvement. Such efficiency was impossible when the combatants lived in the same home, ate at the same table, or

even attended the same church. Where the backgrounds of the conflicting groups were dissimilar or de-personalized, such as the confrontation between the young who had grown up in affluent surroundings and the adults who had to survive the Depression, violence in both the attack and the defense of ideologies intensified greatly.

Extent of Change Demanded - If the adolescents had wanted to settle for a few concessions from the authority figures in the society, the actual conflict might have been kept to a minimum, and the social structure would have continued relatively intact. However, youthful dissatisfaction had built up to such a level that the young were perceiving structural blockage of their needs. (Morrison, 1973, p. 684) If they elected to stay within the existing social norms, there were two choices open to them; they could be considered either a deviant group or a minority group. The acceptance of either label left the adult group in the dominant position in society and meant that no new solutions for finding social autonomy would appear. (Schwartz, 1965, p. 165) Finding these alternatives unacceptable, the adolescents were forced to create a new social system, to invent new structures and institutions that could fulfill their felt needs. Since the creation of new structures implied that the traditional structures were obsolete, the adults in authority felt threatened, and both the Intensity and potential Violence were further heightened.

Traditional Modes of Dealing with Conflict - According to Williams, one of the prime values of American society is a belief in and support for progress and change. (Williams, 1952, pp. 388-442) This tradition undoubtedly lowered the level of potential Violence; just how far it is impossible to test. But the young, in their idealistic

impetuosity, demanded so much so fast that even a loose social structure could not satisfy them. More structural blockage was perceived and the Violence and Intensity levels rose accordingly.

Considering only the ten broadest variables involved in this conflict and ignoring all those forces that worked on the individual participants, it is readily apparent that something in the social structure had to change. Both the Intensity and the Violence levels were explosively high, and major social change had to occur before the existing system disintegrated and the anarchy feared by the adults in authority came into being. The force of the hippie critique ". . . challenged the very heart of America--its philosophy, its goals, its ethics . . ." (Wolfe, 1968, p. 108) The assessment of the straight response to this challenge and the eventual outcome must be left to historians. For the purposes of this study, it is enough to apply the basics of conflict theory to the events of the late 1960's and turn now to the choice of clothing and personal appearance as a major tactic used by adolescents against the dominant social structure.

Clothing and Personal Appearance as a "Weapon"

The functions of dress in a complex technological society range far beyond the relatively simple uses of protection and modesty. The appearance a person presents to the world has become indicative of myriad personal characteristics, factual and abstract; in a word, dress has become symbolic. Stone states that

Appearance substitutes for past and present action and, at the same time, conveys an incipience permitting others to anticipate what is about to occur. Specifically, clothing represents our action, past, present, and future, as it is established by the proposals and anticipations that occur in every social transaction . . . (Stone, 1962, p. 229)

In the adolescent search for a satisfying self-image and a fulfilling role in society, it is therefore no surprise that dress is used as an important tool. As a minority or deviant group in American culture, adolescents have little power over the social forces that shape their lives. As a result, they overcompensate with an extreme emphasis in the areas they are permitted to control, one of which is dress. (Schwartz, 1963, p. 165) Roach indicates that adolescent clothing is considerably more varied than that of adults or children, (Roach, 1960, p. 85) and this variety plays a useful part for the young as they experiment with different roles. The teenager becomes most adept at interpreting viewer responses to his clothing, picking out those responses that "fit" best, arriving in this backward manner at a comfortable sense of self. (Stone, 1962, pp. 221-222)

When the hip subculture first appeared in the mid-1960's, its adherents chose to use their personal appearance as a symbol of their beliefs. As members of a society that used dress and grooming as indicators of social status and position, the hippies had been trained since childhood in the art of manipulating their appearance to communicate non-verbally. These adolescents had been taught which clothing was to be worn to "get ahead in the world," which clothing was considered acceptable for each social role. However, as one is taught what is "right," one also logically learns what is considered "wrong." The penalty for being "wrong" in any society can range from mild peer disapproval to ostracism to death. (Becker, 1963, p. 13) But the hippies, having perceived that the social structure itself bore the major responsibility for their non-status situation, and having decided to disregard the rules of a system they did not trust, effectively

subverted that system's penalties by refusing to grant it authority to penalize. Knowledgeable about straight society's taboos and proficient in the art of manipulating clothing on a program and review basis, (Stone, 1962, p. 230) these young men and women soon learned what bothered the adults most.

It is not important who first grew long hair, wore denim bell-bottom jeans, or painted psychedelic patterns on his skin. What matters is that the adolescents, sensitive to peer approval and fed up with adult disapproval, were fully aware of the reactions such attire provoked. They were not "stupid kids" blindly following the latest fad; the hippies found that the norms of the larger society conflicted with their own and chose to ignore them. (Friedenberg, 1952, p. 30) By shrewdly observing adult reactions to this "new" attire, reactions that ranged from concern about homosexuality to affronted outrage, the hippies knew they had found an effective tool.

In conflict theory terms, clothing was an ideal "weapon." It was not fatal. It effectively proclaimed one's status to all viewers, conveniently eliminating the need for an established line of rhetoric. It could be adopted by degrees, allowing a progressive commitment for the unsure teenagers. Once adopted, it marked the adolescent's militant stand against adult society and at the same time affirmed his membership in a distinct group of his peers, giving him a positive self-image and a definite role to play. As group boundaries were clarified, by the adoption or rejection of this atypical dress, both the hip and the straight groups were strengthened and their existence insured. (Coser, 1956, p. 25) The high visibility of dress facilitated the formation of politically homogeneous friendship circles at the same time that it

sharpened political cleavages. (Knapp, 1972, p. 83) And it was well-suited for the display of individuality that the young felt was missing from ". . . the pliable and adjusted blandness of acceptable adulthood." (Friedenberg, 1959, p. 11)

Reich outlines some of the hip themes expressed in the "new" clothing:

These clothes express freedom . . . [they] give the wearer freedom to do anything he wants. Above all, they are comfortable. They express a wholeness of self . . . deny the importance of hierarchy, status, authority, position, and they reject competition. The new clothes express a shared set of attitudes and values . . . the new unity of youth. (Reich, 1970, pp. 234-239)

Having made the conscious decision to seek alternatives to straight society, the hippies discovered a host of clothing and accessory items which had been previously sublimated or consciously ignored. The previous symbols of clothing status were replaced with insignia that were unintelligible to former associates and straight society as a whole, symbols that were translated as "weird," "bizarre," or even "crazy" by those who obtained no enjoyment from the unusual. (Partridge, 1973, p. 72) The hippies fought standard-brand American stereotypes with every conceivable visual aid or costume they could find. Such symbolic enrichment of the culture raised existential questions for the wearer as well as the viewer; its very freedom reminded both parties that there were many options besides those labeled "acceptable" by the dominant social group. (Turner, 1968, p. 576)

With such a wealth of exotic visual stimuli confronting them, the adults in straight society were overwhelmed. Following the conflict theory model, the stereotype of the "hippie look" came to mean long hair and jeans, as the process of Superimposition narrowed the conflict down to a manageable size. This was quite in character for the straights,

given the American cultural insistence on generalized rather than specific response. (Friedenberg, 1952, p. 65) The converse was also true. As "longhair" became the label for young "undesirables," "hard-hat" and "redneck" were the pejorative terms used by the hippies to describe their opponents. (Knapp, 1972, p. 77)

The place of dress in the conflict between adults and adolescents fluctuated as the conflict itself ran the gamut of phases common to popular, inclusive social movements in America. What began as an original, imaginative weapon against the traditional social structure gradually became a well-known stereotype, which went on to become a cliché. "Fashion," says Simmel, "always occupies the dividing-line between the past and the future, and consequently conveys a stronger feeling of the present . . . than most other phenomenae." (Simmel, 1957, p. 547) Because of the hippies, dress and personal appearance were, for a while, most important elements in the American social scene. If the historians see the hippies as the embodiment of the malaise of an entire generation, then they must also find dress the primary vehicle for the expression of that malaise.

CHAPTER II

HYPOTHESES

In an analysis of the differentiation function of clothing in societies, Bush and London propose three hypotheses which have been used, in a more specific form, to direct this study. The original hypotheses are:

1. Differences in modes of dress within a particular society are indicative of differences in social roles and self-concepts of members of that society.
2. Changes in fundamental or enduring modes of dress in a society are indicative of changes in the social roles and self-concepts of members of that society.
3. The greater or smaller the variability of clothing styles in a society, the less or more respectively well-defined and conflict-free are social roles in that society. (Bush and London, 1965, p. 72)

Modifications were necessary in order to apply these hypotheses to the case study under discussion. In American society social roles and self-concepts do not seem to be equivalents. Therefore each is stated separately. Because this particular conflict involved a critique of the entire social system, the two opposing sides experienced a crystallization of their whole social philosophies, and reflected this in their dress. And finally, the appearance of a distinct age group whose major concerns were social role and self-concept was thought to be sufficiently important in this conflict to warrant specific mention.

The following are suggested as the hypotheses for the case study under discussion:

1. A - Differences in modes of dress in America in the late 1960's were indicative of differences in social roles of members of American society.

B - Differences in modes of dress in America in the late 1960's were indicative of differences in self-concepts of members of American society.

2. The conflict of social philosophies in American society in the late 1960's was directly reflected in the dress of the antagonists.

3. A - The changes in the mode of dress worn by American adolescents in the late 1960's were indicative of changes in their social roles.

B - The changes in the mode of dress worn by American adolescents in the late 1960's were indicative of changes in their self-concepts.

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Because the time period being discussed has passed into American history, this study must necessarily be historical in approach. The participants in the subculture as well as their opponents have dispersed and the hip movement itself has been displaced in the public eye by more current events. Any attempt at subject sampling would produce only recall data which would have limited use due to the distortions in human memory over time. Therefore it was decided to base the research on the written data available. Unfortunately, so little formal research has been done on this time period that primary sources of information are non-existent for the practical purposes of this study. There is,

however, a wealth of secondary sources available in the form of newspaper stories and magazine articles. It seemed most fitting to use the "popular press" to explore the growth of a "popular" movement, especially since it was the mass media that provided the initial impetus necessary to the development of the subculture. (Wolfe, 1968, pp. 107-108)

METHODOLOGY

Given the sheer volume of written material available to the researcher and the interest in such specific items as articles of clothing and hair length that came to represent the hippie stereotype, the use of content analysis procedures seemed most appropriate. Defined as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication," (Berelson, 1952, p. 18) content analysis allows the researcher to tailor a search of literature to his specific needs, using well-defined categories carefully developed to eliminate unnecessary and unproductive effort.

The first essential task was to limit the scope of the study by choosing literature that would be representative of the mass media. Again, it should be emphasized that literally millions of words were written about the hip subculture, and a truly comprehensive study of all the secondary sources was thought to be impossible in the time available. Ruling out newspaper stories because of their geographical limitations, a regularly-published and widely-read magazine was sought. Time and Newsweek were two obvious choices, and Newsweek was arbitrarily selected.

Published weekly, the Newsweek format is a potpourri of regional, national, and world news stories interspersed with essays about current trends in American culture. While there was undoubtedly an editorial

policy that determined what was printed in the magazine, it was felt that an earnest attempt was made to present more than one side of each issue, often by asking several well-known persons to comment on the issue and simply printing their opinions.

The specific issues of Newsweek included in the study were chosen to reflect the changes in the reporting of hippie apparel over a five-year period, instead of concentrating on one year. Partridge's appraisal of the hip lifestyle in a student/hippie ghetto states that ". . . the change in the university calendar . . . brings on [the] summer period of instability and the concomitant innovative life-styles." (Partridge, 1973, p. 27) Reasoning that "innovative" also applied to dress and personal appearance, it was decided that more data would be found in the summer issues of Newsweek, when the student population would swell the ranks of the hip subculture. Therefore the magazine sample used in this study includes those issues between June 15 and September 15, in the years 1966 through 1970. After a pilot study of the coding procedures was run on the first six months of 1965, so little relevant data was found that the year was dropped from the study.

Having selected the source of information for the study, the coding procedures were finalized with the Newsweek format in mind. The intent was to count every word of description used by the magazine's writers that applied to the personal appearance of any person between the ages of 15 and 30. No distinction was made between the reporters' prose and direct quotes, the feeling being that if the descriptive word appeared in print at all the reader would be influenced by it regardless of who originally used it. No advertisements were used, but every other printed word was considered fair game, including "Letters to the Editor."

Each word or phrase found was recorded on a 3"x5" note card, with a notation of the date of the issue and the reporter's byline, if any. After the data was gathered it was separated by year into three categories: "Hair," "Clothing and Accessories," and "Opinion Adjectives." These categories included the following:

"Hair" - Specific mention of hair length (short, medium, and long), references to facial hair (beard, mustache, sideburns, clean-shaven), and general comments, i.e., "frazzled hair" or "eccentric haircuts."

"Clothing and Accessories" - Specific mention of clothing and accessory items or the absence thereof.

"Opinion Adjectives" - Any non-factual word or phrase that called for a judgement on the part of the viewer, i.e., "hippie-type," "bizarre dress," or "dirty."

In order to compare what the young people wore with what the reporters noticed, an item count was also made of the photos accompanying the text. The same procedure was used, with the addition of a subjective judgement of whether or not the model fell within the 15 to 30-year-old age limits. Crowd pictures were used only if there were clear examples of clothing or hair showing. Pictures of famous youth personalities such as rock stars were not used because such persons could be said to be in theatrical costume rather than everyday dress.²

²"Costume" is defined as extraordinary dress adopted when one is acting out of an-ordinary, everyday role and must appear out of role as well. Costume is thus seen as a misrepresentation of authentic self. Gregory P. Stone, "Appearance and the Self" in Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach. A. M. Rose, editor (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962), p. 96.

The items were not restricted to American youth, for one of the characteristics of the hip subculture was its spread to the youth in other countries. As one Newsweek reporter put it, ". . . the hippies in Tokyo look exactly like the hippies in Rome and St. Mark's Place." (Newsweek July 7, 1969, p. 94) Obvious traditional cultural costume was ignored unless it appeared on a "non-native." For instance, two young women from the Bronx wore Indian saris in a photo taken at a rock concert in California and were included.

A great deal of subjective judgement was necessary throughout the study, for which the writer relied on personal experience within the subculture. However, a rigorous attempt at objectivity was made and often aided by such devices as the identifying captions appearing underneath the Newsweek photos and informal opinion polls conducted among the writer's peers about the word or photo in question.

Once gathered, the data were separated by year into the appropriate category by item. In the "Clothing and Accessory" category several similar items were combined for simplification. For example, "love beads" and "peace symbol on a leather thong" were considered to be necklaces and were combined under "beads." Similarly, "garish gown" and "ankle-length skirt" were put into the "Other-skirts" column, while the number of "mini-skirt" mentions earned its own column.³

³A complete listing of the data is included in the Appendix.

CHAPTER III

DATA RESULTS

After compilation of the data collected from those issues of Newsweek indicated, there was a total of 285 words or phrases used to describe the personal appearance of youthful newsmakers, distributed as follows:

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	TOTAL	% of 285
"Hair"	8	19	18	25	68	138	48.42
"Clothing and Accessories"	10	22	18	20	59	129	45.26
"Opinion Adjectives"	0	2	4	3	9	18	6.32
						285	100.00%

In the photo sample, a total of 50 subjects were used, 32 males and 18 females. Two hundred and twenty-six distinct items were recorded:

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	TOTAL	% of 226
"Hair"	0	10	8	4	46	68	29.82
"Clothing and Accessories"	0	21	22	7	108	158	69.91
						226	100.00%

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

In general, it can be seen that there was a great deal of interest in the personal appearance of young people in the years 1966

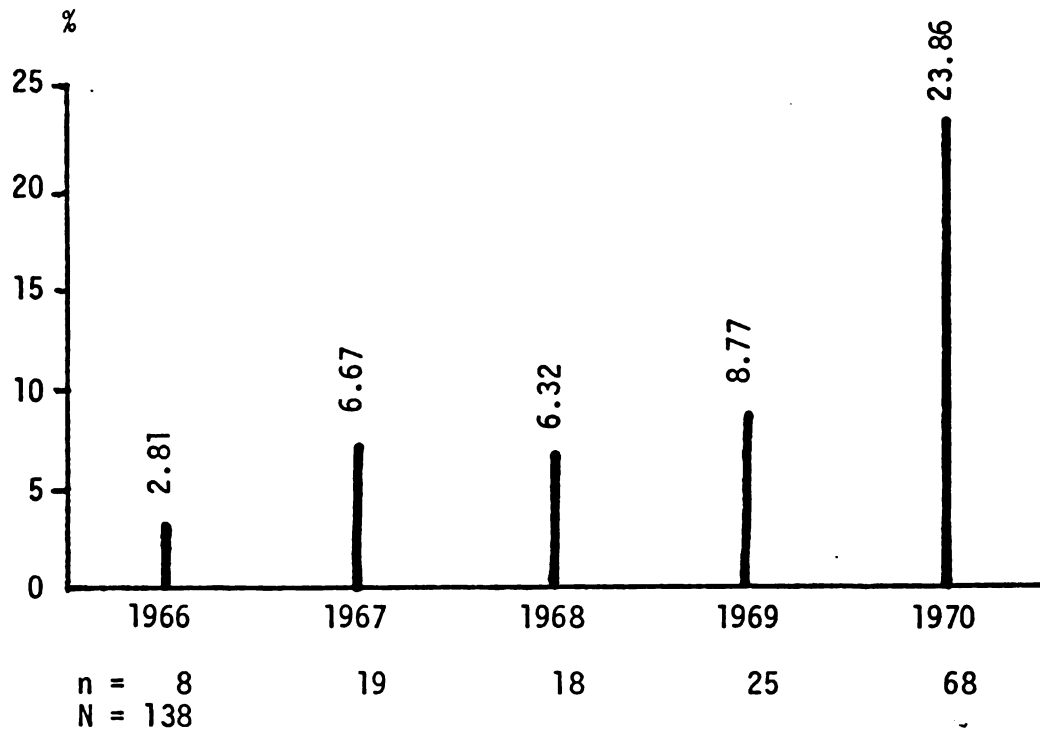
through 1970. The large number of items recorded in both the Verbal and Visual studies of Newsweek, for subjects between the ages of 15 and 30 years, indicates that there was a correlation between chronological age and newsworthiness. While the nature of that correlation was not tested statistically, the existence of enough "Opinion Adjectives" in the Verbal study to warrant categorization argues that if the subject in question was between 15 and 30 years of age, chances were greater that his personal appearance would be recorded in print than one who was not in that age bracket.

Verbal Study

As seen in Figures 1 and 2, the reporters showed a nearly equal interest in the categories "Hair" and "Clothing and Accessories," with "Hair" having a slight edge of approximately 3% of the total number of 285 mentions. The "Opinion Adjectives" category shown in Figure 3 was small by comparison, accounting for only 6.32% of the total number of 285 mentions.

In Figure 4, the three categories used in the Verbal study are compared, using the percentages of the total number of 285 mentions for each year of the five-year period 1966 through 1970. The most obvious result is the sharp rise in the percentages for all three categories between 1969 and 1970, on the approximate order of 3:1. There is also a slight drop in the percentages for "Hair" and "Clothing and Accessories" between 1967 and 1968, while the "Opinion Adjectives" percentage rose minutely in the same period.

An arbitrary choice of the top three items found on Tables 1 and 2 shows that the reporters were most likely to notice and subsequently

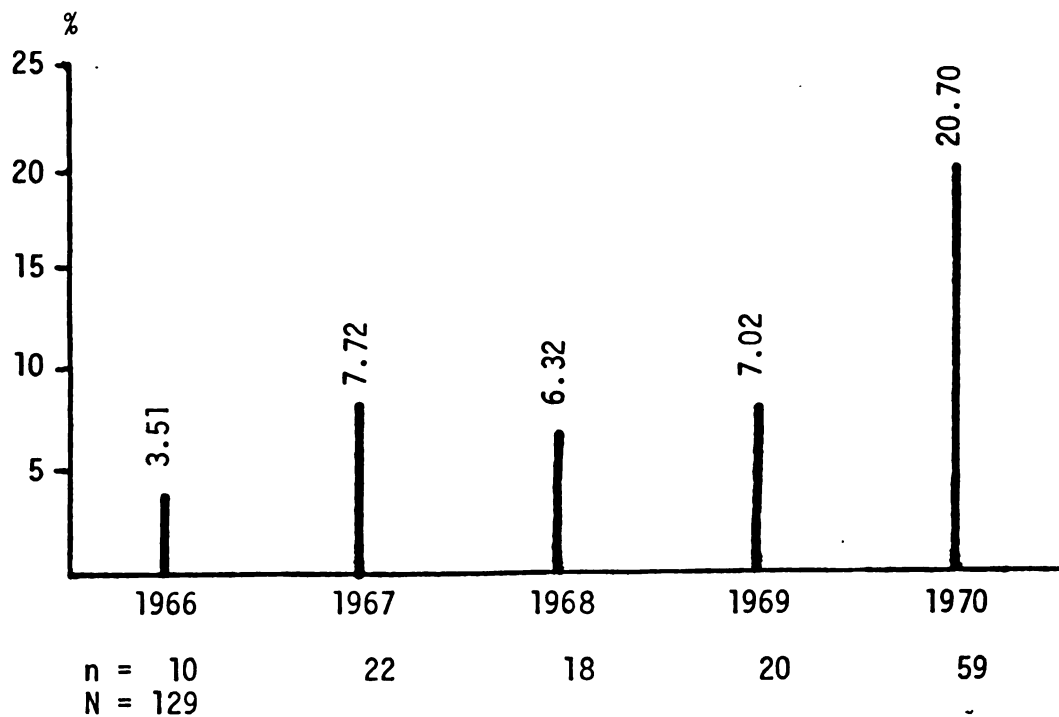


% = percentage of Total (285 mentions), all categories

N = Total mentions of "Hair"

n = number of mentions of "Hair"/Year

Figure 1. "HAIR" MENTIONS: BY YEAR--FROM VERBAL DATA

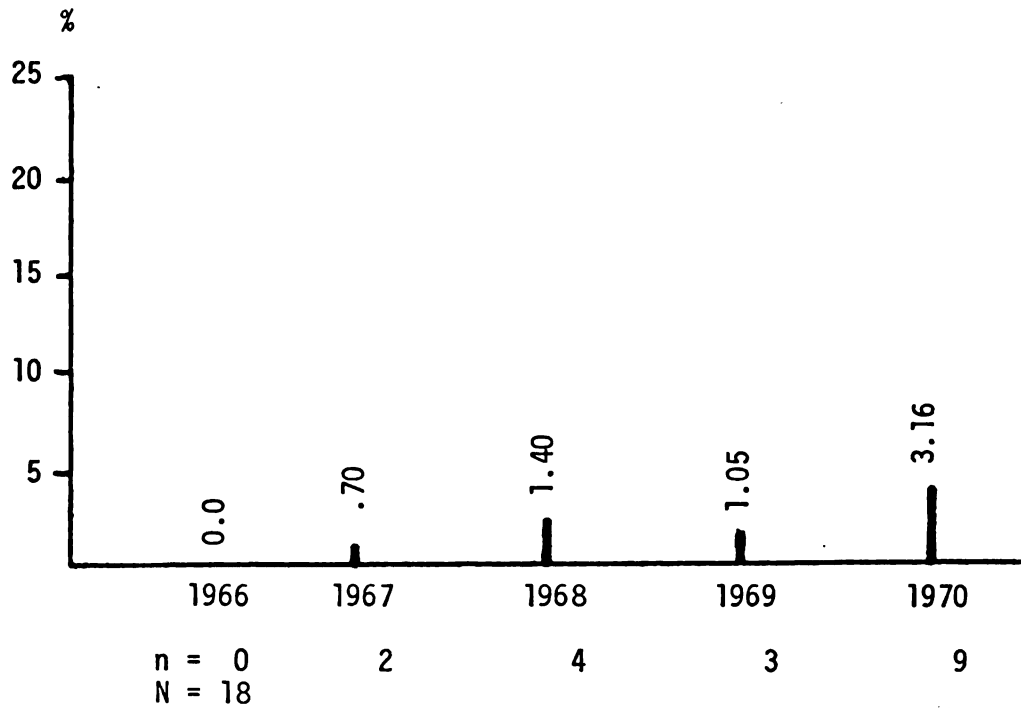


% = percentage of Total (285 mentions), all categories

N = Total mentions of "Clothing and Accessories"

n = number of mentions of "Clothing and Accessories"/Year

Figure 2. "CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES" MENTIONS:
BY YEAR--FROM VERBAL DATA



% = percentage of Total (285 mentions), all categories

N = Total mentions of "Opinion Adjectives"

n = number of mentions of "Opinion Adjectives"/Year

Figure 3. "OPINION ADJECTIVES" MENTIONS: BY
YEAR--FROM VERBAL DATA

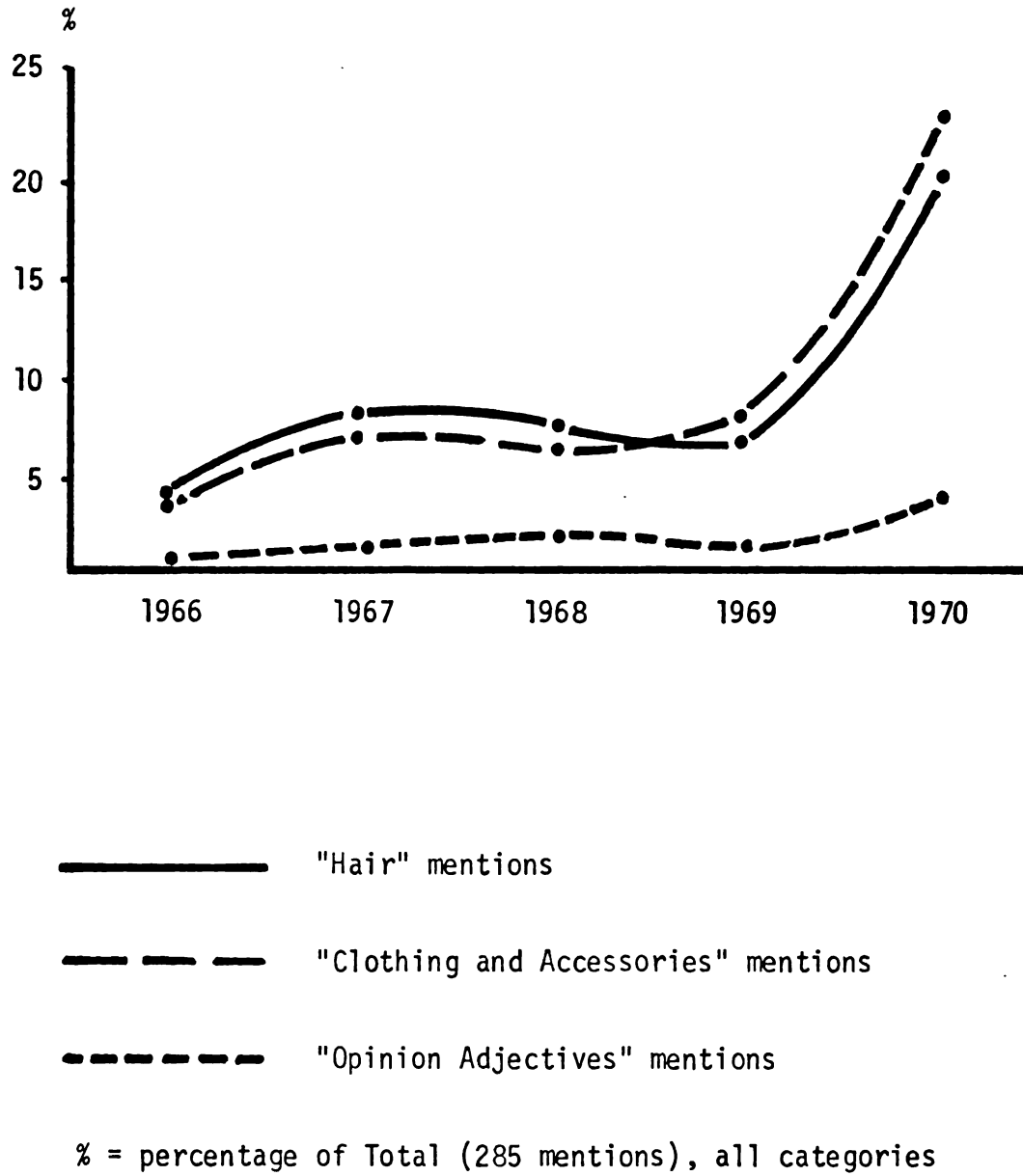


Figure 4. COMPARISON OF THREE VERBAL CATEGORIES "HAIR," "CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES," AND "OPINION ADJECTIVES": BY YEAR

Table 1. VERBAL DATA

"HAIR": Total 138 mentions*

Item	Number of mentions	% of Total (138)
1. long	48	34.78
2. beard	29	21.01
3. Other	27	19.56
4. medium	13	9.42
5. short	9	6.52
6. mustache	9	6.52
7. clean-shaven	2	1.45
8. sideburns	1	.72
	138	100 %

"OPINION ADJECTIVES": Total 18 mentions*

Item	Number of mentions	% of Total (18)
1. general appearance i.e., "dirty"	10	55.56
2. stereotypes i.e., "hippie-type clothing"	5	27.78
3. clothing, general i.e., "bizarre dress"	3	16.67
	18	100 %

* Listed according to number of mentions, from most to least, over five-year period 1966-1970.

Table 2. VERBAL DATA

"CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES": Total 129 mentions^{*}

Item	Number of mentions	% of Total (129)
1. denim jeans	16	12.40
2. Other shirts ^{**}	16	12.40
3. miniskirt	9	6.98
4. bare feet	9	6.98
5. beads	9	6.98
6. granny glasses	9	6.98
7. Other pants ^{**}	8	6.20
8. boots	6	4.65
9. nude, no bra	6	4.65
10. Other jewelry ^{**}	6	4.65
11. bellbottoms	5	3.88
12. Other wraps ^{**}	5	3.88
13. scarves	4	3.10
14. flowers	4	3.10
15. Other skirts ^{**}	3	2.33
16. jackets	3	2.33
17. sandals	3	2.33
18. workshirt	2	1.55
19. headgear	2	1.55
20. earrings	2	1.55
21. "message" buttons	2	1.55
	129	100 %

^{*}Listed according to number of mentions, from most to least, over five-year period 1966-1970.

^{**}Those items combined in "Other" categories listed individually in Appendix.

mention long hair, denim jeans and casual shirts, and to comment on General Appearance (including Hair, Clothing, and Accessories).

Visual Study

While the study of personal appearance items in selected photographs does not reveal trends as clearcut as those in the Verbal study, similar trends do appear.

Generally speaking, there is a downhill trend in the percentages of the total of 226 items recorded from 1967 through 1969, as seen in Figures 5 and 6. This indicates a decline in this period in the number of photographs chosen as relevant to this study.

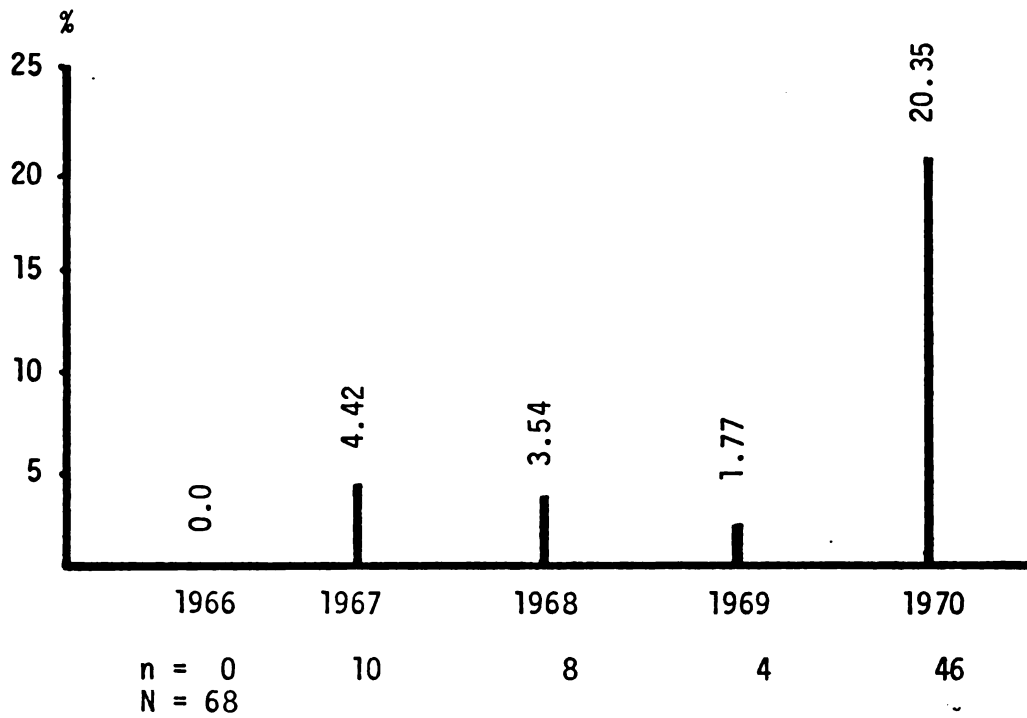
Most striking in Figure 7 is the sharp rise in the number of items recorded between 1969 and 1970, when the percentages of the total of 226 items recorded jump in an approximate ratio of 15:1.

The number of recorded "Hair" items lags behind the number of recorded "Clothing and Accessory" items, a reversal of the Verbal data. This is readily explained, however, for each subject could display only one hair-style per photo, while several items of clothing and accessories could be worn at the same time.

As shown on Tables 3 and 4, an arbitrary choice of the top two items in each category reveals that young subjects were most likely to be wearing their hair long or medium-length and dress in a casual shirt and jeans, with miscellaneous accessories.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Assuming that Newsweek can be used as any sort of barometer of societal interest in America, the data suggest that the personal appearance of those between the ages of 15 and 30 was inseparable from

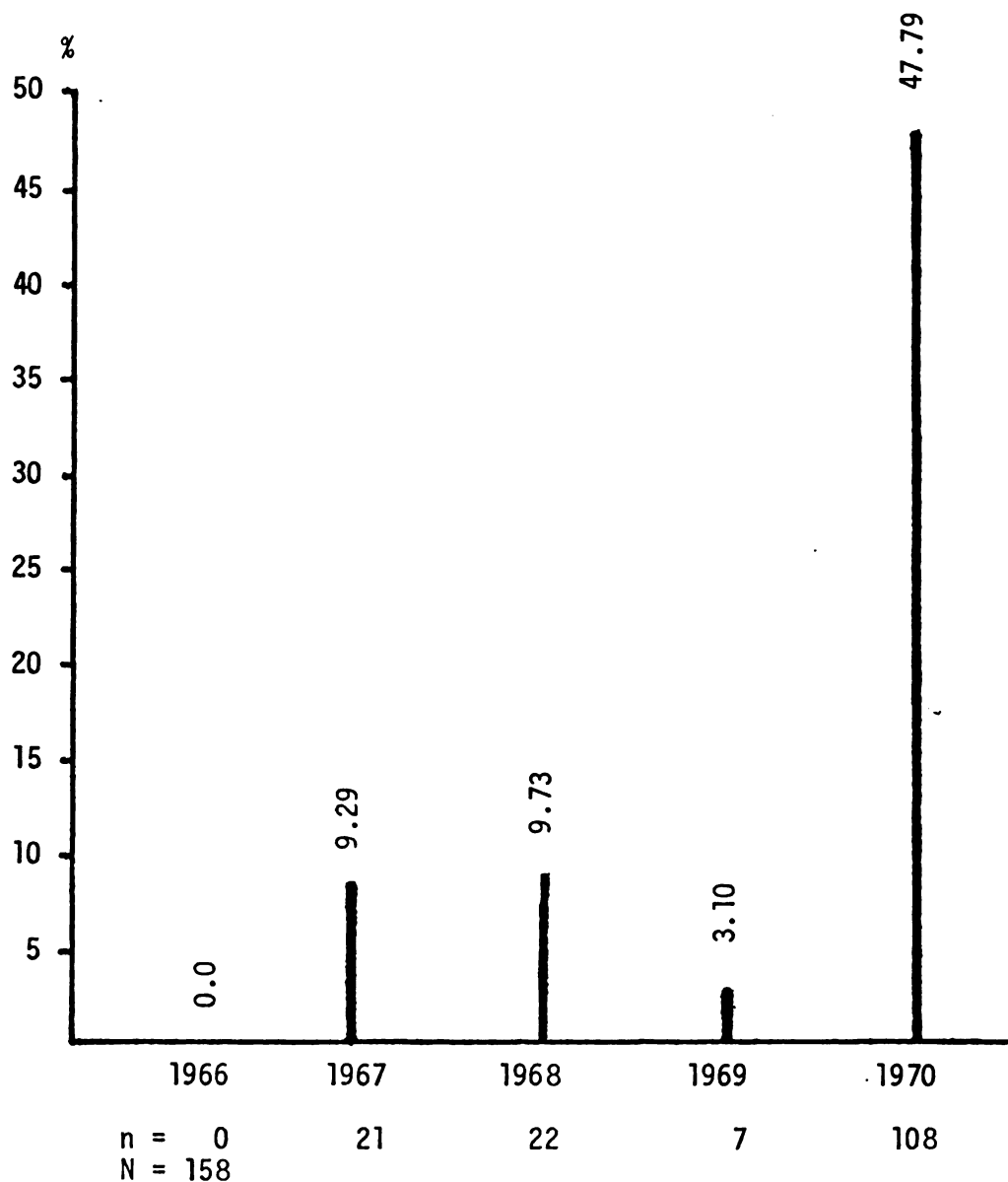


% = percentage of Total (226 items), all categories

N = Total number of "Hair" items recorded

n = number of "Hair" items recorded/Year

Figure 5. "HAIR" ITEMS RECORDED: BY YEAR--FROM VISUAL DATA



% = percentage of Total (226 items), all categories

N = Total number of "Clothing and Accessories" items recorded

n = number of "Clothing and Accessories" items recorded/Year

Figure 6. "CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES" ITEMS RECORDED:
BY YEAR--FROM VISUAL DATA

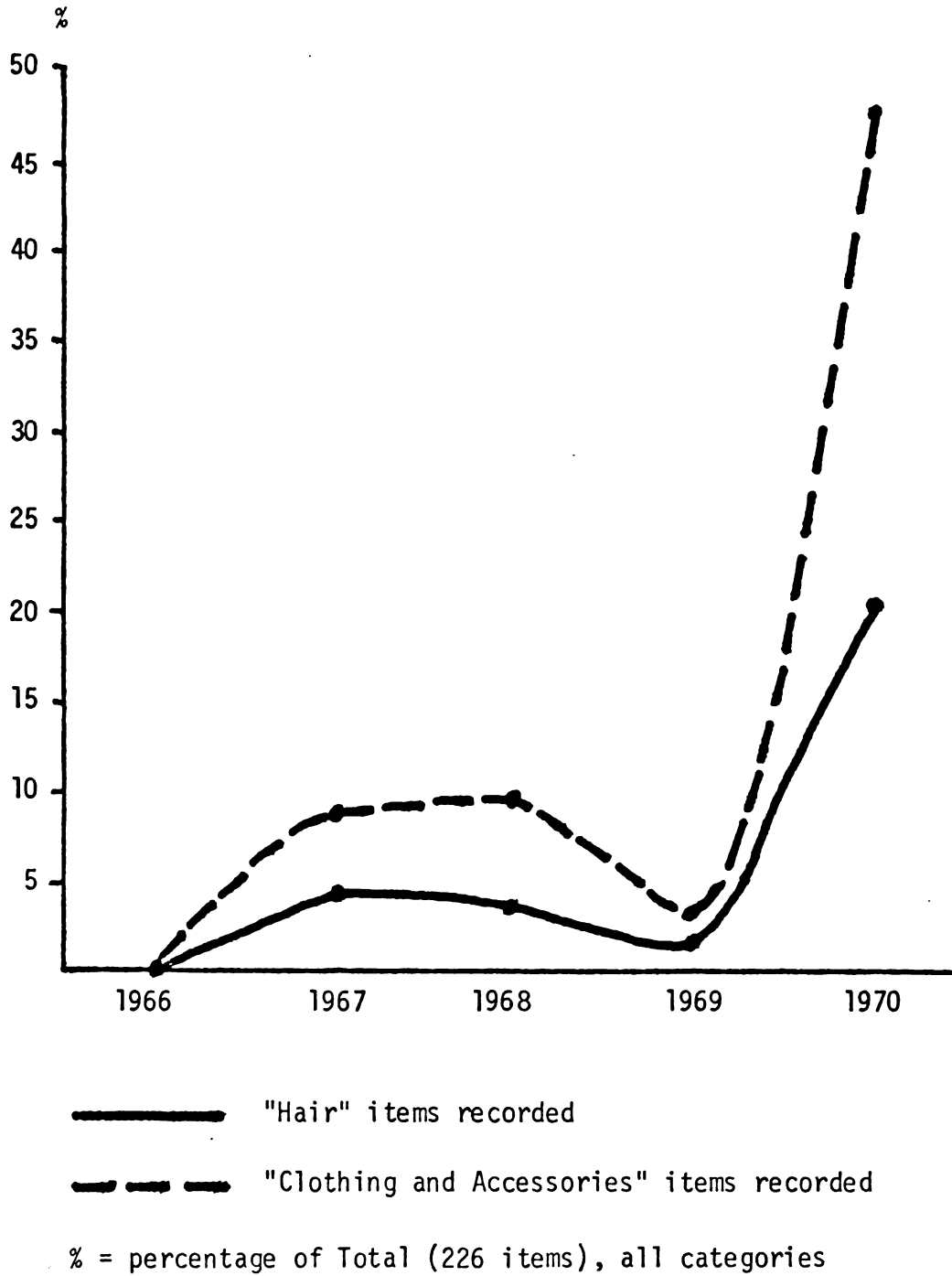


Figure 7. COMPARISON OF TWO VISUAL CATEGORIES "HAIR" AND "CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES": BY YEAR

Table 3. VISUAL DATA

"HAIR": Total 68 items recorded*

Item	Male	Female	Number of items	% of Total (68)
1. long	4	15	19	27.94
2. medium	16	1	17	25.00
3. short	12	2	14	20.59
4. mustache			12	17.65
5. beard			6	8.82
			<u>68</u>	<u>100 %</u>

* Listed according to number of items recorded, from most to least, over five-year period 1966-1970.

Table 4. VISUAL DATA

"CLOTHING AND ACCESSORIES": Total 158 items recorded*

Item	Male	Female	Number of items	% of Total (158)
1. casual shirt	23	12	35	22.15
2. Other accessories**	18	11	29	18.35
3. jeans	17	8	25	15.82
4. Other wraps**	11	2	13	8.23
5. glasses	6	3	9	5.70
6. beads	6	2	8	5.06
7. Other pants**	5	1	6	3.80
8. boots	6		6	3.80
9. sandals	1	5	6	3.80
10. Other shirts**	5		5	3.16
11. miniskirt		4	4	2.53
12. jackets	3		3	1.90
13. partial nudity	3		3	1.90
14. scarves	1	1	2	1.27
15. Other skirts**		1	1	.63
16. bare feet	1		1	.63
17. headgear		1	1	.63
18. earrings		1	1	.63
			<u>158</u>	<u>100 %</u>

* Listed according to number of items recorded, from most to least, over five-year period 1966-1970.

** Those items combined in "Other" categories listed individually in Appendix.

their actions in the public mind. The level of interest in the atypical personal appearance of young people between 1966 and 1970 grew until a distinct stereotype was formed. As the number of youths in the news increased, the stereotype of hip dress was reinforced until a description of clothing or hair length could be used to indicate attitudes and values. In many instances, the previously innocuous term "youth" became pejorative in itself, because of the stereotyping process.

The nature of a news magazine seems to have had a definite effect on the data results obtained. While few items were found in 1966, one could have predicted then the swelling interest in youthful appearance over the succeeding years. Reporters are supposed to be more aware of trends in social interests than the general public, and when the reporters noted atypical dress in their stories, we assume that their readers did likewise. In a self-fulfilling mechanism inherent in the communications field, it appears that reporters cued in the reading public, who in turn began to notice atypical dress and react to it, thereby creating more "news" for the reporters to report.⁴ Without this support from the media, perhaps neither the hip movement nor hippie dress styles would have reached the proportions they did. Adults with little contact with young people may have remained largely unaware of adolescent dissatisfaction, and adolescents would have relied less heavily on dress as a symbolic "weapon," having less feedback with which to gauge the extent of adult disapproval.

⁴It should be noted that the reporters concentrated on the more flamboyant examples of atypical dress, thereby fostering a relatively inaccurate image of the hippies for the sake of wider circulation of the magazine. J. L. Simmons and Barry Winograd, It's Happening (Santa Barbara: Marc-Laird Productions, 1967), p. 62.

In terms of categories, it was "Hair" that drew the major share of public attention. Most of the items in "Clothing and Accessories" were already familiar to Americans individually, if not in conjunction as a style. However, short hair had been the norm for a long time previous to the hip movement, and the relatively sudden growth of long locks for males as well as females was new to the social scene. This was reflected in the data percentages.

The variety of hip clothing and appearance items was narrowed down in accordance with the Superimposition variable in conflict theory to ". . . the uniform of 'The Movement'--long hair, and jeans." (Newsweek July 27, 1970, p. 80) The data results support this generalization, in both the Verbal and the Visual studies.

The jump in data items in the year 1970 is probably due to two factors. First, the lag between the actions and dress preferences of "radicals" and less-involved persons is typical of social movements, for example in politics or the fashion world. By the time the "masses" display the desired behavior of the social movement it is no longer "in." This is an example of the "trickle-down" theory, in which the elite persons of the group use atypical behavior to symbolize their high status and discard that behavior when those lower in status begin to emulate them. In this manner the behavior passes through all levels in the society, from the highest to the lowest. (Blumer, 1951, pp. 199-200) Secondly, the major news events in the years 1966 to 1970 affected the amount of magazine space that could be used for descriptive stories on social trends. Reporters were bound to cover the assassination of Robert Kennedy and the war in Cambodia, for instance, before the relatively non-violent stories. Most of the 1970 items were found in

two news stories dealing with young Americans traveling in Europe and in the Big Sur area of California, both of which could be considered "filler" material.

The creation of the hip stereotype could be followed quite easily over the five years used in this study, and its growth was responsible for the low percentage levels in 1968 and 1969. One instructive exercise was the recording of the number of times the word "hippie" was used in a description of the events occurring at the Democratic convention in Chicago in September of 1968. Representing the archetypal confrontation of youth and age, as the authority figures fought the dissenting young over ideological issues, "hippie" was recorded 11 times, "yippie" 10 times, and "other young protestors" 5 times.⁵ There was a reference to "hippie-type newsmen" but very few descriptive words specifically pertaining to appearance. Evidently the reporters felt that descriptors were unnecessary by this time--the stereotype was invoked as a matter of course. Had there been no stereotype to use, the percentages of 1968 and 1969 might have been significantly larger.

The few uses of "Opinion Adjectives" as compared to the "Hair" and "Clothing and Accessory" categories can be laid at the feet of editorial policy and reporting ethics. Reporters are not supposed to interject their personal opinions when covering general news stories. They may do so in columns that bear their by-lines, but other reporting must be kept within objective limits. The fact that in 18 instances personal opinion got by the editors may be attributed to the

⁵These statistics are not recorded in the Data Results, for such labels were not considered valid descriptions of specific dress items.

polarization of the society, represented in dress styles. While "dirty-looking" could be an objective evaluation, "sloppy" and "ambiguous gender" definitely denote judgement of a personal nature and ordinarily are not considered appropriate in news reporting.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The amount and kind of attention given to the personal appearance of persons between the ages of 15 and 30 years in the issues of Newsweek used in this study lends credence to the theory that dress was used as a symbolic "weapon" by the members of the hip movement.

1. A - Differences in modes of dress in America in the late 1960's were indicative of differences in social roles of members of American society.

B - Differences in modes of dress in America in the late 1960's were indicative of differences in self-concepts of members of American society.

2. The conflict of social philosophies in American society in the late 1960's was directly reflected in the dress of the antagonists.

3. A - The changes in the mode of dress worn by American adolescents in the late 1960's were indicative of changes in their social roles.

B - The changes in the mode of dress worn by American adolescents in the late 1960's were indicative of changes in their self-concepts.

While the research design chosen cannot be applied directly to the hypotheses concerning adolescent self-concept, the changing nature of the social role of youth was reflected in the challenging aspects of

hip dress. Modes of dress clearly bespoke social role in the American society during the time period 1966 through 1970, with emphasis on the Youth/Age dichotomy. The data results from this study indicate some validity in Hypotheses 1.A, 2., and 3.A. An alteration in the goals of the research design would be necessary to validate Hypotheses 1.B and 3.B, but the writer feels that by using similar data these Hypotheses would hold true. Further research is indicated in order to clarify the relationship between dress, self-concept, and social role in this historical period.

PROBLEMS WITH THE RESEARCH DESIGN

As mentioned in the discussion of the Research Design, this study deals with a historical topic, for the hip movement has diversified and changed greatly since 1970. The researcher must be guided by research methods developed specifically for and by historians. Unfortunately, the few sources available take great care to clarify the handling of historic documents of a primary nature and hardly mention secondary sources. The impression given by some authors is that secondary sources are worthless, falling into the category of indefensible research. For the student interested in a popular historical subject, this can be most disheartening.

Because the majority of the literature about the hippies is of a secondary nature, found in popular magazines and newspapers rather than first-person diaries or original research reports, some other criteria had to be found. The choice of content analysis, involving the necessary use of the researcher's subjective judgement, is not entirely satisfactory, especially for the novice in research. It is most difficult to establish the mental criteria that must be formulated

before the most basic use of content analysis can be attempted. Even if one successfully defines the initial steps of the research, the subjective judgments crop up repeatedly and become ever more difficult to verbalize. Human thought processes are not always logical or concisely explainable, and the researcher using content analysis methods must at some point grapple with this "gray" area.

The second major problem in this study was the tremendous volume of material available. The topic was one that touched nearly every facet of American life between 1966 and 1970, and beyond. The Youth/Age dichotomy also was world-wide, and it seemed at times that every writer, hack or professional, set down his or her opinions in print. Although limiting the study to the specifics of dress, the stereotypes of the hippie and the straight were inextricably intertwined with the philosophies of both sides of the conflict. The most severe restrictions still were too broad. Once again, subjective judgement was necessary but "gray." Given the original breadth of the topic, the scope of this study seems very inadequate, and the writer's feeling is that it can be considered only exploratory, since the results are limited to one magazine's viewpoint, selectively reported by the researcher.

Thirdly, the choice of a news magazine seems to have had a definite effect on the results, for the presence of descriptive words about young people was dependent on the lack of major news events to fill the column space. Knowledge of the editorial policy of Newsweek would undoubtedly be illuminating, also. One can readily imagine the difference in the results if the editor-in-chief was found to be the parent of an adolescent in the movement, or a bachelor with no use for young people at all. The researcher in this area must reconcile

himself to the effect of chance occurrence on the final results--there are too many variables involved to exercise the ideal in research controls.

Finally, a comment should be made concerning the time involved in a study of this kind. Unless great care is used and a definitive cut-off point for investigating the data is established, the research never ends. If, however, enough care is used in specifying the research limitations, the researcher's job will be simplified.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Because of the exploratory nature of this study, suggestions for further research are unlimited. The popular literature available in magazine and newspaper form has hardly been dented and the researcher can narrow down the scope of interest, repeat the study in greater detail, use another magazine or newspaper, or look at much more general themes. The only certainty is that more formal research in the area is vital if this period in history is to add to our knowledge of the sociological processes involved in the use of dress.

If one is moved to repeat the study, the writer would suggest first using the same methods but expanding the sample to include every issue of the magazine between January 1, 1965 and December 31, 1970. It would also be instructive to use the same methods on a source such as Time magazine and compare and contrast the results with this study. If the researcher recorded all descriptive terms found in the chosen source and separated them by the age group to which they were applied, significant percentages would result.

The stereotype "hippie" needs to be explored, in light of the limited number of definitions currently available. This would have a

temporal dimension because it changed with familiarity. The opposite side of this coin is the stereotype of the "hard-hat," and the political uses of clothing items.

The society's reaction to the hippies was not limited to conflict. A cogent study of co-optation techniques would add to an understanding of the 1960's. The appearance of hip dress in advertisements for vodka and insurance companies, for example, suggests that Madison Avenue found the hip stereotype useful for purposes that were not political.

A task for sociologists is a follow-up study of the hippies as a social movement, pursuing the course of the young people beyond 1970 to discover which effects of their philosophy and behavior still linger, and in what form.

For those in the clothing field, much more could be done with the role of the fashion industry in the de-valuation of hip dress as a status symbol for young people. Hip dress also could be seen as an example of a "bottom-up" fashion trend, beginning among the non-elite of the society and subsequently being adopted by the elite groups. A specific application of this trend could be used to explain the apparent failure of the fashion world's "Midi-skirt" campaign in 1970.

Stone's phrase "fantastic socialization," meaning the use of dress to appear out of ordinary social roles for the purpose of role exploration, could be the basis for a study of the hippies' use of costume. (Stone, 1965, p. 237)

Given the wealth of variables affecting hip dress and the many theories about the function of dress in a society, the researcher is faced with much choice. Even the problems surrounding the use of

interview and questionnaire techniques in a historical study could conceivably be surmounted if a rigorous research groundwork was laid. With so many unexplored possibilities remaining, imagination and personal resourcefulness are the only limiting factors in this area of clothing research.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

RAW DATA - VERBAL STUDY

Clothing and Accessories:

<u>Category</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
1. denim jeans	16
2. Other shirts: Includes "Mexican shirt" (2), "sweatshirt" (1), "button-down shirt" (1), "cowboy shirt" (1), "flag shirt" (1), "casual shirt" (5), "T-shirt" (3), "shirtless" (1), "unbuttoned" (1)	16
3. miniskirt	9
4. bare feet	9
5. beads	9
6. granny glasses	9
7. Other pants: Includes "patterned pants" (2), "hipster pants" (1), "tight trousers" (2), "cowboy duds" (1), "flag on pants" (1), "slacks" (1)	8
8. boots	6
9. nude, no bra	6
10. Other jewelry: Includes "pins" (2), "cross" (1), "feathers" (1), "peace necklace" (1), "body paint" (1)	6
11. bellbottoms	5
12. Other wraps: Includes "shawl" (1), "serape" (1), "sweater" (2), "blanket" (1)	5
13. scarves	4
14. flowers	4
15. Other skirts: Includes "long gown" (1), "paper dress" (1), "casual dress" (1)	3
16. jackets (leather, safari, lumber)	3
17. sandals	3
18. workshirt	2
19. headgear (10-gallon hat, headband)	2
20. earrings	2
21. "message" button	2
Total:	129 items

Hair:

<u>Category</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
1. long	48
2. beard	29
3. Other:	27
Includes "Afro" (2), "tousled" (2), "bushy" (1), "hippy-haired" (4), "shaggy" (2), "frazzled" (1), "eccentric haircut" (2), "bald" (1), "stylishly shaggy" (1), "matted" (1), "heavy helmet of hair" (1), "mop haircut" (3), "blonde" (2), "droopy locks" (1), "a decidedly disestablish- mentarian head of hair" (1), "hirsute" (2)	
4. medium	13
5. short	9
6. mustache	9
7. clean-shaven	2
8. sideburns	1
Total:	138 items

Opinion Adjectives:

<u>Category</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
1. general appearance:	10
Includes "ambiguous gender" (1), "sloppy" (1), "dirty" (2), "bizarre" (2), "eccentric" (2), "frazzled" (1), "squat heap of a person" (1)	
2. stereotypes:	5
Includes "hippie-type" (3), "hippie-clad" (1), "hippie-haired" (1)	
3. clothing, general:	3
Includes "bizarre modes of dress" (1), "outrageous costume" (1), "wild get-up" (1)	
Total:	18 items

RAW DATA - VISUAL STUDY

Hair:

<u>Category</u>	<u>♂</u>	<u>♀</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
1. long	4	15	19
2. medium	16	1	17
3. short	12	2	14
4. mustache			12
5. beard			6
			Total: 68 items

Clothing and Accessories:

<u>Category</u>	<u>♂</u>	<u>♀</u>	<u>No. of Items</u>
1. casual shirt	23	12	35
2. Other accessories: Includes "watch" (3), "ring" (3), "anklet" (1), "bracelet" (2), "belt" (7), "tie" (3), "handbag" (1), "shoulderbag" (4), "tennis shoes" (3), "heeled shoes" (2)	18	11	29
3. jeans	17	8	25
4. Other wraps: Includes "sports jacket" (6), "sweater" (4), "vest" (3)	11	2	13
5. glasses	6	3	9
6. beads	6	2	8
7. Other pants: Includes "shorts" (1), "slacks" (5)	5	1	6
8. boots	6		6
9. sandals	1	5	6
10. Other shirts: Includes "dress shirt" (3), "turtleneck" (2)	5		5
11. miniskirts		4	4
12. jackets	3		3
13. partial nudity	3		3
14. scarves	1	1	2
15. Other skirts: Includes "grannydress"		1	1
16. bare feet	1		1
17. headgear		1	1
18. earrings		1	1
			Total: 158 items

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aldridge, John W. In the Country of the Young. New York: Perennial Library, 1971.
- Becker, Howard S. "On Labeling Outsiders," in Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963, pp. 10-14, 31-33. Reprinted in Deviance--The Interactionist Perspective, ed. by Earl Rubington and Martin S. Weinberg. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973, pp. 12-15.
- Berelson, Bernard. Content Analysis in Communications Research. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952.
- Birmingham, John. Our Time is Now. New York: Praegar Publishers, 1970.
- Blumer, Herbert. "The Nature and Role of Fashion." Also "Fashion," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. V. New York: Macmillan Co., 1968, pp. 341-45.
- Braden, William. The Age of Aquarius. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1971.
- Bronsteen, Ruth. The Hippy's Handbook. New York: Canyon Book Co., 1967.
- Brown, Michael E. "The Condemnation and Persecution of Hippies" in Trans-Action. September, 1969, pp. 33-46. Reprinted in Youth and Sociology, edited by Peter K. Manning and Marcello Truzzi. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972, pp. 180-198.
- Bush, George and London, Perry. "On the Disappearance of Knickers: Hypotheses for the Functional Analysis of the Psychology of Clothing" in Journal of Social Psychology. Vol. 51, May, 1960, pp. 359-366. Reprinted in Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order, ed. by Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965, pp. 64-72.
- Cavan, Sherri. Hippies of the Haight. St. Louis: New Critics Press, Inc., 1972.
- Coser, Lewis A. The Functions of Social Conflict. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956.
- Cowles Editors. Youth Quake. New York: Cowles Education Corporation, 1968.

Dahrendorf, Ralf. Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.

_____. Conflict After Class. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1967.

Douglas, Jack D. "The Growing Importance of Youth and of College Students in American Society," in Youth in Turmoil. Washington: USGPO, 1970, pp. 1-7, 10-15. Reprinted in Youth: Divergent Perspectives, edited by Peter K. Manning. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973, pp. 45-58.

Duncan, Hugh Dalziel. Symbols in Society. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Esler, Anthony. Bombs Beards and Barricades. New York: Stein and Day, 1971.

Friedenberg, Edgar Z. The Vanishing Adolescent. New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1959.

Genova, Bissy. "Communication Aspects of Emergent Social Movements." Paper presented in Communications 870, Spring, 1972. Michigan State University. (Mimeograph.)

Goffman, Erving. "The Mentally Ill and Management of Personal Front" in Behavior in Public Places. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963, pp. 25-27. Reprinted in Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order, ed. by Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965, pp. 266-268.

_____. The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959.

_____. Encounters. Indianapolis, Indiana: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1961.

_____. Interaction Ritual. New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1967.

Gross, Henry. The Flower People. New York: Ballantine Books Inc., 1968.

Holmes, Douglas, et. al. The Language of Trust. New York: Science House Inc., 1971.

Johnson, James. "The Hippy as a Developmental Task," in Adolescence, Vol. 4:35-42, Spring, 1969.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. Commitment and Community. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Kelley, Jonathan and Star, Shirley A. "Dress and Ideology: The Nonverbal Communication of Social and Political Attitudes." Paper presented at the annual meeting of American Sociological Society, August, 1971. (Mimeograph.)

Knapp, Mark L. Nonverbal Communication in Human Interaction. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1972.

Life Books. This Fabulous Century--1960 to 1970. New York: Time-Life Books, 1970.

Morrison, Denton. "Some Notes Toward a Theory on Relative Deprivation, Social Movements, and Social Change," in Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Journal Article 5317. Reprinted in Processes and Phenomena of Social Change, ed. by G. Zaltman. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973.

Packard, Vance. The Sexual Wilderness. New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1968.

Partridge, William L. The Hippie Ghetto. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1973.

Reich, Charles A. The Greening of America. New York: Random House Inc., 1970.

Rigney, Frances J. and Smith, L. Douglas. The Real Bohemia. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1961.

Roach, Mary Ellen. "Clothing and the American Family," adapted from "The Influence of Social Class on Clothing Practices and Orientation at Early Adolescence: A Study of Clothing-Related Behavior of Seventh Grade Girls," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1960. Reprinted in Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order, ed. by Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965, pp. 82-90.

Rogers, Everett M. "Social Structure and Social Change," in American Behavioral Scientist 14:5, 1971, pp. 767-782.

Schwartz, Jack. "Men's Clothing and the Negro," in Phylon 24:224-231. Reprinted in Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order, ed. by Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965, pp. 164-174.

Simmel, Georg. "Fashion" in American Journal of Sociology. Vol. LXII, No. 6 May, 1957, pp. 541-558.

Simmons, J. L. and Winograd, Barry. It's Happening. Santa Barbara: Marc-Laird Productions, 1967.

Simmons, J. L. Deviants. Glendessary Press, 1969.

Stone, Gregory P. "Appearance and the Self," in Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach. A. M. Rose, editor, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962, pp. 86-118. Reprinted in Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order, ed. by Mary Ellen Roach

and Joanne Bubolz Eicher. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965, pp. 216-245.

Thomas, L. Eugene. "Clothing and Counterculture: An Empirical Study," in Adolescence Vol. VIII No. 29, Spring, 1973, pp. 95-112.

Turner, Ralph H. "The Theme of Contemporary Social Movements," in British Journal of Sociology. 20, 4, December, 1969, pp. 390-405.

Veblen, Thorsten. The Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: The New American Library, 1953.

Wakefield, Dan. "The War at Home," in Atlantic Monthly. October, 1969, pp. 119-124.

Williams, Robin M. (Jr.). American Society. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952.

Wolfe, Burton. The Hippies. New York: New American Library, 1968.

Wolfe, Thomas. Electric Kool Aid Acid Test. New York: Bantam Books, 1968.

Anthologies of Interest:

Friedenberg, Edgar Z., editor. The Anti-American Generation. Aldine Publishing Co. for Trans-Action Books, 1971.

Manning, Peter K., editor. Youth: Divergent Perspectives. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1973.

Manning, Peter K. and Truzzi, Marcello, editors. Youth and Sociology. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972.

Roach, Mary Ellen and Eicher, Joanne Bubolz, editors. Dress, Adornment, and the Social Order. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965.

Rubington, Earl and Weinberg, Marin S., editors. Deviance--The Interactionist Perspective. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973.

Stanford, Gene, editor. Generation Rap. New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1971.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293100144843