



This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

**CHANGE IN BLACK AMERICAN HAIRSTYLES
FROM 1964 THROUGH 1977 AS RELATED TO THEMES
IN FEATURE ARTICLES AND ADVERTISEMENTS**

presented by

Linda Reemere Wright

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

MASTER OF ARTS degree in **Clothing and Textiles**

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Anne C. Stocum".

Major professor

Date June 21, 1982

LIBRARY
Michigan State
University

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
_____	DEC 1 00 2002	_____
076	OCT 15 2003	_____
JUN 5 1993 169	MAY 02 2004	_____
075	_____	_____
FEB 05 2007	_____	_____
JUN 11 1997	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

CHANGE IN BLACK AMERICAN HAIRSTYLES FROM 1964
THROUGH 1977 AS RELATED TO THEMES IN
FEATURE ARTICLES AND ADVERTISEMENTS

By

Linda Roemere Wright

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

1982

ABSTRACT

CHANGE IN BLACK AMERICAN HAIRSTYLES FROM 1964 THROUGH 1977 AS RELATED TO THEMES IN FEATURE ARTICLES AND ADVERTISEMENTS

By

Linda Roemere Wright

The purpose of this study was to document the change in black hairstyles from 1964 through 1977, to examine the meaning associated with the change in form, and to examine aspects of the pattern of adoption.

Data collection involved a frequency count of people pictured in feature articles and hair product advertisements from selected issues of Ebony magazine, and a content analysis of feature articles and hair product advertisement copy.

Hypotheses were analyzed and tested by the inspection of graphs, Spearman rank order correlation coefficient and Chi square statistical test. The .05 level of significance was used to reject the hypotheses.

The following conclusions were reached on the basis of the analysis of data. 1. The Afro was introduced during the black power movement. 2. There was a significant correlation between the Afro and the theme racial pride and identity. 3. More men wore the Afro than women. 4. Introduction of the Afro in advertising hair care products lagged behind the wearing of the Afro by persons pictured in feature articles. 5. The Afro became a fashion option.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Dress as a Symbol of Socio-cultural Change	1
Background of Black Movement	3
Statement of the Problem	5
Research Questions and Hypothesis.	5
Definition of Terms	6
Assumptions	9
II. REVIEW OF THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS AND LITERATURE	10
Theoretical Framework.	10
Review of Literature	14
III. METHODOLOGY	18
Selection of Time Period	18
Selection of Publication	19
Selection of Content	19
Development of Measures.	20
Data Collection	21
Data Analysis	21
IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.	23
Descriptive Analysis of Trends	23

	Page
First Research Question.	23
Hypothesis One	23
Hypothesis Two	27
Meaning Associated with Styles	28
Second Research Question	28
Hypothesis Three	28
Hypothesis Four	33
Hypothesis Five	34
Third Research Question.	38
Hypothesis Six	38
Hypothesis Seven	39
Hypothesis Eight	39
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	44
Statement of the Problem	44
Methodology.	44
Conclusion	44
Recommendations for Further Study	49
APPENDICES	
A. List of Events During Civil Rights and Black Power Movement	51
B. Civil Rights and Black Power Leaders	56
C. Sample of Data Collection Instruments for Advertisements	57
D. Sample of Data Collection Instruments for Feature Articles	58
E. Table of Themes in Feature Articles.	59
BIBLIOGRAPHY	60

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Men Hairstyles as Percent of Total Styles Observed in Feature Articles, 1964-1977. . . .	24
2. Women Hairstyles as Percent of Total Styles Observed in Feature Articles, 1964-1977.	25
3. Men and Women with Afros and Theme of Racial Pride and Identity as Percent Observed in Feature Articles, 1964-1977	31
4. Black Power and Civil Rights Leaders with Afros as Percent Observed in Feature Articles, 1968-1972	40
5. Afros in Advertisement and Feature Articles as Percent Observed, 1964-1977	43

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Number and Percent of Men Hairstyles Observed in Pictures Accompanying Feature Articles, 1964-1977.	29
2. Number and Percent of Women Hairstyles Observed in Pictures Accompanying Feature Articles, 1964-1977.	30
3. Positive Statements Regarding Women with Afros and Straight Hairstyles in Advertisements of Hair Care Products, 1964- 1977	35
4. Positive Statements Regarding Men with Afro and Straight Hairstyles in Advertisements of Hair Care Products, 1964-1977	37
5. Number and Percent of Men Hairstyles Observed in Advertisements, 1964-1977.	41
6. Number and Percent of Women Hairstyles Observed in Advertisements, 1964-1977	42
7. Number and Percent of Themes Observed for Feature Articles, 1964-1977	59

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I give praise, honor and glory to God for giving my life guidance and direction, for without Him the completion of this master's thesis would have been impossible.

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Ann C. Slocum, Academic Program Advisor, and thesis director, for her guidance, patience, thoughtfulness, and the many hours spent in planning, direction and review.

Sincere thanks are due to the members of my guidance committee, Ms. Isabel A. Jones and Dr. Jean Schlater for their guidance.

I am grateful to my mother, Mrs. Queen Esther Wright, my sisters, Beneta and Jacquelin, and my nephew, Ryan for their love and continual encouragement.

For their prayers during the most needed times, I am grateful to all my brothers and sisters in Christ.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Dress and adornment play an important part in everyone's life because they reflect one's social role, self concept, values and lifestyles. The dress of an individual communicates information and is usually a basis on which impressions are first formed.

Dress as a Symbol of Socio-Cultural Change

It is possible to study societal changes by studying dress. Bush and London (1965, p. 67) hypothesized "that 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." The dress of a minority or subset of society may reflect either changes in social roles and concepts that society has assigned them and/or the self concepts that the individuals of the subset have about themselves.

Changes in roles may evolve in response to changing mores or technology or may be precipitated by planned reform, rebellion or revolution.¹ In the latter instances dress is often used as a symbol of change as illustrated by the following examples. The Manchus used dress as a symbol when they came to power in China. They dressed so as to "identify the new governing class and to symbolize their special position.

¹HED 434, "Culture, Society and Dress," Class notes, Fall term, 1979.

from the rest of society" (Scott, 1965, p. 128). In 1949, when the Communist came to power in China, almost overnight the nation was garbed in sexless clothing that reflected the new national spirit of Marxism and the role of the individual in serving the state (Scott, 1965, p. 128).

In the early years of the Russian revolution, women used clothing to de-emphasize their femininity and to prove their equality with men. Their garb consisted of a "loose, straight skirt, severe jackets with wide shoulders, coats resembling army greatcoats, high boots and kerchiefs" (Topping, 1965, p. 135). Their aim was to not appear physically attractive.

In the United States, the Women's Liberation Movement protested the sexual aspects of women's dress, especially the way certain clothing emphasized the erogenous zones of the body. Although it was not their intention to focus mainly on brassieres, the discarding and burning of the bra became a symbolic element for protest in the women's movement (Morrison, 1972, p. 19).

It is the investigator's impression that in these instances the symbolic aspects of dress are initially of great importance and there may be social controls to encourage compliance. Later the meaning of the dress symbol may be less important, and individuals may change their manner of dress or they may continue the old symbol as a fashion.

This study will focus on black American hairstyles during the later sixties and early seventies, an era of

great social change in the United States. Academic research on black dress is needed for very little objective information exists while popular theories based on stereotypes abound. For example, Schwartz (1963, pp. 224-232) attempts to explain the "loud and flashy" dress of black men as compensatory consumption. His data are based on observation not testing. There is a need for objectivity and to enlighten the majority concerning the needs of all groups in society. A study that provides information on changing roles and associated values and attitudes can aid inter-group understanding.

Background of Black Movement

For more than three hundred years black Americans have been subjected to racial prejudice. They have never agreed with these conditions and have continuously protested them. Although, in certain incidents, some groups and some individuals resorted to violence, the total movement was always one of peaceful and lawful protest (Wynn, 1974, p. 189).

This nonviolent movement, better known as the Civil Rights Movement began to draw national attention in 1957 with the Montgomery bus boycott (Appendix A for a list of events). This nonviolent movement was led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The conference was composed of several southern black leaders, the majority of whom were ministers. The purpose of the organization was to achieve

full citizenship rights for black Americans and the integration of black Americans in all aspects of American life (Wynn, 1974, p. 106). The civil rights movement brought a new sense of dignity and respect to blacks. It helped to improve the self image of the masses of blacks. However, before the death of Dr. King in 1968, black attitudes appeared to be moving away from nonviolent resistance as a strategy for winning civil goals. This was due to the power structure of white America. Because of this in 1968, many black protest leaders reacted to their frustrations by becoming militant (Poussaint, 1969, p. 64), this was the beginning of the black power movement. The "black power" slogan represented a turnabout in the mood of black Americans. The term represented consciousness. It was a call for black Americans to unite, to recognize their heritage and to build a sense of community. It was a call to reject the racist institutions and values of American society (Carmichael, 1967, p. 43).

The black power ideology was a reaction to the disappointment, frustration and fears experienced by the more militant black protest leaders. The reaction was characterized by "black is beautiful" slogans, the insistence upon black schools and black studies programs, active attempts to stress black identity such as the wearing of natural hairstyles and African dashikis, an emphasis of soul music

and soul food and the demand for black movies (Wynn, 1974, p. 176).

It is the investigators belief that the Afro hairstyle was adopted by blacks as an expression of racial pride and identity, but later use of the hairstyle was more for fashion than for symbolic meaning.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to document the change in black hairstyles from 1964 through 1977, to examine the meaning associated with the change in form, and to examine aspects of the pattern of adoption.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The following research questions and hypotheses served as a guide for this investigation.

1. When in the sequence of events was the Afro introduced and when did modifications in its form occur?

Ho 1 The Afro was introduced during the period of social change led by black power advocates.

Ho 2 Over time the proportion of Afro increased, then decreased as the proportion of persons with straight hair and persons with variations of the Afro increased.

2. What meaning was associated with black hairstyles?

Ho 3 From 1964 through 1970, there will be a positive relationship between the proportion of people wearing Afros in pictures and the proportion of themes dealing with racial pride and identity in feature articles.

- Ho 4 From 1971 through 1977, there will be a negative relationship between the proportion of persons wearing a variation of the Afro and the frequency of racial pride and identity themes in feature articles.
- Ho 5 Over time the proportion of positive statements about straight hair in advertising copy will decrease and the proportion of positive statements about the Afro will increase and finally the proportion of neutral statements will increase.

3. Is there a discernable pattern of acceptance of the Afro?

- Ho 6 A greater proportion of men than women will wear the Afro in each time period.
- Ho 7 A greater proportion of black power than civil rights leaders will wear the Afro in the earlier time period.
- Ho 8 There will be a lag between the time people are pictured wearing the Afro and the appearance of the Afro in advertisements.

Definition of Terms

Hairstyles identified in this study are:

a) Afro hairstyle or natural is the normal state of most black American's hair. The hair is allowed to curl tightly and form a smooth round shape around the face and head.

b) Variations of the Afro.

(1) Puff is a variation of the Afro. A portion of the hair is gathered and held together at the root of the hair to form a ball-like shape. All of the hair can be pulled to the top of the head or either side or parted down the middle with a puff on each side of the head.

(2) Shag is a variation of the Afro in which the hair is trimmed everywhere except at the nape. The hair at the nape is longer and lies flat on the neck.

(3) Braids or cornrows are strands of hair plaited together to form a continuous braid on the head. Cornrowing has no set pattern. The pattern is left up to the discretion of the person doing the cornrowing.

c) Close cut is the normal state of black American's hair except it is cut close on the top of the head and extremely close on sides. This style uses the same principles as the crew cut and is worn by men only.

d) Straight hairstyles in this thesis refers to any variety of styles in which the hair has been straightened by some process.

(1) Conk is a process used on men's hair in which the hair is chemically processed to obtain a straight effect. The processing was usually done with chemicals.

(2) Permanent is a chemical process used on hair to obtain a straight effect.

(3) Pressed is a process of achieving straight hair by using a heated metal comb. This does not last as long as a perm or conk but was very popular for years. It was used by women more than men.

Themes in feature articles

a) Racial pride and identity refer to the common interests, objectives and standards among the black race.

It is the state of being proud. Words and phrases such as self-esteem, sureness, "black and proud" and "black is beautiful" are expressions of black pride.

b) Achievement refers to recognition or success in any area of life such as education, politics, and entertainment.

c) The category "Other" includes themes not deemed relevant to this study such as fashion news, family life styles and religion.

Symbolic style is a form of dress and/or adornment introduced by a particular group to show changes in social roles and self concepts or it may be a new meaning imparted to existing styles. Hairstyles may have symbolic meaning or they may be fashionable with little intended message other than "avant-guard" or "being in fashion." In this study the Afro is considered a symbolic style.

Black leader is one who had an influential effect among the black population. This will include a) civil rights activist such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Ralph Abernathy, and b) black power activist such as H. "Rap" Brown and Stokely Carmichael (Appendix B).

Assumptions

In conducting this study the following assumptions are necessary for the formation and testing of the hypotheses.

1. Changes in black American hairstyles can be observed in black interest publications.

2. Pictures and advertisements in black interest publications will to some extent accurately reflect the real world acceptance of hairstyles by black Americans.

Chapter II
REVIEW OF THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS AND LITERATURE
Theoretical Framework

Stone proposes a theory to explain how others' response to one's appearance influences the self. He uses the term program to mean how a person presents himself, and review to represent how others respond. If one's program is reviewed as expected or wanted the person is satisfied and the self is validated. However, if the review is not favorable the self is challenged and the person would probably re-evaluate his/her program (Stone, 1965, pp. 221-111). Stone (1965) conceives of one's program as including the dimensions of identity, value, mood and attitudes. The self is established and maintained through these dimensions.

Historically, blacks were placed lower in the stratification system because they were perceived by the system as being socially unequal. Stratification can be defined as a ranking system in which people are assigned to unequal positions within the social structure (Mckee, 1969, p. 241). One aspect of social stratification discussed by Tumin (1967, pp. 24-31) is evaluation, e.g., making judgments such as "better to worse" and "favorable to unfavorable." This researcher believes that the evaluation process relates to Stone's "review." Historically, black Americans received negative reviews about their hair from white Americans. The majority had straight hair and it was seen as attractive.

Mckee notes that race provides a criterion for status. It allows members of society to judge people as inferior because of biological differences (Mckee, 1969, p. 242). Biologically, most black hair is tightly curled or kinky. When these types of judgments are passed one could ignore them, reject society totally, try to conform to the standard, or attempt to change society (Tumin, 1967, p. 39). For a period of time, blacks spent vast amounts of money on hair straighteners, trying to elicit a favorable validation of self from others. By straightening their hair, blacks adorned themselves to be acceptable to the majority and this style endured for a number of years.

Bush and London (1965) hypothesize that changes in enduring modes of dress are indicative of changes in social roles and self concept of members of the society.

During the mid-sixties, self-concepts and role expectations of blacks changed. At this time black protest over lack of access to jobs and housing, and lack of improvement in political and educational gains were overt. Blacks began to abandon age old attitudes of docility toward whites and began to claim their rights as American citizens (Brisbone, 1974, p. 127).

Blacks no longer needed or desired a validation of self from white America. Black leaders pushed for blacks to develop separate values from white America. Phillips (1969, p. 407) states that "leaders are an important source

of social change and in exchange they can exact compliance with their own wishes." Leaders demanded equality for blacks in all aspects of life, and they also called for blacks to reject the values of white America. The basic principle of black power was race consciousness which included the concepts of racial pride and identity.

This eclectic review provides a background for examining the data but not a comprehensive theory that integrates the relevant ideas. The investigator is reminded of Stinchcombe's observation (1968, p. 3) that "a sociologist is ordinarily confronted with phenomena for which there are no theories." He further suggests that ". . . the only way to get theories of many important phenomena is to make them up oneself" (p. 13).

Bush and London's hypothesis that "changes in enduring modes of dress are indicative of changes in social roles and self concepts" provides a point of departure for this study. Straightened hair had been an enduring mode of dress deriving from the minority position of blacks in the society. A change from that enduring mode to the Afro was indicative of changes in social roles and self concepts. However, Bush and London and other writers whose works were reviewed do not address the function of appearance in the process of change. It seems to the writer that:

- (1) Dress is often a symbol of a reform movement
that embodies the ideas or aims of the group.

- (2) Initially the meanings associated with the dress symbol are of utmost importance.
- (3) People may adopt the dress symbol spontaneously or because of social regulation and control.
- (4) Continuation of the dress symbol depends on a variety of factors such as how widely the symbol is adopted, the response it receives from others, the success of the movement, the means of control, if any, that are involved.
- (5) Over time symbols or the meanings associated with them may change.¹

The general ideas seem to apply to the specific instance of black hairstyles from 1964 through 1977.

It is the writer's belief that blacks used the Afro as a symbol of identity, to express a value, and to call attention to the change in attitudes. It was a means of expressing new views and identifying with the movement.

The wearing of the Afro became understood to be a means of showing cohesiveness among the black race and a stability in their beliefs. After the meaning of the symbol had been established, the need for everyone to exhibit the symbol became less intensified. The Afro, therefore, became a fashion option.

Review of the Literature

This section will present selected studies on black self concept as it was reflected through appearance.

¹Ideas developed in conference with adviser, Dr. Ann C. Slocum.

In 1939 and 1947, K.B. Clark and M.K. Clark used the "Dolls Test" to evaluate the racial preference of 253 black children. The majority of the children chose white dolls as being favorable. These studies conclude, that the children had a negative view of their physical features. In 1942 and 1958, other researchers used the same test with ten and eleven year old children, and there were similar findings (Roth, 1970) indicating an acceptance of the white mode of physical appearance.

As an increasing number of blacks acquired an education and as the civil rights movement progressed, new attitudes and beliefs were demonstrated. Children were taught to be proud of their blackness. Slogans about black pride such as "black is beautiful" and "black and proud" abound.

Ward and Braun repeated the "Dolls Test" in the early 1970's to determine the racial pride of black children. The sample consisted of sixty black children that were seven and eight years of age. They found that 70 percent chose the black doll as being "nice," 82 percent chose the black doll for having the "best color," and 70 percent said the white doll "looked bad" (Rodgers, 1973). This study reflected the positive self concept these elementary children had about themselves and the devaluing they had for whites.

A study done in 1950 was compared to a study in 1970 to examine the degree of change in black perception of physical appearance over a twenty year period. A small

black community in St. Louis County, Missouri was used. The population in the county had remained relatively the same over the twenty years. The same school and grade levels were used. Students in grades nine through twelve were used in the sample. The first study in 1950 consisted of 177 participants and the group in 1970 consisted of 218 male and female participants. The students responded to several statements concerning perception of personal appearance. The only results the researcher will report concerns the hair. In 1950, 17.5 percent said they had straight, wavy, or curly hair, 82 percent had pressed hair and no one had an Afro. In 1970, 9.6 percent said they had straight, wavy, or curly hair, 25 percent had pressed hair and 65.4 had their hair natural. The students were also asked what type of hair they preferred for thier spouse, a close friend, an associate in a club and a friend. In 1950, combined male and female responses were 66.8 percent preferred for their spouse, straight, wavy, or curly hairstyle, 28 percent preferred pressed hair and 6.2 percent had no response. In 1970, 8.6 percent preferred straight, wavy, or curly hair, 9.2 preferred pressed hair and 79.2 percent preferred the Afro for their spouse. There was little difference in the type of hair preferred for spouse, friends and associates. A higher percent of males, 90.1 percent preferred their spouse to have Afro's, as compared to 40.8 females (Goering, 1972).

Goering concludes there was a change in perception of personal appearance among blacks in the twenty years covered in this study. He says the sample was too small to determine whether this was the feeling of the entire black population. He states there may have been a change in the standards of the entire American population since the Afro was being accepted by whites and blacks at that period in time. He felt although the Afro was used during the black protest, it could also have been used for fashion rather than a symbol of black pride. However, he did state that the change in black perception of beauty does reflect the statement "black is beautiful" (Goering, 1972).

In 1968, a study of fifth grade students was done to determine what concepts they had about black pride. The subjects used in the study were from integrated and segregated schools. The sample consisted of four integrated classes and three segregated classes. The schools were located in Wayne and Oakland counties, Michigan. The students were asked seven questions concerning black pride. One questions asked the students what type of hair they liked. The majority of students, 86 percent out of 94 percent chose black and curly hair, 6 percent had no response. There was no difference between the students in integrated and segregated schools. It was concluded from the seven questions that those students had a positive concept of black pride (Roth, 1970).

These studies do reflect a change in values of appearance over time. However, neither study tested the meaning associated with the changes in self perception. These studies only reported and hypothesized what is believed to be true about the reason for the change in black American hair styles.

This short review of literature supports the researcher's contention of the lack of scholarly research in the area of black people's dress and adornment.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter the reader will find a discussion of the methodology used to document the change in black hairstyles from 1964 through 1977 and to examine the meaning associated with the change in form. The following sections are included: (1) selection of time period, (2) selection of publication, (3) selection of content, (4) data collection and, (5) method of analysis.

Selection of Time Period

To study the symbolic meaning of the change in black American's hairstyles, a period of time which brought about much social change for blacks was chosen. The years 1964 through 1977 were chosen because they include the decline of the civil rights movement and the start of the black power movement. The social and economic gains of blacks had improved because of the civil rights movement; however, when compared to the gains of white Americans, the gap was as wide as ever. The black power movement developed in 1966 because of the frustrations of the civil rights movement. Blacks desired more social, economic and political change (Wynn, 1974, p. 206).

Selection of Publication

For this investigation, a magazine that was directed to a black audience, had pictures of blacks and was published in a time period under study was needed. Ebony was chosen

because of the abundance of pictures and because the articles and advertisements present information on the black culture. Ebony was also chosen because it appeals to upper or upper middle class blacks likely to be interested in black rights movement and its symbols. Information on the topics under study was not consistently and systematically addressed by the publication, although it was believed to be the best choice available for the purposes of this study.

Selection of Content

The changes in black hairstyles were documented from two types of material. Data regarding hairstyles were collected from pictures of adults in feature articles and from hair product advertisements. Feature articles are those discussing current events, achievements of individuals, biographical sketches of nationally known individuals, etc. Artistic illustrations were not included. Both color and black-and-white pictures were used since color does not affect the hairstyle variables under study. Any picture in which the hairstyle was not clearly seen was labeled undetermined. Hair products advertisements included but were not limited to the following: shampoo, permanents, hairdressing, Afro picks, combs, and hair vitamins. Wigs were not included.

The meaning for the hairstyles was based on advertising copy associated with hair care products. Meaning was also derived from a content analysis of the themes in feature articles. Content analysis can be defined as a "research

technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952, p. 18). Thematic analysis was chosen because it is an effective way of studying public opinion (Berelson, 1952, p. 139).

Development of Measures

Two data collection instruments were developed to document and record the change in black American hairstyles from 1964 through 1977. A sample of material not included in study was used as a basis of developing coding of thematic material.

Advertisements of hair care products were used to trace changes in hairstyles. Separate forms were used to collect information on males and females pictured in the advertisement (Appendix C). If both sexes were pictured in one advertisement, information for each was recorded. Information on changes in hairstyles for people pictured in feature articles was tabulated on different forms. In addition to frequency of hairstyles for men and for women, a separate record of hairstyles for leaders was kept (Appendix D). The frequency count included all identifiable hairstyles of adults.

Data Collection

To document and record the change in hairstyles a frequency count of people pictured in feature articles and advertisements was made from selected issues of Ebony

magazine located in Michigan State University library. For advertisements, the months January, April, July and October were used for each year, 1964 through 1977. Every month, 1968 through 1972, was used for content analysis of feature articles because this was the height of the black power movement (Pinkney, 1975, p. 283). The months January, April, July, and October were used to analyze feature articles for years before 1968 and after 1972. Separate charts were used to record findings of advertisements and feature articles. Data for men and women were recorded on separate charts. The theme of each article was recorded as was the type of hair style worn and the number of times it was shown in the picture (Appendix D).

Data Analysis

Graphs and charts of frequency of hair styles for men and women pictured in advertisements and in feature articles, and of the theme racial pride and identity were prepared. Based on the distribution, time periods of 1964 through 1970, and 1971 through 1977 were established. Spearman rank order correlation coefficient was used to test hypotheses three and four. Chi square statistical test was used to test hypotheses six and seven. The .05 level of significance was used for rejecting the hypotheses. The remaining hypotheses were analyzed by inspection of the graphs.

Other statistical techniques for analyzing changes over time, such as a path analysis, and time series analysis,

were not appropriate for these data because of the limited number of statistical units, e.g., years involved.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

The purposes of this study were to document the change in black American hairstyles from 1964 to 1977, to examine the meaning associated with the change in form, and to examine aspects of the pattern of adoption. In the following chapter, the data are presented and discussed in relation to research questions and hypotheses.

Descriptive Analysis of Trends

The first research question was, when, in the sequence of events was the Afro introduced and when did modifications in its form occur?

Hypothesis 1 The Afro was introduced during the period of social change led by black power advocates.

Figures 1 and 2 show that men and women pictured in feature articles first wore the Afro hairstyle in 1965. The number of individuals wearing the Afro hairstyle was proportionately small, 5 percent of the men and 2.8 percent of the women. Although the black power movement had not officially started, national attention was focused on racial issues in 1965, when the most serious racial disturbance in American history took place in the "Watts" section of Los Angeles (Appendix A).

In 1966, the Black power movement was introduced. Black power leaders pushed for separatism and the number of

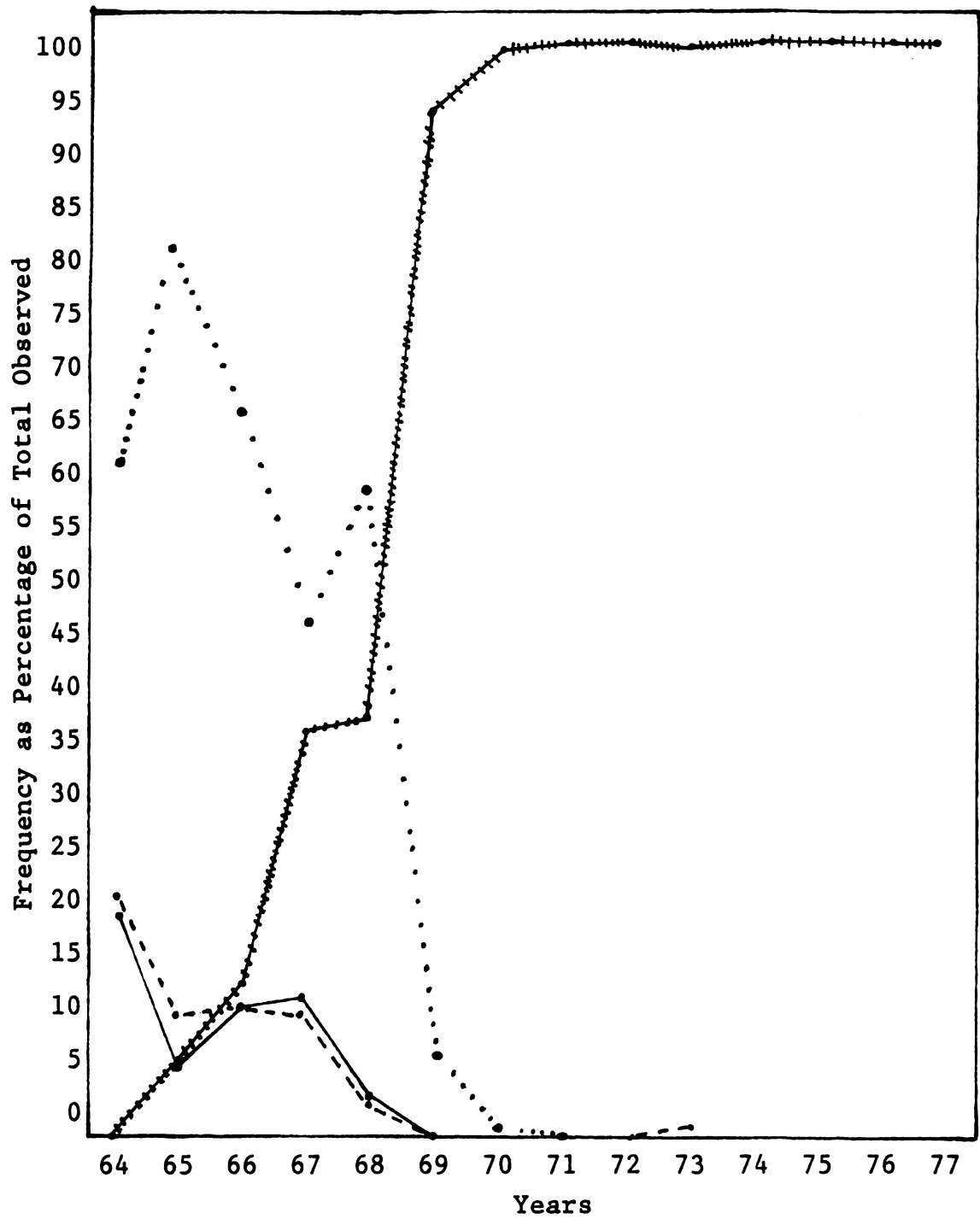


Figure 1. Men Hairstyles as a Percent of Total Styles Observed in Feature Articles, 1964-1977.

Afro

.....

Close cut

.....

Conk

——

Wavy

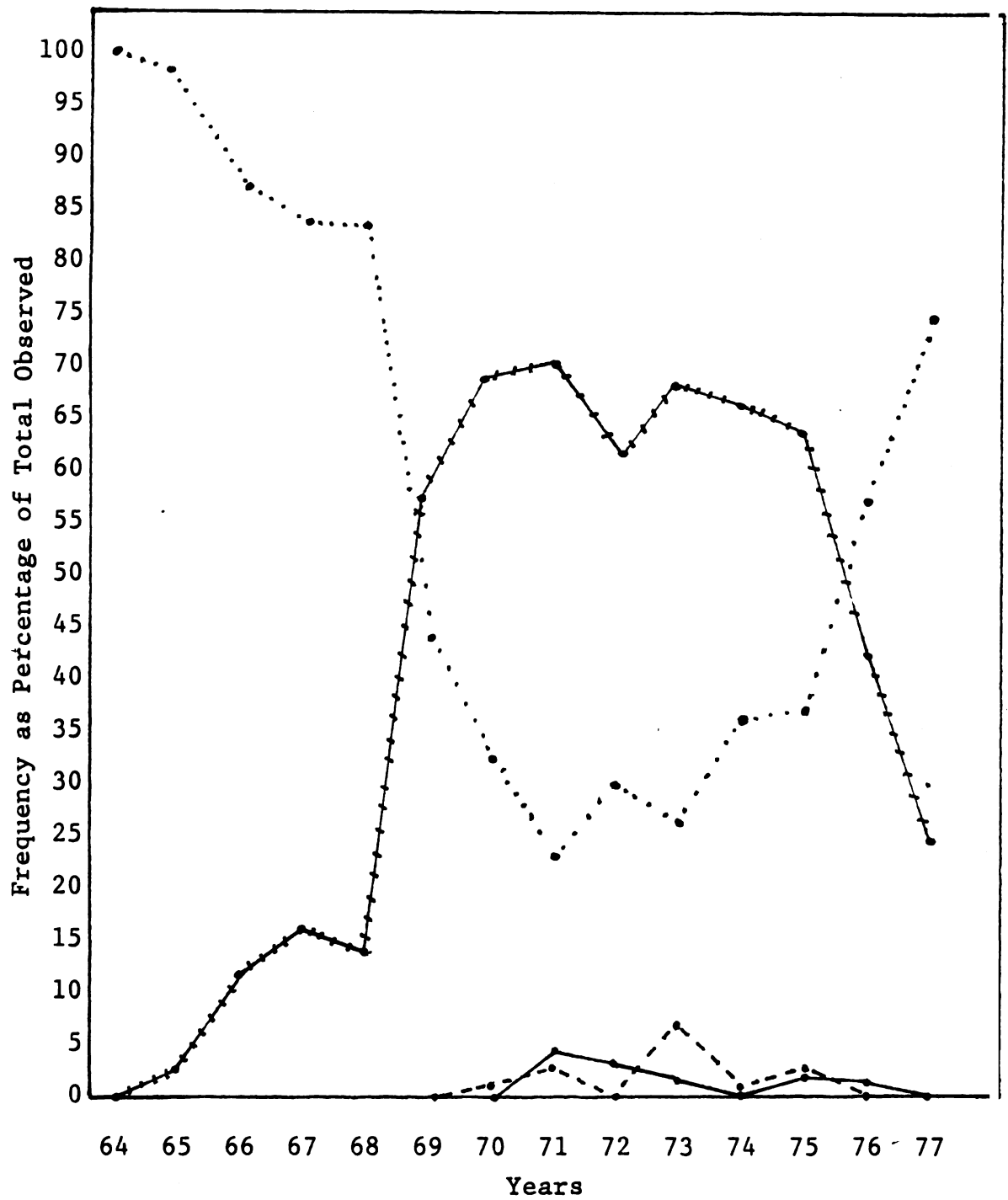


Figure 2. Women Hairstyles as a Percent of Total Styles Observed in Feature Articles, 1964-1977.

Afro	Perm	Braids	Puff
++++		-----	—

racial disturbances increased until 1972. At this time the Black Panther Party, as well as other black power advocates, announced they would give up the "pick up the gun" approach in favor of community work and voter registration (Appendix A).

Figure 1 shows the number of men pictured wearing Afros in feature articles increased dramatically from 37 percent in 1968 to 95 percent in 1969. The largest increase in the percentage of women pictured with an Afro was also between the years of 1968 and 1969. The percent of women pictured wearing Afros increased from 14.8 percent to 57 percent. This increase in the appearance of the Afro occurred after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968, which brought about several incidents of militant activities.

In examining events over time it should be remembered that awareness of racial issues was probably cumulative. That is, each year is not independent of previous years, but attitudes and events from past years may carry over into the particular year in question. While the hypothesis was not statistically tested the large increase in Afros soon after the beginning of the black power movement lends support to the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2 Over time the proportion of Afros increased, then decreased as the proportion of persons with straight hair and persons with variations of the Afro increased.

Figure 1 shows the number of men pictured wearing the Afro in feature articles increased from 5 percent in 1965 to 100 percent in 1970. That number remained at 99.5 to 100 percent from 1970 until the study period ended in 1977. There were no men pictured with the variations in the Afro hairstyle, such as braids and shags, named in this study. However, the writer observed that the size of men's Afro increased at the time that these variations were worn by women.

Figure 2 shows the number of women pictured wearing Afros increased from 14.8 percent in 1968 to 57.1 percent in 1969. During the next two years women pictured wearing Afros increased to 70 percent. Although the number of women wearing Afros continued to increase in 1970, modifications of hairstyles were introduced. The modifications, braids and the puff, were observed from 1970 to 1976 and may be an indication that the symbolic meaning of the Afro was established and individuals were free to follow fashion in hairstyles. However, neither modification was ever more than five percent of the total styles pictured in any particular year. From 1975 to 1976 women pictured wearing the Afro decreased from 59.5 percent to 24.05 percent and the percent of women pictured wearing straight hair increased substantially from 35.5 to 76 percent.

Based on visual observation of the graphs, the first part of hypothesis 2, regarding the increase in the frequency

of wearing the Afro was supported. The last portion was supported to a limited extent for women but not for men. It is the writer's opinion that it was not generally acceptable for men to wear braids, shags or straight hair, therefore, pictures of individuals with these variations were not featured in Ebony magazine. Had the large Afro that extended further from the head been identified as a variation, some decline in the Afro for men might have been observed in this time period.

Meaning Associated With Styles

The second research question was, what meaning was associated with the Afro hairstyle?

Hypothesis 3 From 1964 through 1970, there will be a positive relationship between the proportion of people wearing Afros in pictures and the proportions of themes dealing with racial pride and identity in feature articles.

Racial pride and identity accounted for the largest share of thematic information for four of the five years between 1968 and 1970 (Appendix E). The theme seemed to begin in 1965 and cease after 1974. Tables 1 and 2 show the number and percent of times the Afro was worn by men and women respectively in the feature articles between 1964 and 1977. These trends were discussed in the preceeding section.

Figure 3 plots the percent of the theme racial pride and identity and the percent of men and women pictured

Table 1. Number and Percent of Men Hairstyles Observed in Pictures Accompanying Feature Articles, 1964-1977.

[illegible]

Table 2. Number and Percent of Women Hairstyles Observed in Feature Articles 1964-1977.

Year	Afro		Puff		Braids		Straight ¹		Undetermine		Grand Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1964	0	0	0	0	0	0	76	100	0	0	76
1965	3	2.8	0	0	0	0	101	97	0	0	104
1966	5	12.5	0	0	0	0	35	87.5	0	0	40
1967	7	15.2	0	0	0	0	39	84.8	0	0	46
1968	52	14.8	0	0	0	0	296	84.8	1	.28	349
1969	157	57.1	0	0	0	0	118	42.9	0	0	275
1970	213	68.05	0	0	2	.638	98	31.3	0	0	313
1971	180	70.03	11	4.28	7	2.72	59	22.95	0	0	257
1972	188	61.62	11	3.95	0	0	79	28.41	0	0	278
1973	67	67	1	1	7	7	25	25	0	0	100
1974	75	64.10	0	0	1	.85	41	35.04	0	0	117
1975	72	59.50	2	1.65	4	3.30	43	35.53	0	0	121
1976	56	42.42	1	.76	0	0	75	56.82	0	0	132
1977	19	24.05	0	0	0	0	60	75.95	0	0	79

The shag was not included in chart because it was not observed.

¹ Straight includes permanents and pressed.

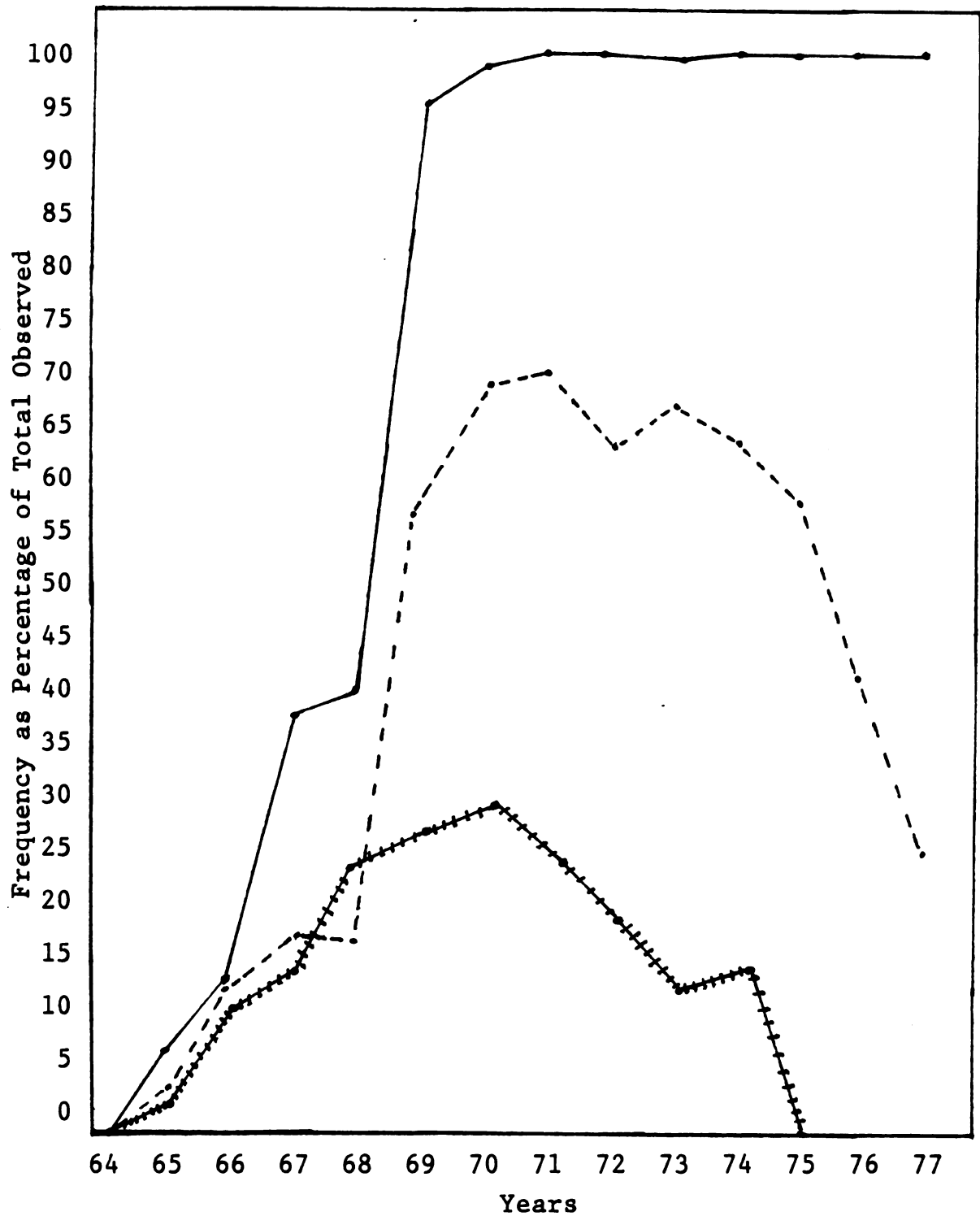


Figure 3. Men and Women with Afros and Theme of Racial Pride and Identity as Percent Observed in Feature Articles, 1964-1977.

Theme, Racial Pride and Identity Afro, Men Afro, Women
 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

wearing Afros for the 1964 to 1971. Although the trends in Figure 3 appeared to be somewhat similar, a statistical test was needed to test whether there was a significant relationship between the percent of racial pride and identity thematic material and the percent of people wearing the Afro hairstyle. The Spearman rank order correlation coefficient was used to test this hypothesis. "Spearman rank order correlation is a measure of association in which two variables are measured on an ordinal scale so that objects or individuals under study may be ranked in two ordered series" (Siegel, 1956, p. 202). Thus, the percent of racial pride thematic material and the percent of people wearing the Afro were rank ordered for the years 1964 through 1970. The years involved were the statistical units. For men a r_s coefficient of .89 was computed and was statistically significant at the .01 level. This association is consistent with Barbour's (1970, p. 10) statement that the Afro was an expression of black consciousness, and Pinkney's (1975, p. 197) reference to the Afro as a symbol of racial pride and identity. A r_s coefficient of .821 was computed for women and was statistically significant at the .05 level. Thus, hypothesis 3 was supported for both men and women.

Even stronger support for this hypothesis would likely have been found had observations of individuals been treated as the statistical unit, and had the source of data been books and articles written by black leaders.

Hypothesis 4 From 1971 through 1977, there will be a negative relationship between the proportion of persons wearing a variation of the Afro and the frequency of racial pride and identity themes in feature articles.

Figure 3 plots the relative frequency of the thematic material of racial pride and identity. Tables 1 and 2 show the number and percent of times the Afro was worn by men and women, respectively. These data suggest that the symbolic meaning of the hairstyle may have been established quickly and remained important as a symbol for a relatively brief period. It was believed that after the symbolic meaning of the Afro was established hairstyles would again be worn for reasons of fashion. Therefore, variations in styles were expected to occur when the general emphasis on racial pride and identity declined. The Spearman rank order correlation coefficient was used to test the hypothesis. The correlation between the proportion of persons wearing variation of the Afro and the frequency of racial pride and identity themes was r_s .228 for men and .5 for women. Thus the hypothesis was not excepted.

Although variations in women's hairstyles did occur during this time period as expected the trend was not one of progressive decline. Results for men might have been different had the large Afro been considered as a variation. In the case of women, had straight hair been considered as a variant style, statistical significance

would have resulted. A r_s coefficient of $-.785$ significant at the $.05$ level was computed for straight hair and the theme racial pride and identity.

Hypothesis 5 Over time the proportion of positive statements about straight hair in advertising copy will decrease and the proportion of positive statements will increase and finally the proportion of neutral statements will increase.

Advertising is believed to reflect societal attitudes (Goffman, 1979), p. 27). Therefore, examining statements in advertising copy was considered another way to gain insight into the meaning of the Afro.

Table 3 shows that for women in 1964, and from 1968 through 1970, all advertising copy that accompanied straight hair made positive statements about its beauty. In the intervening years, 1965 through 1967, advertising copy said less about the style and focused on qualities of the product, such as its usefulness. This type of copy was classified as neutral. Positive statements about straight hair began to decrease in 1971, dropping from 29.7 percent to 2.08 percent in 1973. After 1973, positive statements about straight hair were not recorded. After the Afro was introduced in 1968, all advertising copy that appeared with the style was positive, stressing racial pride and identity as well as beauty. The proportion of positive statements increased from 28.9 percent of the total number in 1968 to 56.3 percent in 1973. Thereafter, there was a sharp decline in the number of positive

Table 3. Positive Statements Regarding Women With Afro and Straight Hairstyles From Advertisements of Hair Care Products, 1964-1977.

Year	Afro N	Positive %	Straight N	Positive %	Neutral N	%
1964	0	0	33	100	0	0
1965	0	0	33	86.84	5	13.16
1966	0	0	19	73.17	5	26.83
1967	0	0	52	98.11	1	1.89
1968	13	28.89	32	71.11	0	0
1969	13	31.71	28	68.29	0	0
1970	15	45.5	18	55.5	0	0
1971	17	45.95	11	29.73	9	24.32
1972	21	56.77	1	2.70	13	35.14
1973	27	56.25	1	2.08	20	41.67
1974	4	15.33	0	0	24	92.31
1975	0	0	0	0	18	100
1976	2	5.26	0	0	36	94.74
1977	0	0	0	0	26	100

statements. As the positive statements for straight and Afro hairstyles decreased, neutral statements, indicating that either style was acceptable, increased. The same advertisements for hair care products were directed to persons wearing straight hair as well as persons wearing the Afro and both were frequently pictured in the same advertisement.

Table 4 shows that for men, in 1964 through 1966, all advertising copy that accompanied straight hair made positive statements about its beauty. Positive statements about straight hair began to decrease in 1967 dropping from 86.66 percent to zero percent in 1969. At that time no men were observed wearing straight hair. Positive statements accompanied all Afro styles observed from 1968 through 1972. Thereafter, there was a steady decline in the number of positive statements. As the positive statements about the Afro decreased, neutral statements about the style increased. Advertisements no longer suggested that the Afro was a sign of masculinity, racial pride and strength, but stressed usefulness of the product.

Based on visual observation this hypothesis was supported for both men and women.

Table 4. Positive Statements Regarding Men With Afro and Straight Hiarstyles From Advertisements of Hair Care Products, 1964-1977.

Year	Afro		Positive		Straight		Positive		Neutral	
	N		N	%	N		N	%	N	%
1964	0	0	17		100		0	0	0	
1965	0	0	12		100		0	0	0	
1966	0	0	10		100		0	0	0	
1967	0	0	13		86.66		2	13.33		
1968	21	70	8		26.66		1	3.34		
1969	21	100	0		0		0	0		
1970	20	100	0		0		0	0		
1971	19	95	0		0		1	5		
1972	41	100	0		0		0	0		
1973	16	76.19	0		0		5	23.81		
1974	1	4.35	0		0		22	95.65		
1975	0	0	0		0		10	100		
1976	0	0	0		0		15	100		
1977	0	0	0		0		6	100		

The third research question was, is there a discernable pattern of acceptance of the Afro?

Hypothesis 6 A greater proportion of men,
than women will wear the Afro
in each time period.

Tables 1 and 2 present the number and percent of men and women respectively that were pictured wearing the Afro in feature articles for the years 1964 through 1977. This information is also graphed in Figures 1 and 2. Observation of the data indicates that larger proportions of men adopted the Afro than women for each year observed. A Chi square test was used to determine the significance of differences observed between the two independent groups. The calculated χ^2 value of 43.587 (df=13) was significant at the .001 level. Thus, the hypothesis was accepted. It is the writer's belief that a greater proportion of men adopted the Afro than women because it was not such a drastic change from the close cut style worn earlier. It was only a matter of letting the hair grow longer. Women, however, had to make a complete change from straight hair, which was considered beautiful, to the Afro, which for years had been considered unattractive. This meant that women had to change to a new value system which may have hindered their acceptance of the Afro. The greater proportion of variations in hairstyles for women also suggest that women may have been more interested in fashion. As noted in the discussion of hypothesis four, the decline in wearing the Afro by women is not interpreted

as a loss of racial pride but rather a sense of freedom to choose other styles. It should be remembered that men also exhibited variations in the length of the Afro during this time period.

Hypothesis 7 A greater proportion of black power than civil rights leaders will wear the Afro from 1968 through 1972.

Figure 4 shows that greater percentage of black power leaders wore Afros than did civil rights leaders. A large percent of the civil rights leaders wore their hair in the close cut style which was widely accepted for men during the 1960's. The calculated Chi Square value of 26.418 (df = 5) was significant at the .001 level. Therefore, the hypothesis was accepted. This finding is consistent with the idea that the style had symbolic meaning and was associated with the black power leaders.

Hypothesis 8 There will be a lag between the time people are pictured wearing the Afro and the appearance of the Afro in advertisements.

Tables 5 and 6, and Figure 5 shows that in 1965 men and women were observed wearing the Afro in feature articles. However, the Afro was not seen in advertisements until 1968. It is the writer's opinion that manufacturers wait to promote controversial or new styles until they sense public acceptance or feel that there is a demand for products such as those necessary to care for the Afro.

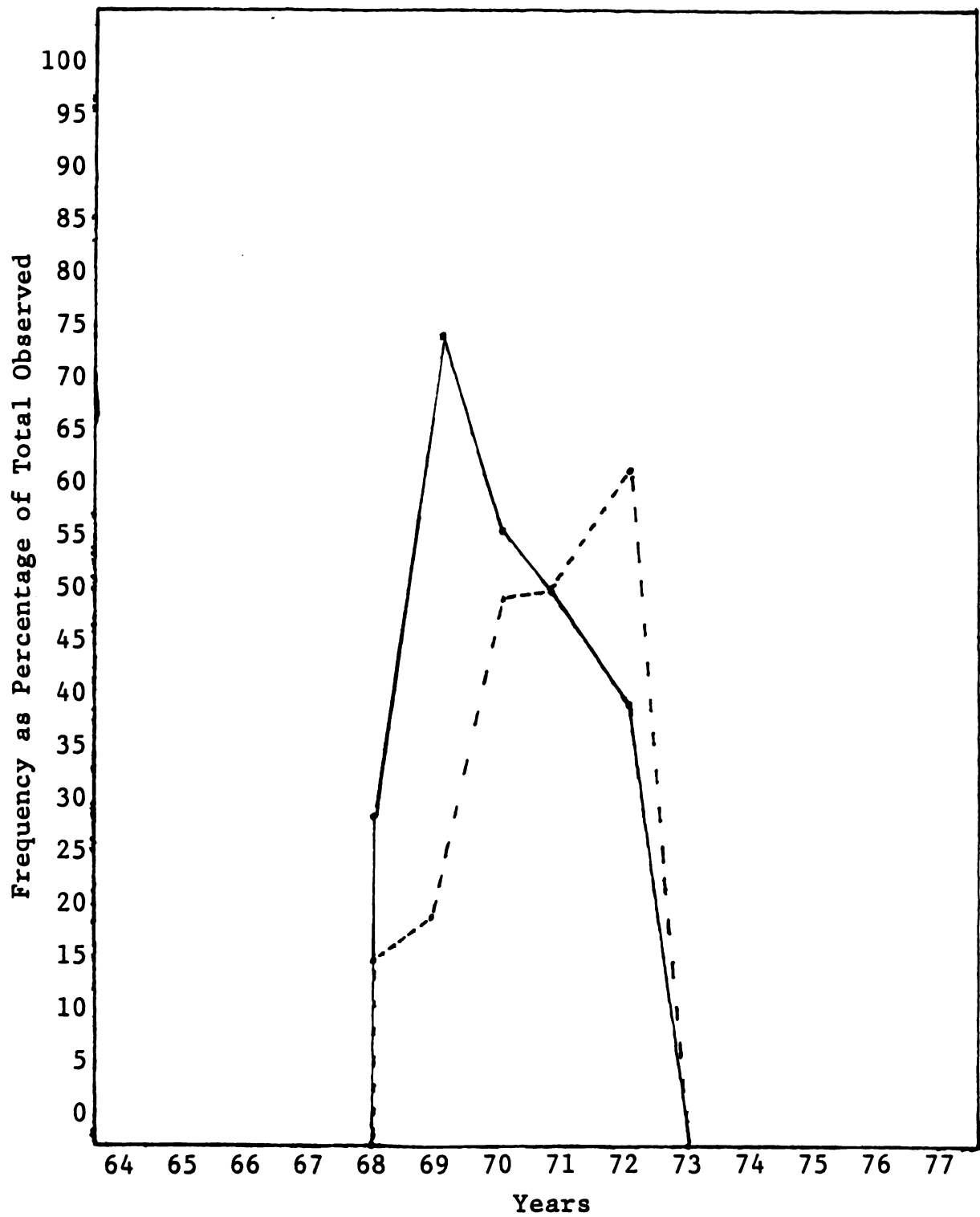


Figure 4. Black Power and Civil Rights Leaders With Afros as Percent Observed in Feature Articles, 1968-1972.

Black Power Leaders

Civil Rights Leaders

Table 5. Number and Percent of Men Hairstyles Observed in Advertisements, 1964-1977.

Year	Afro		Close Cut		Conk		Waved		Grand Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1964	0	0	0	0	9	52.94	8	47.06	17	
1965	0	0	0	0	10	83.33	2	16.67	12	
1966	0	0	0	0	6	60	4	40	10	
1967	0	0	2	13.33	9	60	4	26.67	15	
1968	21	70	1	3.33	4	13.33	4	13.33	30	
1969	21	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	
1970	20	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	
1971	19	95	0	0	1	5	0	0	20	
1972	41	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	41	
1973	21	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	
1974	21	91.30	0	0	0	0	2	8.70	23	
1975	10	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	
1976	15	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	
1977	6	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	

Table 6. Number and Percent of Women Hairstyles Observed in Advertisements, 1964-1977.

Year	Afro		Puff		Braids		Perm		Grand Total
	N	Z	N	Z	N	Z	N	Z	
1964	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	100	33
1965	0	0	0	0	0	0	33	100	39
1966	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	100	24
1967	0	0	0	0	0	0	53	100	53
1968	13	28.9	0	0	0	0	32	71.11	45
1969	13	31.70	0	0	0	0	28	68.29	41
1970	15	45.45	0	0	0	0	18	54.55	33
1971	17	45.95	0	0	0	0	20	54.05	37
1972	22	62.86	0	0	2	5.71	13	37.14	37
1973	27	56.25	2	4.2	3	6.25	16	33.33	48
1974	15	57.7	0	0	0	0	11	42.31	26
1975	7	38.9	0	0	1	5.56	10	55.56	18
1976	14	36.84	0	0	1	2.63	23	60.53	38
1977	7	26.92	1	3.85	0	0	18	69.23	26

The shag was not included in chart because it was not observed.

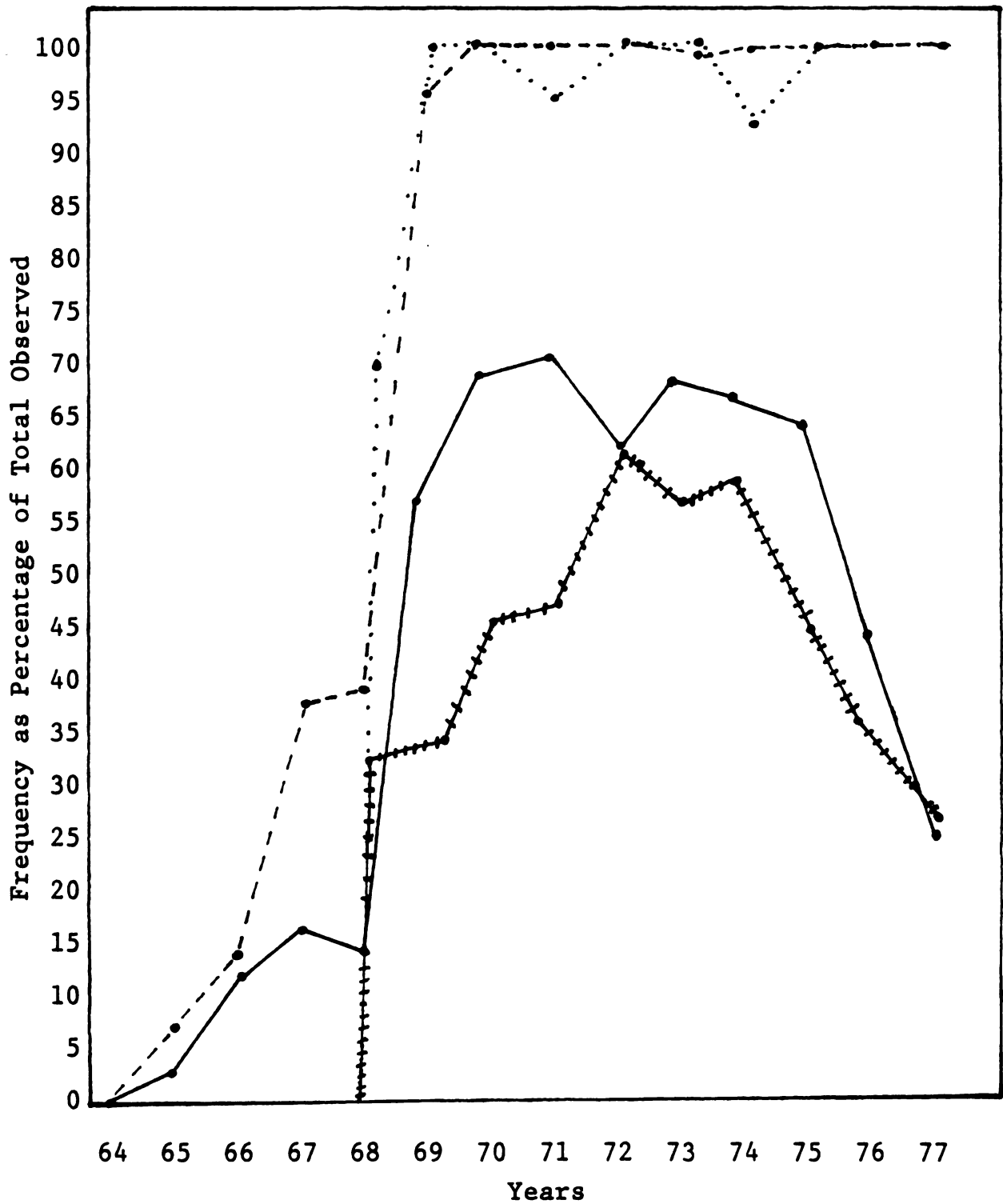


Figure 5. Afros in Advertisements and Feature Articles
As Percent Observed, 1964-1977.

Afro, Advertisement
Men
Women +++++

Afro, Feature Articles
Male ----
Women ——

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Statement of the Problem

The purposes of this study were to document and record the change in black hairstyles from 1964 through 1977, to examine the meaning associated with the change in form and to examine aspects of the pattern of adoption. This topic was selected to examine a form of dress and adornment that was introduced by a particular group as a symbol of beliefs and values and that later became fashion.

Methodology

The source of data for this study was Ebony magazine. Data regarding changes in hairstyles were collected from pictures of adults in feature articles and from hair products advertisement. The meaning associated with hairstyles was based on advertising copy associated with hair care products and on a content analysis of the themes in feature articles.

Conclusion

In analyzing the data frequency charts and graphs were made and Spearman rank order correlation coefficient and Chi Square statistics were used. The research questions and conclusions relative to the study are presented below.

The first question was, when in the sequence of events was the Afro introduced and when did modifications in its form occur?

Hypothesis 1 The Afro was introduced during the period of social change led by black power advocates.

A visual analysis of the graphs constructed for men and women in feature articles showed that the number wearing Afros in both groups increased during the time of the black power movement. There was a substantial increase in 1969 for both men and women. This was the year after the non-violent leader, Dr. King, was assassinated and many of his followers joined the black power movement that began in 1966 (Pinkney, 1975, p. 205).

Hypothesis 2 Over time the proportion of Afros increased, then decreased as the proportion of persons with straight hair and persons with variations of the Afro increased.

Two variations of the Afro were identified in this study, the shag and the puff. Braids, a popular style during the period of study, were also considered. Men wore a variety of hairstyles before the acceptance of the Afro. These styles were close cut, conk and waved. After the Afro was accepted by over 90 percent of black men pictured in articles in 1969, it remained the dominate hairstyle with no variations. Women pictured in articles continued to wear their hair straight, but there was a drastic decrease from 85 percent in 1968 to 43 percent in 1969. The Afro became the dominant hairstyle for women in the articles observed in 1969 and remained so through 1975, when straight hair became dominant once more. Variations in the Afro

were observed during the period of 1970 through 1976, but no variations accounted for more than seven percent of the total pictures observed in feature articles in any particular year.

The second question was what meaning was associated with black hairstyles?

Hypothesis 3 In earlier time periods, there will be a positive relationship between the proportion of people wearing Afros in pictures and the proportion of themes dealing with racial pride and identity in feature articles.

The Spearman rank order correlation coefficient was used to test this hypothesis. The percent of racial pride and identity themes and the percent of people wearing the Afro were rank ordered for years 1964 through 1970. A r_s coefficient of .89 was computed for men and was statistically significant at .01 level. For women a r_s coefficient of .821 was computed and was statistically significant.

Hypothesis 4 In later periods, there will be negative relationship between the proportion of persons wearing a variation of the Afro and the frequency of racial pride and identity themes in feature articles.

The Spearman rank order correlation coefficient was used to test this hypothesis. For these data there were no statistically significant relationships between proportions of men or women pictured wearing variations of

the Afro and the frequency of the theme of racial pride and identity.

Hypothesis 5 Over time the proportion of positive statements about straight hair in advertising copy will decrease and the proportion of positive statements about the Afro will increase and finally the proportion of neutral statements will increase.

The Afro was not seen in advertising for either men or women before 1968. The advertising copy was positive for straight hair in all hair products advertisements during that time. Advertising copy was positive for the Afro from the time of its introduction until 1974. After 1974, statements in advertising copy were positive for both the Afro and straight hair and both were frequently pictured together in advertisements. Advertisements emphasized healthy hair rather than hairstyles.

The third question was, is there a discernable pattern of acceptance of the Afro?

Hypothesis 6 A greater proportion of men than women will wear the Afro in each time period.

Chi Square was used to test this hypothesis. For these data the calculated χ^2 value was 43.587 (df = 13) and was statistically significant at the .001 level.

Hypothesis 7 A greater proportion of black power than civil rights leaders will wear the Afro 1968 through 1972.

In the years 1965 through 1968 only civil rights leaders were observed. All of these male civil rights leaders were pictured wearing the close cut hair style. Militant leaders were not observed until 1968 and the majority of them had Afros. The Chi Square was used to test this hypothesis. The calculated χ^2 value was 26.418 (df = 5) and was significant at the .001 level. After 1969, all leaders, militant and nonviolent were observed wearing Afros.

Hypothesis 8 There will be a lag between the time people are pictured wearing the Afro and the appearance of the Afro in advertisements.

The Afro was first observed in feature articles in 1965 for both men and women. The Afro was first observed in advertisements in 1968 for both men and women. A lag was observed between the introduction of the Afro in feature articles and in advertisements. The increase of the percentage of Afros in advertisements seemed to parallel the increase of persons pictured wearing the Afro in feature articles and the theme racial pride and identity.

As stated in the theory, Stone (1965) used the term program to mean how a person presents himself to obtain a favorable review from others. Straight hair was once the program used by some blacks to obtain a favorable review from white America. However, in the 60's changes in that enduring mode or style indicated changes in social roles

and self concepts (Bush and London). Blacks no longer required a favorable review of self from white America. The data in this study support the idea that the Afro was a symbol of racial pride and identity in that the two trends are statistically associated in time. After its introduction in 1965, the Afro was widely accepted by 1969. The frequency of themes regarding racial pride and identity also increased in this period. The data shows that as time progressed, there was a decrease in the theme of racial pride and identity appearing in feature articles and an increase in the variety of hairstyles worn. One may conclude that the emphasis on the symbolic meaning of the Afro changed and the style was accepted as fashion.

Recommendations for Further Study

If the symbolic meaning of the Afro was important, as this study and other writers suggest, then it was probably enforced by sanctions. A study of sanctions would shed light on the importance of the symbolic meaning. Newspaper accounts of reactions of employers and general public records of cases brought by blacks about personal appearance and school, military, employer dress codes could be used to further study the meaning of the Afro over time and geographic area.

This study shows that there was a difference between men and women in wearing the Afro. Further research is needed to pin point why men had less change in the Afro. In

addition, why women wore more variations in hairstyles and why straight hair became the dominate hairstyle again could be addressed.

A study can be done to analyze what meaning the Afro have to people who are still wearing it and to find out, what their feelings are about others who no longer wear the hairstyle.

This study can be repeated with another group plotting the introduction of a symbolic style used by that group, its meaning and duration.

An exhaustive study of books and articles written by leaders could be compared with the introduction and duration of the Afro to test its meaning.

A study of other styles of dress used during the black power movement and its meaning could be compared to the acceptance and duration of the Afro.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

List of Events During the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements¹

- 1955 Rosa Parks, a black seamstress in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to surrender her seat when ordered by a local bus driver. Her arrest, for violating Jim Crow ordinances led to a city-wide bus boycott by blacks.

The Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) prohibited segregation in public vehicles operating in interstate travel. The order also extended to waiting rooms.

- 1956 The Supreme Court upheld the decision of a lower court outlawing segregation on buses in Montgomery, Alabama which ended the Montgomery bus boycott.

The home of a black minister and civil rights activist F.L. Shuttlesworth was bombed in Birmingham, Alabama. The city's Negroes responded with a massive defiance of bus segregation regulations, at least two score were jailed.

- 1957 The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was organized at New Orleans. Atlanta was chosen as the site of the national headquarters. Martin Luther King, Jr. was elected president.

More than 15,000 Americans, mostly blacks, gathered at the Lincoln Monument in Washington to demonstrate support for a voting rights act. Martin Luther King, Jr. led the speakers crying: "Give us the Ballot!" It was the first large-scale black protest in Washington since the Second World War.

The Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1957, the first major civil rights legislation since 1875.

- 1958 Members of the NAACP Youth Council began a new series of sit-ins at segregated restaurants. Oklahoma City lunch counters were the current targets.

- 1959 "Raisin in the Sun" was the first black play to appear on Broadway in more than fifty years.

¹Alton Hornsby, The Black Almanac. Barron's Educational Series, Inc. 1975.

- 1960 A wave of sit-ins at segregated lunch counters, led principally by black college students, started in Greensboro, North Carolina. The success of the sit-in technique encourage blacks to use the method of non-violent direct action in other areas where discrimination persisted. Martin Luther King, Jr., assumed leadership of the widened movement.

Martin Luther King, Jr. and some fifty other blacks, were arrested for sitting-in at an Atlanta department store restaurant. Robert K. Kennedy and John F. Kennedy assisted the King family in obtaining his release.

- 1961 An anti-Negro riot resulted in the suspension of two recently admitted black students at the University of Georgia. The duo were reinstated under court order.

Martin Luther King, Jr. and his forces launched an all-out attack against segregation and discrimination in Albany, Georgia. The effort was frustrated by mass arrests and political maneuverings.

- 1962 Racial discrimination in federally-financed housing was prohibited by President Kennedy. The order applied principally to housing projects and apartments.

- 1963 Civil rights demonstrations, protests, and boycotts occurred in almost every major urban area in the country.

The largest single protest demonstration in United States history occurred at the Lincoln Monument in Washington; 250,000 blacks and whites gathered to lobby for passage of sweeping civil rights measures by Congress.

- 1964 The 24th Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting the denial or abridgement of the right to vote by "reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax" was adopted.

Congress passed a sweeping civil rights act, including provisions prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations and discrimination in employment.

- 1965 Federal Judge authorized the Selma-Montgomery march in Alabama.

Voter rights bill was passed by Congress.

The most serious racial disturbance in American history took place in the "Watts" section of Los Angeles, California.

President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order creating a cabinet-level Council on Equal Opportunity.

- 1966 Stokely Carmichael was made head of the Student non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The organization pushed for separatism.

James Meredith, the first black student to break the color barrier at the University of Mississippi was shot but not seriously injured.

Robert C. Weaver appointed by President L.B. Johnson as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. He was the first black to serve in a President's Cabinet.

Dr. King addressed a largely black crowd of 45,000 in Chicago and launched a drive to rid the nation's third largest city of discrimination.

The Black Panther Party was founded in Oakland, California. They pushed for full employment, education relevant to black needs, and black political and economic power.

- 1967 The worst summer of racial disturbances in American history occurred. More than forty riots were recorded and at least 100 other incidents.

United States Senate confirmed the appointment of Thurgood Marshall as the first Black Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Edward W. Brooke was elected to the United States Senate. He was the first Black Senator since Reconstruction.

United States Supreme Court upheld contempt of court conviction of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and seven other ministers for violating an order against leading desegregation protests in Birmingham, Alabama.

- 1968 Lucius D. Anderson took over as sheriff of Macon County, Alabama. He was the first black sheriff in the South since Reconstruction.

Black separatists met in Detroit for a National Black Conference sponsored by the Malcolm X Society to "set up an independent Black government:" in five Southern states and to write a "Black Declaration of Independence."

Dr. King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, while preparing a march on behalf of striking sanitation workers.

Forty-six persons had been killed in the rioting that followed the assassination of Dr. King.

The result of the 1967 riots was the strengthening of militant black self-defense groups.

Eighty more blacks were elected to political office in the south.

- 1969 The Department of Justice filed its first discrimination suit against a major Southern textile company, Cannon Mills.

Yale University announced that it would offer a B.A. degree in Afro-American studies.

The Supreme Court ruled that cities - like states - cannot enact ordinances or charter provisions which have the effect of establishing discrimination in housing.

Black civil rights leader Charles Evers defeated a white incumbent to become mayor of Fayette, Mississippi.

Police killed Fred Hampton, the Illinois chairman of the Black Panther Party.

- 1970 Four Southern governors vowed to defy the federal government's plan to implement student busing arrangements in their home states to achieve desegregated school systems. States included Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, and Florida.

Allison Davis was appointed as John Dewey Distinguished Professor of Education at the University of Chicago. He was the first black man to hold a major endowed chair in this or any of the great universities in the United States.

Violent clashes between blacks and policemen continued in the Northern ghettos.

Six black men died as a result of racial rioting in Augusta, Georgia.

A record number of blacks were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

- 1971 U.S. black congressmen boycotted President Richard Nixon's State of the Union Message because of his refusal to listen and respond to the needs and concerns of blacks.

A federal court judge in Detroit, Michigan found the Detroit public school system guilty of planned segregation.

- 1972 Huey Newton, cofounder of the Black Panther Party, announced that the party had given up the "pick up the gun" approach in favor of community work and voter registration.

Angela Davis was acquitted of murder, kidnapping and conspiracy by an all white jury.

Benjamin Hooks, black attorney and minister, was first black to be appointed to the Federal Communications Commission.

- 1973 The National Black Assembly met in Detroit to set up the first practical program aimed at the group's objective to greater black political power.

- 1974 A federal judge in San Francisco ruled that IQ tests must not be given to black children in California if the tests did not reflect the children's cultural background.

- 1975 James B. Parsons was named as the first black Chief Judge of a Federal Court.

APPENDIX B

Civil Rights Movement
Leaders

1. Ralph Abernathy
2. Julian Bond
3. Edward Brooke
4. Charles Evers
5. Jesse Jackson
6. Maynard Jackson
7. Vernon Jordan
8. Martin Luther King, Jr.
9. James Meredith
10. Carl Rowan
11. Fred Shuttlesworth
12. Robert Weaver
13. Roy Wilkins
14. Andrew Young
15. Whitney Young

Black Power Movement
Leaders

1. H. "Rap" Brown
2. Stokely Carmichael
3. Mark Clark
4. Elridge Cleaver
5. Angela Davis
6. Fred Hampton
7. Bobby Hutton
8. George Jackson
9. LeRoi Jones
10. Floyd McKissick
11. Lonnie McLucas
12. Huey Newton
13. Bobby Seale
14. Malcom X

APPENDIX C

[illegible]

APPENDIX D
Sample Data Collection Instruments

Year	Hairstyles of Women in Feature Articles				
Month	Hairstyle	Number	Themes		
	Afro Perm Braids Puff Shag Undetermined		Black Power	Non-violent	
			Afro Straight	Afro Straight	
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					

Year	Hairstyles of Men in Feature Articles				
Month	Hairstyle	Number	Themes		
	Afro Close cut		Black Power	Non-violent	
			Afro Close cut	Afro Close cut	
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					

Key

Code for Themes

R= Racial pride and identity

A= Achievement A1-politics A2-education A3-housing A4=employment A5=entertainment A6=sports

O= Other O1-family lifestyle O2=fashion O3=religion

APPENDIX E

Table 7. Number and Percent of Themes Observed for Feature Articles, 1964-1977.

Year	Racial Pride		Achievement Politics		Achievement Education		Achievement Housing		Achievement Employment		Achievement Entertain- ment		Achievement Sports		Family Life Style		Fashion		Religion		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
1964	0	0	5	18.52	1	3.70	0	0	6	22.22	3	11.11	2	7.41	5	18.52	5	18.52	0	0	27
1965	5	13.88	4	11.11	2	5.55	1	2.77	6	16.66	4	11.11	4	11.11	5	13.88	4	11.11	1	2.77	36
1966	2	7.69	3	11.54	0	0	0	0	8	30.77	7	26.92	2	7.69	2	7.69	3	11.54	1	3.84	26
1967	3	11.11	4	14.81	3	11.11	0	0	4	14.81	4	14.81	2	7.41	3	11.11	4	14.81	0	0	27
1968	22	21.78	5	4.95	1	.99	0	0	21	20.79	20	19.80	7	6.93	8	7.92	9	8.91	8	7.92	101
1969	22	22.26	7	8.045	8	19.19	1	1.15	12	13.79	20	22.99	5	5.75	1	1.15	8	9.19	2	3.45	87
1970	21	26.25	3	3.75	8	10	1	1.25	11	13.75	9	11.25	4	5	12	15	8	10	3	3.75	80
1971	18	22.22	12	14.81	8	9.88	2	2.47	13	16.05	10	12.35	2	2.47	8	9.88	7	8.647	1	1.23	81
1972	14	17.1	11	13.41	8	9.76	4	4.88	9	10.98	8	9.76	6	7.32	8	9.76	12	14.63	2	2.44	82
1973	3	10.34	3	10.34	4	13.79	0	0	5	17.24	2	6.90	6	20.69	1	3.45	5	17.24	0	0	29
1974	4	13.79	2	6.90	4	13.79	0	0	2	6.90	5	17.24	3	10.34	3	10.34	5	17.24	1	3.45	29
1975	0	0	2	6.67	4	13.33	0	0	3	10	4	13.33	3	10	5	16.67	5	16.67	4	13.33	30
1976	0	0	3	12.5	6	25	0	0	4	16.67	2	8.33	2	8.33	1	4.16	4	16.67	2	8.33	24
1977	0	0	2	8.70	0	0	1	4.35	5	21.74	2	8.70	3	13.04	4	17.39	6	26.08	0	0	23

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Berelson, Bernard. Content Analysis of Communication Research. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1952.
- Brisbane, Robert. Black Activism: Racial Revolution In the United States 1954-1970. Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1974.
- Bush, G. and London, P. "On the Disappearance of Knickers." In Dress Adornment and the Social Order. Edited by Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubloz Eicher. New York: John Wiley & Sons., 1965.
- Barbour, Floyd. The Black Seventies. Boston, Massachusetts: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1970.
- Carmichael, Stokely. Stokely Speaks. New York: Random House, 1971.
- Chambers, Bradford. Chronicles of Negro Protest. New York: Parents' Magazine Press, 1968.
- Goffman, Erving. Gender Advertisements. New York: Harper Calophon Books, 1979.
- Hornsby, Alton Jr. The Black Almanac. New York: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1975.
- McKee, James. Introduction to Sociology. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969.
- Phillips, Bernard. Sociology: Social Structure and Change. Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1969, Chapter 17.
- Pinkney, Alphonso. Black Americans. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975.
- Scott, A.C. "The New China." Dress Adornment and the Social Order, Edited by Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubloz Eicher. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.
- Siegel, Sidney. Nonparametric Statistics: For the Behavioral Science. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956.

- Sloan, Irving. The Blacks in America: 1492-1977.
New York: Oceana Publication, 1977.
- Stinchcombe, Arthur L. Constructing Social Theories.
New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1968.
- Stone, Gregory P. "Appearance and the Self." Dress Adornment and the Social Order. Edited by Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubloz Eicher. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.
- Topping, Audrey R. "First in Space - But Not in Femininity." Dress Adornment and the Social Order. Edited by Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubloz Eicher. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.
- Tumin, Melvin. Social Stratification. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1967.

Periodicals

- Goering, John M. "Changing Perceptions and Evaluation of Physical Characteristics Among Blacks: 1950-1970." Phylon. 33(3): 231-241, Fall, 1972.
- Morrison, Denton and Holden, Carlin. "Why Women are Burning Their Bras." Sexual Behavior. 19-25, February, 1972.
- Rodgers, Harrell R. Jr. "Racial Pride and Black Children." Integrated Education. 11(4-5): 62-63, July, 1973.
- Roth, Rodney. "How Negro Fifth Grade Students View Black Pride Concepts." Integrated Education. 8(3): 24:27, May-June, 1970.
- Schwartz, Jack. "Men's Clothing and the Negro." Phylon. 24, 224-233, 1963.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293006790996