

"BOHEMIANISM AND THE SEARCH FOR FREEDOM"

"The development of Bohemian Ideology and Strategy from 1830 to 1975, with particular reference to the hippie phenomenon of the 1960's in Britain".

PhD Thesis (Sociology)
Leicester University 1978

John Muncie
Faculty of Social Sciences
Open University
Walton Hall
Milton Keynes
Bucks

UMI Number: U435073

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U435073

Published by ProQuest LLC 2015. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346



THESIS

556330

8.8.78

x753000538

Acknowledgements

This work springs largely from an attempt to look back at the "heady" sixties and re-examine the 'radical' events of that time. It locates and re-assesses many of the optimisms and aspirations which were born in that period. In helping me to gain a critical understanding of the sixties I am indebted to Clive Ashworth, my supervisor at Leicester, and Mike Fitzgerald at the Open University. Thanks are also due to all those friends at Leicester, past and present, who have commented on and criticised many of the earlier ideas for this work.

Last but not least I wish to thank those secretaries at the Open University who were invaluable in typing and preparing the final drafts; and Carol without whose support this would not have been possible.

"Bohemianism and the Search for Freedom"

Contents

Introduction

Section 1

Chapter 1

"The Origins and Meaning of Bohemianism, - Some Causal and Developmental Hypotheses."

Introduction

Defining Bohemianism

The Bohemian as an individual deviant (Psychoanalytical Theory)
The Bohemian as a social inadequate (Functionalist Theory)
The Bohemian as a petit-bourgeois socialist (Marxist Theory)
The Bohemian as an existentialist (Phenomenological Theory)
The Bohemian as a revolutionary (Mass Society Theory)
The Limitations of theory.

Chapter 2

"Constructing a Framework for the Analysis of Bohemian Culture"

The meaning of "culture"

Culture and society

Culture and class

Dominant culture

Subordinate culture

Sub culture and class

Orthodox dominant adult culture

Orthodox subordinate adult culture

Mass culture

Unorthodox dominant youth culture

Unorthodox subordinate youth culture

Community culture

Class and age cultures in modern Britain

Chapter 3

"The Centrality of "Youth Culture" to Bohemianism"

The Notion of a "youth culture"

Reasons for emergence

The Notion of a "youth culture" re-evaluated

Youth cultures in modern Britain

Section 2

Chapter 4

"The Bohemian Heritage".

Definitions and origins
 Romanticism and bohemianism
 The children of romanticism
 Bohemianism in the inter-war years
 The Beat Generation
 The CND movements

Chapter 5

"The Hippie 'Moment' and Aftermath".

A new consciousness
 Fragmentation
 Mysticism
 Drug Usage
 Community experiments
 Anarchism
 Political activism
 Liberation movements
 Hedonism
 Concluding remarks

Chapter 6

"The Underground Press"

What is 'underground' about the Underground Press?
 International Times (I.T.) A Case Study
 Cultural analysis (Uniting a culture?)
 Social analysis (how it is organised)
 Semiological analysis (Symbols of a culture)
 Historical analysis (its changing content)
 Ideological analysis (its message)
 Comparative analysis (different from the 'overground' press?)

Section 3

Chapter 7

"The Demise of Modern Bohemian Movements and the Limitations of Bohemianism"

External Factors

- (a) Persecution and repression
- (b) Commercialisation
- (c) Economic limitations

Internal Factors

- (a) Conflict within bohemian culture
- (b) Contradictions within bohemian culture

The Limitations of bohemianism in Britain

Chapter 8

"The Romantic Outsider: Conclusions"

The Romantic Tradition

Romanticism and Capitalism: Necessarily in opposition?

Bohemianism: A revolutionary movement?

The Romantic Outsider: myth and reality.

References

Bibliography

"Our culture, our art, the music, newspapers
books, posters, our clothing, our homes, the
way we walk and talk, the way our hair grows,
the way we smoke dope and fuck and eat and
sleep - it is all one message and the message
is FREEDOM"

White Panther Manifesto

"Man is condemned to be free"

Jean Paul Sartre.

Introduction

Recent years have witnessed an upsurge in both political and cultural protest, emanating from the unlikely source of middle-class youth. Such protest undoubtedly captured the imagination of many minority and underprivileged groups, and in the 1960's and 1970's a wide range of libertarian movements emerged: the implications of which are only now beginning to be realised. One popular misconception was that such movements were both innovatory and unique, and consequently little or no historical precedent was sought for. As a result, analysis of such movements (variously called "counter-cultures" "youth cultures", "young radicals" or simply "no-gooders") has concentrated on contemporary forms, thus concluding that they are either of a revolutionary nature or irrelevant.

In this thesis a historical analysis highlights important comparisons between the counter-cultures of the last decade and the bohemian genre of Paris in the early 19th Century. This in turn raises questions about the centrality of the notion of Romanticism to all such movements, and the role Romantic ideology can play in processes of social change and the "Search for Freedom".

Section 1 works its way through a number of theoretical and conceptual analyses of the bohemian phenomenon. The amorphous nature of movements, which are geared to equally illusory Romantic principles, makes it difficult to isolate any fundamental core that they may have. They claim no leadership, no organisation, no manifesto, no social policy and their directives offer many alternatives which are

ultimately the concern of each particular individual's own interpretation.

Section 2 breaks down such confusion by looking firstly at the historical precedents, and secondly at the many varying strands of the 1960's "counter culture." The heritage of modern bohemianism is found in the bohemian of Paris in the 1830's in such figures as Theophile Gautier and Charles Baudelaire. Their pursuit of self expression and self identity through artistic, social and drug induced experiments, are important historical indicators of the general style of the Beat in the 1950's. With the arrival of the anti-war and anti-bomb movements later in the decade, these two essential influences merged in the development of hippie strategy and ideology in the 1960's.

Any attempt to analyse hippie ideology, and clarify many of the various movements that developed out of such ideology, is made particularly difficult, because the hippie has no dogma or manifesto by which he directs his actions. Nevertheless it can be inferred that the hippie only existed for a brief moment in history, in 1966-67 and particularly in America. The hippies main attack was on the growing dehumanisation of individuals due to rapidly developing technological, bureaucratic and state control processes. The hippie reacted to this situation by calling for a revolution, which was largely based on attempting to change peoples' consciousness and perception of the world, and thus their willingness to participate in and prolong the injustices of modern industrial societies. Although this revolutionary fervour soon died, other avenues of expression were soon developed. Some turned to anarchism and political activism, while others took more retreatist avenues through drug usage, community experiments, hedonism and mysticism. Between these positions lie the liberation movements of feminism, sexuality,

homosexuality and anti-psychiatry which have tried to keep a revolutionary consciousness alive, while working through more reformist routes to achieve social change.

This is complemented by an empirical evaluation of the underground press in Britain, with particular reference to "International Times" (I.T.)

Despite a dearth of material on the counter-culture much is specific to countries other than Britain. The so-called Children of Romanticism are usually viewed as French figures, the Beat and Hippie as American figures. The aim of this study is to equate these models with those experienced by Britain.

The apparent failure of Bohemian movements to achieve their long term Romantic aims, but yet their relative success in bringing their more short term goals to fruition underlines the need to research the nature of such movements. Some reasons for the failures and successes are given in Section 3. Above all their Romantic ideals and notions of Freedom are seen to be Utopian dreams. However, when such ideals are translated into practice they find more tolerance than one would expect, in that they support an ongoing ideology of bourgeois individualism and liberalism. Thus the major role Romantic movements would appear to play in contemporary society is an attempt to break down centralised institutional control and place some power back in the hands of individuals. Although we would do well to take account of their criticisms of technology and one dimensionality, we must also be aware of the limitations entailed within such a perspective. For who in fact benefits most from the implementation of policies of laissez faire and personal liberty within modern capitalist societies ...?

Chapter 1

The Origins and Meaning of Bohemianism

: Some Causal and Developmental Hypotheses

Introduction

The phenomenon of bohemianism is something which appears to have escaped detailed sociological attention, even though historically it has an existence of almost two centuries.

Moreover, no formal definition of "Bohemian" has been ventured, and we are left with a myriad of references to the phenomenon, from Marx to Parsons; from Richardson to Young, from which we can only tentatively decipher the social situation of the Bohemian and what he actually stands for.

The scope of this study is to understand contemporary forms of bohemianism (which have also confusedly been labelled "underground" "counter-culture" or "alternative" cultures) - by comparing them to the bohemian of pastdays.

However, the main problem that confronts historical sociology is that facts do not speak for themselves, but are open to varied interpretations. Accordingly, it is to be expected that different theoretical perspectives will offer different insights into the bohemian character, conflicting views of his ideology, and contradictory estimates of his ability to secure social change. Most discussion of the significance of bohemianism is located within analyses of "youth" or "counter-culture" movements, and attempts to answer two questions:

1. What is the nature of industrial society that produces movements of this type?

2. What is the potentiality of such movements to lead to a definitive change in the values and structures of industrial society?

While each theoretical orientation may begin with the premise that the bohemian is a deviant character, in that he exists markedly on the margins of society rather than within some general consensus, (whether this be "real" or otherwise), it is the significance of such deviance that appears difficult to assess. While each theory believes itself to be value-free and thus capable of giving a scientific and objective analysis, the conflict posed between different theories would seem to suggest that the basis for each theory is of a subjective or ideological nature, usually deriving from either a philosophical principle or a definitive political orientation. Theory creation itself then introduces a subjective element into research, but without which a mass of empirical detail cannot be processed. In any analysis of social change, such biases would appear to be more prone to inclusion, owing to the existence of different values within any one society, and different groups attempting to gain recognition of their own particular ideological concerns.

Keeping this in mind, a review of general theoretical approaches which appertain to explain bohemianism will be undertaken. The very existence of opposing theories, can indeed be indicative of the lack of consensus in values throughout the given society, and the degree to which each theory recognises this fact can be used as a basis to evaluate their relative objective positions. It is worth

mentioning at this point too, that the approaches offered by psychology and sociology to an understanding of bohemianism have either been overtly critical, or supportive of such movements. To this degree, the academic appears merely to translate a given social ideology, and present it in the language of a scientific discipline. The difficulty in choosing a particular orientation, while still hoping to gain a degree of objectivity, was heightened in this research because, where work was applicable either by deduction or directly, I found myself out of sympathy with the approaches offered.

Theory thus tends to supply self-fulfilling prophecies and can only be criticised either by reference to some internal contradiction within the theory itself, or by its inability to deal with certain facts.

A review of these approaches will illustrate the many varied origins and meanings that have been associated with bohemianism. These will be categorised under the headings of psychoanalytical, functionalist, Marxist, phenomenological and mass society theories. Throughout, attempts will be made to show how each particular orientation cannot in itself fully explain the phenomenon of bohemianism, both because of the limited perspective it offers and also because of the intrinsic nature of the phenomenon itself.

Defining Bohemianism

For the purpose of aiding coherence and direction, a general umbrella definition of bohemianism must be reached. While each theory creates its own particular definition the phenomenon under discussion is generally recognised to be a particular form of unconventional, deviant behaviour as

practised predominantly by certain sections of the youth of the population. I have termed this behaviour "bohemianism".

Accordingly, the research has concentrated on analysing "cultural" (as opposed to an overtly political) levels of protest, as represented by what has most recently been called "cultural revolutionaries". The subject matter relates to the actions and ideology of such people as the Parisian bohemian, the Beat, the Hippie, radical mystics and anarchists. Throughout the relevant literature they are referred to as a sub-culture, a counter-culture, a contra-culture, an alternative culture or an "underground" culture. Such terminology needs clarification and explanation before any kind of analysis can be undertaken.

The term 'subculture' has been extensively used in sociology over the past thirty years, in order to explain the variability of cultural forms that individual societies "create". It explains how aspects of behaviour within groups can have a normative basis, although they may differ from the perceived general standards around which society as a whole is oriented.

Yinger distinguishes three major ways in which such a concept has been used.⁽¹⁾ In anthropological works, subculture often refers to universal factors that all societies exhibit. They are "sub-cultural" because they form the underlying assumptions on which society is based. Of relevance to more recent usage, the term subculture has been used to explain the existence of groups within society, distinguished from that society by such particularistic features as language, life style and religion. These give the group its own peculiar and intrinsic characteristics, and

mark it off as being in some way different to society as a whole. Thirdly, groups in society have been described as sub-cultural because their existence is characterised by a conflictual or frustrating situation between themselves and the mainstream. Thus delinquents and ethnic minorities are characterised as sub-cultural. However, further analysis of certain deviant groups has tried to illustrate how this third type of sub-culture produces values which are diametrically opposed to dominant values. They in fact present counter proposals of how society should be organised and attack the wider society for its inability to cater for their demands. For this type, Yinger prefers the term "contraculture" to explain a situation,

" ... wherever the normative system of a group contains as a primary element a theme of conflict with the values of the total society, where personality variables are directly involved in the development and maintenance of the group's values, and wherever its norms can be understood only by reference to the relationships of the group to a surrounding dominant culture." (2)

The essential aspect of a contraculture then is its conflictual relationship with the "outside world", and this distinguishes it from a sub-culture.

The two terms have been used widely and loosely to refer to delinquency, deviancy and adolescent behaviour, and the latter has obviously been affected by both influences. Both terms also suffer from an infiltration of value. For example, the activities of certain sections of youth in the mid-1960's have been subsumed under the nomenclatures of "sub...." and "contra...." depending on the effects such activities were perceived to have on the wider society. If

youth acted out their own desires and aims in direct opposition to those of the rest of society, they were thought to be a contra-culture; if their protest was viewed as being shortlived - an adolescent crisis - and a basic continuity between child and adult life still remained, then they were termed a sub-culture. Yinger coined the term "contraculture" in 1960. Since then its use has been expanded in terms of a "counter-culture". In other words, particular youth movements were viewed as being not just in conflict with wider society, but rather that their aims were directly counter to the way in which dominant culture expected society to develop. Notions of subversion and open conflict are thus introduced into Yinger's original term. In the "revolutionary" fervour of the 1960's, "counter-culture" was the term notably used by Roszak, Marcuse and members of the "counter culture" itself - represented by such people as Rubin and Hoffman - to describe their own view of their relationship to the wider society. However, if we view the culture as "counter", we are led to emphasize the more radical notions that it exuded, to the detriment of actually seeing if, and how, many of its 'radical' notions may have been incorporated into the values of the wider society, or indeed may owe their very origin to values, to which they are supposedly counter. For example, it could be argued that the hippie of 1966-7 was not concerned with actively revolutionising society, but was only involved in creating a new world and social perspective for himself. Such confusion, caused by a loosely used terminology, was noted by Yablonsky.

"Hippie culture is a para-society, in the sense that it exists casually beneath the surface of American society. It is not clearly either a sociological sub-culture or a contra-culture, yet in certain respects it is both. Sociological sub-culture loosely translated comprises remnants of the larger society organised in a microcosmic fashion. A contra-culture is one generally opposed to the larger society. In the pure hippie world neither of these conditions is true. Hippie society attempts to be tuned-in to and resonant with a deeper reality or a cosmic consciousness of Man, that is the pure framework for all societies". (3)

This research will attempt to show that Yablonsky's analysis has most to offer in understanding the effect such groups may have in the instigation of social change and of their relationship with the norms of the wider society. In rejecting the terms "sub..." and "counter..." we can place ourselves in a position whereby we can critically appraise the activities of such people and note both their radical and reactionary, and their dynamic and static characteristics. Above all, the term "counter-culture" is arguably more useful in situations where large sections of the population are actively involved in an attempt to instigate a revolutionary situation whereby the whole social order may be radically altered. The more political stance, for example, of highly organised revolutionary left-wing parties would seem to constitute more of a threat, or counter-culture, to Western Society, because they are intent on gaining mass support from the working classes in order to bring about a polarised situation whereby one class of people is brought into open conflict with another.

The term "alternative culture" is probably more adequate, but again it would appear to fall into a value-dominated trap. It begs the question "alternative to what?",

and presupposes that hippie cultures and the like are indeed alternatives to those of mainstream Western Societies. Rather, certain features of hippie culture can easily be viewed as being synonymous with values to which they are supposedly counter.

The same criticism can be levelled at the term "underground". Indeed, as hippie culture has developed it has had to relate to dominant society on its terms in order to induce social change on any level at all.

This leaves us in a position whereby it is difficult to categorise the hippies', Beats' or whoever's culture in any terms other than their own classifications. This problem however is somewhat resolved by discovering comparable historical precedents to the events of the post-war period in Western societies. It can be shown that the hippies' ideology was similar to one held by bohemians of the early 19th Century. Notable comparisons can be made between such groups in terms of life-style, ideology and social goals. Throughout this study the culture of the hippie, beat and so on will be referred to as a bohemian culture. In so doing we may better escape from the value orientations of previous concepts and obtain a clearer picture of the social causes and consequences of such specifically youthful and minority oriented protest movements.

The implications of such a classification are enormous. If bohemian culture is not directly counter-cultural, we are confronted with the possibility that while the bohemian may instigate some social change, the larger society may also co-opt and defuse his more radical ideals. Thus the relationship between bohemianism and orthodox society can be

viewed in a dialectical light. Both elements can be seen to be instrumental in leading to social change, while still accepting the diametrically opposed orientations of their respective value systems. This would appear to be the only way any analysis of this relationship can do justice to both parties. Indeed it is within such a framework that Musgrove studies, in a somewhat contradictory manner, what he still prefers to call the "counter-culture".⁽⁴⁾ However, one important distinction he does make between "counter-culture" and "establishment" ideologies is their polarisation in terms of Dionysian and Appollonian "sentiments, perceptions and beliefs". The bohemian is a representative of the former, emphasising ecstasy, imagination and immediacy, while an Appollonian culture is bounded, controlled and ordered. Dionysian values are seen as necessary preconditions for any cultural form being classified as bohemian. However in emphasising expressivity and irrationality we must also guard against ourselves seeing such values as being necessarily "counter" to the Western way of life. This qualification is essential because orthodox society already has a certain degree of Dionysian value within itself ...

It would be more fruitful at this point to consider how certain theories have attempted to define, analyse and explain bohemianism and see what sort of conclusions and problems the social scientist is confronted with when studying this phenomenon.

The Bohemian as an Individual Deviant (Psychoanalytical Theory)

The majority of young people today obviously accept many relatively traditional social values and intend to remain within the mainstream of society, being satisfied with their lot, and expecting the future to be just as fruitful.

It is thus a minority who are prepared to protest and rebel, and in so doing they make their deviant patterns of behaviour highly visible and articulate. They do not share the common assumptions of the rest of society and the labels - "drop-out" "delinquent" "subversive" "misfit" - are quickly attached to their behaviour. Consequently they have received much psychological and even psychiatric attention - more than is perhaps warranted.

Let us begin with Freud, and the popular theory that the bohemian or young radical is a product of the permissiveness of parental control.

Freud's analysis of the human personality contains three major factors - id, ego and superego. Initially, in the early stages of our life, we are guided by the id, a pleasure seeking entity which, driven to release its urges in the outside world, demands immediate relief. It is irrational, has no contact with external realities and is the basis of the inner life of our consciousness. As such, it forms the underlying structure of the self, as opposed to a socially constructed self. Such pleasure principles, however, cannot be allowed to reach their fullest level of development in external reality, due to their unbounded nature. As a result the ego develops to control the id's desires. The ego is governed by the

reality principle, and attempts to give the id direction as well as to satisfy its urges. When it does not perform this function well, such as at night, the id impulses express themselves symbolically in dreams, or when it loses all control, a state of neurosis is encountered in the individual. We also develop a superego to enable us to live in the particular type of society in which we are born. This is based on a development of the moral standards expressed usually by parents, upheld by society and transposed into our own heads, through the relationship between our ego ideal and our conscience. The superego then becomes a conscious judge of our personal conduct. These three opposing forces are in permanent conflict with each other, placing the ego, as arbitrator, in a highly unstable position.

The permissiveness theory is based on an understanding that certain child rearing techniques that became popular in the 1950's, via Dr. Spock's book 'Baby and Childcare', allowed a baby's id to be satisfied whenever it demanded as such. This development correlated with new techniques in education that allowed children to learn as they played and to play a more active role in formulating school curriculum. Thus, it is argued that the id has become more and more tolerated and the post-war generation has grown up as an unbounded generation with little toleration of any form of authority. Thus Bettelheim is able to conclude that the unrest of youths is due to their underdeveloped egos and superegos and their unrestricted ids.⁽⁵⁾ Similarly Pittel, in a study of a sample of hippies in San Francisco,

found that many were characterised by "ego deficits" in that they suffered an inability to understand or organise their lives and had difficulty in ordering events, sustaining attention and making critical judgement.⁽⁶⁾

Bohemian radicalism is thus viewed as pathological. Lewis Feuer analysed youthdissent as containing a strong and largely unconscious element of oedipal hostility and revolt against the authority figure of the father, and, by definition, the symbolic father figure of the older generation.⁽⁷⁾

The pathology which dissenters exhibit then lies predominantly within themselves as immature, insecure and undisciplined people. What youth lacks is an adequate Weltanschauung (world view) to guide their lives. This may well be true, but the bohemians' dissent is a conscious effort not to have a world view that is acceptable to the majority of the population. This may not necessarily mean that he is psychologically unbalanced, but that certain social factors and experiences must have caused him to react in the way he does. It would seem inadequate to say that youths have had disturbing early childhoods or whatever, and that therefore their behaviour is deviant. As a result psychoanalytical theory has moved beyond pure Freudian analyses in attempting to explain this phenomenon.

Keniston notes one central issue that comes to the fore during adolescence and youth; that is a tension between self and society.

"The adolescent is struggling to define who he is; the youth begins to sense who he is and thus to recognise the possibility of conflict and disparity between his emerging selfhood and his social order." (8)

This disparity occurs because all human organisms have two general needs - physical needs and self needs. Kelly describes these as, firstly needs that are necessary for the continued functioning of the organism - food, water, oxygen, and secondly needs that differentiate man from other animals through the emergence of the mind and the development of the self.⁽⁹⁾

The self develops through interaction with others and through introspection, enabling each individual to determine his own picture of himself, and to frame his own identity. However, during maturation the individual learns that he has to reveal only that part of his self that is acceptable to the social norms of the time, his public self, while a wide range of behaviour and thought, which any human organism is capable of creating, has to be stifled if the social order deems it unacceptable. In any given society then it would be fair to say that any individual is only presenting a small part of himself. In industrial society this process is heightened because of a high division of labour and an increasing specialisation of roles. A further disparity between self and social order occurs, because the self is even more limited in its outlets. Such a situation leads Kelly to conclude that the individual can never find his entire self acceptable, and therefore attempts to gain indirect self acceptance by improving his public image. A vicious circle is encountered in which the individual,

continually trying to find himself, careers (sic) through a mirage of "false" statuses of occupation, consumer goods, and material symbols each of which further detracts from a presentation of the natural self. Moreover the ideologies of industrial societies necessarily present themselves as being capable of meeting human needs, claiming that each individual can fully participate in society; whether it be democratic or totalitarian in nature. But, as Kelly argues, the pressures of social life do not allow the individual to fulfil his self needs, as he becomes more and more involved in pursuing goals that are instrumental to the survival of society. Consequently only physical needs are catered for. He argues that such contradictions are more likely to be felt by youth in society, and particularly modern youth. After they have gone through an educational process which aims to help them to find their self, through creativity and learn-as-you-play techniques, they find no outlet for such knowledge in the outside world.

Youth thus finds itself in an alienating situation, (or at least in the late 1960's it became fashionable to refer to them as alienated). The use of this term obviously differs from that found in Marxist doctrine, in that the protest of youth is a result of their growing affluence and autonomy, and their middle class background, rather than the extreme poverty predicted by Marx for the working classes. So, from what are youth alienated? What relationships have they lost? Keniston concludes that alienation comes from rapid social change, involving mistrust of anything oriented around the present. Youth's alienation from society is then partly imposed and partly chosen. Unlike Marx's working

man, the bohemian is aware of his alienation and attempts to explain it by criticising the dominant values of society which have "forced" him into such a condition. Keniston delineates four types of alienation.⁽¹⁰⁾ With the decline in clearly defined religious faith, there is a feeling of alienation among many bohemians from what previously appeared to be a meaningful and orderly universe, with a God at its centre. This feeling of existential outcastness leads to the denial of the world as having any essential meaning. Human life lacks any inherent purpose. 'Meaning' can only be subjectively and artificially manufactured by men in the process of their existence. The bohemian finds himself alienated from a world which has no objective Truth. Keniston also recalls how adolescents develop a sense of alienation from the parent world when they have to abandon egocentric child attitudes. Adolescents thus suffer developmental estrangements, as they have to learn how to face up to the social world. In periods of rapid social change man also suffers a sense of historical loss when new innovations destroy old customs and values, and new values have yet to be born. Finally, alienation may take the form of estrangement from what is felt to be one's real self. Ultimately the world is viewed unreal, empty and meaningless.

However, Keniston's attempt to discover new forms of alienation applicable to youth only psychologises Marx's original meaning of the term. As a result, Keniston's notion of alienation can best be explained by reference to Durkheim's idea of "anomie". The latter is probably more applicable because it describes a normlessness in life caused by too much opportunity and choice, which induces a

a state of uncertainty and meaninglessness in the options open for one to pursue. The rewards of conformity are found not to be high enough to warrant any acceptance of established work ethics. A state of anomie, however, can ultimately lead to a developing sense of alienation from society, through choice, while developing stronger defensive relationships with peers to counter-effect the instability caused by this "revolt". If these are destroyed and "the alternative" is found to be just as empty, then a state of anomie may again ensue, where one is neither content with the norms of dominant society or of any alternative.

We can conclude that the bohemians alienation is self imposed, because it derives from an anomic situation, rather than from poverty, immiseration or oppression. He suffers an ethical deprivation, rather than an economic deprivation.

However, whether bohemian deviancy is a result of alienation or anomie, it has been analysed as being symptomatic of a period of "storm and stress", known as adolescence. This period of life has recently received more attention, because it is generally recognised that its length is increasing. Today the young have to wait much longer before they earn their first paycheck. Technology demands that workers are skilled and educated for a much longer period of their life. In a real sense then it can be argued that technology has created both the term and the existence of adolescence. It is at this time that Erikson believes a young person must psychologically define himself and find his niche in society. One aspect of this development is an identity crisis which Erikson believes every individual encounters when he fervently looks for men and ideas to have faith in. Usually the adolescent being free to

experiment with ideas, of which some may contradict the norms of his parents and society, enters a period of strain, where he must arrange his world for himself. Such identity ^{crises} ~~crises~~ are defined as a:

"central disturbance in severely conflicted young people, whose sense of confusion is due to a war within themselves and in confused rebels and destructive delinquents who war on their society."(11)

However Erikson believes that such waywardness is shortlived, and adherence to cultural norms is often soon resumed. The loss of "ego identity" is soon regained. Youth rebellion is therefore seen as "a pathological aggravation, an undue prolongation of, or a regression to, a normative crisis "belonging" to a particular stage of individual development." Identity crises are thus viewed as normal, (if they are not prolonged) in that they are "contributive to the process of identity formation". Erikson later, though, has to differentiate between early and late adolescence in order to delineate those adolescents who by the age of 18 had still not resolved their "crises". Keniston continues this line of argument by isolating a period of "youth", which follows adolescence, and may last until the age of 26. The people he places in this category he calls "Committed youth" as opposed to "Alienated Youth". Such people have resolved their inner identity crises, and they have become adult in a psychological sense, but have still not resolved themselves to conformity in the social world. He states that such people:

"... seek new forms of adulthood in which the principled dedication of youth to the betterment of society can be continued in adult work, that does not require blind acceptance of the established system, but permits commitment to social change." (12)

The crisis of conformity then still remains, but is perhaps not as transitory or pathological as Erikson has described.

The dissent of the bohemian involved him in attempts to break away from accepted standards and life-styles. Accordingly, many studies have attempted to show how the psychological difficulties encountered by such people have impaired their "normal" mental functioning. Their conclusions state that despite the bohemian's high intelligence, he has difficulty in cognitive functioning, recalling events of his childhood, sustaining attention, and in making critical judgement. The bohemian has also been condemned as "accepting without scrutiny the most bizarre ideas as being potentially valid." In his affective experiences he was found to run away from emotionally difficult situations, and had difficulty in establishing any permanent interpersonal relationships. The latter was believed to stem from the fact that most of the subjects of such tests had a background of a "profound sense of psychological distance from others", and had been subjected to an "unusually high degree of stimulation stress and trauma particularly during middle childhood" due to conflict with parents, illness, exposure to violence, or frequent changes of residence. The bohemian, it is concluded, has been deprived of the relative freedom from turmoil in early life, necessary to be able to face the crises of adolescence. (13)

However, the validity of such studies is open to question, for the discovery of these psychological deficits seems to be a result of an outsider trying to explain a world he neither understands, nor wishes to understand. The very essence of bohemian mentality is that it lies at the very opposite to that of the rest of society, and thus cannot be understood on the latter's terms. The psychoanalyst grounded in the values of orthodox psychology has no choice but to promote an image of the bohemian as a psychologically unbalanced deviant.

Writers more favourable to bohemianism however emphasize how the interests of adolescents in "bizarre ideas" comprise a cultural breakaway from the values and assumptions the rest of society has held since the Industrial Revolution. They are not psychologically unbalanced, but striving to create a new social order. Ronald Laing for example, views schizophrenia and the "ego deficits" that psychologists, such as Pittel, talk of, as merely labels placed upon certain individuals by the dominant culture as a means of social control. To label the bohemian as "psychologically unbalanced" is the first step towards being able to lock him away in a mental hospital. What is defined as "mental disorder" is rather, the expression of an "alienated" group in society; the very "disorder" enabling the individual to leave the old values behind, and live in a new situation. The label remains, for those who would wish to control such deviance, as a "social fact and the social fact a political event", to discredit any individual who deviates from the norms of society.⁽¹⁴⁾ Laing was primarily interested in the

schizophrenic, but his beliefs have been used by the bohemian to substantiate the view that his own life style was a true alternative rather than a mental aberration. For Laing then, schizophrenia is similarly just a label placed on individuals, who are living in unliveable situations. Such behaviour is invented by the individual so that he can survive in that situation.

Further writers, notably Slater and Braden also view bohemianism in a more positive light. For Slater technological society has led to the increased isolation of individuals. The problem for every member of the middle classes is a suffering of severe individualism, instability, and lack of trust in his fellow man.

"... our encounters with others tend increasingly to be competitive as a result of the search for privacy. We less and less often meet our fellow man to share and exchange, and more and more often encounter him as an impediment or a nuisance: making the highway crowded when we are rushing somewhere, cluttering and littering the beach or park or wood, pushing in front of us at the supermarket, polluting our air and water ... and so on". (15)

The end result is that he seeks more privacy and apartness and thus the trend is accelerated. The more this is successful, the more he ultimately feels "disconnected, bored, lonely, unprotected, unnecessary, and unsafe". (16) Such a trend notably suffered by the middle class bohemian is seen as acutely destructive, both to the individual and to society. The bohemian has reacted by forming communitarian experiments and looking again at how people can live together. But as Slater laments, these may only serve to further the isolation process due to their retreatist nature. Nevertheless the bohemian is still seen as a radical force because he

attempts to undermine that part of the dominant ideology which argues that material resources are scarce and therefore must be competitively fought for. The bohemian ideology is based on the opposing "assumption that important human needs are easily satisfied, and that the resources for doing so are plentiful".⁽¹⁷⁾ Inequality only exists because such resources are not equally distributed.

Braden supports this view. He argues that technology need not necessarily be destroyed, but rather that it should be humanised in order to serve our needs. Diversity can exist without technological domination. More importantly, he argues that technology has created its own opposition in allowing adolescent and youth cultures to gain prominence. Dominant values of individualism, rationalism and materialism have inevitably produced a growing demand for humanity, community and familiarity in all human relationships.⁽¹⁸⁾

Psychoanalytical theories can be seen to both negate or substantiate bohemianism. The Neo-Freudians inevitably fall into a reductionist argument, explaining deviance by reference to traumas of early childhood and permanent mental instability. Such theory can be criticised because of its ideological bias, as Laing effectively does, and also because it does not view the adolescents own values to be equally important determinants of their psychological make-up. In other words, neuroses are viewed as a result of individual failure, rather than as a result of the contradictions and the "failures" of society as a whole.

"Freudian concepts are like those coloured chips inside a kaleidoscope: just shake the tube and a different pattern is produced, depending perhaps on whether your subject of interest at the moment is autistic children or student protesters. And what is the purpose? The interpretation in the end is acceptable only on faith; there is no way to demonstrate that a particular analysis offers a valid explanation of mass behaviour". (19)

Psychoanalytical theories may illuminate an individuals behaviour, but unless accompanied by more wide-reaching social analysis, they are not very helpful in understanding the nature of such a collective social movement as bohemianism. The causes of dissent must, as Slater and Braden affirm, lie outside of each individual. It is not enough, to say that such deviants suffer from neuroses, (and who can say whether they - or all of us - do or do not) rather the explanation of such behaviour must be placed in its social context.

Psychoanalytical explanations also present difficulties in achieving a scientific^fally reliable theory of dissent. In beginning from the assumptions that certain "personality types" are attached to social movements, and that such movements can be characterised by reference to the psychological traits of their members, such theory ultimately reduces all history and social action to the dispositions of individual human beings. Action is explained in terms of conditioned reflexes, which in turn are influenced by each individual's genetic make-up. Action is thus in its extreme, a pure biological response. One is reminded of Lombroso's analysis of deviancy and criminality, and his attempt to explain such behaviour by

reference to biological and physiological models. The focus of analysis is on the individual, rather than the social. The individual becomes the "cause" of deviancy, when he exhibits physical features that are viewed as pathological in comparison to the "norm". Such a view would ultimately lead to analysing hippies as deviant, solely because they have long hair. Whilst such a remark may indeed be totally ludicrous, nevertheless the popular image of the hippie, as portrayed by the media, was indeed largely influenced by such physiological observations. The outcome of such analyses is that deviancy becomes viewed solely as a result of individual maladjustment.

Such an analysis can be criticised because it is dependent on the deviancy being visible. Those deviants who do not make their views publicly known, or do not have their names on an official statistics list, must by Lombrosian logic, be viewed as normal. Such theory tells us nothing of the society that "breeds" such deviancy. Above all it is in danger of characterising all deviant behaviour as meaningless solely because it lies outside of the perceived consensus, to which the rest of society adheres.

Similarly Eysenck's correlation of such psychological traits as extraversion with the "deviant personality" is open to question, because it implies that the 'normal' person is an introverted character. The extravert, he claims, tends "to be aggressive and loses his temper quickly; his feelings are not kept under tight control", whilst the introvert "takes matters of everyday life with proper seriousness". (20)

Besides the obvious social evaluation that Eysenck is making in his criticism of the extrovert, he implies the latter has an absolute lack of social values. Such behaviour is thus perceived of as meaningless. But his conclusion is dependent on an evaluation which does not allow any judgement of deviancy as the actor perceives of it himself. It could be, for the bohemian, that dissent is the most meaningful activity he could pursue, given the social situation that he is presented with, and of which he is a part. The fact that people may have different biological and physiological characteristics is important in distinguishing their visible differences, but it offers no explanation of deviancy as social action.

And so it would appear to be with all psychoanalytical theory. It's attempts to find factors of causality between personality types and deviant activity only allow a reductionist argument to emerge, whereby explanations of social behaviour are couched in psychological and physiological laws. To explain social behaviour, we must analyse the meaning such behaviour has for the actors involved. Then, and only then can we begin to understand the essential nature of any deviant behaviour. Reductionist psychological explanations do little to elucidate the moral and political questions the bohemian is trying to answer. Deviance is viewed as a result of individual failure, of immaturity and the like, rather than as a positive expression of a social grouping which cannot voice its ideas through the 'normal' channels, and thus has reason to doubt the 'normality' of the channels that do exist.

The Bohemian as a social inadequate

(Functionalist Theory)

The core of normative functionalism tells us that societies are systems of interrelated parts, and as such it attempts to account for the organisation and persistence of societies, or social systems. A "social system" is created out of the interactions between individuals. These individuals act with reference to one another, and do so in an orderly manner because they share standards and values conducive to the way in which each of them behaves. Such common standards constrain each individual to act positively to one another and effectuate regular patterns of behaviour.

Parsons argues that this equilibrium is maintained by the two mechanisms of socialisation and social control; which serve to keep individual motivation in accordance with the preservation of society.⁽²¹⁾

Socialisation is the process by which individuals come to incorporate the normative standards of society into their personalities. Social control is a more overtly coercive means by which each individual's behaviour is regulated. A child is usually initiated into the process of socialisation through interaction with his parents, whereby he learns "correct" behaviour patterns by imitating his parents' actions, and is controlled by systems of reward and punishment.

In discussing social control, Parsons is largely concerned with how deviant behaviour can be corrected and

made compatible with the norms of society. The deviant personality then, has not been socialised adequately; and has not internalised the necessary norms and values. The conservatism of this approach lies not so much in that deviant behaviour and social conflicts within a society are ignored, but in the way in which such phenomena are analysed. Actions of individuals are at the outset defined as functional or dysfunctional, thus implying a necessary subjugation of all individual desires to the constraints of social organisation. Deviancy is dysfunctional because it is non-integrative and disrupts equilibrium. Emphasis is thus placed on how deviancy can be controlled and how the deviant actor can be persuaded to adhere to the collective norms held by the rest of society.

Parsons defines two types of deviant character - the alienated activist and the passive non-conformist. He locates the bohemian within the latter, aligned with such personalities as the hobo.

"The hobo, we may presume, is above all concerned to protect his freedom, and is willing to pay what others would consider an exorbitant price for it. Above all he wants to be let alone to live in his own life the way he wants to live it without recognising any obligations to anyone. The person who has economic resources for a comparable freedom without sacrificing ordinary living standards may be a psychologically comparable case; this is perhaps one factor in "Bohemianism". Perhaps it would be legitimate to place the schizophrenic as the extreme case in this direction, in that he cuts himself off from the ordinary interactive relationship nexus to an extreme degree and retreats virtually completely into his own private world." (22)

Parsons thus partially equates bohemian behaviour with that of the mentally ill and implies it has no constructive role to play. However, whatever type of deviancy is under discussion, Parsons argues that,

"The diversion of deviant motivational elements into alternative channels would seem to be particularly important ..." (23)

Such a view is vital for structural functionalism, for it highlights how society can adapt and "swallow up" all deviant activity. Deviancy can be viewed as temporary, for sooner or later such individuals will be "brought back into" society, either by psychotherapeutic or more punitive methods. Such control is seen as a necessary precondition for any form of social organisation, because if norms and values are not shared then only chaos can follow. People need a common definition of a situation in order to enable them to act. In that bohemianism questions these common norms, it can only be seen as an advocate for chaos and is thus undesirable. However structural-functionalism neglects to ask whether the norms and values, which are its backbone, are in fact as unproblematic as the theory implies. It could well be that such norms are not neutral and objective, but are the creation of dominant groups in society. The bohemian may not be an undesirable character, but rather a figure posing authentic alternatives to present norms, which only those upholders of the social system view as being undesirable. (24)

Indeed the credibility of the structural functionalist school

lies solely on what it has predefined as the "interests" of society. Critics of functionalism have claimed that it may not be the deviant who is dysfunctional, but rather the very "interests", norms and values of a society which have produced the deviance in the first place.

The bohemians' ability to realise social change is in turn also questioned, when submitted to functionalist analysis. Parsons concentrates on processes of change within the system rather than change of the system itself. These are considered as modifications or adaptations to areas of strain taking place within society, so that the expectation of conformity and interdependence of different parts of society is not lost. If society is in any way disrupted, it contains, as a system, inbuilt tendencies to return to a state of balance or harmony. Deviance and social change must be viewed as both superficial and temporary, and existing essentially outside of society. For example Parson's and Smelser's analysis of the Industrial Revolution is concerned to show how the normative system had to adapt itself to a new environment, rather than changing its value system to cope with the new situation. Accordingly, the late 18th Century is described in terms of structural differentiation rather than economic and social revolution.⁽²⁵⁾

In order that his model of a "social system" is seen as universal, Parsons also finds he is capable of explaining revolutionary movements. Even when self-equilibrating mechanisms do not work, and "alienative motivational elements" are widespread throughout a society,

leading to an overthrow in the institutionalised order, Parsons still argues that society itself does not fundamentally change. Systems of power are replaced by new systems of power, social control is still a vital factor and society once more returns to its previous harmonious state.

He outlines four sets of conditions necessary for a revolutionary movement to achieve ascendancy.⁽²⁶⁾ Firstly, there must be widespread manifestations of areas of strain and instability in society. At this point though its potential may be dissipated through crime, mental illness and psychosomatic illnesses, and thus there is a need for a defineable deviant sub-culture or movement. The solidarity of such a group will enable its members to ignore the "sanctions of normal social interaction" and develop their own ideology from which they can gain an even wider appeal. The fourth condition concerns the stability of the social system and whether it can counteract the actions of the movement by reference to its own ideology. Revolution in Russia and China then was only possible because of the existence of an "enormous number of politically 'inert' peasants". One presumes that such movements as bohemianism in being passive rather than active, would never exist beyond the first condition.

Following the case of Russia, Parsons then analyses how a revolutionary movement goes through a period of "adaptive transformation" whereby notions of utopia are lost and radicalism is tempered; when the movement finds itself in power and has to adhere to the demands "the

Social System" and the outside world place on it.

"... the basic conflict comes to be transferred from the form, the movement v's the society, to that between the "principles" of the movement and the temptation of its members to use their control of the society to gratify their repressed need-dispositions some of which are precisely needs of conformity with the patterns of the old society which they have tried to abolish." (27)

Thus revolution only "turns the tables".

"The process of its consolidation as a regime is indeed in a sense the obverse of its genesis as a movement; it is a process of re-equilibration of the society; very likely to a state greatly different from what it would have been had the movement not arisen, but not so greatly as literal interpretation of the movements ideology would suggest." (28)

This view is supported by that of Crane Brinton who, after analysing revolutions in France, England, America and Russia, concludes that all such movements follow a "natural", almost pre-defined pattern.

"in general in many things men do, many human habits, sentiments, dispositions cannot be changed at all rapidly, that the attempt made by the extremists to change them by law, terror and exhortation fails, that the convalescence brings them back not greatly altered." (29)

Hence Functionalism devalues the effect of any revolution, whether it be successful or not, and emphasises the effect of the social system (whatever this is) in giving all societies their determining characteristics, over and above the actions and aspirations of the individuals which make them up.

For this reason Blackburn views such analyses of revolution as essentially bourgeois counter-revolutionary forms, in that they attempt to "undermine the idea that men can ever transform society".⁽³⁰⁾ In treating radical social movements and revolution in terms of dysfunction, the functionalist school implies that all such attempts to secure social change are irrational, and pathological. It emphasises their temporary, transient nature, while ignoring historical evidence which might show, and explain why, revolutionary movements occur time and time again. Conflict may well derive from a permanent contradiction lying at the base of society, as Marx envisaged, rather than as occurring coincidentally when a structural strain almost accidentally throws a value-oriented movement into being. For the functionalist, then, revolutions just happen, and are not created by the actions of men. Within Brinton's "natural history" approach, such movements follow a universal line of development from revolution, to a period of "Thermidorean reaction" - "a convalescence from the fever of revolution" - in which many pre-revolutionary ideas and institutions are reinstated.⁽³¹⁾ Such analyses then appear only to study social movements in so far as they fail.

Nevertheless, such an approach could well be useful for an understanding of bohemianism. In that we know that the Parisian bohemian of the 1830's disappeared by the turn of the century, and it is also generally accepted that the hippie movement of the 1960's was on the decline by the early 1970's, structural functionalism may tell us the

reasons why. The expressive demands of the bohemian may in fact be too great to provide the basis for any form of social organisation. Similarly the power of the "social system" may derive from its ability to adapt and encompass any deviant cultures that arise from within, or outside of itself.

Here I wish to outline the arguments of two contemporary authors, George Melly and Clifford Adelman, who would appear to uphold the "correctness" of this approach. However this is not to say that these authors derive from any functionalist school. They do not view the bohemians' deviancy as dysfunctional, but rather as symptomatic of the conflicts that occur between different interest groups in industrial societies. Nevertheless they would agree that such deviancy is usually shortlived, because it is open to dominant cultural interference. To this extent then the obsession with integration is still apparent. In a manner similar to Dahrendorf's work on class conflict, they perceive conflict between bohemian and society as endemic, but it is conflict that is ultimately reconcilable, because it is a result only of something being temporarily out of order, rather than a permanent structural contradiction. In the final analysis, then, conflict is resolved, society adapts, and social integration is ultimately promoted.

Melly looks back over the past twenty years of pop culture "revolution" in Britain, as voiced through the media of music, fashion, literature and art. Certain styles within these fields are viewed as initially revolutionary, representing a form of protest against the sterility of traditional values, and deriving largely from the more

youthful members of society. In particular he highlights the role played by the Beatles and the Underground music scene; Andy Warhol and avante-garde art; Mary Quant and fashion design; and IT and the underground newspapers. Each contained in its time some inherently destructive criticism of society, and current establishment figures denounced them as dangerous, subversive and a menace to youth's morality. Revolt, however, is shortlived. Capitalism, eager to market any kind of such exploitable "subversion", moves in, offering recording contracts, television appearances, fame and money to the rebellious. The bait is more often than not grabbed, and the rebel is transformed into a money-making enterprise. Deviant styles are to a large degree then tolerated, if a profit can be secured by selling them back to their creators, while still retaining the illusion of revolt.

"the pop-idol representing a masculine rebel is transformed into a masturbation fantasy-object for adolescent girls. The individual girl mooning over her pop-star hero is, for most parents, irritating enough to convince her that she is in revolt, but it is in most cases both temporary and unimportant. (32)

Rebellious cultures, then, move from the personal conviction of a few on a small scale, to empty media fodder on a large scale. Melly thus sees every new pop movement ultimately packaged, stylised, and committed to the goals of profit and fame, rather than social criticism.

Melly argues that music is always at the centre of such pop movements. The rise of bohemianism in the 1960's was perhaps musically best illustrated by such groups as

Jefferson Airplane and the Grateful Dead, whose songs contained both social criticism and musical experimentation. However the hippie movement was transformed from a 'revolutionary' social movement to a commercially viable product, through such songs as Scott McKenzie's "San Francisco" and The Flower Pot Men's "Let's all go to San Francisco".

"... the castration-through-trivialisation syndrome in action, Flower-power, for all its failings, aimed at something revolutionary and sympathetic: the establishment of an anti-materialist, anti-political set of values. ... Yet superficially at any rate, within a month or two all had become meaningless. Songs like "San Francisco" and its derivatives bore as little relation to the dangerous ecstasy of Haight-Ashbury as that commercial blues of the 30's "Farewell to Storyville" bore to the violent squalor of the pre-1917 New Orleans Red Light District it purported to celebrate". (33)

Protest is thus rearranged and made socially acceptable. The hippie culture was degenerated into a national joke. Its potential, or its 'true' aims, probably never even came to the ears and minds of the majority of the population. So, Melly argues, is the way of all deviant style. It must become a commercial proposition to sustain itself, or else vanish into obscurity. In fact the end result can be seen to be similar in both cases, for commercialism soon ignores 'old' consumer items and looks for new styles to sell, to keep market demand alive.

"Pop moves from private emotion towards public entertainment, from personal conviction towards empty exhibitionism, from an inner circle speaking a closed language, towards a whole generation enthusing with shallow hysteria over a fashion." (34)

"... what starts as revolt finishes as style - as mannerism" (35)

Adelman also refers to the way in which counter-cultures are debased by the media, and face the possibility of extermination, if the wider society co-opts their styles. This is performed by the "slick media" which reduces everything to commodity status and is aided by "a class of academic apologists and euphemisers" whose attempts to reach an explanation of counter-culture only end in mystifying or simplifying bohemian aims. (36)

"If one wishes to perceive - and accurately, without clouds of euphemisms - the social status and function of so many counter-cult expressions and multiplied gravitational trends, one has to recognise rampant desublimation. Not merely the obvious classified ad pages of the 'Alternative Media', not merely the sexual and political fantasies of Phreak Comix, but also the nomadic and individualistic life-styles of those who choose an 'Alternative Way', the primitive capitalism of new Agrarian ventures, the double-jump suburbanism of the rural communes, the cult relevancy in the Academy which wishes to certify its own intellectual hedonism - these are hardly instances of an entitative revolt against the established Reality Principle. They are in league with it, and they exploit and bore and repress in turn, for they desubliminate the opposing Romantic dream." (37)

This process occurs because the media is in a position not only to determine how the mainstream perceives of the counter-cult, but also how the counter-cult perceives of itself as a radical force. Newcomers to the movement then enter with an already misconceived idea of what a bohemian way of life actually entails.

Tolerance and acceptance of bohemian ideas by the wider society, then, is probably one of the bohemians' biggest enemies. Functionalism not only neutralises radical ideas by stating that they are unrealistic, transitory and

illusory, but also in defining them as the concern solely of the young (backed up by psycho-analytical prophesy), degenerates radicalism in terms of adolescent unsurety and social inadequacy.

The Bohemian as a petit bourgeois Socialist
(Marxist Theory)

Unlike structural functionalist theory, conflict theory views society as being held together not by "shared norms and values", but by force, coercion and deception. It rests on the premise that the social structure generates conflict and division rather than cooperation and reciprocity. Conflict is viewed as endemic in capitalist society because of the unequal distribution of power and economic resources between different groups. Marx saw these different interest groups as distinguishable classes, the values of each determined by their position and relation to the means of production.

At the base of all societies exists a primary relation between man and his material reality. It is how man exploits this reality (ie. Nature) that determines each society's general economic system, mode of production and also its corresponding social relations. Similarly the consciousness of men is generally determined by the way in which they have organised their productive system. Ideas and philosophy, then, must be viewed as historically specific, and correlative with different modes of production. They are not universal and generalised, nor do they exist in a vacuum. A Marxist analysis of bohemianism must, then, begin by stating that "it is not the consciousness of men

which determines their being, but on the contrary their social being that determines their consciousness." (38)

It is to the bohemian's social being, and his position in the class structure, that we must look to give him his defining characteristics, because his ideas on law, politics, religion, culture and art are so determined. Marx himself makes fleeting references to la Bohème in the '18th Brumaire' referring to them as elements of the lumpenproletariat or at best advocates of petty-bourgeois socialism. He treats both scathingly.

"Alongside decayed rouses with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, lazzards, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, maquereaus, brothel keepers, porters, literati, organ grinders, rag pickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars - in short, the whole indefinite disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French term la bohème; from this kindred element Bonaparte formed (his) ... "benevolent society" - in so far as like Bonaparte all its members felt the need of benefiting themselves at the expense of the labouring nation." (39)

The lumpen for Marx then, had no revolutionary consciousness, but were basically cut off from the masses of the proletariat and on which they were economically parasitic. When considering la bohème as an element of the petty bourgeois, he likewise saw their role as reactionary. Even though they may have viewed themselves as socialists, and were aware of the contradictions in the conditions of modern production, their protest, in being directed at the "disastrous effects of machinery and division of labour", contained no true revolutionary perspective. For this form of Socialism;

"aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange and with them old property relations, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange within the framework of the old property relations that have been and were bounded to be exploded by those means. In either case it is both reactionary and Utopian." (40)

We can infer that Marx would have analysed present day Bohemianism, even in the form of student activism, in a similar light. Within a Marxist perspective, the bohemian is seen to be a waste product of the capitalist era and, in being largely of middle-class birth, has little connection with the revolutionary potential that lies with a working class consciousness. Whatever he thought of himself, his scorn for working class mass support placed the bohemian within a reactionary tradition. Petty-bourgeois socialism was indeed seen to advocate that the masses were to be objects of a benevolent revolutionary movement, rather than subjects with autonomous voices of their own. Bohemianism for Marx could only mean a dictatorship of the majority by a minority, whereas he himself believed that a Revolution could only occur by a spontaneous movement of the masses. They would be initially liberated through self-education and self-realisation of their exploited position, rather than through blindly following the example of others.

The bohemian's belief that a utopia can be built by changing one's consciousness of social reality, is, in fact, in direct opposition to the Marxist analysis that change will not occur until the conditions of contradiction have developed within the economic base of society, from which all ideas within the superstructure are derived. However, this is not to say that Marx was a pure economic determinist.

He agreed that the mode of production only determines the general character - not the precise form - of the social, political, spiritual and legal aspects of the society. The superstructures do not passively reflect the economic base but rather play an important role in maintaining it by helping to contain class antagonisms inherent in specific modes of production.

Successful ruling classes rely to a large extent on ideological mystification of the real issues at stake, through such agencies as religion, nationalism and mass media to divert the attention of the masses from their real condition. For Marx, bohemianism seems largely to fit into this category. In attacking technology, rather than property owners, and in demanding quality in life, rather than the satisfaction of basic needs, the bohemian did much to mystify those social relationships endemic in society that a Marxist analysis helps us to see. Similarly the movement attracted undue attention to the nature of youth as a distinct group, as opposed to Marx's class analysis.

However, even though bohemian ideology is located within the superstructure, it does not necessarily monolithically promote the interests of the ruling class. Although 'supporting' ruling class mystification, the bohemian also highlighted contradictions and conflict within the superstructure. Society may determine the presence, but not the form of ideas. Bohemianism, in representing an attack on the traditional beliefs of the State, may be seen as a general reflection of the contradictions inherent in capitalism, but in itself has no potential to lead to any revolutionary transformation in society. As Marx states:-

"In considering such transformations, a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic - in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out." (41)

Bohemianism for Marx would be indicative of conflict within the superstructure of society, reflecting a definite stage in the maturation of the "crisis of capitalism", in that seemingly large sections of the population were beginning to find their place in society intolerable. However, the forms in which the bohemian became conscious of this conflict were not conducive to mass unrest, and therefore mass revolution.

To apply Marxism to contemporary issues, we can infer that in the 1960's historical conditions were not fully developed enough to lead to a material transformation of the productive system. The rise of bohemianism since the 1950's within a section of middle class youth is due more to a post-war economic boom and increase in affluence, than to immiseration. In 1958 Britain's gross national product figured a surplus of 100 million pounds, and even though a crisis broke in the economy in 1961, the sixties can generally be regarded as a period of rising living standards. The "stop-go" economics of this time, although wrestling with the dual problem of ensuring prosperity and full employment, while guarding sterling as one of the worlds major reserve currencies, allowed both wages and company profits to far exceed any increase in retail prices. In particular 1967, the time of most noticeable bohemian activity, was marked by a move back into a surplus in balance of payments for

the first time since the late 1950's.⁽⁴²⁾ Such economic backgrounding is important for the Marxist because it gives important signposts to the nature of ideas within the superstructure at particular times. The '50's are noted as a time of growing disillusionment; by left-wing intellectuals and the bohemian in particular sought new avenues of revolution through New Left politics and rejected the scientific socialism of the Old Left school. Faced with affluence, it was from the middle classes that rebellion was to occur, rather than the working classes who had appeared to have been "bought off" by their absolute (not relative) increases in living standards. It was middle class youth who found that material rewards were not sufficient to warrant them conforming to established occupational roles. Their answer was to look for alternatives - alternatives that had become available due to the very growth in numbers and affluence of the middle classes. They could afford to "drop-out", to buy land, to build communes, to experiment with drugs and mysticism, while the working classes were still in a relatively repressed condition. The bohemian could forget that people have to sell their labour power to eat. Therefore the notion that peoples' ideas could be changed before their social condition was changed, was much more acceptable for drop-outs from elite groups, than it was for those who have always known that they have had to work in order to eat. For the Marxist, the bohemian strategy was thus no more than a new elitism parading as a revolutionary strategy. It would undoubtedly fail because it was based on individualism, rather than collectivism; and could only alienate itself from mass

support, rather than gain it.

Bohemian ideology then can be seen to be closer to a bourgeois ideology than either parties would like to accept. Although it advocated revolution through such marginal groups as students, the unemployed and other social outcasts, cemented under the notion of a youth culture, this too only helped to detract attention from the basic class conflict lying at the base of society, and furthered the process by which bourgeois mystification prevents this conflict surfacing.

Marxism indeed makes the important point that to be in conflict with the established order does not necessarily mean one is an agent of liberation. In particular Marxism allows us to distinguish between a cultural basis of conflict, and a material basis of conflict, and helps us to locate the former as a reflection of a certain class attitude. He also raises the problem that such conflict may be of a philosophical nature, rather than directly reflective of the primary motor of social change.

To do Marx justice, though, we must mention the role that "literati and intelligensia" play, for it is they who first attempt to articulate some radical critique of capitalist society. From then onwards, though, their role as leaders is seen as more detrimental to the labour movement than beneficial. In a letter to Otto Von Boenigk in 1890, Engels wrote:

"The present influx of literati and students into the party may be quite damaging if these gentlemen are not properly kept in check". (43)

Such a statement was born out of a concern that a bourgeois influx would lead to utopian socialism of an essentially romantic character, rather than help to gain proletariat support. The latter may criticise capitalism, may dream of its destruction, and may have visions of a better order, but for Marx it could not indicate the real solution, because it did not reveal the laws of capitalist development. He thus treats such movements as fundamentally counter-revolutionary.

"The significance of Critical Utopian Socialism bears an inverse relation to historical development. In proportion as the modern class struggle develops and takes definitive shape, this fantastic standing apart from the contest, these fantastic attacks on it, lose all practical value and all theoretical justification. Therefore although the originators of these systems were, in many respects, revolutionary, their disciples have, in every case, formed mere reactionary sects. They hold fast by the original views of their masters in opposition to the progressive historical development of the proletariat. They, therefore, endeavour, and that consistently, to deaden the class struggle and to reconcile the class antagonisms. They still dream of experimental realisation of their social Utopias, of founding isolated "phalensteres", of establishing "Home Colonies", of setting up a "Little Scaria" - duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem - and to realise all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois." (44)

While it may be difficult to criticise this view, given the fact that bohemian "castles in the air" have now largely disappeared into obscurity, the orthodox Marxist treatment of culture is still open to question. In arguing that culture is determined by the economic relations of society it follows that within capitalism bohemian cultures must be viewed as mere illusion, as bourgeois ideology, or as false consciousness. From such a view we gain no real understanding of the role bohemianism has played in

western industrial societies, nor even of the ideas it was trying to express.

While Marxism may offer a general solution and analysis of social problems, other means must be utilised to study such problems in detail. Marx may give us one version of the objective reality of such movements, but offers little or no subjective analysis.

Culture may well be an instrument of social control, as it functions for the dominant class in reproducing existing social relations, but it must also be more than this. Culture is the site of various struggles and conflicts, either between different elements of dominant ideology, or between dominant and subordinate ideologies. While stressing the importance of structure in any analysis of culture, we must not neglect the subjective meaning cultural forms have for different sections of the population. Each individual, then, is not just acted upon, but is also acting in his own right. An understanding of the dialectical relationship between structures and socially produced cultures, such as bohemianism, is required. In this way we can discover those areas in which dominant society has co-opted dissident ideas, but also those areas in which the dominant society has been forced to change, and reorient its own ideology to adapt to the demands that such cultural forms have placed on it.

The sixties was seemingly a time of increased unrest within sections of the population. The decade witnessed student revolts, drop-outs and radical demands for change by middle class youth. Within a Marxist perspective this can be explained by reference to a developing contradiction

with capitalism, of which the "crises" in the sixties were symptomatic.

In discussing the 'crises' in Britain, one major factor must be considered. The second half of this century has seen a rapid dismantling of the British Empire. After the war Britain still ruled over one-fifth of the world's land surface, but in 1948 India, Pakistan and Israel won independence, and during the sixties independence was granted to such countries as Nigeria, Cyprus, Jamaica and Malaysia. Meanwhile struggles for independence continue in Northern Ireland and Rhodesia. (45)

Revenue from abroad must have "dried up" to a certain extent, throwing Britain back on its own resources. Throughout the sixties there was a relatively low rate of economic growth in Britain compared to her main overseas competitors, namely, Japan, U.S.A. and West Germany. This resulted in an apparent levelling of living standards throughout British society. In conjunction with the absolute increase of living standards secured by the working class, the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie saw their positions of privilege being undermined. The notion of mass levelling goes far in explaining middle class attempts to elevate themselves above the "mass" of the population. Similarly the "revolution" of the sixties can well be analysed in terms of a loss of individuality within the middle class, or at least a fear of such a loss. The hippie, in fact, fits perfectly into this analysis. He was from middle class stock, he perceived society as a mass, and he called for a new recognition of individual expressivism.

The aims of the counter-culture, prophesied or not, can thus be seen as merely an attempt by the middle classes to assert their own elite position, to strike themselves off as being in some way separate from the mass of the population. Thus, rather than creating a revolutionary situation, the bohemian was in line with all petty-bourgeois socialists in merely calling for a reversal of power relations.

Ironically they could only attack the notion of mass, by clearly illustrating alternatives that required wealth and resources, in other words, alternatives that were open only to themselves. Their ignoring of class differentials is also prevalent in the minority groups they appertained to support. Support was given to feminist movements, rather than working class housewives, gay movements rather than industrial strikes, and drug law reform, rather than those reforms sought by the labour movements. Bohemianism thus aimed at securing a new permissiveness, or a new morality in society giving more individual freedom, rather than attempting to secure a totally new social order. The battle was fought in terms of the quality of life, rather than the necessities of life, and by definition it was those who already had access to such necessities who manned the counter-cultural barricades.

The argument still remains, though, that Marxism begins from the position that the bohemian is a totally reactionary and unworthy figure, and does not do justice to the cultural conflicts of which he was a part. Moreover Marxism attempts to give every individual's action a material explanation. The individual is constructed through a dialectical relationship

between his need to labour to provide sustenance, and his need to co-operate and be social. The bohemian himself would attack such a view for not giving enough room for individual autonomy as located within the consciousness or psyche. Although such a view is anathema to Marxism, we must look at those theories which attempt to give the individual an existence in his own right, irrespective of the social situations which determine his position within the social structure.

The Bohemian as an Existentialist

(Phenomenological Theory)

In reaction to these 'absolutist' negations of bohemian values as expressed by the positivistic schools, phenomenological theory attempts to analyse individual or group behaviour, with reference to immediate perceptions rather than structural theories.

"... sociology requires an examination of the commonsense world of daily life, rather than a settlement of it by theoretical representation or a taken-for-granted assumption of it as the background to social activity. Instead of assuming the social standardisation of meanings in terms of objective categories, such as role prescriptions, norms and values, the sociologist should examine how action allows the actor to discover, create and sustain this standardisation." (46)

The subject matter of phenomenology is concerned with whatever exists within the perception or consciousness of any individual, and analysed in its own right. Within a phenomenological perspective it is argued that functionalist theory excludes concrete and active individuals from acting free from the constraints of the "Social System", while Marxist theory, in stating that all action is determined by

the objective position of an individual within the class structure, similarly extracts the individual will and consciousness from social action.

Phenomenology, on the other hand, argues that each individual or social grouping must be analysed in terms of how the actor perceives of his own situation, for his "reality" and perception of that "reality" is as valid as any other explanation. It's scope, then, goes beyond a pluralistic view of society, towards a micro-analysis of all group behaviour. This direction in sociological thought is aimed at all pre-judgements, so that nothing will be taken for granted or influenced by any previous theoretical schemata.

In effect, then, phenomenology should give the bohemian a chance to speak for himself.

This would appear to be essential in studying bohemianism as it, itself, emphasises the power of each individual consciousness to direct individual action. Throughout its history from 1830 until the present, the themes of self-expression, self-creativity, and self realisation, are fundamental to its general ideology.

Phenomenology allows the bohemian to be the subject of action, rather than the object: it permits him to act in his own right, rather than being acted upon. It gives primacy to the empirical character of sociology, and 'demands' that actual investigations of concrete situations and processes are undertaken.

However, such an approach is not without its own difficulties, particularly in a study of this subject matter. The bohemian has never explicitly set out his aims and

objectives, has never presented a dogma or manifesto; and so we are left with a number of statements, actions and ideas which may only reflect a particular individual's ideas, and not those of his fellows. Bohemianism emphasises the limits within which all sociology is constrained, and in itself attempts to show how ideas are intrinsic to each individual, and have a reality outside of their social manifestations or social implications. The essence of bohemianism thus lies outside of social explanations due to its own ontological orientation.

A phenomenological analysis of bohemianism must move from the explanations of social phenomenology towards explanations offered by existential phenomenology.

To illustrate the orientation of phenomenology in this field I will first of all discuss the attempts of Polsky and Yablonsky to let the bohemian 'speak for himself' as an element of an observable group of like-situated people, and secondly attempt to show how any understanding of the core of bohemianism necessitates an existential approach such as that offered by Sartre and Merleau Ponty.

Polsky's analysis of the Beat in New York in 1960 attempted to understand the lifestyle of the Beat, as a sub-culture, by undertaking field research in Greenwich Village.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Such research, he concludes, requires a certain degree of empathy between the researcher and the people he is 'studying'. The success of such research depends on;

"... the investigator's trained abilities to look at people, listen to them, think and feel with them, talk with them rather than at them." (48)

Polsky offers, a detailed description of the Beat life-style, as seen through his own eyes. A clear picture is gained which is not 'forced' to fit into any dogmatic structural theory. Similarly Yablonsky's study of the 'Hippie' in San Francisco in 1967, attempted to gain an understanding by what he calls "'live' non statistical research."⁽⁴⁹⁾ In doing so, he uses much hippie jargon in his research and attempts to act out himself the the experiences the hippie has gone through. As he claims, this perhaps is best described as an interactionist approach:

"Rather than trying to avoid personal interaction, in my view, plunging into the human arena you are trying to understand is apt to be more illuminating than striving for an elusive and questionable objectivity." (50)

The conclusions reached by these studies will be dealt with later. At present it is enough to distinguish the particular methodological orientation of their research, in order to discover both the positive and negative aspects of the phenomenological approach.

Comparisons with structural approaches can help to pinpoint the particular orientation of phenomenology, The latter entails an emphasis on micro sociology and interaction, as opposed to macro sociology and systems. It's central interest is the social meanings constructed by men within society, rather than the overall value system of society. It is interested in achieving an understanding of a subjective social reality, rather than an objective social reality. Men become actors in their own right, rather than being constrained by a 'given' or inherited social order.

Indeed it is from these two different approaches that there has sprung two distinct sociologies: a sociology of social systems, and a sociology of social action. These derive from discussion of problems of order and control, respectively. While Dawe believes that the two are irreconcilable,⁽⁵¹⁾ Berger and Luckmann view these problems as being two sides of one central problem: the contingency of human life.⁽⁵²⁾ Here the social world is viewed as both objective and subjective reality, in that institutions are external to the individual and constrain him, but each individual in attaching some meaning to them, must make them subjectively real.

The phenomenological approach is traceable back to Alfred Schutz and his attempt to show that the 'world of the objective mind' can be reduced to the behaviour of individuals rather than to a system. As such it marks the first step in the bohemian's own attempt to make the social world meaningful to himself. The 'society' or 'group' are not directly knowable or justifiable. It is argued they are not real, and only exist within the minds of individuals. In direct contrast to Structural Functionalism, society has no meaning in itself, and consequently all social phenomena are explained in individualistic terms. This becomes objective meaning. Subjective meaning remains an unknowable or at least unconceptualisable entity. Strictly then it is never possible for sociology to understand true subjective meanings, for these originate from existentially insoluble problems, rather than from observable social problems.

"Objective meaning therefore consists only in a meaning context within the mind of the interpreter, whereas subjective meaning refers beyond it (i.e. beyond the mind of the interpreter) to a meaning context in the mind of the producer." (53)

In explaining human behaviour, the dichotomy that Berger and Luckmann construct may be just as limiting as any structural theory, for it can only judge the social manifestations, rather than the 'true' source of human behaviour. For the existential phenomenologist this lies within the mind or spirit, and exists independently of social interaction.

To raise such problems of 'meaning', as indeed the bohemian does, opens the door to quasi-theological and metaphysical explanations. Thus the individual is not seen solely as a material being, with a body intent on survival, but also as a spiritual being with a mind intent on self-discovery. While science (natural or social) attempts to explain the material and observable, within a logical and rational framework, metaphysics attempt to, firstly gain acceptance that the category of irrationality is just as valid as the category of rationality, and secondly develop some understanding of the spiritual self. Such an approach would seem important, in that it argues that the self is not totally reducible to chemicals or social constructs. The problem remains, though, that if this 'other self' can be known, or at least conceptualised, then the process destroys itself, for the very essence of the other self is that it is unknowable, and therefore not open to the rigours of rational scientific analysis.

Such problems of 'life meaning' have been posed in particular by Sartre and Merleau-Ponty, and can be seen as a logical extension of phenomenological enquiry. They represent a move away from a scientific explanation of human behaviour towards asking the question "What is it to be a human being?": a move from phenomenology to traditional ontology.

Sartre's work is mainly orientated around concepts of human freedom, and human powers of self-analysis. These in turn are devoted to an understanding self-will and consciousness, and the constraints under which they exist. This form of phenomenology thus begins by looking at consciousness, to discover what we can hope to know (and that which we will never know) and how the known becomes part of our consciousness. Hence the central concept is consciousness, for it alone is the only freedom that human beings can have, entailing the power of imagination and the power to conceive the opposite of what 'really' exists. Understanding of the world thus emanates from an individual's consciousness of himself as a conscious being. It is a reality which is located within the imaginative and intuitive processes of the mind, and involves a grasping of nothingness or "what is not" as well as that "which is" and does have a material basis.

A Marxist analysis explicitly rejects this type of approach:

"... we do not set out from what men say, imagine, conceive not from men as narrated, thought of, imagined, conceived, in order to arrive at men in the flesh. We set out from real, active men and on the basis of their real life process we demonstrate the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life process". (54)

But then the existentialist has rejected academic and professional philosophy, has rejected the notion that philosophy is a science, and is dealing with different problems to those of the social scientist. To this extent such comparisons may not be justifiable. Yet it is important to be aware that such divergent approaches to the explanation of human 'being' have and do exist. Merleau-Ponty explains these as follows:

"The question is that of man's relationship to his natural or social surroundings. There are two classical views: one treats man as the result of the physical, physiological and sociological influences which shape him from the outside and make him one thing among many; the other consists of recognising an a-cosmic freedom in him, in so far as he is spirit and represents to himself the very causes which supposedly act upon him. On the other hand, man is a part of the world; on the other, he is the constituting consciousness of the world." (55)

Both Sartre and Merleau-Ponty attempt to develop this analysis within their notion of existence, whereby spirit is tempered by external influences, and in which no one element has any overwhelming control. In fact the dichotomy itself (although supposedly helping us to understand) leads to an impasse, for social, biological and spiritual features are present in any situation. This is so, because this is what human beings are. If these features appear to contradict one another (when we attempt to understand and give them conceptual form), then it must be that it is because we ourselves are contradictory beings, (or our limited knowledge only allows our understanding to be contradictory). By existentialist logic, then, everything is nothing and everything is something at one and the same time. In fact one is an implication of the other. The dilemma facing each individual is to try and understand the duality and contradictions of existence.

It may be that the problems raised here by Schutz, Sartre and Merleau-Ponty are not really the problems of Social Science, and can only be raised on a philosophical level. Yet such a level of analysis is begged by the particular orientations of *Verstehen* and phenomenology, and in fact may well be useful in attacking the 'gods' of science and technology on which Western knowledge is based. As Hindess paraphrases Schutz,

"In the cases of the actor and of the world in which he acts, there is a sector which is accessible to knowledge and another sector which is not. The latter functions both as the primordial basis of the social world and as the forever hidden depths within it. These depths, in so far as they can be reached at all are the province of philosophy. Scientific knowledge of the social world, and of the actor within it, is forever condemned to scratching around of the surface." (56)

Such an approach then is important to bear in mind, for even though it cannot 'explain', it should prevent us from believing scientific knowledge is the only type of knowledge which could be useful in understanding human behaviour and the social world. Thus as Schutz remarks, the social scientist can only observe "a conceptual model, not a real person"⁽⁵⁷⁾ because the real individual is essentially free and unknowable.

It is enough here to introduce this alternative mode of explanation of behaviour. We can learn more of it, and the bohemian's own adaptation of it, by looking at the latter's attempt to confront Western knowledge with its basic premises. This has involved a myriad of searches through Romanticism, mysticism, metaphysics, and Eastern Religions. (In particular Zen Buddhism). Any appraisal of bohemianism must take into account the uses and limits of

existentialist argument. Although sociological theory may be capable of explaining bohemianism as a collective social phenomenon, it is of limited value in explaining why such questioning of "existence", should every arise.

The Bohemian as a Revolutionary
(Mass Society Theory)

Mass society theories warrant some discussion, in that they present a distinct theoretical approach which cannot be subsumed under the other theories. Moreover those theories which support bohemian culture, can best be reviewed within a general category of mass society theories.

Such theories lie somewhere between the functionalist and Marxist approaches. Society is neither portrayed as an organism, where classes are functionally necessary to the existence of the whole, or where class distinctions create conflict from which society derives its determining characteristics. Rather the concept of class is neglected altogether. Society is viewed as a mass society, each individual is subordinated to the demands of the mass of the population. It is implied that sociological analysis must begin by looking at collective behaviour which is more visible in modern industrial societies because of the existence of the mass media, mass education, and the notion of a 'mass culture'.

In that Society is not determined by coercion or concensus, but by mass behaviour, most reference is given to such notions as public opinion and mass communication. Thus it is implied that society is characterised by an

unhierarchical wholeness, united by such facets as democratic decision making, national interest and the common good. The growth of population, bureaucratisation and technology, have created conditions whereby class differentials have disappeared into obscurity. Even when the notion of power is introduced, society is seen as being solely constructed from the relationship between a power elite, and the mass of the population. Little attempt is made to differentiate between different groups within this mass. Their similar characteristics and life chances exclude any such analysis. In discussion of power differentials, it is understood that it is the masses, and not certain individuals, who set standards and who decide policies. The elite merely instigate policies which reflect the interests of the mass. The Langs outline three conditions for a society to be characterised as a mass society.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Firstly there must exist a certain degree of functional interdependence between different parts of society. In industrial technological societies the individual becomes more dependent on others for his livelihood, and thus his world view is oriented around the State, rather than the community, and is fostered through the industries of television, radio and other forms of communication.

They also argue that mass society is more prone to instabilities, due to the acceleration of social change and the emphasis on "progress" which is endemic in modern society. The horizons of individuals in society are widened through social mobility, and traditional values are lost. Consequently the individual is placed in a highly anomic situation.

The third condition is the exclusion of the masses from meaningful participation in society, thus opening the possibility of mass social movements rising to challenge the power of the elite. Such masses are structurally integrated into the economic order, (in direct contradiction to Marx's analysis) and will only attempt to question and "bend" the laws and rules, to which they are expected to abide.

Mass society theory, while talking of mass homogeneity, may also introduce the notion of the isolation of individuals within the mass as a primary source of discontent or rebellion.

However it would seem fair to say that such theories lack some theoretical heart, for they range from providing radical models of social change, to reaffirming the more conservative functionalist view of society as a harmonious whole.

Nevertheless the basic premises of such a theory have been used by various writers from de Tocqueville, Tonnies, and Nietzsche, to Mannheim and Mumford; and, more recently, Mills, Marcuse and Roszak. Each has attempted to revise Marx's analysis of class relations to take account of more "directly observable" phenomena. De Tocqueville talks of the fragmentation of social classes, with power being given to the masses through centralised, but democratic bureaucracies. Nisbet writes,

"The dispersion of power among the democratic mass, the ever more prominent place occupied by political bureaucracy, the virtual enshrinement of the norm of equality ... and the profound urge to status achievement in a society where each man regards himself as the equal of all - these made true social class impossible." (59)

Similarly the notion of "mass" is introduced into Tonnies work, through his typology of Gesellschaft and Gemeinschaft. Gesellschaft is viewed as the essence of the modern state involving ...

"the attenuation of traditional social and moral relationships with consequent depersonalisation of society, loss of community identification and even greater impact upon man of the forces of political law and egoistic economism." (60)

Throughout his work one senses a profound disillusionment with the modern world, because of its impersonality and rationality, in many ways echoing Weber's 'disenchantment' thesis. Both desire a return to the community of Gemeinschaft. Mumford has forwarded this line of analysis in a more overt criticism of modern mass society and its supportive agencies of technology and science. Implicitly he uses a conflictual concept of Man, derived from Nietzsche, as being torn between the opposing forces of Apollonius - scientific man and Dionysus - romantic man.

Mumford thus tells how the development of Science has severely limited the view Man has of the world and himself.

"... The mechanical New World displaced the 'romantic' New World in men's minds: the latter became a mere escapist dream, not a serious alternative to the existing order. For in the meanwhile a new God had appeared and a new religion had taken possession of the mind and out of this conjunction arose the new mechanical world picture which, with every fresh scientific discovery, every successful new invention, displaced both the natural world and the diverse symbols of human culture with an environment cut solely to the measure of the machine. This ideology gave primacy to the denatured and dehumanised environment in which the new technological complex could flourish without being limited by an human interests and values other than those of technology itself. All too soon a large portion of the human race would virtually forget that there had ever existed any other kind of environment or any alternative mode of life." (61)

Machine technology has thus become synonymous with mass society, and both are viewed as modern 'evils', hindering personal development. It was from such a theoretical background and critique of modern society that the so-called "counter-cultural theories" of Marcuse, Reich and Roszak derived. To explain the rise of bohemian culture in the post-war years they have drawn heavily on the assumptions made by their predecessors. Bohemianism was seen to develop out of an instability within the mass of the population (characterised as youth) caused by periods of rapid social change. In 1964 the Langs had written that:

"The social movement while itself a collective enterprise to effect changes in the social order, is also a response to changes in social conditions that have occurred independently of its efforts. Social movements therefore are more likely to arise in a society undergoing rapid social change than in a stable one. A revolution in technology, for example, creates new conditions requiring adaptation." (62)

Technology had then created changes in the social universe, had led to counter-reactions within sections of the population, who in turn fired their criticism of society against technology, the Machine and the Mass. The protester against mass society was likely to be a Dionysian, Romantic figure.

One further element was important for the counter-cultural theorists, and this was provided by C. Wright Mills. Although he likewise analysed society in terms of a mass, he did denote three levels within the social hierarchy,

"The top of modern (American) society is increasingly unified, and often seems wilfully co-ordinated: at the top there has emerged an elite of power. The middle levels are a drifting set of stalemated, balancing forces: the middle does not link the bottom with the top. The bottom of this society is politically

fragmented, and even as a passive fact, increasingly powerless: at the bottom there is emerging a mass society". (63)

Obviously more overt political criticism can be secured through Mills' view. The activist bohemian can thus recognise that mass society is a creation of those people in positions of power, and it is to these that protest must be directed if change is to be secured. The less active or hedonistic elements of bohemia presumably never recognised the existence of a power elite as such, but rather saw an amalgam of different interest groups, of which none had sole control over society's functioning. As a result their protest was much more diffuse, being aimed at technology and The Machine, rather than specific institutions and personalities. The latter view is indeed reflected in Riesman's book "The Lonely Crowd", and it is notable that while this book is favoured by "liberal elements", Mills' work is more attractive to "radical intellectuals". (64)

Having establishing this background, I now wish to concentrate on describing and analysing those variations of mass society theory as offered by Marcuse and the Frankfurt School of "Critical Theory"; and those other theorists largely supportive of bohemianism, namely Roszak, Goodman and Reich.

Roszak's "The Making of a Counter Culture" attempts to give the youth revolt of the 1960's some credibility, in that he views youth as the only viable revolutionary force in society, which is prepared to attack the basic problems of modern "technocracy". He dismisses the working classes in Britain as reactionary.

"... the only cause that has inspired a show of fighting spirit on its part during the sixties is the bloody-minded cry to drive the coloured immigrants from the land". (65)

Similarly he rejects the Marxist analysis of social change, for the 'evil' of modern society is not class inequality, but "technocracy". By this he means:

"... the ideal men usually have in mind when they speak of modernising, updating, rationalising, planning. Drawing upon such unquestionable imperatives as the demand for efficiency, for social security, for large scale co-ordination of men and resources, for ever higher levels of affluence and ever more impressive manifestations of collective human power, the technocracy works to knit together the anachronistic gaps and fissures of the industrial society". (66)

In this type of society mankind is depersonalised, and is forced to lose contact with Nature. An invisible but highly repressive ideology is created so that advanced industrial societies "hold the place of a grand cultural imperative, which is beyond question, beyond discussion." (67)

This development is endemic in all industrial societies and therefore conventional politics, whether of the Left or Right, cannot alleviate the situation. Protest is limited because:

"(the strategy of the technocracy) is to level life down to a standard of so-called living that technical expertise can cope with, and then to claim an intimidating omnipotence over us by its monopoly of the experts. Such is the politics of our mature industrial societies." (68)

Roszak, then, attacks the coercion and repression of modern society that results from total concern for rational, emotionless and impersonal modes of thought. This line of attack is particularly obtuse because such forms of repression

are not immediately apparent and they are often believed to be necessary for societies to "progress" and increase standards of living. In short, Roszak perceives society as a mass society, in which education is no longer concerned with the "pursuit of truth", but machine-tools the young to fulfill the needs of the bureaucracies. Free enterprise becomes manipulated by oligarchical institutions "dedicated to infantilising the public by turning it into a herd of compulsive consumers"; and "government by the consent of the governed" becomes a myth in that final decisions are made in a manner that is completely divorced from individual knowledge or desire. (69)

What Roszak advocates to 'correct' this situation (and sees in practice through the actions of youth, particularly those in universities) is a revolution that will humanise society; will make it understandable to each and every one individual; and will reintroduce the notion of Romanticism (creativity, personalisation, expressivism) as the vital feature by which we can orientate our lives. The rational scientific world view of the technocracy, will be replaced by a world view oriented around the self and consciousness, and will be legitimated by mysticism and magic. In this way the alienating features of modern society will be reduced. It will be "a political end sought by no political means".

"Beyond the tactics of resistance but shaping them at all times, there must be a stance of life, which seeks not simply to muster power against the misdeeds of society, but to transform the very sense men have of reality". (70)

Such a "counter-culture" has been further legitimated by Charles Reich in his book, "The Greening of America". Here he describes three states of consciousness which he believes have characterised the development of the United States since its sixteenth Century origins. Consciousness I deals with the beginnings of industrialisation. It views the individual as an independent figure concerned with laissez-faire economics and being subject only to a small degree of control from localised governing bodies. In essence it depicts typical small-town mid-western America with small family businesses, farms and manufacturing industries. However, although

"(it) ... focussed on self, it saw self in harsh, and narrow terms accepting much self-repression, as the essential concomitant of effort, and allowing self to be cut off from the larger community of man and from nature (defined as an enemy) as well". (71)

This state characterised America, under the banner of the "American Dream", until the beginning of the twentieth Century. Slowly, Reich believes, consciousness II began to evolve due to the privatised power that was created by industrialism. Small domestic industry gave way to large scale manufacturing, and accordingly the rise of corporations and more centralised bureaucratic government. Consciousness II is thus the consciousness of a mass society. It is liberal in that it stresses the responsibility of democracy for all its citizens, as seen by the growth of a Welfare State, but it also has negative aspects in that the values of efficiency and rationality are applied to all walks of life. The individual loses his autonomy, he becomes repressed by the tools of consciousness II (science and technology)

whose goals are effectively relayed into everyone's homes through the use of the mass media.

"Consciousness II is the victim of a cruel deception. It has been persuaded that the richness, the satisfactions, the joy of life are to be found in power, success, status, acceptance, popularity, achievements, rewards, excellence and the rational competent mind. It wants nothing to do with dread, awe, wonder, mystery, accidents, failure, helplessness, magic. It has been deprived of the search for self that only these experiences make possible. And it has produced a society that is the image of its own alienation and impoverishment." (72)

As such, this stage is characterised by a "false consciousness", imposed by the State for its own purposes. The individual is manipulated by the mass media into a total concern for the superficial material benefits the State can provide.

Consciousness III arises as an adverse reaction to II, and stresses contemplation, creativity and self realisation. It is largely the domain of middle class youth. It seeks freedom from the rigid dogmas of religion, politics and custom and Reich prophesises that it will ultimately encompass the whole of the population by peaceful means.

Consciousness III is presented as a force which can change society, and in turn can return the landscape from its present sterile metal and plastic basis to its original greenery. (73)

Reich's analysis not only justified the "drop-out" activity of middle-class youth in the 1960's, in that it gave them an identifiable goal, but was the forerunner of many "counter-cultural" writers who likewise were optimistically convinced that this revolution was the only one which could save the world from its own destruction. (e.g. Slater 1970, Braden 1971, Leamer 1972, Goode 1974,

Roszak 1970, 1972, Melville 1972, Leech 1973, Musgrove 1974).

Paul Goodman, although more conservative than Reich, can also be described as a "counter-cultural" theorist. Again the notion of a technological society is used as a basis for criticism, not so much because it had made life easier, but because it had made war more efficient and indeed uncontrollable. Technology was developed, in the name of progress, regardless of the environment which it reduced to waste in its wake. Goodman's main attack was on State centralisation in social, economic and educational fields. Throughout he argues the case for decision making being returned to the community and the individual. In 1960, he prophesised that the isolation of individuals would lead to a generation "growing up absurd" with little value to guide their lives. His prophecy indeed was answered later in the decade by those activities of the hippies and student radicals. Yet Goodman did not wholly support their actions. Ultimately one feels he desires a return to values of patriotism and pride in ones country on a community based level, similar to the condition of Consciousness I described by Reich. He advocates reform and community politics, rather than revolution.

In particular he called for a virtual elimination of the schooling system. He advocated that the chief method of learning should be incidental education through participation in the activities of society. This, he argues, would restore a sense of both self and community, in reducing both the competitive basis of society and also its

its dependency on mass bureaucracies. (74)

In this way, each of these theorists has attacked their conception of present society, as a mass society, and outlined practices which they feel are essential if the mass is ever to be replaced by individuals again.

Perhaps the most notable of all the "counter-cultural" theorists was Herbert Marcuse. Two of his books, which offer most to an understanding of bohemianism, are the pessimistic "One-Dimensional Man" and the more optimistic "Essay on Liberation". Most attention will be given to these.

In particular, Marcuse attempted to bring Marxism up to date. This was done by humanising it, making it less economically deterministic and allowing personal protest to be viewed in a political light. Consequently the New Left derived much of its impetus from the premise that political action and personal action cannot be divorced.

Marcuse attempted to justify this by concentrating solely on the writings of the young, Romantic Marx, with his references to a human essence, and comparing them to Freud's notion of an 'id'. Marcuse's brand of Marxism thus originated from an attempt to bring Marx and Freud to a synthesis: to allow all protest and deviancy to have political significance.

His work was done largely in conjunction with The Frankfurt Institute of Social Research before the Second World War and later in America at Colombia University after "escaping from" Nazi Germany in the 1930's. At Frankfurt, Marcuse was in the company of such notables as

Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Erich Fromm, Leo Lowenthal and Nathan Ackerman, and between them they collectively worked out a comprehensive theory of all aspects of social life in the form of a radical critique to be known as "Critical Theory".⁽⁷⁵⁾ Here Marcuse moved away from a strict Marxist analysis to a position that allowed the relevance of revolutionary awareness to be stressed. Critical Theory thus proceeded the youth revolt of the sixties by some thirty years, and indeed gave it a much sought after theoretical justification in that it allowed human reason and human practice, in the form of deviant activity, to be united under a revolutionary banner.

The need for a revolution was explained by Marcuse in "One-Dimensional Man". His vision of one dimensional society was that of an advanced industrial society which had created a new form of social control: namely affluence. Terror and coercion were not the main deterrants to subversion and discontent, but rather well-paid and well-fed citizens. Discontent is immediately discredited by counter-arguments citing the benefits of technological advance and material well being. The "productive apparatus" becomes totalitarian in that it not only determines socially needed occupations, but also individual needs and aspirations. Men come to relinquish all critical thought, their social and individual needs are seen as one; and they are viewed as being liberated through affluence, permissiveness and leisure. Hence, for Marcuse, technology is no longer a neutral instrument, but forms a system of domination resembling political totalitarianism.

"... it shapes the entire universe of discourse and action, intellectual and material culture. In the medium of technology, culture, politics and the economy merge into an omnipresent system which swallows up or repulses all alternatives. The productivity and growth potential of this system stabilise the society and contain technical progress within the framework of domination. Technological rationality has become political-rationality." (76)

The individual is thus a figure of conformity and becomes a "Cheerful Robot" as depicted by Mills. Society perpetuates itself by selling its members false needs by which they are contained, rather than openly coerced. In this way illusions of freedom and openness are propagated.

"... this civilisation transforms the object world into an extension of man's mind and body (and) makes the very notion of alienation questionable. The people recognise themselves in their commodities; they find their soul in their automobile, hi-fi set, split-level home, kitchen equipment. The very mechanism which ties the individual to his society has changed and social control is anchored in the new needs which it has produced". (77)

Such needs are "false" because, although they may be gratifying to the individual, they only serve to prevent a realisation of the repressive nature of society. For Marcuse they can only result in a "euphoria in unhappiness". (78) Similar to Roszak, he argues that material satisfaction alone cannot lead to true happiness or freedom. In highlighting and reifying technology, man has simultaneously created problems in the spiritual spheres of life.

Technology, is thus viewed as the "enemy" of mankind, creating a mass society, whereby individuals are gently and invisibly repressed. Man, his thought and his society become One Dimensional.

Horkheimer had similarly written in 1947 that

state "Modern mass culture, although drawing freely on ~~state~~ cultural values, glorifies the world as it is ... this is reality as it is, and should be and will be." (79)

Although society might appear to be in a constant state of change he argued that while everything might change, nothing in fact moved.

Such an analysis of modern society led the critical theorists into a political pessimism mirroring that of Orwell's "1984", because domination was believed to be so omnipresent that all alternatives were absorbed into the existing status quo.

As such, Marcuse rejected the Marxist notion that the proletariat would develop as a viable revolutionary force, for in the 1950's and early 1960's they were seen as being totally controlled by affluence and commodity fetishism. Notions of alienation from work and society were no longer relevant. Awareness of alienation from oneself was the only possible avenue for protest. If dissent was to occur, it would have to come from outside of society and one-dimensionality. It is here that he locates "outcasts and outsiders, the exploited persecuted of other races and other colours, the unemployed and the unemployable." (80) He views their opposition as revolutionary in that they exist outside the democratic process and have the possibility of creating

"an elementary force which violates the rules of the game, and, in doing so reveals it as a rigged game... The fact that they start refusing to play the game may be the fact which marks the beginning of the end of a period." (81)

Marcuse's vision of this "Great Refusal" was indeed answered by the subsequent events of the late sixties. Already Marcuse had outlined that the major precondition for revolution was an awareness and consciousness of society being a repressant in its very tolerance. By turning to psychoanalysis and the realm of individual consciousness Marcuse thus weighted "his" revolution in psychic rather than social terms. In accordance with Hegelian philosophy, Marcuse and the Frankfurt School, believed the essential motive force in history to be the fulfilment of true wants and needs, and from Freud they could argue that mans real desires were unconscious. In this way the lack of revolutionary class consciousness in the proletariat could be explained, while still retaining a radical critique of society.

In "An Essay on Liberation" a revolution is now seen to be possible, but again it will not be triggered off by a discontented proletariat, but by an educated elite of outsiders. They will first acquire the "new sensibility" and their task will be to form an "educational dictatorship", to inform the masses of the necessity for revolution. Through his interpretation of Freud, Marcuse believed he had discovered a "biological base" for instinctual liberation, which lay in the libido or "a stratum of human existence stubbornly out of reach of total social control".⁽⁸²⁾ Following such logic it was therefore inevitable that outsiders would be the first to gain a revolutionary sensibility. Moreover he could argue that it would be inevitable that a revolution would occur due to an essential human essence or id striving for happiness, as long as the

effects of repressive sublimation could be 'shaken off'. He obviously saw such a "biological base" in both Marxism and Freudianism, but it would be fair to say that he also grossly misread both. For Marx, work would always contain some displeasure; for Freud a pleasure principle could never govern while civilisation persisted.

Nevertheless by the 1970's Marcuse had developed a markedly optimistic approach, even though it somewhat contradicted the negative stance of Critical Theory. In the youth and student radicalism of 1968, he saw the seeds of a developing utopia

"(The youth militants' ... have taken the idea of revolution out of the continuum of repression and placed it into its authentic dimension: that of liberation". (83)

But his utopia is based solely on the notion of a biological instinct for socialism in all men. Although he envisages time being oriented around labour and production, he argues that liberation will change the biological dimension and create different instinctual needs.

"The imagination of such men and women would fashion their reason and tend to make the process of production a process of creation. This is the utopian content of socialism which envisages the ingression of freedom into the realm of necessity, and the union between causality by necessity and causality by freedom". (84)

Here he comes closest to Roszak's view of a revolutionary force being based on Romantic rather than Scientific Socialist principles, and taking Blake as its leader rather than Marx.

The "counter-cultural" theorists in general attempt to outline a revolution that does not lose contact with the personal. It will occur through ideas and awareness, rather than economic conditions. It will provide a utopia of individual expressivism and of total freedom, rather than a socialism of reduced alienation. Above all it will occur from the radical intelligensia and repressed minorities, rather than from the mass of the population.

It is on these points that counter-cultural and Critical theories have been criticised. I will concentrate largely on the debate between Marx and Marcuse, if only because of Marcuse's claim of looking beyond Marx to find a new revolutionary dynamic. By concentrating on Marcuse, we can also essentially encompass the views of other 'radical' mass society theories and attempt a criticism of all such theory.

Indeed, Marcuse's radical critique of capitalism has a ring of truth about it. His warnings of the effects of mass society, of television and of advertising should not go unheeded, if not for the present, then for the future. But here lies the essential problem for all mass society theorists. Do they adequately describe the nature of modern industrial societies? This has important consequences for any analysis of bohemianism. Was it really attacking the structural premises of such societies or merely criticising certain aspects of them, which had become most notable to certain sections of middle class youth? Does it form a true revolutionary vanguard or merely another form of bourgeois ideology?

Marcuse's arguments have a distinct similarity to Marxism, but in criticising society through an analysis of technology and mass, rather than class, the two must irrevocably part company. Inevitably a mass society must be based, as indeed the Langs have noted, on functional interdependence, whether this is gained by a mutual recognition of dependency or domination. Society is thus viewed as internally homogeneous and integrated. A tendency to maintain a consensus, "false" or otherwise, is its determining characteristic. Such analyses misrepresent areas where conflict does and will occur, particularly in the relationship between classes, whether they be seen in Marxist dichotomic or Weberian pluralistic terms. In arguing that class conflict has been eliminated, Marcuse echoes the case made by functionalist theory that society is basically a harmonious whole. What is a familiar right wing view is presented as being radically left wing. Indeed we must question whether affluence has created a mass one-dimensional society at all. It would seem obvious that despite apparent affluence, poverty did and still does exist in the lower echelons of the social hierarchy. Moreover in analysing data from the 19th Century to the present, Field maintains that despite overall increases in wealth and income the manual working class in Britain has remained in a static position relative to the income increases of non-manual classes.⁽⁸⁵⁾

He argues that class relations still predominate and are reflected in situations of conflict by strikes, Trade Unions and pressure groups which seem to reoccur at a more frequent rate than Marcuse's image of the worker as a passive

figure. MacIntyre likewise is critical of this basic assumption.

"Moreover Marcuse is quite wrong in supposing that the will to change must be absent for the majority in advanced industrial societies. Far from it being the case that such societies only generate needs and wants that they can satisfy, such societies continually create wants that they cannot satisfy and those who govern them make promises they cannot keep, partly because the horizons of purpose continually change and partly because of the lack of control of events by government". (86)

If youth did rebel against a mass society, rather than a class one this indeed would go some way to explaining why the rebellion was strongest in America, due to the relative invisibility of class differentials there, particularly in times of growing affluence. Britain on the other hand has never risen to such heights of affluence and in particular has a long tradition of working class movements and inter-class hostility, which to a degree have been omitted from American history. Mass society theories must also inevitably limit their perspective by attacking the institutions that lead to the dehumanisation of the individual, rather than the underlying structure of capitalism from which such institutions originate. Missing from Marcuse is Marx's historical analysis of the modes and relations of production, and his critique dissolves into ahistorical metaphysics. Rather than discussing the rise of the mass of the population against property owners, who by expropriating surplus labour have always tended to exploit certain sections of the population more than others, Marcuse concerns himself with the liberation of the essence of each individual man. Indeed, MacIntyre proposes

Marcuse is in fact advocating what Marx has called "petty-bourgeois socialism" with its associated concern for the quality of life rather than the basic needs of life. (87)

In calling for total freedom and new meaning to life Marcuse was very much out of touch with contemporary reality, because simultaneously many people had still not received the basic needs of a livelihood, let alone concerned with how these needs could be realised in the fields of creativity and self expression. It is of little value telling people how to better their lives, when many are still fighting for the bare material essentials of survival. To this extent the proposition that freedom from material want is transformed into an agency for producing servitude is only applicable to the middle classes. Similarly in viewing the welfare state as an important factor in creating a mass society and repressive sublimation, Marcuse neglects to ask whether welfare policies have substantially reduced inequality at all. In claiming that technology provides "false" consumer needs he has inevitably been criticised for harbouring elitest assumptions, in that what is defined as "~~true~~" or "false" is left to Marcuse alone. (88)

While the Frankfurt School can be seen to have moved away from a Marxist analysis, it is important to remember that what was to be attempted was a negative radical critique of society emanating from Marxist principles. However, disillusioned with the failure of the German Socialist movement in the thirties, and the rise of Hitler and Stalin, Marcuse lost all contact with the concept of

historical materialism in Marx, while still trying to make Marx applicable to modern times. He rejects that Marxist concepts of the forces and social relations of production, and in their place substitutes the notions of labour and interaction. The relations of production for Marx referred to the ownership and distribution of the product which was extracted from proletariat surplus labour. The notion of interaction for Marcuse simply refers to the interaction between masses and the state, and as such loses the relevance of Marx's ideas of contradiction and also of the existence of antagonistic classes. The only conflict is that between real and false needs, or between two different ideologies: that involving technocratic consciousness, and that involving "true" consciousness. Because economic contradictions have disappeared from his analysis, there is no possibility for a capitalist economic crisis followed by a mass revolution. Marcuse's notion of instinctual liberation also contradicts Marxism. For while Marx can claim that a revolution will occur from a spontaneous uprising when material conditions have developed sufficiently, Marcuse has to rely on the view that only a minority outside of society can lead the revolutionary movement. The majority then must become objects of the revolution rather than subjects with an autonomous voice. For Marx, Marcuse's revolution will inevitably lead to a dictatorship of the minority over the majority. Moreover we can only identify what might arise by knowledge of historical tendencies. If Marcuse had used any historical data then he would undoubtedly have come to a totally different conclusion. However, in line with Critical Theory,

Marcuse had rejected empiricism, as it could only lead to involvement within the continuum of the technotronic society's repressive control over knowledge. We must question whether theorising alone can act as an agency for social change.

In general Critical Theory fails to be either scientific or historical, and relies solely on its critique of capitalist society. To this extent it retains little Marxist structure of thought, and finds its revolutionary agents within pre-Marxist Hegelianism. For Marcuse, revolution will come about at the height of affluence, as opposed to Marx's immiseration thesis, and will stem from the idea of revolution being possible, rather than waiting for material conditions at society's base to develop. The counter-cultural theories in general advocate a humanistic revolution, one that introduces notions of freedom attainable through spiritual as well as social means. Again this departs from Marxism which analyses spiritualism and religion as the "opiate of the masses" and fundamentally unnecessary to their social existence. In Marx's view, true needs cannot be divorced from social needs. But the counter-culturalist finds it essential to make this distinction to give the notions of consciousness and inner self, some credibility. This indeed is an essential point of fracture between Marx and Marcuse. Roszak writes:

"Would-be revolutionaries have always been strongly rooted in a militantly sceptical secular tradition. The rejection of the corrupted religious establishment has carried over almost automatically into a root-and-branch rejection of all things spiritual. So "mysticism" was to become one of the dirtiest words in the Marxist vocabulary". (89)

The need for a new theory and revolutionary strategy was thus essential for Marcuse, because a Marxist revolution would still not free Man from his alienation from himself. Marx would undoubtedly have been sympathetic to such a demand, but would have argued that such matters must be left until after a Socialist revolution has taken place.

Finally, because of the growth of a "menacing" technology and repressive affluence, mass society theory views the majority of the population as a non-divisible mass. Because class and class conflict have been neglected 'new' radicals have been forced to seek further dichotomies, notably in the relationships between age-groups, thus increasing the tendency to view the distinction between youth and the elderly as the major rift in society. Marcuse's reliance on the idealism of youth, coupled with his interpretation of Marx and Freud, indeed supports such a dichotomy and makes it more attractive. We must, however, reconsider this assumption and particularly the notion of a youth culture. (This is discussed further in Chapter 3).

In conclusion, Mass society theory can lead to vital criticisms being made about modern civilisation, but offers a misleading analysis of the structure of that civilisation, and thus provides no perspective from which people will be able to counter the domination that is central to both Marx's and Marcuse's arguments. The problem remains whether this domination exists because of the division of society into elites (the manipulators) and masses (the manipulated), whereby class conflict is virtually erased; or into bourgeois (owning) and proletariat

(non-owning) classes, whereby class conflict is centralised. In addition it could well be the case that neither dichotomies are correct, in that a single omnipresent body that firmly unites all ruling class or elite modes of repression is not directly observable. Whilst establishing that a dichotomic analysis may be of essential importance in giving society its very general, and often forgotten characteristics, distinctions within this dichotomy must be sought for if we are to gain any understanding of bohemianism. For while Marx rejects the bohemians' role as reactionary, Marcuse places with them the only hope of transforming society at all. The reasons are not too hard to find. Marcuse's work is grounded in a fear of totalitarianism, while Marx is fearful of the effect of counter-revolutionary movements disrupting the course of history. Marx attempts to relate a theory of revolution to definite practice, while Marcuse's theory, as Therborn points out, is prevented from participating in revolutionary political practice because of its negative and static nature. (90)

The Limitations of Theory

In attempting to explain the emergence of bohemianism as a distinct social phenomenon, and as an aspect of deviant behaviour in society, three broad perspectives can be taken.

As has been illustrated the type of perspective that governs research, not only determines what factors are looked for, but also what conclusions are arrived at.

For example, psychoanalytical theory, in viewing the bohemian as an immature, undisciplined and confused personality, explains such deviancy by way of adolescent identity crises occurring from rapid periods of social change. Bohemianism is thus seen as a state of temporary neurosis: of individual failure or anomie. Structural functionalist theory similarly sees bohemianism as a transitory phenomenon, which has arisen because of inadequate socialisation. It is transitory because the "system" will eventually restore equilibrium and will bring the deviant back into society through the processes of re-socialisation and social control.

Both of these theoretical orientations thus start from a conception that man has no basic "self" needs and therefore is always capable of adapting to any existing social order. Explanations of why "adjustment" is more difficult for some groups than others are couched in either psychoanalytical terms (because of a "personal" problem) or in sociological terms (because of poor family socialisation). The cause of deviancy is located within the individual, and consequently the legitimacy of the existing social order is upheld. As such they offer a conservative condemnation of bohemianism

Marxist theory, in locating the bohemian within the strata of the petty bourgeois, is likewise scathing in its treatment of bohemian radicalism. However, this is not because society tends towards equilibrium but rather that the retreatist or critical approach offered by the bohemian does not open up any avenues for mass political action. Above all, his is a misconceived socialism, due to its utopian, rather than scientific, nature.

Marxism thus provides a radical condemnation of bohemianism.

Mass society theory and particularly the counter-cultural theorists view the bohemian as an isolated figure within the mass of the population, produced by the development of a "dépersonnalisation process", endemic in all modern technological societies. Within him is seen a conscious attempt to make sense of, and a striving to achieve some change in, the world. Combined with phenomenology, bohemianism is analysed as a radical, even revolutionary phenomenon offering the only hope of salvation for the modern world. Such theories then justify bohemian activity and endorse its aims.

These three views give us opposing pictures of the bohemian as an emotionally disturbed deviant, a petty bourgeois socialist, or a social critic with certain revolutionary potential.

Each theory appears merely to "create" an analysis of bohemianism that fits into predefined categories; and this is done by omitting certain features which it cannot fully explain.

Psychoanalytical theory cannot explain why the "neuroses" of the bohemian are directed towards social and political opposition.

Structural functionalism does not adequately explain why bohemian activity appears to be endemic in industrial society and "forever" reoccurs.

Marxist theory, in dismissing the bohemian as a reactionary figure, does not fully discuss the role played by cultural conflict in society.

Phenomenology merely takes what the bohemian perceives his role to be on face value, and lacks any structural analysis.

Mass society theory in viewing society as a mass, does not explain the relevance of the class background of the bohemian, and presupposes his role to be that of an intellectual critic leading a mass social movement.

In fact the only areas in which agreement is reached are that the bohemian deviates from conventional standards and values and is characterised by youthfulness or adolescence.

The phenomenon of bohemianism thus appears to be something of an anomaly in sociological theory and cannot be fully subsumed and explored under one particular approach. Structural theory appears over-deterministic; subjective theory appears uncritical.

So, how to proceed? A fear of eclecticism is characteristic of much sociology, and this can be particularly stunting in the study of social problems. Multi-causal or multi-factorial propositions do not advance our understanding of a particular problem, and are the negation of theory. The best way to use such theories is to regard them as having unexplored strengths as well as evident weaknesses. The power of such theoretical models to explain bohemianism would seem to depend primarily on the extent to which each recognises bohemianism as a movement which is tied to specific historical and social conditions. In particular the promises offered by a focus on human subjectivity are lost if no attention is given to its place within bourgeois society in general.

Chapter 2

Constructing a framework for the analysis of Bohemian "culture"

This chapter is concerned with outlining a usable frame of reference to clarify the position of bohemian culture within the many cultural configurations of British Society. Again, most references will be made to events in the 1960's.

The meaning of "culture"

What is "culture"?

We are led to understand that culture is something specific to the human race. Animals do not have a culture as such; their behaviour is primarily instinctual. The notion of culture thus implies that man is not merely a part of nature, but thinks, and can act upon his environment. Culture is primarily created by the way man attempts to control nature, in order to produce goods which will enhance his chances of survival. This act of production demands co-operation, and a series of social contacts and groupings are necessarily formed, from which a distinctive life-style or culture is created. Such contact is made possible through the acquisition of language. Language not only allows man to act and co-operate, but enables him to be^a/creative and expressive, rather than a mere passive or instrumental figure. 'Culture' then can be defined as the distinctive ways of life that groups of people 'create' to perpetuate their innovations and their own survival as the dominant species. In other words, culture is initially dependent on how man interacts with the material world, how he produces sustenance; and how he organises his life accordingly.

The many particular ways man has found to enhance (or destroy) his chances of survival, have necessarily given rise to many varying cultures, or life-styles. Once problems of survival are less acute, then the forms of social organisation that man has created become objectified in themselves. As a result 'culture' not only refers to the actual social forms that structure our lives, but also to the knowledge and meaning that men assign to material life.

"Culture is the way the social relations of a group are structured and shaped, but it is also the way those shapes are experienced, understood and interpreted"₁

Any individual is at birth immediately born into ongoing social groupings and forms of social organisation, over which the individual has little or no control. These give the individual access to a particular culture and locate him within it. The world is thus made meaningful for the individual predominantly in terms of the culture into which he is born. This is basically his starting point within an ongoing process of gaining a world view and a compatible life-style to accompany it. It locates the individual within a field of possibilities that he can follow and live through. The possibilities however are invariably not infinite. The notion of culture must then also entail some form of constraint or control, as well as giving the individual a base from which he can learn. The individual needs to co-operate with his fellow man in order to survive and his horizons are both widened and limited as a consequence.

Culture and Society

Does one society have one culture?

In any analysis of culture, each interpreter's own cultural background or values inevitably come into play. Any analysis that claims to be objective or acultural must be viewed with a certain scepticism, for we can only view culture from the position of already being a part of it. Similarly the same behaviour may be identified as completely different in different societies or even within one society. For example, polygamy may be viewed as normal in some tribal societies, whereas in western societies it is a criminal offence to have more than one wife. Nevertheless certain sects in western society may also view polygamy as but another element of human experience to be explored. To the latter it is the laws of society that are immoral and unjust, and not their own behaviour. This same analysis could equally apply to marijuana smokers, who view the legal and social constraints on their behaviour as more condemning of the law makers, than themselves. To say that one society has one culture implies that a certain universal agreement exists within a population over "the nature of things". Superficially this appears a valid argument. Certain generalised features can be noted of industrial societies which give them a markedly different culture to primitive societies. In 20th Century Britain factors of technological knowledge, high division of labour and population density are often highlighted to describe its distinctive cultural background. The argument thus follows that industrialisation and modernisation have given such a country as Britain a culture which each of its population shares and takes part in. But this tells us little of the

shape of British society; little of the way industrialisation in Britain has created particular forms of social organisation; and little of the distinctive cultures that have been produced as a result. A more detailed study can show how different groups create and prolong different cultures, even within one society. This is markedly true of capitalist societies which 'produce' complex systems of social hierarchy, based on wealth, status, property ownership and occupational role. One must also not forget the regional differences in the life-styles of economically like-situated groups of people.

It would appear an over-generalisation to claim that a specifically British culture is spread uniformly throughout the land. Rather the productive system of capitalism has "created", and allowed, the existence of a multitude of differing responses to living within a modern capitalist society.

Notwithstanding the enormous problems of classifying groups of people, and placing them in "sociological boxes", the most apparent characteristic of modern Britain still remains the existence of class relations.

Culture and Class

One determining factor in the existence of distinctive cultural groupings within capitalist societies is access, or non-access, to political and economic power. While each culture is mainly oriented around its own specific mode of adapting, creating and making its own immediate environment meaningful, the degree to which it is successful in making its own destiny is dependent on the amount of power which it wields, and access to routes through which its voice can be heard and heeded.

Such interaction and conflict between cultures can best be located within a class analysis.

The position of groups in society, and their relationship to the means of production, initially ranks society in terms of classes. Some produce, whilst others own the means of production. Some own capital, whilst others merely own their own labour. Such diverse groups stand in an unequal relationship to each other in terms of control over production, and as a result their respective cultures are also markedly different: a culture of manual work and toil, as opposed to a culture of high finance and property deals. To these basic classes Clarke introduces the notions of subordinate and dominant cultures. This implies that at the centre of class relationships is a crucial factor of power. A dominant culture makes the rules, whilst the subordinate culture merely carries them out. In such a situation the possibility of opposition and conflict arising between cultures is awakened.

Inequality in the distribution of resources would appear to be a manifest feature of British society, and this in itself can account for the occurrence of opposing cultures existing within what is too often readily seen as one culture.

To merely talk of inequalities in society is not the same as distinguishing certain social patterns within these inequalities. The centrality of class to this question is frequently obscured by contemporary events, and can best be substantiated by looking at class as an historical and ongoing practice. At any particular time such a dichotomous analysis might appear more analytical than descriptive, in that such an ideal may be blurred, or expanded by other class groups. For example in the affluence

of the 50's and 60's the intermediate group of the middle class gained prominence, both sociologically and empirically, and its existence was substantiated by reference to a developing mass society. Nevertheless, class relations can still be seen as central to this period and more so with the recent "rediscovery of poverty and class" in the early 1970's. Throughout the post-war period, society was still governed by a group which was only representative of the interests of a dominant class. Class relations were still central to the structuring of British society, although perhaps their effect was less visible.

Marx begins his analysis of the nature of social organisation, and therefore, of the existence of culture, with the process of labour.

"Men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness, by religion or anything else you like. They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organisation. By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their actual material life"₂

Production itself then is a process which involves social relationships, and thus begins the process of culture formation. As men are differentially related to the means of production, in terms of the control they have over their own livelihood, differing forms of social organisation, and thus differing cultures, can be expected to present within one society. These cultures can also be expected to differ in the way they express themselves. This is due to the particular dimension of society in which they work, and which has most relevancy for them.

In many accounts of culture formation, the final framework for the analysis of "what is culture" is taken to be the Nation-State, or what is usually referred to as "society". Thus a national culture is identified as synonymous with the beliefs of society as a whole. The introduction of class relations to this framework is somewhat anomalous, for it undermines the notion of national consensus and replaces it with intro-societal conflict. Social classes are identified as the products of a competitive struggle for resources and a social division of labour. Similarly the most significant beliefs in society are seen as products of class relations and class conflict. Attempts to identify the culture of a subgroup such as bohemianism, can then only be undertaken against a backdrop of a central conflict of interest in society between dominant and subordinate class beliefs, and ideologies. If there is one major factor which gives Britain its specific culture characteristics, then we must look to class conflict. The link between dominant culture, and national culture, cannot be over-emphasised. Attributing a specific set of ideas to society as a whole not only conceals the immense divergencies always present within society, but assumes that dominant culture is the culture. The dominant group acts in its own interest when such an ideology is disseminated. It "naturally" wishes to paint a picture of national unanimity both to its own citizens and to the outside world. Such a picture ignores the recurring protests and conflicts which affect dominant cultural rule.

Marx considered that the governing group of a society represents only one class - the dominant class - and forms its own "dominant culture" by which it exercises some control

over the production and dissemination of ideas and philosophies within that society. As a result it is also in a position to control and check views that may be opposed to its own cultural hegemony.

"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it"₃

When we talk of national culture then we are usually referring to dominant culture, rather than to a whole wealth of ideologies and practices contained within a subordinate culture. However, even if it is recognised that capitalist societies are characterised by a lack of uniformity, in which conflicting values exist side by side, it is of vital importance to understand that certain institutions occupy key places in the social structure. They are in a position to exercise a dominant influence throughout society, in that they are able to give society its defining characteristics. As a result it may appear that one society will have an all embracing universal culture.

Equally it would be misleading to view the conflict between dominant and subordinate ideologies as the only area of conflict within society, or that such ideologies are self-contained coherent expressions of the values of large sections of the population. The lines of opposition are very rarely so openly drawn. This would tend to indicate that subordinate cultures are not totally repressed, or else one would expect an immediately unstable situation to be instigated. Rather they

may enter into a struggle with dominant culture and seek to modify or change its dominant position by a series of lobbies and reforms. Open conflict may then not always be apparent, but rather the two tend to coexist in a process of mutual "acceptance".

"... though the nature of this struggle over culture can never be reduced to a simple opposition, it is crucial to replace the notion of 'culture' with the more concrete historical concept of "cultures", a redefinition which brings out more clearly the fact that cultures always stand in relations of domination - and subordination - to one another, are always in some sense in struggle with one another"⁴

Finally this division of society into opposing classes and their cultural derivatives can be substantiated by empirical evidence gathered from research into such areas as

- (a) Poverty - in 1969 around 5 million people were living the standard which the government felt to be the national minimum.⁵
- (b) Income Differentials - a top Executive can expect to earn 50 times as much as a farm labourer.⁶
- (c) Ownership of Wealth - over a quarter of the total personal wealth in Britain is owned by the richest 1% of the population and three-quarters is owned by the richest 10%. This wealth being largely inherited by certain families ...⁷

The recurring nature of such features indicate that they are structural indices of British society and not mere accidents or temporary phenomena. Westergaard argues that the development of the welfare state, redistribution of income, new occupational

roles for the working class and social mobility of the post-war period, may have distracted attention away from a class analysis, but have not in fact destroyed the actuality of such an analysis.⁸

Dominant Culture

Throughout the post-war period a dominant culture can be seen to exist in Britain perpetuated through such institutions as the Established Church, the public schools, the elites of the military, the Monarchy, Oxbridge Universities and the complex of private property and capitalist enterprise. Through their access to the State machinery, such institutions have a disproportionately loud voice in the defining, and running of the country's affairs. They are based on a certain elitism of their members, who stand at the apex of ownership of wealth, and accordingly tend to support the status quo with ideologies of conservatism, British traditionalism, and/or various forms of innocuous liberalism. However, it is also apparent that dominant culture is no homogeneous entity. Conflicts of interest can be noted between aristocratic elements, who cling to tradition, and bourgeois elements who wish to "discover" new sources of capital. Conflict between consolidation and expansion probably best illustrates the nature of dominant culture. However, although power is clearly not monopolised by either group, it is equally clear that the extent of any socialist spread of influence, whether it be through government, Trade Unions or co-operative movements, is severely hampered.

Thus dominant culture can be expected to carry with it an ideology of conservatism.

"In any capitalist society, the parties of Right and Centre have a built in advantage over the parties of the Left in so far as there tends inevitably to be a greater congruence between the ideologies of the former and the central value system of capitalism - most obviously those emanating from the economic sector"⁹

Such control over state machinery can be expected to give dominant culture a similar control over the generation of ideas and values which filter down to the rest of society, and are legitimated either through general acceptance, or through coercion. Domination is thus achieved, not only by State social control agencies, but as Marcuse has argued, by the mechanisms involved in technological affluence.

Dominant culture emphasises its own permanence by advocating that it is the only possible state of affairs. Social change is perceived of as change in society, rather than change of society, and is consequently seen as progressive, gradual or developmental. Its aim is to maintain the status quo, to retain the present forms of social organisation with references to its own supportive ideology. For example, the hierarchy of occupational roles is legitimated by reference to concepts of "human nature", and it is argued that all societies have been structured as such in the past. Inequality is seen as an inevitable feature of all societies, and is viewed as both fair and legitimate. Mass media and mass education have given everyone 'equal access' to the ladder of social mobility. Therefore, those who fail, do so because they are of less intelligence, or their "place" is naturally in the lower echelons. Inequality exists because some people are more useful to society than others; and because resources are

scarce, then reward must be given to those who prove themselves to be the more beneficial to the existing social structure. By necessity, dominant culture favours those who are prepared to delay immediate gratification for "promises" of future high status roles.

Some are 'fortunate' enough to be born into a position where such a role is assured. The passing of wealth and position within a hereditary aristocracy is still a prominent feature of British Society. Their wealth is not as conspicuous as a century ago, but with land ownership and industrial investment, there is little doubt that a high percentage of Britain's private wealth is retained in the hands of a very few people. One need only point to the influence banking and financial groups have on government decisions, to substantiate the belief that such elements of dominant culture are in a position to set the limits within which the rest of the society is structured. Power and influence do not stop here, but persist most notably in the House of Lords and an injection into British society that the traditions and values that they uphold are vital not just for their own survival, but for the survival of British society as a whole.

Subordinate Culture

Acting counter to this self acclaimed elitism, Britain has a history of working class movements expressed through Trade Unions and co-operatives. In this way a subordinate culture has been in someway successful in making inroads into dominant cultural controls. This in turn makes it difficult to find a simple description of what constitutes subordinate culture.

While all those working class and middle class people who have little direct control over political and economic policies can be described as being in a subordinate position to that of the ruling class, their life-styles and ideologies are by no means alike. Similar to dominant culture, subordinate culture is by no means a homogeneous entity.

The unequal distribution of political and economic power in Britain appears to take self autonomy away from peoples' lives, and does so the further they are situated towards the lower levels of the social hierarchy. For some, mainly the very poor, all decisions seem to be beyond their control. They have relatively little choice about the type of job, neighbourhood, or social services available to them. They are subject to control from agencies external to their own culture, most notably in the direct form of social workers, police, and other representatives of officialdom. But they are not totally downtrodden. Groups such as the Trade Unions, and Claimants Unions, can play an active role in bringing the situation of subordinates to the public eye. A subordinate culture is controlled, but more often than not, will react against such control when freedom, privacy and self autonomy are totally threatened.

A strong sense of group identity within sections of the working class in Britain, cannot be underestimated. Analyses of "us" and "them" abound. This feeling of class identity, and a corresponding reaction of hostility from those of a ruling class, is particularly strong in Trades Unions. Yet the British working class could equally be described as complacent

and visionless. An essential distinction can be made here. It seems apparent that within a subordinate culture lie groups that basically accept their position (or else society would never be able to function), and others which view their position as alienated, and are thus permanently involved in attempts to do battle with dominant cultural control.

This lack of a unified subordinate ideology is probably most attributable to the rise in working class living standards, and the fact that despite a certain job insecurity, absolute poverty, and continuous economic insecurity, are no longer widespread. Consumer goods have been made available to almost all of the population; affluence appears to be shared by all in times of economic boom. However not withstanding such subjective interpretations, it remains a fact that an increase in working class living standards, relative to those of a dominant class, has not occurred. Class boundaries are still maintained. Moreover, while those in professional occupations are assured security throughout their life, the working class person's ability to gain an income is dependent mainly on his physical health. When the latter fails then so does his income level, due to his lack of access to occupational pension schemes. Prosperity, then, is not a sign of growing equality, or a sign that subordination is being relinquished. Class differences and class based cultural differentiation still remain. Rather, an insurgency of low paid, non-manual occupations has blurred the poignancy of a simple ruling/working class dichotomy. The rapid increase in ^{the numbers of} routine clerical workers, sales assistants and some technical staffs since the 1940's has persuaded many within subordinate culture, that class divisions are illusory. As a result subordinate views about society are often incoherent

and far from unified. Whilst those employed in large factories tend to support the left of the labour movement, those in lower paid non-manual jobs, tend to support the right of the labour movement, or even join the ranks of working class conservatives. Subordinate culture has within its ranks both complacency and militancy. However, some groups can still be seen to be involved in seeking social reform, in attempting to improve living standards, and as a result have developed a strong sense of identity which no dominant culture can afford to ignore. For while dominant cultural power is based on individualism, and power accrued to individuals, subordinate culture's own power lies in collective forms of action.

These two sketches of the relative positions of domination and subordination afforded to cultures in Britain as a direct result of their class background, are essential to any understanding of the way in which further analyses based on aged differentials, rather than those of class, serve to complicate the relative positions of cultures in contemporary Britain.

Sub-Culture and Class

The particular sub-cultures of relevance to an understanding of bohemianism are those based largely on age distinctions. The unity of both dominant and subordinate cultures is further broken by the formation of their respective youth cultures. In most senses sub-cultures are subordinate to their respective parent cultures, and are involved in winning space for their own particular interests. Nevertheless their actions can best be understood in the light of the wider class culture of which they are a part. Sub-cultural demands can only be recognised against their respective class backgrounds. Youth share a

similar culture to that of their class, but can also create something specifically theirs, directly from their own generational experience. In other words, classes have both orthodox and unorthodox elements within themselves. While the elitism of professional groups, industrialists, and aristocracy, can be seen as orthodox elements of dominant culture, the radical political and cultural activity of some of its more youthful members can be seen as unorthodox. Similarly whilst the complacency and acceptance of role structures by those in a subordinate culture can be seen as orthodox, delinquency and pop mania, for example, can be seen as unorthodox.

Orthodox Dominant Adult Culture

This culture is that of the elites in society, of those who have gained access to positions of economic and political power. Thus they are in a situation where they can define what is right and wrong, what is beneficial or not, and can do so for society as a whole. Elite culture is able to maintain such control not by direct coercion (military, police, courts), but also through its ideology of traditionalism and conservatism. Disruption or change in society is always tempered by reference to society's past traditions, which are believed to provide it with its major characteristics, and thus its own stability. Society is seen as being essentially integrated through closely held values and norms which are shared by the whole of the population, and although power is retained in the hands of a minority, the claim is made that such an arrangement is in the interests of all. Society is viewed as being differentiated in terms of occupation, ability, and intelligence, rather than by classes, or access to power;

and as a result society is both open and legitimate in its present form.

The symbols of such a culture Shils defines as "superior or refined" and can be

"distinguished by the seriousness of its subject matter. i.e. the centrality of the problems with which it deals, the acute penetration and coherence of its perceptions, the subtlety and wealth of its expressed feeling. The stock of superior culture includes the great works of poetry, novels, philosophy, scientific theory and research, statues, paintings, musical compositions, and their performance, the texts and performances of plays, history, economic social and political analyses, architecture and works of craftsmanship"

10

Although some aspects of this culture have been popularised, most aspects are still retained for an elite. This "refined" culture is thus reified, appreciation of it is distanced, it passive, and/demands an intellectual rather than a passionate response.

However what is "refined" for Shils, Anderson calls "mediocre and inert", because it only serves to stifle human expression, by limiting the latter to predefined categories of what constitutes good or bad cultural style.

11

Similarly elite culture reifies society, as it does with art, to be something external to the individual, essentially unchangeable, and divorced from human action.

Elite culture gains its members from the aristocracy or upper middle classes. Art for the former, and profit for the latter, are exclusively the concerns of these few. However, although power is concentrated within the hands of this minority, we cannot argue that elite culture totally represses, or has total

control over all other cultural styles and groups. Thus the categories are not as clear cut as they may appear in diagrammatical form. (See diagram page 128). Certain limits and constraints are set by elites on the actions of subordinates, but due to a well developed division of labour, and the organization of some of the working classes, its policies cannot be enforced on the rest of the population without regard for the latter's own interests. The dominance of elite culture, then, does not rest ^{on} ~~of~~ overt domination, but on a complex process whereby its values are disseminated through to the rest of the population, and thus have proceeded right into men's minds. Such agencies as the media have been analysed as "ideological state apparatus's" whereby the content of information and communication which reaches the majority of the population is screened and censored by those elites who are in control of such institutions.¹² Thus, notwithstanding certain theoretical problems regarding the generation of ideologies, and the degree of conscious deliberation that lies behind their communication, it nevertheless remains a fact that such institutions as the media, disseminate ideologies which have the effect of prolonging the very existence of the elite culture.

"Social action and control usually emanate from elite power groups who have their own systems of values which differ from those of the general population, from those of other groups, and even from those of individual members of the elites. The organisational values of such elites and their rules of procedure also have a strong bearing on controlling events"¹³

Elite culture then cannot afford to be totally repressive in its outlook. An ideology can only survive if it is able to transform itself to take account of social conflict. For this reason we cannot view elite culture as being a totally

integrated monolithic structure. It also has its own intrinsic conflicts. For example, it may wish to prolong a quasi-protestant ethic attitude towards work, but yet must be adaptable enough to cater for the generation of new expressive ideas which are commonly associated with technological advance. Similarly, as both Gramsci and Althusser have argued, power is maintained in the hands of the few, not only through the coercive agencies of the state, but also via the whole superstructure of elite class power as represented by schools, churches, reformist trade unions, media and so on.¹⁴ However the latter have a certain autonomy unto themselves, and thus elite power itself may be limited by having to "work through" these other secondary mechanisms of social control. Such secondary agencies may even contradict the ideology of the elite culture, and because of this, elite culture cannot be taken out of a conflictual perspective. Elite culture must be seen as being continuously involved in a process of equilibrium/disequilibrium formation.

"The dominant group is co-ordinated concretely with the general interests of the subordinate groups, and the life of the State is conceived of as a continuous process of formation, and superseding of unstable equilibria between the interests of the fundamental group and those of the subordinate groups - equilibria in which the interests of the dominant group prevail, but only up to a certain point i.e. stopping short of narrowly corporate, economic interest."¹⁵

The problem thus remains for elite culture of how it can best maintain its own "quality," and yet simultaneously influence the remainder of society which may be developing in a different direction: how it can retain its traditions and dominance, while still being responsive to other cultural movements which have arisen as a result of, or in direct opposition to itself. It is thus placed in a contradictory situation, or as Marx states,

"At a certain stage of their development the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production or - what is but a legal expression for the same thing - with the property relations with which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production, these relations turn into their fetters"¹⁶

Thus the forms of economic organisation on which elite culture is based, may begin to act against it. Technology may advance so rapidly as to leave the conservatism of elite culture behind, and may also, as we shall see, lead to the rise of groups in direct opposition to its own aims.

Orthodox subordinate adult culture

This culture is that of the working masses in society; of those who have little or no access to positions of economic and political power, except through collective political action. It has created a distinctive life-style involving immediate gratification, and has reacted to its relatively powerless position, by both compliance and hostility. However, if change is sought, then it is similarly couched in terms of change in society rather than of society. The reformist efforts of the Traditional Labour Party would be most indicative of this culture. However, efforts to aspire to middle-class life-styles, and identify with the upper classes, are probably not as extensive as sometimes proclaimed.¹⁷ Television, cars, and consumer goods, may be bought to make life easier, and more pleasurable, but not necessarily to imitate a higher class. It is more likely that the values that are fostered in the work place would not tolerate any manual worker who put on middle class 'airs'. The fact that there is always some formal and informal "segregation" at work between manual workers and non-manual staff, also helps

maintain images of class and objective class barriers.

The workers' new found 'affluence' has also not been extensive enough to break down the values of their class background.

Nevertheless, although he may see himself different to those of a higher class, the manual worker by and large accepts his position in society. He may even have respect for some of Britain's most elitist institutions, such as the monarchy and church. Indeed dominant cultural control is dependent on the compliance of the majority of its subordinates. Thus exists a widespread acceptance of the status quo.

Subordinate culture, however, has its own cultural values and style, which are totally dissimilar to those of dominant culture. Britain has a long history of a distinct working class folk culture, ranging from Working Mens Clubs, to modern day bingo halls. It is a culture built largely out of concern for leisure activities, because control over the work situation is still something very much out of its hands. The folk culture of the "common people" is, however, continually under attack from the forces of technology. Myths and superstitions are now decried, and since the Industrial Revolution there has been a gradual disappearance of such folk culture into what has been called a developing "mass culture". This amorphous cultural grouping today seems to play an important role in mediating between dominant and subordinate orthodox cultures, and restricting any conflict between the two. Mass culture attempts to bring together working and middle classes alike, although its egalitarian aims are more illusory than real. Given the inclination of the middle classes to assert themselves as being in someway different to classes below them, mass culture may be more descriptive of orthodox working class culture. In turn,

it may well be just a sociological construction that has done much to obscure the nature of British social structure, rather than help to explain how conflicting elements in Britain are in someway brought together.

Mass Culture

The growth of technology in the post-war years, with the accompanied institutionalisation of mass education and mass media, has led many authors to argue that power is more or less shared equally throughout British Society.¹⁸ It was argued that the Decision-makers introduced policies only in the national interest, and for the good of all, having been mandated by a one man, one vote, democracy. As a result the concept of "class" has been replaced by one of "mass", to describe the structure of modern industrial Britain.

The major difference between this and elite culture is that it is based on mass consumption, rather than on elite individualism. The cultural objects of elite culture are not to be consumed, but remain inanimate in terms of their preceived worldly objectivity, whilst those of mass culture are produced specifically for a mass market. The former implies non-availability of the more highly evaluated things of life, the latter appears voraciously unbounded. Its cultural objects are directed towards large audiences and large markets, accompanied by massive sales, marketing and commercialisation. Its products are to be bought and sold, on an understanding that they are available to all.

The 'mass', however, does not comprise a homogeneous group, but includes people living under widely different conditions, having different occupations and different interests. To

locate mass culture as that solely of adult working classes would be a gross over-simplification. To a certain degree we all belong to some kind of mass culture which has come to the fore with the growth of technology and bureaucratisation, but such concepts do not on their own provide a satisfactory analysis of contemporary British Society.

We need to discover what it is of working class culture that appertains to notions of 'mass culture' and which elements are more radical in nature. Nevertheless it would be true to say that neither directions - mass conservatism or union radicalism - appear to satisfy the demands of some working class youth in their attempts to find outlets for their expressive concerns. Both are equally nullifying in this respect. Like elite culture then, mass culture has its own internal contradictions. It is based on a notion of a consensus running through society, involving some sort of mass levelling, and in this respect is fairly conservative. On the other hand it implies that goods 'should be' available throughout society, and when this is blatantly not the case, mass culture could be seen as a truly radical force, for, after all, it is premised on mass popular support. The amount of control elite culture has over differing aspects of mass culture, is obviously vital in this respect. What must be considered is not merely McLuhan's statement that the "Medium is the message", but the content and source of the message itself. T.V., Radio and consumerism may offer an escape from the drudgery of work, but in themselves offer no permanent solution to the monotony of factory or office work. They may appear to ease hardship and indeed become symbols of affluence, but they do not structurally change the relatively underprivileged and

subordinate position the working and lower middle classes hold.

For Wirth, mass culture, and the mass media in particular, are vital factors in the integration and cohesion of modern society,¹⁹ while for Marcuse the mass media is merely an instrument by which elite groups control the mass and supply the latter with 'false needs' in the fields of personal consumption. In other words mass culture is a creation of elite culture and the main route by which its control is legitimated without being manifestly open and observable.²⁰

Interpretations and analyses of the implications of mass culture are thus varied, marking its own manifest conservatism, and yet its latent radicalism; its role in an embourgeoisement process, and its ability to gain mass working class support.

"In the analysis of mass society we find the not unusual paradox of liberal and radical writers uniting with conservatives in a critical reaction to an egalitarianism which lends itself to exploitation"²¹

Whatever its autonomy, or role, in differentiating power throughout society, mass culture remains popular, and appeals to wide sections of the population. It is the distinction between itself and elite culture in terms of different artistic styles, that is usually highlighted.

Shils coins the term 'mediocre' to describe mass culture, due to its lack of symbolic content and its lack of originality. Simultaneously all previous cultural distinctions are ushered away, and society becomes a homogeneous mass, with little creativity or innovation, and having overtones of totalitarianism. He implies then that only a minority culture can be refined or

tasteful, and thus puts the case for a middle class attempt to distinguish itself as being in some way different to mass culture. Mass culture necessarily finds the lowest common denominator.²² Again we return to the problem of whether the quality of mass culture is decided by its audience, or by an evaluation of majority taste by a very few.

It could be argued that the spate of literature on mass culture during the 50's and 60's is merely indicative of the growing affluence of the times and the desire by many, of different political persuasions, to argue that industrial societies were becoming more egalitarian in nature.

Nevertheless the term can be used in this context to describe those essential elements of modern industrial societies which derive from the growth of mass production and dissemination techniques and provide important links between dominant and subordinate cultures. But such developments have been far from egalitarian in nature and it does appear now that the adult working class is the main receptor of the products of such techniques. Indeed it is because of the apparent ready acceptance of such mass produced^{products} by the working and lower middle classes, that much of the social criticism offered by minority youth groups in the sixties derives. Features of mass consumption, modernism, and reification of technology are elements that have been despised, particularly by the more individualistic middle classes, since the Industrial Revolution. Mass culture, then, holds a peculiar position. For while it is diametrically opposed to elite culture, it appears to serve important functions for the latter. It provides a market for goods, and a fairly stable work force to man the factories. In addition it can be seen that the ideology of egalitarianism

underlying mass culture, although empirically unjustified, may have an important role to play in any future working class radicalism. Above all mass culture has been born out of advanced capitalist societies, as part of the growth of leisure activities. In this sense it prolongs a distinction between work and leisure; of time being one's own and time being controlled by some external agency; a situation in which life appears easier, but yet more dissenting factions appear to surface.

Unorthodox dominant youth culture

Trade Unions may take positive political action on behalf of a subordinate culture, but as yet the most coherent and wide reaching (although perhaps not the most activist) attack on modern capitalist society as a whole, has come from minority groups usually headed and supported by sections of middle class youth. The majority of middle-class youth are obviously by no means involved in these activities, their niche within society is firmly set before their eyes, but certain sections do seem to pose the most coherent attack on dominant culture control, even though they are, albeit younger, members of that culture themselves. As such it is here that a culture of radical intellectualism is situated. Such radicals however, by no means comprise a homogeneous bloc; indeed of all cultures it is perhaps the most factionalised, the most illusory and the most minority group orientated.

Middle class protest has been introduced on the two contrasting levels, of the cultural and of the political. Both remain radical in the sense of being openly in opposition to existing forms of social organisation and social structure. Their ideas

and policies were voiced in terms of securing revolutionary change. Both, too, have suffered degrees of resistance from dominant culture ranging from police harassment to imprisonment. Political revolutionaries express their dissent through coherent group activity, taking their impetus from Marxism, and with a view to securing mass working class support. Cultural revolutionaries (Bohemianism), on the other hand, have a more retreatist philosophy and a revolutionary ideology based on freedom for individual expression. The former claims that work is exploitative, but need not be so in a socialist future, the latter questions why work at all.

Attempts were made during the '60's to bring these two approaches together, under the banner of the New Left, in what essentially was seen as an effort to humanise Marxism: to discover how individual freedom could be achieved in a socialist future. To date, however, a unified Left does not exist, and attempts to secure revolutionary change are all the more remote because of this.

The range of radical activity is then indeed large, even if its intensity is low.

The class background of such radicals has been highly documented. The radical may not be an obvious part of dominant culture, because of his attempts to limit dominant cultural supremacy, but neither is he a member of a subordinate culture. His class background is testimony enough to substantiate this.

Yablonsky's data on the American Hippie of the mid 1960's led him to conclude that over 70% came from middle and upper class backgrounds.²³ Reich similarly concludes that the bulk of the

hippie movement was well educated and middle class²⁴. Flacks in his study of student activists in 1968 notes that their background was one of high status and educational attainment.

"... the student movement originated among those young people who came out of what might be called the "intellectual" or "humanistic" subculture of the middle class"²⁵

A sub-culture of dominant culture can thus be isolated based on class background, but also dependent on factors such as age and educational attainment. Parkin delineates two directions in which middle class radicalism can develop; either through instrumental or expressive political activity. While the former is geared to the attainment of a specific end, usually securing political power, the latter is more concerned with the satisfaction gained from the activity itself, usually in terms of defence of certain principles.²⁶ Instrumentalism is directed towards power, while expressivism is directed towards human freedom. The former is concerned with securing the basic material conditions of life for all, the latter with improving the quality of life. As a result, expressivism is more likely to be a purely middle class activity, while instrumentalism, in recognising the impoverished position of the working classes, can expect to gain more contact with those of a subordinate culture. The Anti-Apartheid, Civil Rights, C.N.D. and bohemian movements are representative of expressive politics, while the Chartists, Labour, Communist and Trade Union movements are representative of instrumental politics. Nevertheless, radicals do hold some features in common. They occupy a peculiar fringe position in society, being of it and yet not clearly within it, and as a result can expect to be

subject to surveillance by social control agencies. Similarly, although they are of middle class stock, they are overtly critical of anything bourgeois, even though their political responses are indicative only of a bourgeois background. The radicals also face the dangers of institutionalisation, when the protest, is turned into Party politics, organised demonstration or individual retreat, and becomes more easily manageable. Nevertheless the existence of radical organisations plays an important role in questioning, and thus limiting the power that elite culture holds.

Unorthodox Subordinate Youth Culture

Working class youth have similarly created a subculture of their parent culture, which attempts to make the parent culture more responsive to their expressive needs. While the radical may attack the conservatism of the middle class, some elements of working class youth can be seen as criticising the traditionalism and nostalgia of the working class. Both view their parent cultures as boring and non-creative, and as a result both can be viewed as attacking British Society as a whole.

Class identity and position, however, enable working class youth to frame its own particular responses to its social position within the culture of the class of which it is a part.

A working class youth culture gains most freedom of expression in its leisure activities, and in the formation of what is generally referred to as a 'pop' culture.

Popular Culture, in its wider sense, is the gut reaction of the

working people in society to the social conditions around them. Often it contains themes of protest, attacking such things as the traditional view of sexuality, the 'boring' character of work, and the irrelevance of elite culture generally. Similarly it stands in antithesis to elite culture by emphasising emotive, rather than cerebral responses to its cultural symbols, and in its celebration of such archetypes as love, manhood, womanhood and heroism. Widmer writes,

"The sought for experiences are kinesthetic, an intense ritualisation of bodily immediacy and relatedness, in arts open and celebratory. Responsiveness must be energetic and social rather than passive and distanced, as in the usual aesthetic appreciation. The festival rather than the monument, the exalted sensation rather than the museum object, the playfulness rather than the permanency, the quick impulses of being rather than the ponderous matters of knowing, connect the genuinely popular and protesting currents ..."²⁷

Popular Culture, as the term is widely used today, can best be viewed as a reaction against mass culture, particularly by youth. As industrial society becomes more mechanised, and progress is measured in material advancement towards reaching the 'fastest', 'largest' and 'biggest', there has evolved a culture created by young people which they believe is in more accordance with their own situation, and gives their life more meaning. It involves a reaction against conforming to a culture, of which they played no part in the making.

"The dissatisfaction of many young people with the aims that society holds up for them is evidence of a spreading realisation that the economy supplies not the goals and the life that people want, but what the most powerful wish them to want"²⁸

Popular culture thus implicitly attempts to resist the control and domination of elite culture, and the swamping effect of

mass culture. It affirms opposing values by creating new styles in music, the arts and fashion. However, like mass culture, success or failure rests on consumption, and popular culture finds itself in a situation where it must make its symbols commercially successful if it is to survive. The initial pop culture idea is drawn away from its creators, and is usually regenerated by the "mass cultural machine" in a substantially altered form. Often the protest is lost, the rebellion is defused, and if popular culture is to become successful, then it will simultaneously be virtually unidentifiable from mass culture. Indeed here is this culture's main contradiction. It can only express its forms through channels which are diametrically opposed to its own aims. It has to be a part of the very institutions it is trying to attack. This situation has its own implications. The culture heroes of popular culture tend to change rapidly, always in the search for new innovative blood. Because of this it has been characterised as weak and shortlived. However although the outward garb of the culture is continually changing, providing new forms of expression, and thus new forms to be exploited, the inner themes which it celebrates tend to have a more 'eternal' message. In essence it is always in opposition to elite and mass culture, and to this extent it could be viewed as revolutionary. Its main potential in this area lies seemingly in its ability to arouse emotive group mobilisation, albeit often of an apparently apolitical nature. For example the Beatlemania of the early '60's was very much associated with the increased income of working class youth, which gave them the ability to become more autonomous and thus create styles which were essentially their own. 1963 saw the rise of such protest in the form of the group phenomena - the emergence of a new style 'Rock n' Roll' as performed by the

Beatles, Rolling Stones, Who, Yardbirds, Animals and so on. Music was taken as its primary mode of communication, being immediate and easily comprehensible. At this time the movement was perceived in terms of youth, as a social class in its own right,

"It was the sound of a new generation which was finding its voice, establishing its identity and staking its claims. And to the extent that it encountered reluctance and opposition from Society at large, so the music became a vital mode of expression of youth and of a reinforced youth consciousness"²⁹

Closer analysis of this notion of youth as a homogeneous group, however, can show how traditional class interests are still at work in the style and form of protest/^{that} different factions of youth created (This will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3). Contemporary pop culture is largely the domain of youth, true, but its relation to working class youth is stronger than that to middle class youth. The rebellious factions of the latter represent more positive and conscious efforts of protest, and are usually accompanied by idealistic or ideological routes to the formation of an alternative form of social organisation. The spirit of pop culture may well be revolutionary, but it often lacks direction and coherence. Part of this problem is in a very real sense created by its inevitable liaison with mass culture, and the ensuing cycle of innovation, commercialisation and trivialisation. It's own self confessed anti-intellectualism similarly convinces some that it is not to be taken seriously. Shils, in distinguishing a hierarchy of culture, predictably places pop culture at the bottom of the latter and labels it a "brutal" culture, because of the "relatively low creative capacities of those who produce and consume it," their lack of historical past, and their lack of connection with superior culture.³⁰ On the other hand Clarke and Jefferson argue that

pop culture, in that it involves an "attempt to exert some control over one's life situation", should be taken seriously. They write,

"In terms of its political content then, we would characterise youth culture as being involved in a struggle fundamental to the social order - that of the control of meaning. Here one can see the significance of the media's stereotyping youth cultures - it is an attempt by the dominant culture to reaffirm its own view of society as the only correct one. It is significant that in this struggle for the control of meaning, one of the most frequent adjectives used to describe disapproved behaviour by the young is 'meaningless'." ³⁰

The direction and future of pop culture today is rather vague and uncertain, and it remains a subordinate culture certainly controlled and exploited from above. But yet pop culture always appears to regenerate itself; it can never be ignored or forgotten. Revolt turns into style, and seems to generate yet more revolt. But that revolt itself would appear fairly limited. It operates mainly in the world of leisure activities, where dominant cultural controls are at their lowest, and loses its meaning in the institutionalised world of work; it is primarily tied to sections of youth and not readily acceptable to any other social grouping; its protest is never made explicit in any political sense; it allows an "escape", but offers no concrete alternative; and above all it is readily converted into new fields for mass culture exploitation.

Community Culture

Both middle class and working class youth share some common ground in what I shall refer to as a community culture. It mediates between these two classes, and, in so doing, comes into conflict with mass culture. Rather than emphasising consumerism, state control and principles of gessellschaft,

it is orientated around principles of gemeinschaft and individual control.

Perhaps the clearest example of what constitutes a community culture is provided by the Claimants Unions. Although instigated by a group of students at Birmingham University, the Unions have rapidly gained support from those claiming benefits from the social services and in this way is linked to the labour movement in general.³²

The culture was born out of a new form of political action that came to the fore in the 1960's, often referred to as community action.

Perhaps disillusioned with traditional trade union activity, organisation around the home and neighbourhood became a significant mode of political activity, incorporating squatting, tenants associations, self help programmes, community newspapers as well as the claimants unions.

The culture is also beset by its own conflicting elements. Reference to community and the devolution of power has long been the mainstay of a Liberal ideology. Implicitly it turns attention away from the concrete concept of class, towards reference to the ambiguous concept of mass. It is concerned with the fight to assert individual or minority group rights; it demands ~~that~~ power be placed in the hands of the people, rather than the State.

It appeals to some members of both dominant and subordinate cultures, because it involves notions of creativity and social action. It presupposes that the disadvantaged sections of the population need to be organised to make demands on the wider society for increased resources in accordance with social

democracy. Its ultimate aim is to begin "the long march through all the institutions of society"³³ seeking redistribution of power, resources and decision making, towards community self autonomy.

This convergence of cultures though can be overestimated. Of all the cultures under discussion here, this is probably the least well defined in terms of its membership or aims. It almost certainly has a more than average middle class liberal input, with a view to enlisting the support of disadvantaged or impoverished groups in society, who do not belong to any labour union, and therefore have little ability to organise and present their case coherently. Historically its role can best be seen within a continuing British liberal tradition. Although Britain is ruled by a hard-core conservative elitism it would be fair to say that since the Industrial Revolution this has been accompanied by an influx of liberalism in political thought, whose main aim is to fight for individual liberty. Community interests, individualism, and the right to non-conform are the mainstays of this form of liberalism. Concern is directed to the concept of democracy and the right of each individual to be free to form his own set of values. Such an ideology has been criticised by parties of the right and left. Whilst the right argue that it borders on anarchism, the left claim that its so-called humanitarianism is only concerned with the symptoms rather than the "disease" of capitalism. At best then it can only call for piecemeal reform, rather than revolution. Similarly the liberal would argue that on the one hand it is a State duty to provide welfare for all its citizens, whilst on the other he would advocate equality without any bureaucratic or centralised control. Such contradictions work themselves out in a community

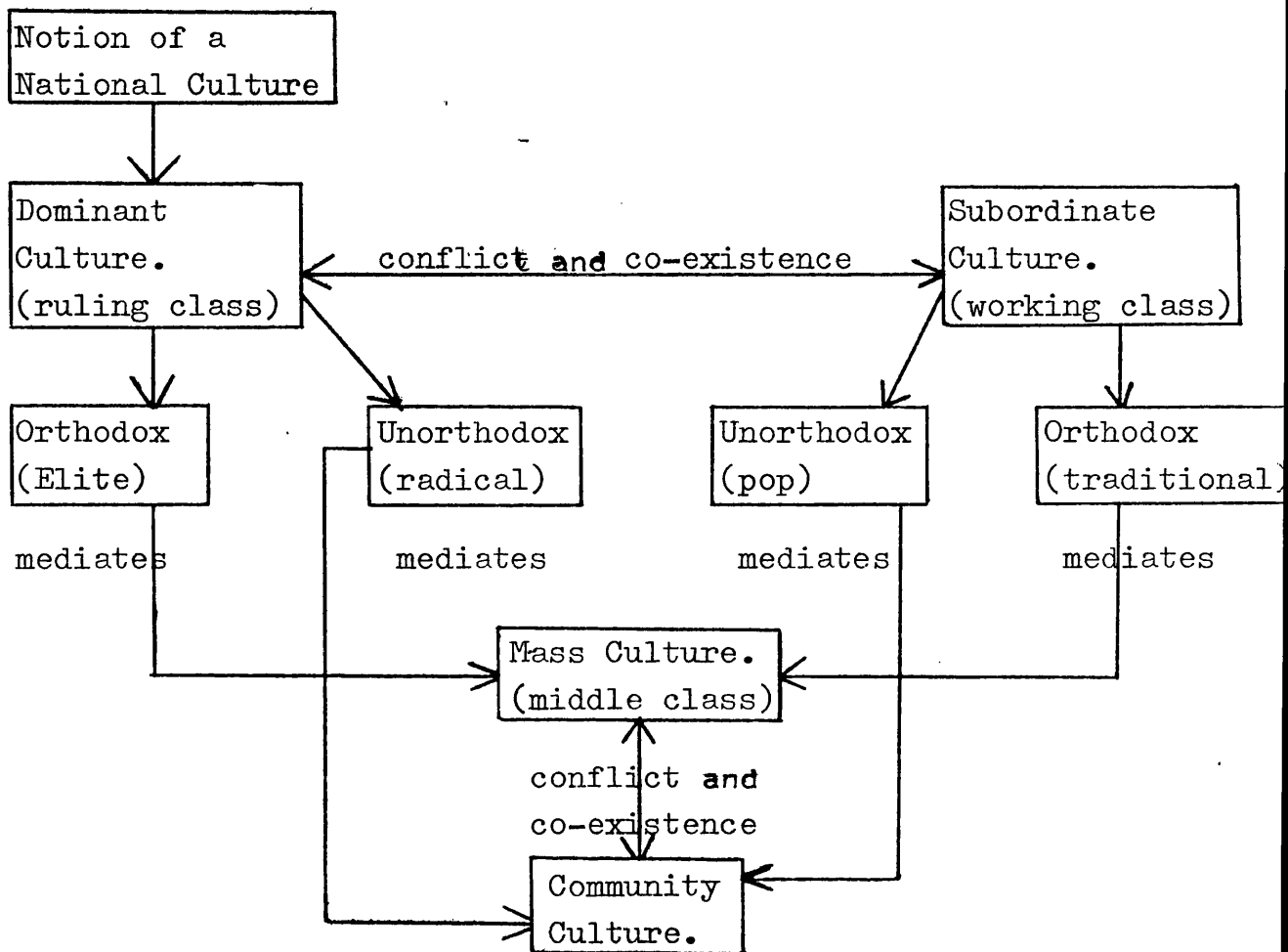
culture, not without a great deal of heart-rending. The situation of the self-styled radical social worker is a case in point. Usually of middle class stock, he is faced with the paradoxical situation of how best to politicise his clients (as the only viable solution to their problems) whilst being constrained by the rigours of a personal helping profession. A wholly political approach is condemned for being too abstract and not individually orientated, whilst personal intervention is seen solely as a means by which a client is persuaded to accept already existing intolerable living conditions which in many cases may be the cause of a client's dilemma. The problems of creating a *gemeinschaft* of fellowship and neighbourliness, within a *gesellschaft* of state and capitalist control are the central concerns of this culture. Despite its harking back to a romanticised image of rural community life, such concerns are contemporarily found in urban planning, community work and some aspects of social work. There thus exists a growing movement in society to preserve and develop this type of community, by encouraging a neighbourhood and community consciousness.

Class and Age Cultures in Modern Britain

In constructing this framework a major aim has been to indicate how any discussion or conceptualisation of "culture", cannot preclude a former discussion of class. I have argued that an analysis of "culture" must be undertaken only against the backcloth of the structure of economic inequality in British Society. As the overall structure of economic inequality has remained more-or-less the same throughout the last two centuries, the cultural groups under discussion here can likewise be expected to have a similar historical relevance³⁴. Differentiation

in terms of age, cultural style or occupational role, may complicate an analysis of British Social structure and implicitly attack the relevance of a class analysis, but do not destroy the actuality of such an analysis. Similarly it would appear of limited relevance to distinguish between state "policy" and capitalist "economy". Thus over recent years falling levels of company profit, and the ensuing "crisis" in capitalism, have led governments to implement policies to curb the proportion of the national income given to wages and salaries. Simultaneously, governments have attempted to restrict the influence of organised labour by creating high levels of unemployment and by intervening in industrial relations. To regard economic, political or cultural conflicts as normatively separated would thus appear to be empirically naive. However it is equally vital to stress that contemporary capitalism does not persist by virtue of some ruling class "conspiracy" or disguised totalitarian control. It does not have to. For a majority, the assumptions and processes of capitalism are taken for granted and thus there is little need for explicit political socialisation. It is important to recognise the ways in which classes co-exist as well as how they come into conflict with one another. Rebellion or the growth of a revolutionary consciousness based on a class analysis, are similarly restricted by the way in which conflict is directed towards other major social divisions in society. Black/White, male/female, youth/elderly and other similar conflicts confuse the Marxist image of a class based society. One major omission in much sociological analysis is how these conflicts can

Class and Age Cultures in Modern Britain



equally be seen as part of the class nature of capitalist society. For example much of the literature on the relevance of age differentials, talks explicitly of a "youth culture" as if youth hold more in common with each other, than they do with their respective classes. By refocussing on the issues raised by economic and class inequality a broader insight can be gained, not only into the composite structure of "cultures", but also into the way in which their intrinsic ideologies are developed and worked out.

We can learn much more of the nature of "cultures" by referring to their class background, than we can by unquestioningly accepting how they see themselves.

Chapter 3

The Centrality of 'Youth Culture' to Bohemianism

The Notion of a 'Youth Culture'

The idea of a 'youth culture' deserves close attention in any discussion of Bohemianism, because within countercultural theory youth are viewed as a homogeneous group with the potentiality of achieving substantial changes in the social structure. Revolution is grounded in the growing polarisation of young and old, rather than dominant and subordinate classes, and is couched in generational and apocalyptic, rather than economic and social terms.

The notion of 'youth culture' has been developed from the psychological term 'adolescence', to indicate how young people's behaviour is determined by social and economic forces, rather than merely by physical bodily changes and emotional traumas. In turn it develops certain assumptions of its own, namely that all teenagers share some similarity in leisure interests and pursuits and that all are involved in some revolt against their elders.

Such analysis has only come to the fore in sociological enquiry in the last thirty years or so, and is indicative of a corresponding trend in much sociological theory which declared an end to poverty and a class society. Implicitly it upholds the notion that the major division in society is one of age, rather than class, status or occupation. The major age division which marks this so-called generation gap is usually believed to be reached between the ages of twenty-five and thirty.

"Of all the class struggles in modern societies, the most under-rated may prove to be those between age classes, especially those between youth and adults ... (it) is a distinctive class struggle in its own right and furthermore is one of the more serious and least tractable"(1)

Youth were viewed as belonging to one adolescent sub-culture which superseded all other cultural attachments: to home, neighbourhood or class. It was argued that young people comprised a definite social bloc, having distinct social characteristics, which placed them in an antagonistic relationship to the social order. Such argument was backed up by reference to the rapidity of social change, and the fact that each generation views society with its own intrinsic values, which necessarily place it in a conflictual relationship to generations both above or below it.

Thus, Youth Culture was seen as basically rebellious, and to illustrate the point, mods, rockers, hell's angels, hippies, skinheads, freaks and student dissenters have been recently included in its ranks. It was dependent, too, largely on peer group formation and on a growing affluence which allowed youth to turn its back on the adult/parent world and create new standards of conduct which it believed were more fitting for itself.

"Special language, grooming, clothes, idolised actors and singers, music, magazines and ritualistic role patterns in the clique, crowd, early dating and going steady settings, help youths express collectively a cohesive cultural distinctiveness that is a youth culture."(2)

But what are the causes for the emergence of the notion, or reality, of a youth culture?

Reasons for Emergence

It is within industrialised society and particularly changes in the family structure that most research has traced the roots of a youth culture.

Since the beginning of ownership and inheritance of land there has probably always been tension between the young and the old - the young, more vigorous, being vulnerable to change, but being held back by their elders who still controlled all wealth and resources. Conflict may have occurred, but the young always had to look to their elders for a means of support and consequently were restricted from breaking away from family ties and forming peer group alliances. On the other hand, conflict may not even have been apparent, due to economic and social necessity. Studies of primitive societies have shown how they are based on close community ties, made up of numerous extended families, each of which is controlled by the elders of the family. Social change is both slow and undesirable, and consequently the youth of such societies always share the same experiences and beliefs, as their elders. Analysis of New Guinea cultures has demonstrated how there is an essential homogeneity in the traits available, in borrowing from one generation to another; how small changes at the surface had little effect on the basic continuity and stability at deeper levels. In such societies, because similar experiences are shared, the prevailing model for members of the society is the behaviour of their elders.³

The first stage towards a 'youth culture' presumably occurred via the Industrial Revolution*. In this time the extended family was broken down and replaced by a nuclear structure, as the division of labour in factory production forced the family to limit it's size to containing two generations, rather than three or four. The family became a unit of consumption rather than production, and the economic viability of large, close-knit groups began to diminish, while that of small, isolated and competitively orientated groups increased. The young person moved away from his parent's residence when he married, and became more independent, more free to organise his life according to his own experiences. This rapidity of social change since the Industrial Revolution has both introduced and prolonged a marked distinction in the situation in which different generations mature. Experiences are no longer shared. One generation can no longer be expected to have the same experiences, and therefore beliefs, as another. Besides a division of labour, modernisation brought with it attempts to educate the mass of the population through the

* I say 'presumably' because at this time 'youth' became a more visible phenomena. However, it could be that cultural outbreaks in the past, such as 'The Children's Crusade' in 1212; and the radical students' movements at mediaeval universities in the 12th century, were also primarily youth based. Therefore industrialism may not have 'created' youth culture, as such, but only in its more modern characteristics.

creation of a national school system. Whilst elders may still have been dominant in setting curriculum and defining the nature of knowledge, the experiences within school introduced a new model on which youth could base their experiences - that of the peer group. Peerism probably existed before the 18th century, but the institutionalisation of the school system helped to place this factor as central to youth's maturation process. Numbers and ability to communicate were thus strengthened. This movement was accentuated in the mid 1940's when schooling was made compulsory until the age of fifteen years. Comprehensive schooling has also led to an increase in the numbers of youth under one roof and has provided the conditions necessary for the existence of a youth culture.

An essential part of this movement lies in inter-communication between its members. This has been aided on an international scale by technological advance in fields of satellite communications, radio, television and telephone networks. It is these arguments that are used to explain how youth are not only united within one school, but both nationally and internationally. Break with adult styles has also been accentuated by the performance of adults in war, and the coming of the H-bomb. Before 1948, war could be perceived as causing thousands of casualties. Since Hiroshima, the whole of mankind was threatened. Confusion caused by the World Wars of the 20th century aggravated an already conflictual situation between youth and elderly. Nuttall views the wars as the main factor lying behind much

of youth's rebellion, in that it destroyed much of youth's confidence in their elders. A situation ensued where, not only war, but all adult 'manufacture' was brought into doubt.

"No longer could teacher, magistrate, politician, don, or even loving parent guide the young. Their membership of the H-bomb Society automatically cancelled anything they might have to say on questions of right and wrong."

(4)

In these years the nature of youth took on a notably different character. A disparity between generations became very marked. Facing a situation of relatively full employment and rising living standards, the post-war generation judged the meaning of moral behaviour by completely different standards from those who matured in the 1930's. The Beat, the Mod, and the Rockers had never been confronted with mass unemployment and fascism and thus they could not understand the self-satisfied conservatism of their elders. They could not understand how a war 'fought for them' could have been so inhumane, or could have produced a society which was so socially obsolescent. Youth, then, had developed a completely different ideological outlook from that of their parents, and the growing material prosperity of Britain in these years, allowed youth to express themselves in a unique manner. In the rise of a 'youth culture', the growing autonomy of youth due to their increased incomes, and therefore greater spending capacity, has been viewed of most importance in that it gave them the means to express their own values and ideals. It is from this situation that huge teenage markets developed for their own particular brand of goods.

"They spend a lot of money on clothes, records, concerts, make-up, magazines: all things that give immediate pleasure and little lasting use. In contrast adults spend more on food, rent, furniture - the equipment of a stable and continuing existence."

(5)

"Above all, with the coming of this new age, a new spirit was unleashed - a new wind of essentially youthful hostility to every kind of established convention and traditional authority, a wind of moral freedom and rebellion."

(6)

The 'freedom' created by increased income was enjoyed in the early fifties, but simultaneously led to a recognition of the way in which youth were, in fact, oppressed. Higher wages led to higher expectations of job satisfaction, while the boring monotonous nature of most work remained. When there was a fall in total employment, unskilled youth found that it was they who lost their jobs. In a growing world of middle-class non-manual occupations, many working class youths found that it was they who were restricted from reaching such 'goals'. While education was expanding into virtually every field, it was the pupil who found it was he who was not being consulted. A situation evolved in which youth were educated more fully, but their education was often irrelevant to their own situation. In creating new styles, youth soon found that they were being commercially exploited. Thus, the 'new prosperity', if anything, increased hostility between generations. Youth, in trying to assert themselves, soon found the 'brick-wall' of dominant cultural control impassable. They had thus to turn toward open protest:

while working class youth may have used violent means, the young middle-class explored new political avenues.

The increase in numbers of young people has also been cited as indicative of a developing 'youth culture'.

"Although the percentage of the population between the ages of 15-24 has not changed very significantly since the war (such a change would require very sharp movements in the birth and death rates) the absolute number in that age-group did increase by 24% between 1951 and 1969."

(7)

All these factors - peer group, education, numbers, motive, communication and economic independence - have been used to explain the relevancy of a 'youth culture' which was both autonomous and authentic. As a result many commentators, rightly or wrongly, began to view age as the most prominent social division within British and, indeed, all Western societies. It is from this division, too, that the major social 'problems' within society were seen to originate - delinquency, hooliganism, drug usage, sexual permissiveness, and vandalism.

We must look back over the numerous theories and evidence of a youth culture, in order to evaluate the theoretical and empirical validity of such a concept.

The Notion of a Youth Culture Re-evaluated

One of the first attempts to study youth in a scientific fashion was made by G. Stanley Hall in 1916. Heavily influenced by Darwinism and Comtian sociology, he argued that the developing individual organism passes through

stages comparable to those that have occurred during the history of mankind. Thus, each individual relives the development of the human race from early animal-like primitivism through periods of savagery (later childhood and pre-pubescence) to the more recent civilised ways of life which characterise maturity. Such theory is dependent on an understanding that in adolescence, instincts give way to cultural influences. At the age of adolescence the organism is at its height of responsiveness to what Hall describes as 'the best and wisest adult endeavour' and concludes:

"The whole future of life depends on how well the new powers, now given suddenly and in profusion, are husbanded and directed."

(8)

Thus he believed that if adolescents were properly encouraged then they would constitute the primary source of recruitment for a new elite that could create a collective society in which mankind could be directed towards evolutionary perfection. Such psychological presuppositions are, however, interlocked with a distinct cultural perspective, emphasising the many highly concentrated demands that society makes on youth during this period. He thus described adolescence as a period of 'storm and stress'. Such anxiety he recognised as being culture bound, for in less complex societies adolescence is not viewed as a particularly difficult stage in one's development. For example, Margaret Mead's work, The Coming of Age in Samoa illustrates that adolescence and the characteristics associated with it, can only be understood

by looking at a vast spectrum of social and cultural influences that are specific to the society in which such studies are being undertaken.

However, Hall's view of adolescence as a separate and critical period of development in industrialised societies has been criticised systematically by Bandura.⁹ He argues that the hypothesis is based on an over-interpretation of superficial signs of non-conformity that are present in adolescent life. He points out that such signs are equally present in both pre-adolescent and adult life. The mass media, he argues, have served to highlight the problem of deviant adolescents. This process has led to an over-emphasis on non-conforming youth which carries over through stereotyping, to the vast majority of conforming, untroubled youth, and only succeeds in giving a vastly unreal view of adolescence.

These two opposing arguments are central to the debate over the existence of a 'youth culture'. However, in themselves they also raise the problem of defining 'youth sub-culture'. At first glance we could simply define youth by age. However, Berger argues that any study of youth and its culture should refer to the normative systems of 'youthful' persons and not necessarily just young ones. He goes on to say that whatever is distinctive about youth and youth culture is probably not characteristic of all youth. The definitive characteristics of youth culture are relevant to groups other than those depicted by the term adolescence.¹⁰

Similar problems are raised in defining 'sub-culture', the term appears to have as many definitions as it has users.

Take one example: Johnson states that,

"The culture of a sub-group is sometimes called a sub-culture...it is an accommodation of a number of peoples whose needs and desires are not provided for by the main and overall aspect of society."
(11)

This somewhat vague definition begs the question - are the needs of any group provided by 'the main and overall aspect of society'? Such terms as 'youth culture' and 'generation gap' would also appear to be vague and loosely used.

Those sociologists who believe we can talk of such an adolescent sub-culture make three major theoretical assumptions. If these can be falsified then the idea of youth as a self generated and distinct culture can be shown to have no validity.

Firstly, it is recognised that each adolescent suffers from a socially caused 'storm and stress' due to his uncertain position in the social structure. Adolescent 'confusion' is caused by such factors as occupational choice, lack of identification with adult models, sexual frustration and problems of high motivation and low availability.

Secondly, it is assumed that a sub-culture exists and is both widespread and powerful. Parsons states that it functions to ease

"the transition from the security of childhood in the family of orientation to that of full adulthood in marriage and occupational status."

(12)

Coleman in "Adolescent Society" argues that children are cut off from the rest of society from nursery to college and therefore forge stronger links with their own age group

than their elders. As a peer group, adolescents form their own sub-cultural microcosm of society with its own rules and standards, which maintains only a few threads of connection with the outside adult world.

Thirdly, a causal relationship is believed to exist between the formation of a sub-culture and the situation of 'storm and stress', implying that peer culture is a solution to emotional problems during periods of adolescent discontinuity. Most teenage behaviour then is an effort to solve the problems of this interim position. Similarly sub-cultures are seen as 'units of psychoanalytic therapy' whereby lack of status and recognition in the outside world is replaced by status within a restricted environment.

These assumptions have been heavily criticised. Musgrove contends that the present day psychology of adolescence is merely an invention of psychologists, and such theories have only helped to create what they describe.¹³ All stages of human life are full of stress, and adolescents are therefore no different from the rest of society. His study in fact reported that both boys and girls from 9 to 15 years of age prefer their parents to their peers when in trouble, although this situation may be reversed for leisure-time companions.

Similarly Symonds studied a sample of Americans developing from the ages of 16 to 30, and concluded that adolescence should not be treated as a separate period of development, because each individual's personality and basic values persisted over the whole thirteen year .

span of his study period.¹⁴

Although approaching the subject from an entirely different angle this anti-youth culture approach has been recently upheld by the work of Murdock and McCron.¹⁵ Their survey of musical taste amongst youth concluded that the notion of a universal youth culture was untenable. Youth's sub-cultural identifications were notably moulded by their social class, reflected firstly through the school, and secondly through the family and neighbourhood. The middle-class, or successful pupils, faced a different situation to that of the working class. They were under pressure to pass examinations and only took part in a sub-culture by reading the 'underground press' and following the life-style of their 'rock' heroes in their leisure-time. In this way they were able to explore areas of experience devalued by the school. The working-class child, on the other hand, undergoes differing experiences within the school, community and family frameworks which predispose his brand of 'youth culture' to be more immediate, encompassing values of action, toughness and physical competence. They conclude that much of previous research into youth cultures has:

"seriously underestimated the importance of class inequalities in shaping adolescents' lives and in limiting their responses...(and)...that rather than creating a classless society of the young, pop is reaffirming class divisions."

(16)

We are faced with two questions.

Is there anything distinctive about youth?

Does this distinctiveness (if any) break down class distinction

The view that a youth culture exists embodying values in conflict with those of the adult world was stated by Talcott Parsons as early as 1942. He characterised the culture as,

"more or less specifically irresponsible, with a heavy emphasis on having a good time, much cross sex socialising and a certain recalcitrance to the pressure of adult expectation and discipline."
(17)

Youth cultures have indeed been isolated by many studies which have concentrated on adolescent peer groupings within schools and educational establishments. These primarily isolate informal status determinants, which are in opposition to those favoured by teachers and the formal academic role of education. For example, Gordon, in his study of Wabash High School in the U.S.A. noted that for boys, athletics, and for girls, popularity, were sought for goals rather than academic success, due to the higher status that peers afforded to the former activities. Coleman's study of 10 high schools developed this argument. He discovered that those of high status also did well on achievement status, although they may not have been those with the highest I.Q's. Sugarman, in a study of fourth-year pupils in secondary modern, grammar and comprehensive schools found a high correlation between those who smoked, went out with girls/boys and were committed to fashion (elements of a youth culture), with unfavourable attitudes to school and 'under' achievement relative to their I.Q. and teachers' ratings.¹⁸ Youth may be distinctive then, because on the one hand they create informal rules to be able to

counter-effect the formal rules of education and work establishments, and on the other, they hold little respect for parents, teachers or any figure of authority. A distinctive homogeneous culture is isolated which is determined by age and by its relative powerlessness when faced with an adult world. Such research has indicated that the young do suffer material and social disadvantages in comparison with their elders. Rates of pay are lower, even though work tasks may be similar; they suffer many prohibitions in fields of property ownership, drinking, driving, marriage; those in employment contribute more to welfare services relative to the demands they make on them; and generally youth are exposed to a world of adult authority where few areas of autonomy are left open for them. As a result conflict between age groups is seen as a major determining factor of modern industrial societies.

Such arguments may be misleading, however, for various reasons.

True, peer-group alliances obviously exist, and no doubt influence every individual's development, but how different are their values to those of the outside world? Coleman's characterisation of a youth subculture appears to reflect many adult values - socialability, athlecticism, status. Also such status symbols are not so much the sole property of youth, but initiated and supported by the educational system, which is staffed and controlled by adults and orientated to the adult world. Sugarman's deviant cases, also resemble values of the adult world -

masculinity, sexuality, competitiveness. It is ironical that these values also correlate highly with those that generate non-conformity to established rules and standards.

Similarly it could well be the case that the anti-intellectual character of adolescent groups reflects the anti-intellectual stance of some institutions in adult life. If so, a critique of the latter should also be warranted, but subcultural theory fails to account for this. For example, Coleman discovered that the leaders of his subcultures were preferred by both pupils and teachers to be 'white collar' pupils. This being the case, the subculture may be synonymous with established 'adult' goals and thus concerned ultimately with school activities and further education, rather than existing as a sub-culture in its own right.

Elkin and Westley have argued that any idea of adolescent culture is a myth, empirically unfounded and dependent on a biased set of illustrations.¹⁹ They show how a sample of Montreal youths, were found to have close ties to their parents, both in values and relationships. Consequently they emphasise a continuity rather than discontinuity in socialisation, and conclude that psychological conflicts are endemic to all ages.

What is needed is to view youth within a social context where data on discontinuity is balanced by data on continuity so that we can distinguish between those situations in which sub-cultures can be socially distinct, and those situations in which the label misleads rather than inform.

Events since the war, exemplified by student unrest, hippies, rockers and the like indicate that sections of youth

can express themselves in their own unique manner, but this by no means, involves youth having a homogeneous cultural identity.

It is indeed interesting to note that those who have viewed adolescence as a distinct stage in the maturity of each individual, are either upholders of psychoanalytical theory, developed from Freud, or upholders of counter-cultural theory as expressed by Charles Reich and Herbert Marcuse. Thus the position of youth has been used to back up both conservative and 'radical' ideologies. Accordingly we are justified in questioning the 'radical' nature of counter-cultural theory.

The opposing arguments can be tabulated as follows:-

	<u>Views of youth as:</u>	
	Homogeneous	Heterogeneous
1. Youth as a period of socialisation	Discontinuity	Continuity
2. Youth's view of parental values	Conflicting	Consenting
3. Relationship of youth value to Parental value	Independent	Dependent
4. Parental role in youth socialisation	Minimised	Maximised
5. Peer group role in youth socialisation	Maximised	Minimised
6. Interaction between youth	Unified	Class/Sex/ Occupation/ status distinctions
7. Relationship between youth groups	Harmonious	Inter and Intr group conflict

I would propose that factors 1 to 5 are variable according to individual group situations whilst factors 6 and 7 are invariable. Accordingly I would argue that the most fruitful arguments are those that support the heterogeneity view.

Subcultures almost certainly do exist in youth, but perhaps no more so than for any other section of the population. What is more important is to analyse the relationship between youth subcultures, and determine whether this is of a conflictual or harmonious nature.

Hargreave's study of fourth year pupils at a secondary modern school, attends to this task.²⁰ He discovered two main value climates amongst pupils - the academic and the delinquent. He found that academic subcultures were characterised by hard work and conformity whereas the delinquent subcultures were characterised by non-conformist fashion, frequent truancy, and copying in class was the rule rather than an exception. Status determinants were smoking and fighting, rather than academic achievement. The delinquent groups generally filled the lower classes in the school streaming system, and were primarily from working class background, while the academic groups were either of middle class background, or aspiring to such through educational achievement.

A class analysis thus allows us to distinguish conflict between youth subcultures. The mods and rockers conflict of the Easter 1964, and the hippies and skinhead clashes of 1970 point to the different solutions various groups of youth have to the problems facing them. Youth may share a common powerless situation, but inequalities

between youth are highly manifest and depend primarily on social and economic rewards determined by the position of their families within the class structure. Although youth today share certain status attributes in common, simply by virtue of their age, their claims to resources and power are not determined by their own position, but by that of their parents. If a working class child has anything in common with a child of a managing director, there can be no doubt that their differences are more significant. Because every child must expect to become an adult in the future, it is by analysis of his present life chances rooted in the occupational and class situation of his family that his values must be based. Bernstein's analysis of language acquisition as a basis of socialisation illustrates this point. The working class child coming from a 'positional' family in which there is a clear cut authority structure, operating within a restricted code, cannot be expected to develop in the same way and accommodate the same values as the middle class child from a 'personal' family, operating within an elaborated code. The consequences of this division are made apparent in the relative ease the middle class child has of adapting to the school life and occupational aspirations, while the working class child is faced with an unfamiliar situation, to which he is expected to conform. 21

"Such similarities as there are in the overall position of the young hold for the very short run only. And in so far as adolescence is also a period of social preparation for recruitment to adult positions it could easily be argued that the similarities in the life experience of young people in different classes are more apparent than real." 22

Using class distinction as a major variable, Young distinguishes three elements of "Youth Culture" - the conformist, the delinquent and the bohemian.²³

He views the majority of young people as adopting the role that adults expect of them, which involves sole concentration on hard work or study and little questioning of their relatively low status situation in society as "immature youngsters". However, they may not completely follow the model of their elders; this is virtually impossible due to the rapidity of social change and the different social situations which face each party. Thus subcultural concerns may revolve around leisure activities, popular music, and entertainment, but this rarely infringes on the expectations that adults have of them. To a large degree the 'conformists' are constrained by the aspirations of their parents and teachers. Their sense of status is obtained from the patterns of their leisure activities - athletics, cars, fashion, - rather than from their work situation, where they must remain inferior to adults because of their relatively unskilled nature. Because extreme accentuation of their leisure activities would threaten their future role, their adherence to subcultural values is self controlled and minimal. Deviation may occur, but it is hidden to minimise any potential conflict with elders - the party occurs but only when parents are not aware of it - drinking alcohol under age occurs, but as an attempt to achieve adult status. Such deviations from their elders' models are carefully

planned, temporary, and above all do not challenge the dictates of their parents.

A minority of young people, usually from lower working class families, have formed a culture which Young terms 'Delinquent'.

This culture has limited access to the material rewards which society has to offer. The good job, the suburban house, the new car, are out of its reach. Thus both work and school are found pointless. Achievement at school is unrelated to the unskilled manual jobs working class youth are expected to fill, and their occupations provide little status or meaning. Consequently their lives are focused primarily on leisure activities. Leisure and the present offer immediate gratification, rather than the uncertainties of a "black" future. They thus provide themselves with a world of 'kicks' and excitement. Status is achieved through proofs of daring, strength and toughness. The spate of skinhead riots through many urban centres in 1970-71 would be indicative of this culture.

The bohemian's response is fundamentally different. Initially coming from a middle-class background of relative affluence, he is theoretically able to lead a successful material life. His home background, the educational system, act in his favour, and compared to the lower working class delinquent, he has 'no cause to complain'. However, in practice he finds the rewards offered to him in the material world, insufficient to demand his conformity to any established work ethic. Whilst, he similarly focuses his life on leisure activities, he does so through choice,

rather than a realistic bowing to the inevitable. His rejection of normal goals and aspirations is articulated. His is a conscious effort to rebel, accompanied by an ideological notion of a future Utopia to be fought for in either political or cultural terms. In such a Utopia, work constraints and impersonal relationships will be dissolved, to be replaced by peace, equality and freedom.

Such an analysis would appear to come closest to re-evaluating the notion of youth culture - unified by a general feeling of dissatisfaction with repressive adult values, but conflicting in their responses to these feelings.

Young's analysis is important in that it helps to break down the stereotyping that accompanies many analyses of the behaviour of young people. Adolescents may also hold a stereotype of adolescence which they do not necessarily relate to their own behaviour. For them peer group association may be less important than ethnic, social class or regional associations. Youth have also often been characterised as irresponsible - a good example being the Margate Court Chairman's view of 'Mods and Rockers' as:

"long haired, mentally unstable, petty little hoodlums, these sawdust Caesars who can only find courage like rats - in hunting in packs."

24

Such stereotypes, though, also have implications for adolescent behaviour. They develop through a complicated process of interpretation of adolescent behaviour, rather than deriving directly from the behaviour itself. Thus if it is believed that adolescents are irresponsible, that part of their behaviour which has an irresponsible element is highlighted.

In this way labelling procedures help to obscure the 'reality' of the situation and have implications for future adolescent behaviour.

It is vital then to classify youth behaviour into various subcultures of dominant and subordinate cultures to dispel the idea of a youth culture being a homegeneous entity, and to bring some light to bear on the relative positions of youth groups in the social structure as outlined in Chapter 2.

An analysis of contemporary British youth, will help to clarify this perspective and place the bohemian element, where it belongs, as just one small body, within an agglomeration of many.

Youth Cultures in Modern Britain

Despite the problematic nature of categorisation, some classification at this point will help to show both the common and divergent features of youth. It is a model based largely on British experience over the past few years.

Its basis is largely that of Jock Young's,²³ with additions from a 'very rough and ready' typology formulated by John Mays.²⁵

1. The Conformists (Orthodox sub-cultures)

The majority of youth are to be found in this group. It would seem evident that most young people, even after any phase of adolescent unsurety, grow up to marry, get a job, and live within the confines of the law as much as the 'average' person. They would appear to have given their consent to the dominant values of society, and have fitted

themselves into the 'system' without much 'brow-beating'. In fact there is a good case to argue that many have become more conservative than their elders. They marry younger, take out house mortgages earlier, respect traditional values, and are politically to the right of the mass of the population. Student Unions, the supposed bastions of left-wing youth movements have demonstrated indifference and even hostility to the spate of working class strikes of the early 1970's, marking conservative, rather than radical tendencies in their value climates.

(a) The Privileged

They come from homes of great wealth, incorporating those families who own much of Britain's private wealth and private property. Young depicts them as the 7% who own 84% of Britain's private wealth.²⁶ It is in their interests not to question the status quo since they are the ones who will presumably benefit from existing inequalities and differential access to rewards. Their usual path to a position of wealth and power is via public school, older universities and the professions. For example, Jocelyn Hambro who is chairman of Hambros Ltd (one of the world's largest merchant banking groups) is described as coming

"from a traditional banking back-ground (Eton, Cambridge, Coldstream Guards)." ²⁷

Jocelyn's three sons and his cousin are also involved in the company. The family stake is estimated at around twenty million pounds.

Milson concludes of this group:

"They appear little troubled by the thought that life might be unfair in giving so much to them and depriving others."²⁸

(b) The Unreflecting

They are found in every social class. They never appear to be dissatisfied with their own place in society, no matter what that might be. They may be involved solely with their own private worlds, perhaps adhering to Christian ethics that do not question the condition of this world, for it is the next that is more important; or perhaps lacking the initiative and cultural contact to be able to question what is 'given' to them.

(c) The Nihilists

They may criticise features of society, but view the individual as so ineffectual and isolated that little can be done. Thus agreement is made to work in, and with, established practices for their own self advancement. Society too, has enough 'escapist' elements in fields of entertainment and leisure to accommodate and defuse any of their dissident ideas.

(d) The Aspirers

This group includes those from working class or lower middle-class backgrounds who have been successful climbing the social hierarchy. The 'system' is seen to have 'worked' for them and the opportunities for advancement have served them well. Society is viewed as meritocratic and open - "everyone can make it if they are prepared to work for it". Mays describes them thus:

"They seem to suffer from few inhibitions and not to be burdened by too many scruples. They are perhaps rather brash, banal yet remarkably likeable types."²⁹

2. The Delinquents (Unorthodox subcultures of subordinate culture)

This group is characterised by their relative deprivation in that they mainly come from the underprivileged sections of the population. Their 'inferiority' is measured by lack of educational opportunity, and correspondingly society is viewed as having failed them. The response of lower working class youth to their deprivation depends on a number of factors, including home, family, peer group and school background. Nevertheless working class youth have several features in common. They share a history of working class conflict. Education is seen as an imposition, rather than learning, and violence, though often viewed as mere unruliness, could well be the only means by which they can assert themselves. If so, vandalism and the like can be viewed as a form of political protest rather than mere destructiveness. This has important consequences for working class youth in that rather than mere passive recipients of dominant culture, they can be seen to be creating a culture that is in some way specifically their own.

(a) The Young Offenders

They are characterised by their willingness to commit petty offences, such as shoplifting and vandalism, whether it be for purely hedonistic reasons, or economic necessity. Whatever the causes, their behaviour is evaluated as one of the major social problems of our time, and presented as such by the mass media. Blame is transferred from the individuals, to the parents, to the school, while treatment

is concerned primarily with controlling and repressing their behaviour, by the use of police, legal or social work methods. In essence, they are treated as a different species because their names are included on an official criminal statistic list. 'Society' though, remains alarmed at the prospect that the initiating age of such young offenders is becoming lower and lower.

(b) Gang Delinquency

The 'Young Offenders' in group situations, appear much more volatile and dangerous. Identifiable peer groupings such as Hell's Angels and Skinheads fit into this category, implying that there are a highly structured set of values underlying the delinquent acts. It is more likely that the 'gang' is only a temporary phenomenon. The members play a protest role, epitomised in their destructiveness, but it is only intermittently played out; most of the time such delinquents act conventionally. What is important to note is that vandalism and the like is not necessarily mindless and pointless, but a genuine response to a situation of inequality in which protest can be shown in no other way.

"...broken street lamps and smashed schools are statements made by people who have few opportunities for self expression. They are as meaningful and as lacking in abnormality as the scrawling done by a mental patient. They are the voices of those rendered dumb by their lack of access to pulpit and camera."³⁰

(c) Pop Culturalists

They escape the reality of their deprived situation by living in a world of folk hero fantasy which provides

essential meaning for their lives. The world of pop culture is a means by which they can retreat from the outside world. They may be oblivious to the inequalities that do exist there, but in adhering to an 'alternative' culture, they are engaged in some protest against conventional behaviour patterns. The culture is dependent on its own symbols and styles which are forever changing. Such a subculture has been recently epitomised by the bi-sexuality and flamboyance of glam-rock (1974-6), and the anti-intellectualism of punk rock (1976-8).

3. The Radicals (Unorthodox subcultures of dominant culture)

This category largely correlates with those exponents of a radical culture described in Chapter 2. A brief resumé will be helpful, in that it reaffirms that radical elements in society often originate from small sections of middle-class youth. It is for this reason of course that many observers have been led to view youth as a culture in its own right.

Radicals then, like the delinquents are disillusioned with their place in society and by definition, society as a whole. They make a positive response to their discontent by advocating social change on many diverse levels and are marked by a coherence of activism, ideology and direction, which the delinquents appear to lack. Such subcultures require some degree of intellectualism, and analysis of the contemporary world, and are thus largely the domain of middle-class youth.

(a) Political Revolutionaries

Although there are many categories of Revolutionary Left Programmes, they may be categorised collectively because generally they are minority group interests with a higher than average middle-class membership, but with a view to enlisting mass working class support. They are, however, fragmented with a history of internal haggling and quarrels, which makes a complete breakdown into categories almost impossible. The features they hold in common are: strong Marxist sympathies; a belief in the decadence of capitalism; and notions of socialist solutions. The political groups that come to mind are the Worker's Revolutionary Party (W.R.P.), with a significant, but small, young working class following; Labour Party Young Socialists (L.P.Y.S.), the 'radical' youth wing of the established Labour Party; Young Communist League (Y.C.L.), the youth wing of the Communist Party; International Marxist Group (I.M.G.), largely based on intellectual middle-class support; and International Socialists (I.S.), which grew out of the student protest movements of the late sixties.

Limited 'left' activist programmes have also arisen in the form of anarchist movements, and occasional student protest movements. The latter may share common assumptions of capitalism's 'decadence', but only become active over specific issues such as race, imperialism, peace and disarmament. Their protest would appear to be on a more transient, passive and reformist level. It did, however, reach a peak in the late sixties, largely due to the prevailing international situations in Vietnam, Cuba,

Czechoslovakia and South Africa; and the role of imperialism, colonialism and racism exercised by the major powers of Russia and U.S.A. at this time. Students living in relatively closed communities, freed from their home background and responsibilities of family, work and children, were prone to a certain political consciousness which made them susceptible to, and able to actively express their views on, libertarianism, anarchism and socialism, in a way that no other section of the community could.

(b) Bohemians

They strive to create for themselves a new style of life based on protest largely against bureaucratic concepts of behaviour and a growing materialistic view of life that industrial societies seem to foster. Their protest is on a cultural level, by living out their own alternative life-styles, and by 'dropping out' of conventional behaviour patterns. The revolution was not to be achieved on a political level, because politics were viewed as means by which power was taken away from the individual, but through each individual fighting for a recognition of his own self. Only then could liberty and freedom be realised. Their protest incorporated notions of libertarianism, pacifism and humanitarianism, but was expressed on a more personal, less theorised and less orderly basis, than that of the "political revolutionaries".

Such classification places the bohemian within the general context of youth. Such a framework obviously has its limitations. It is of a static nature, and does not readily allow for movement from group to group. However, it is vital to remember that the deviants - the latter two groups - are only a minority. The great majority are conformist, but what minority can tell us is the significant way in which society does not 'work' for everyone. Similarly it should be made clear that although all youth do share some common characteristics, the notion of a youth culture is grossly misleading. Important differences in youth's reaction to contemporary society are highly notable, dependent to a large extent on class background and local influences. Affluence has not had such a widespread effect as such writers as Laurie and Lenski have presumed. During the seventies poverty and class differentials have been 'rediscovered', and accordingly the causes of major social conflict have shifted from "youth culture" to class conflict and trade union militancy. "Youth culture" was never the classless and apolitical phenomenon it was once regarded to be.

The notion of youth homogeneity, however, had important consequences for analyses of the social structure during the sixties, and the role of youth in processes of social change. While dominant culture stressed the disappearance of 'class' in the sixties, "youth culture" itself was similarly obsessed with the idea that generational had replaced class conflict.

The bohemian has played a similar role in perpetuating this myth, elevating himself, and all youth, to a disproportionate view of their own social significance. The notion of "youth culture" is indeed central to bohemian ideology and pin-points one of the misassumptions on which the sixties counter-culture was based. It is thus for reasons of both an empirical and theoretical nature that "youth culture" has a conceptual, rather than concrete reality.

In discussing the role the bohemian~~s~~ might play in processes of social change, we must firstly be aware of his class position, as a part of dominant culture, and secondly, analyse the generational characteristics that he gains from being a subculture of dominant culture.

The role the bohemian might play in such processes has received scant attention. It is to this, that we must now turn in order to assess such comments as Davis'

"by opting out and making their own kind of cultural waves the hippies are telling us more than we can imagine about our future selves."³¹

or Richardson's

"(Today) there is no demanding and transcendent purpose. And so there is a need for self assertion, for extravagant behaviour, a need to support some or other cause, to release emotional energy. There is also the permanent need of the student, of the young and the maladjusted, to rebel against authority."³²

Chapter 4

"Early Bohemian Movements: The Bohemian Heritage"

Definitions and Origins

Bohemianism is not simply a 20th century phenomenon. Important precedents of the bohemian protest movements of the post-war period, can be traced back to the radical students' movements of bohemia in the 14th century; and more particularly to the Industrial Revolution of the late 18th century (onwards), in those writers and artists of the Romantic period.

Definitions of a Bohemian include:

"Person especially writer or artist of free and easy habits, manners, and sometimes morals". (1)

and

"Person of loose or irregular habits, an artist or man of letters or indeed anyone who sets social conventions aside." (2)

The conveyed image is one of a nomadic gypsy figure, but with some social status, who attempts to question and 'bend' the accepted rules of society. He lies then, on the margins of society, having neither totally rejected, nor totally accepted the rules by which he is expected to live. He searches for a space of freedom, from which he can both reach a state of self-realisation, and also effect a powerful critique of society. Not surprisingly, he suffers a marked hostility from the rest of society. His actions and ideas are often found disturbing, eccentric and even dangerous. He extends the limits of "acceptability" and thus stands for many, on that thin line between normality and madness. But then madness has often been associated with the creative imagination and philosophy, because both are concerned with the 'Mind', 'Spirit' and some of the intangible puzzles of existence.

The word "Bohemian" itself, initially referred to an

inhabitant of Bohemia, a Slavonic Kingdom of Central Europe, which is now mainly a part of Czechoslovakia. Contemporary meaning of the word "Bohemian" dates from the 1370's. At that time there was considerable religious and nationalistic fervour in Bohemia, and, in the next century, this culminated in the first major revolt against the medieval hegemony of the Catholic Church, led by the revolutionary John Huss. He dedicated his life to criticising the Catholic clergy, in an attempt to introduce Protestantism, and to protesting against the undue Germanic influence in his country's government. At this time, radical bohemian students, who were persecuted in their own country, came to England to be educated at Oxford - England being the "free-est" country in Europe during this period. Here, such students were influenced by the work of John Wycliffe, who was similarly protesting against political elements in the papal system. They readily joined his movement of Lollardly, which rapidly gained mass support. In England the movement was in many ways responsible for the Great Peasant's Revolt in 1381, and in Bohemia, the persecution and death of John Huss led to the Hussite Wars of 1415. Neither men were particularly successful in their attempts at securing social change in their own lifetime, but were powerful influences on Martin Luther, who eventually led the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century.

The more specific meaning of the term "Bohemian", however, was not introduced until the 1830's, when that peculiar brand of "bohemien" descended on the Latin quarter in Paris. Richardson describes them as the children of Romanticism, mainly students of low financial status, who opted to live a life of "idleness,

frivolity and passionate intensity" (3)

Here for the first time, the Bohemian was seen as an unemployed, debauched figure, who was indifferent to any social code. His life was based primarily in protesting against the industrial bourgeoisie, and the increasing materialistic outlook of urban-industrial societies. His search was for a lost world, which valued the human soul and the imagination of the inner self. His expression was largely in artistic creation, within the Romantic tradition. It is to this that we must look to explain the essence of the 1830's Bohemian revolt, and also the nature of all Bohemian movements up to the present day.

Romanticism and Bohemianism

The Romantic movement of 1780 to 1830 was not just an artistic movement, but in itself advocated social, political and economic change.

Originally Romanticism, although associated with the Aristocracy in France, and the Gentry in England, was very much an attack on the orderly and polite classical style of the 18th century, which had provided the formal mode of painting of the academies. In particular it created a new interpretation of the idea of artistic freedom. It fought for art being not just the privilege of a minority, but the right of every gifted individual. The individual was viewed as unique and thus bore his own laws and standards within himself.

Art ceased to be guided by the objective standards and criteria of the classical age. It meant a movement to shades

of Romantic expression, rather than the formalism of late 18th century Neo-Classicism; to subjective rather than objective content in literature; to unrestrained rather than controlled forms of expression; and thus involved freedom rather than rigidity of style. This correlated with an attack on the early years of a bourgeois monarchy, in France, and the growth of rationalism in Industrial England.

However, at the same time the Industrial Revolution was gathering strength from the rise of the bourgeoisie. The call for individual freedom on the part of the aristocracy did much to undermine their own position, by allowing entrepreneurs to build up their own power and wealth through increased capital in trade, commerce and factory (rather than domestic) production.

The right to dissent and non-conform instigated by the aristocracy in the face of a growth in economic rationality, was in many ways selfdefeating. As Hauser notes, the movement became

"a war of liberation not only against academics churches, courts, patrons, amateurs, critics and masters, but against the very principle of tradition, authority and rule" (4)

To this extent, the Romantic movement of the late 18th century, coinciding with the new scientific inventions of that time, and the change from a feudal to a capitalist mode of production, took strength from and gave strength to the revolutionary movements in the social and economic spheres around it. However, it also tended to attack the rigours of a society that was becoming dominated by materialism. In the early 19th century, the contradictions within Romanticism were clearly seen. From a revolt against Classicism and oppressive

authority, it became a movement of protest against the bourgeois capitalist world. It's history shows a wavering of protest against and support for, on the one hand, monarchism and on the other the bourgeoisie. It came to reflect the growing contradictions of capitalist society - a society which was secured by innovation, but which lived in a harsh world of business and profit orientated organisations, that was soon incompatible with ideas of a Romantic nature.

"Capitalism proclaimed liberty, while practising its own peculiar idea of freedom in the form of wage slavery. It subjected the promised free play of all human capabilities to the jungle of capitalist production. It forced the many-sided human personality into narrow specialisation"
(5)

The humanist backbone of the bourgeois - democratic revolutions in England (1642), America (1776) and France (1789) was then bound to be contradicted in a growing industrial world, characterised by materialism, division of labour and rigid specialisation. It was clear that, by the early 19th century, the attack on Classicism and the monarchy had merely allowed the bourgeoisie to implement their own brand of authority and control.

The early "irrationalism" of the Romantics had aided social change, but now such "irrationalism" was equally discouraged. The "rationalism" of a monarchy had, in essence, been replaced by the "rationalism" of a bourgeoisie.

Capitalist society, aided by Romanticism, had broken down the stern logic of Classicism, but had also halted this humanist revolution with the brake it placed on the instincts and emotions, for these were incompatible with the new rigidity that capitalism demanded. Accordingly Romanticism became a protest movement.

against the utilitarian ideas and policies of such people as Malthus and Bentham and reverted to support for the 'golden age' of medievalism. By the turn of the century it was advocating collectivism, rather than egoism, and simplicity, rather than strict money economies. Fischer aligns this contradiction within the petty bourgeoisie - that group which was aspiring to the general prosperity of the bourgeoisie, but was also fearful of the "new age" (6). Romanticism was also attractive to the old reactionary Aristocracy who had seen power torn from their hands. Their beliefs and their art then dreamed up new possibilities of attaining human freedom, whilst at the same time clinging nostalgically to the past. The movement was thus split into radical and reactionary trends. Due to the increased fragmentation of life, the capitalist world had left the individual as an isolated figure. Such a situation had never been encountered within the strict hierarchies of the feudal age. The Romantic, then, was stimulated by a new awareness of his self, and his subjectivity, but at the same time suffered in his own loneliness and feeling of abandonment. At one time he would hark back to the feelings of unity just lost, at another wallow in the alienation of his present life. A synthesis of these two positions was rarely gained. There appears an inability to come to terms with one's subjective and objective worlds - a contradiction that was probably symptomatic of society at the time, and may well be inherent in all capitalist societies today.

The reactionary trend, characterised by Chateaubriand, Wordsworth and Coleridge, returned to Roman Catholicism and Monarchist tendencies; while the more radical, Byron, Shelley and Edgar Allan Poe continued to attack the old standards by looking to the future. Blake and Hugo meanwhile represented a

trend which attempted to synthesise these Romantic and Classical positions.

"The characteristic feature of the romantic movement was not that it stood for a revolutionary or an anti-revolutionary, a-progressive, or a reactionary ideology, but that it reached both positions by a fanciful, irrational and undialectical route" (7)

"...(its revolutionary enthusiasm) was just as ingenuous, just as remote from an appreciation of the real motives behind historical issues, as its frenzied devotion to Church and Crown, to chivalry and feudalism." (8)

All were united, though, in their ~~dis~~ⁱillusionment with capitalist society, their search for free expression in thought and feeling, and their use of literature and art as the main vehicle for their ideals. Romanticism became the province of the artist.

"Romantic literature glorified strong passions unique emotions and special deeds. It despised normalcy, foresight, concern with customary affairs and attention to feasible goals - everything of which the middle class was a daily example. Marx praised the bourgeoisie for its power to objectify the world. Literary men decried it for the same reason, seeing in this power a chill analytical obsessiveness which would destroy the integrity of human experience, not only intellectually, but psychologically." (9)

Their penalty was to be defined as the dissidents and outsiders of their day; it was not until the 1830's when many were in their later life, that they began to receive public acclaim.

The significance of Romanticism as a rebellion in the political and economic spheres of life perhaps has been over-estimated. The Romantic kept his protest on a cultural artistic level and maintained an apolitical stance. Nevertheless

Romanticism provided important precedents for the cultural development of the Western World. The emotional impulses and unrestricted expression of the modern artist owe their variety to a sensitiveness which Romanticism propagated. In the social, political and economic worlds though, the need for self control, rationalism and reason was not overcome, for Romanticism was not a principle on which science and practical affairs could be run.

The Children of Romanticism

Out of the more radical Romantic spirit were born the bohemians. These were social outcasts, through choice. Being largely of middle class origin, they turned their backs on that very class to which they owed their existence. Their philosophy was one of extreme individualism, necessary to escape the materialistic world that their forefathers had created. It emphasised the mind, rather than the body; subconscious activities, rather than the conscious; and instinct, rather than intellect. Experience of the world was replaced by self experience. Spiritual awareness became more relevant than scientific understanding. They were the children of Romanticism who, being disillusioned with the objective world, compensated with an ostentatious subjectivism. They had come to realise that the Bourgeois revolutions could not offer them utopia. Their hatred was accordingly turned against the bourgeois class; their protests and life-styles aimed at shocking and humiliating the strict bourgeois puritanical frame of mind.

"The bad manners and impertinencies of the bohemians, their often childish ambition to embarrass and provoke the unsuspecting bourgeois ... the eccentricity of their clothes, their head dress, their beards ... their free and easy and paradoxical language ... all that is merely the expression of the desire to isolate themselves from middle class society." (10)

The bohemians were mainly young people, and at this time youth were beginning to perceive of themselves as the most creative and progressive members of society. Until 1830 youth had been looked down on, they were expected to follow the rules of their elders, who were of "superior intellect". The Romantic Movement had begun to attack this premise, and the bohemians now challenged and questioned the injustices done to youth both past and present. There was a marked migration of such young people to the Latin Quarter of Paris in an attempt to find their own independence.

"They were drawn by ambition, and expectation and of course, by imagination; they were already dazzled by their dreams ... many left the security of a bourgeois existence for cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces which, like those of Prospero vanished into air". (11)

Such a movement was to be repeated in 1966-7, when the hippies moved to San Francisco.

Through the next 50 years, the names of Theophile Gautier, Charles Baudelaire and Gerard de Nerval, were to become famous for their bohemian life style of protest, poverty and artistic striving.

It is accepted by Richardson that the world first became aware of such bohemianism on the 25th February 1830, when Victor Hugo's drama "Hernani" was performed in Paris. It broke every dramatic convention of the time, and its content denoted ensuing conflicts between young and old; freedom and restriction. For the first time youth began to assert itself.

"The Bohemian movement had been born of political disappointments and Romantic ideals. It has owed much to the mal du siècle, and much to the aspirations of the young. Bohemia had always offered an escape for the parasite and the social misfit for the unscrupulous and the unstable. It had sheltered those who lived in fear of reality ... Bohemia had always been a lotus land for misunderstood and unproductive genius; it had given an artistic aura to vagrants without talent". (12)

At this time, the Bohemian was largely a French character. In England the impulse was felt, but on a less dramatic level. This has been explained by reference to English domesticity, its down to earth responsible nature, which was uncondusive to the sentiment and gaiety of the French character that exhibited itself in bohemianism. England's history of Romanticism was also not as politically oriented. The democratic revolution in England had occurred earlier, in the 17th century. The Industrial Revolution had brought about a liberal reaction as in France, but was not as disrupted as the French Romantic by the political upheavels of the Napoleonic era. English Romanticism began as a liberal ideology within the gentry and developed as such. It did not suffer from such a conservative reaction to a political revolution, as in France.

The Bohemian then had less of a base in England, but his influence can be seen in the works of Shelley, Byron, Blake, and the drug inspired literature of De Quincey. He was in turn influenced by the life style of Coleridge and Wordsworth, although these represented a more conservative element. These English "Children of Romanticism" similarly criticised the way in which labour had been reduced to commodity status, and lived a life of general lack of concern for the conventional and accepted, in an attempt to restore recognition for the nature of Man as a spiritual being.

The specific characteristics of this English "version" are perhaps best seen in the life and works of William Blake. It is notable too, that it is Blake who has retained the widest respect and admiration of all the Romantics in the bohemian circles of the 20th century.

Blake was born in 1757, in London. His father apprenticed him to the domestic trade of engraver, from which he gained his living. He supported the French and American bourgeois democratic revolutions by openly criticising George III and the King of France, and his artistic work was seen as condemnatory of the industrial age. Being heavily influenced by a Romanticism based on imagination and emotion, he was viewed as anarchic by those in the classical tradition.

"His visual imagination made everything that he said more than life-size, and as disturbing as a dream which is unreal, because it is too real. He never tried in the least to fit into the world; simply, innocently and completely, he was a rebel." (13)

Blake's work, though, also highlights certain contradictions within Romanticism. When Napoleon's revolution had turned into a tyranny, Blake began to despair of politics, and became strictly apolitical. By 1800 the political undertone faded from his poems and their mood became religious and Christian.

"The only people who saw through industrialism in those early days were the poets. Blake as everybody knows, thought that mills were the work of Satan. "Oh Satan, my youngest born ... they work is Eternal Death with Mills and Ovens and Cauldrons". (14)

Whilst his work continued to criticise industrialism, it now contained specifically biblical airs. His view of Christianity, however, was by no means orthodox. For Blake, God was a symbol of total power and tyranny, while Christ was the symbol of Man,

and particularly youth, overthrowing these established orders and bringing liberty.

The failure of Blake's radical hopes presumably made him suspicious of rational and material plans for human betterment, and he thus resorted to that radicalism which calls for liberty by a revolution of the Mind and Spirit.

"Blake claims that the outside world is infinite and eternal and would appear so to everyone, if everyone could see things without the grime on their windows of perception." (15)

The theme running through his work is, man against authority. Originally political avenues were sought, but these were later discarded for individualistic and spiritual means.

"If a European can see a sunset on a canvas where a practical minded Arab can only see a blur of colours, it is not illogical to suppose that a development of the same faculty might lead the practical minded European to see things where he saw nothing before. And this is the faculty that Blake possessed instinctively, and claimed that all men could possess if they spent less time being practical and more time trying to discipline the visionary faculty." (16)

Or in Blake's own words in "Jerusalem",

"To open the eternal worlds, to open the immortal eyes of man inwards, into the worlds of thought, into Eternity." (17)

Blake and the Romantics did play a critical role, but seemed to hold no firm policy of how to attain their utopia. They did not recognise the role the working classes could play in this movement, and it was not until the emergence of the work of Marx and Engels in the 1830's that the untapped power of the working classes was realised. While Marx called for mass direct action, Romanticism, especially after 1800, seemed a mere

intellectual exercise - an humanitarian protest, rather than revolutionary action. Blake's belief, like that of the bohemians, that poetry was a symbol and voice of something more universal and real, than historical materialism, in itself may be radical, but it remains difficult to see how such beliefs could alleviate the inhumane suffering and exploitation that the working people had to endure in the early stages of industrialisation.

The bohemian writers' highlighting of the spiritual imaginative reality, rather than the material, is seen in their use of drugs to aid their perceptive experiences. Again, it provides an important link with the bohemian of the 20th century.

Thomas DeQuincy is the most famous of such addict writers, and in 1821 he systematically related his confessions of the use of opium. At this time opium users were breaking no law, and supplies of the drugs were cheap, readily available, and held no social taboo, as today. DeQuincy was born of a prosperous family, but he never settled into an established or regularised life style. In his schooldays he was a known truant in order to cut himself off from all social contacts. Eventually he left school, wandered through Wales on foot, and living on borrowed money, finally moved to London. In 1804, he went to the University at Oxford, but, after four years study, left without taking a degree. In 1807 he met Samuel Coleridge, who was already addicted to opium, having first taken it as a painkiller. DeQuincy became likewise addicted in 1813, as a result of a gastric complaint. Earlier he had taken it to relieve pain and as a tranquilliser, but eventually used it as a means to experience a spiritual euphoria.

"He was entirely incapable of dealing with money, of observing times and dates, of tidiness, because he was not prepared to waste thought on matters such as those which did not touch his inner life." (18)

In the early 19th century opium was taken quite regularly, in the form of laudanum, (alcoholic tincture of opium) by industrial workers to escape their miseries, mothers gave it to children to quieten them, and writers and artists used it as a tranquilliser. But DeQuincy was the first to indicate how opium could be used as an inspiration to the human mind.

"Whereas alcohol disorders the mental faculties, opium on the contrary, introduces amongst them the most exquisite order, legislation and harmony." (19)

His "confessions" tell us how opium awakened a divine part of his nature, how he gained knowledge of his inner being, the reality of his unconscious and his imagination. Without doubt, DeQuincy was a product of the Romantic era, and was a notable inspiration to similar bohemian drug users in France throughout the 19th century.

Theophile Gautier was one of the first to introduce the use of hashish to bohemian culture, when he founded the Hashish Club in Paris in the 1840's, and along with Baudelaire and DeNerval pursued the mysteries of this form of "intellectual intoxication." Baudelaire went on to write his famous book on drug addiction "Les Paradis Artificiels", and DeNerval, following trips to Egypt, wrote his equally drug inspired "Voyage en Orient".

As such the bohemian spirit developed throughout the 19th century, in Paris, adding the names of Henry Murger, Balzac, Roger de Beauvoir and Toulouse-Lautrec to its ranks.

However by the 1860's, bohemianism was on a steady decline. The social structure of France was becoming more and more dominated by money, and poverty could no longer be looked on as Romantic, but only as a serious vice. Material cares were introduced into the culture, this being particularly so at the turn of the century when new military campaigns had to be fought. Richardson argues that the First World War re-emphasised the seriousness of life, and created an atmosphere where there was no longer any room for idealism. She argues that by as early as 1868 "men were measured by the gold they had in their pockets", not by their fanciful ideas.

The bohemian protest failed to change the social structures of either France or England, and also was unable to effect any of their respective governments' policies. It would appear that the exigencies of a money economy were too great. When that economy could no longer support such dissident elements, they inevitably disappeared. Equally it would be misleading to view the bohemian as being a figure in total opposition to bourgeois society. The bohemian appears to emphasise aspects of the wider society. His romantic stance was one that was shared, albeit, in a less dramatic form by the bourgeois. After all, the bourgeois revolutions had been born out of the romantic notions of freedom, individuality and creativity. As Peckham notes the bohemian is at his most 'radical' when emphasising pure spiritual concerns, for these are not only opposed to bourgeois culture, but the very notion of culture itself.

"The student of nineteenth century countercultures will find them in great numbers ... countercultures which are superficial and fundamentally in spite of appearances, confirmatory of the culture which they are apparently countering. But he will find only

one countercultural tradition which is genuinely an alienated counterculture, for it is counter to the central tendency of human culture itself, as it has so far existed." (20)

Nevertheless the importance of the Romantics and Parisian bohemians lies in that they forewarned us of over-indulgence in a commodity economy. Indeed much of their Romantic critique is more relevant today than it was in the 19th century. The growing "shrinking" of the world, computerised technology and commodity fetishism of the 20th century Western World, was in essence foreseen by the Romantics. They warned that science and positivism could only lead to a cold, hard world. Man may need to be materially productive, but he also needs some outlet for his idealism. The cry, carried on, in the 20th century, particularly after the 2nd World War, was for a world that recognises and accepts that other side of the self - the irrational, the emotional, the natural and the spiritual.

The bohemian of the 20th century - youthful, frivolous and protesting - has his base in the Parisian bohemian; his pacifistic element was added later as a reaction to the World Wars the 20th century was to provide.

"(Romanticism) holds that uniquely paradigmatic place in the ancestry of the counterculture. Which is why in our day the disaffiliated young instinctively drift back to the Romantic pattern, to the same fascination for drugs and dreams, childhood and wildness, the occult and magical." (21)

Bohemianism in the inter-war years

The bohemian spirit continued through the first half of the 20th century. It existed not so much as a recognisable social movement, but in isolated pockets of artists and writers who attempted to extend the Romantic inspiration of a century earlier

by looking for further avenues of inspiration and awareness. They had lost the poor background of their predecessors, and were mainly young men from wealthy middle class backgrounds. However they too lived a life of 'debauchery', extravagance and flamboyance, in the haunts of the universities and favourite cafes of the time. Although they were some way from being bohemian, they did mark a notable breakaway from the hangovers of the austerity of Victoriana, in that their affluence enabled them to rebel against the accepted fashions and "respectability" of the time.

Spurred on by the celebration of the machine and scientific discoveries in the wider society, most artistic movements from Romanticism onwards, tended to celebrate the spiritual side of man, and became a vehicle for such social comment. For example, impressionism, (1830-1900) stressed the aesthetic side of man, and when this became more scientifically orientated with Cubism (1900-1915) (which marked one strand of a long flirtation of art with science), Symbolism (1870-1910) and Surrealism (1910-40) responded with an attempt to express ideas and representations, rather than form and structure. Of note was the work of Aubrey Beardsley who was in turn influenced by Blake and the Pre Raphaelites of the mid 19th century, effecting a sensuously irrational symbolism; and the work of Breton and Salvador Dali who similarly believed that art should deny reason and emphasise the subconscious. All these movements combined varying proportion of mysticism, utopianism and irrational Romanticism as a reaction against the Age of Reason, the Industrial Revolution, and the beginnings of mass production. Each in its way questioned the idea and desirability of progress.

Such ideas were reflected in the continuing experimentation with drugs; notably W.B. Yeats in the 1910's and Aleister Crowley in the 1920's. Both of these authors were also highly interested in the occult, and were members of the "Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn". As such Yeat's "Adoration of the Magi", and Crowley's "The Diary of a Drug Fiend" have become 'essential' reading for any would-be bohemian today.

The Second World War was to destroy all elements of the bohemian spirit, as did the War twenty five years earlier, but it was resuscitated in the late 1940's with the coming of the American character on the scene - the Beat.

The Beat Generation

The Beat generation were the immediate forerunners of the hippies, and in many ways heralded the resurgence of that drug inspired creative spirit that had originated in the 19th century. Like DeQuincy, Blake, Coleridge and the others, they sought for an "alternative" by creating their own means of expression, through drugs and mystical searches for Nirvana. The early bohemians had taken drugs as a scientific experiment, now drug usage became a necessity - an essential bond that enable us to view the Beats as a definitive social movement, rather than the actions of a few isolated individuals.

The Beats were of American origin, and began to appear in the large cities, notably Los Angeles (Venice), San Francisco (North Beach) and New York (Greenwich Village) in the late 1940's and early 1950's. Their protest was not only against technology, but also against the growing affluence of Western society. They refused to work at regular jobs and, voluntarily choosing a life of poverty, found their associates amongst those groups existing

on the margins of society-the black, the hobo, the eccentric and the junkie. Their living was made in moving from place to place working only when necessary and attempting to live each moment to the full. It was a protest by disengagement - the social order was not so much outwardly attacked, as ignored. In many ways it was the first manifestation of the process of "dropping out" - a term which became widely associated with the hippies, some fifteen years later.

The term "Beat Generation" was introduced by Jack Kerouac (who became one of the chief literary exponents of the "beat generation") to describe those people who had given up any patterned life style which involved orientation to work, adherence to fashion and the like. They had chosen a life which, although leading to poverty and anxiety, allowed them to search for their internal essence and provided meaning to their lives outside of the realms of their contemporary materialistic socialisation. The Beat life style involved a notion of the self being reduced to an inward looking being - that reality could only be found in ones consciousness, and not in the outside world. Interaction with the latter was viewed as both futile and unfruitful, for society had nothing to offer other than empty material status commodities. The Beat then retreated into his own insular world, to rediscover himself in isolation.

"By choosing to live only in the present, however, he cuts himself off from those values which have propped up his vision of himself as the hero of history ... Marriage made and perpetuated in order to provide for family continuity, becomes form without substance in an age where tomorrow has a horizon darkened by a mushroom cloud. Work, with its myriad rewards in status and well being, becomes time spent in thrall. For the individual who steps off the trolley in the conviction that there is really no place to go, all things, persons and beliefs which

serve as means tend to lose their validity. All of life becomes an accumulation of ends, with all goals immediate". (22)

The Beat then was dissatisfied with both affluent society and technological 'progress'. For the Beat, technology had not only destroyed the Spirit, but also had the potential to destroy all mankind because of its use in nuclear warfare. This lack of faith in the future was directly related to the experiences of the H Bomb, which he had seen his elders use at Hiroshima and Nagasaki to devastating and inhumane effect. With such power the very existence of the world depended on the 'pressing of the button'. The future was not worth contemplating; the present existence in a highly competitive rat race was seen as horrific; and the past was irrelevant. With no faith in his fellow man, the Beat lived each moment by impulse, being only aware of, or concerned with, the here and now.

"The generation that came of age in the 1950's was trying to make sense of a post-war world. Its members faced a world that seemed to offer no respite but only an eternal state of war: World War II, the Korean War, the Cold War. Reality as the Beats saw it, left no room for the worship of Reason. Evil could not be legislated out, although perhaps it could be legislated in. Nature, history and humanity could not be controlled. Progress, the victim of every war was an illusion and death was the central reality. Because progress was a fake concept, future and past meant little; the present was all. Imminent death made planning folly, but though life could not be planned or controlled, it could be sampled to the fullest." (23)

The Beat's philosophy is probably closest to that of Sartre's existentialism. In seeking individual freedom, man also has to pay the price for lack of direction in his life. He is faced with a world he must tackle on his own, and suffers through a

separation anxiety. Faced with freedom, and a multitude of choices from which to decide his destiny, man is placed in a confusing dilemma. He can remain in a world he finds totally unsatisfactory, or attempt to change his future, in a world where he is on his own. There is a constant temptation to surrender one's freedom to a cause or a mass movement. And so it was with the Beat. The numbers it attracted laid down the basis for the Beat to see himself as a forerunner of social change.

"this time
 the new breed shits in their courts;
 fucks in their women's beds;
 eats the cream of their crops
 before their glaucomatose eyes
 smashes the windshields
 of all their carelessly constructed Sting Rays,
 all their Continentals,
 every fuckin' General Motors
 monstrosity in their garages,
 this time,
 they wonder" (24)

Politically though, the Beat saw no value in struggling through "accepted" avenues. His protest was then anti-political, rather than apolitical. He had no answer for the future, and he joined no political movement. However in deciding not to vote or to conform, he most surely did make a political decision - a voicing of non-confidence in everything around him, and a striving to revive a concern for the Spirit.

This led to the cultivation of a religious faith which was largely based on Zen-Buddhism. This form of meditation was chosen, because it is not controlled by any doctrinal or systematic approach to finding God. It believes that our salvation lies within, in our natural state and it is up to each individual to realise this fact.

"Zen recognises nothing from which we are saved. We are from the first already "saved" in all reality, and it is due to our ignorance of the fact that we talk about being saved, or delivered or freed. So with "escape" etc., Zen knows no traps or complexities from which we are to escape. The traps or complexities are our own creation. We find ourselves, and when we realise this, we are what we have been from the very beginning of things." (25)

The Beat then was more concerned with a coming apocalypse, ^athen with social revolution. Society may change, but inner lives are viewed as more important for day to day existence. In finding oneself, one will also find God; but yet this discovery is not easy to accomplish. It was a suitable philosophy to accompany a life of material poverty and a life "on the road". Kerouac's book of the same name, epitomised the Beats' expressions of uncertainty, loneliness and dreams of an "unreachable" utopia.

"everything is fine, and there's no need in the world to worry and in fact we should realise what it would mean to us to understand that we're not really worried about anything ...". (26)

"... and nobody, nobody knows whats going to happen to anybody besides the forlorn rags of growing old ...". (27)

The tone of such literature eloquently indicates a survival of the romanticism of the 19th century in the world of the Beat. As Grana notes,

"In the true personalistic vein of romanticism Kerouac's complaint is not about social justice, but about spiritual nakedness; he would rather be exploited than bored. Ecstasy is inescapably there, as is darkness, both as a hunger for mystery and as a refuge from the glaring and prodding "purposefulness" of rationalised society". (28)

The main symbols of the Beat culture, were an uninhabited attitude to sex, jazz music and marijuana smoking.

Socially disapproved forms of sexual behaviour, such as bisexuality and homosexuality, were tolerated and often encouraged. However although the Beat may have enjoyed a sex life in breadth, Polsky argues that he had an inability to establish any firm and lasting relationship with anybody from either sex. (29). It affirms yet again the isolation that the Beat endured.

The Beats' interest in the avante-garde, the expression of the Soul, also led to interest in jazz music as provided by Ornette Coleman, Dave Brubeck and Charlie Parker. Jazz is a spontaneous creation with a lack of formal organisation, and in itself attacks previous conceptions of musical acceptability. Lipton concludes that

"... the simple existence of jazz itself is protest enough. They see it pitting its spontaneous, improvised, happ-sad, angry-living, ecstatic on the spot creativity against the sterile antiseptic delivery room workmanship of the concert hall that the squares take for musical culture". (30)

The same was also true of Beat poetry. It was uncontrolled and had little respect for convention or syntax. It attempted to reflect the energy of the moment and the unconscious rather than the conscious mind. According to Ginsberg there is no room in Beat poetry for revision, correction or attempts to "polish an image or sharpen a metaphor." (31)

The whole culture was also pervaded by drug usage, and particularly marijuana smoking.

"the euphoria that the Beats who use marijuana are seeking is not the wholly passive, sedative, pacifying experience that the users of the commercial tranquillisers want. On the contrary, they are looking for a greater sense of aliveness, a heightened sense of awareness." (32)

Usage then was not a hedonistic experience, but part of the search for oneself. The latter indeed was aided more profoundly through the use of peyote and the hallucinogens, but their use was fairly limited. Heroin and other habit forming drugs were looked down on since they result in little or no creativity.

The prime mover in this search for drug inspired creativity was Neal Cassady, who was the hero of many of Kerouac's books, under the pseudonyms of "Cody Pomeray" and "Dean Moriarty". The two first met in 1949 and while Kerouac went on to reach international literary acclaim, Cassady received fame for his search for drug induced 'highs' in Mexico and the U.S.A. which were to eventually lead to his death in 1968.

These three elements of Beat life, were undoubtedly influenced by the culture of the American Negro. Negro culture has always had a higher tolerance of sexual ambiguity than 'white' culture, and it was from the negro too that marijuana smoking and jazz music were first introduced into American society. The partnership between the Beat and Negro was epitomised in the many interracial activities in which they were united. Such contact has indeed led Mailer to name the Beat - the "White Negro".

The public image of the Beats was that of long haired, bearded, dirty delinquents, spending most of their time writing obscene poetry and drifting round the country. The Beats, though, were not delinquents, but rather middle class youth who had turned their backs on the violence and the wealth that the post-war years had offered. Polsky estimates that 35% of the Beats he met in 1960, in Greenwich Village, were from the lower classes, while 60% were from the middle classes and 5% from the upper classes. (33) Kerouac also reminds us of the non-delinquent nature of the Beat,

"woe, woe unto those who think that the Beat generation means crime, delinquency, immorality, amorality ... woe unto those who attack it on the grounds that they simply don't understand history and the yearnings of human souls ... woe unto those who don't realise that America must, will, is, changing now, for the better I say. Woe unto those who believe in the atom bomb, who believe in hating mothers and fathers, who deny the most important of the Ten Commandments. Woe unto those (though) who don't believe in the unbelievable sweetness of sex love, woe unto those who are the standard bearers of death, woe unto those who believe in conflict and horror and violence and fill our books and screens and living rooms with all that crap, woe in fact unto those who make evil movies about the Beat Generation where innocent housewives are raped by beatniks.' ... woe unto those who spit on the Beat Generation, the wind'll blow it back." (34)

The Beat did then stand as a radical phenomenon because of his incisive critique of American Society; and his anti work ideology, but seemed forever dogged by the "rigours" of his existentialist philosophy. Beat poetry and literature speak of exstasy but also sorrow; of excitement but also nightmares; and of freedom but also pessimism. It seemed a movement struggling with its own opposing ideals.

"Beatniks seemed "fixed forever in a gross and banal Romantic gesture of self alientation, self pity, self confusion and worldly confusion. The movement is destructive not only of rational, moral, and spiritual values but even of itself." (35)

Allen Ginsberg's "Howl", while summing up all the disgust and hatred the Beat felt for American society, also reflects the "nightmares" of the Beat's own life.

"I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by madness, starving hysterical naked, dragging themselves through the negro streets at dawn looking for an angry fix, angelheaded hipsters burning for the ancient heavenly connection to the starry dynamo in the machinery of night, who in poverty and tatters and hollow-eyed and

high sat up smoking in the supernatural
darkness of cold water flats floating across
the tops of cities contemplating jazz." (36)

Mailer, too expresses this feeling;

"There is a depth of desperation to the condition
which enables one to remain in life only by
engaging death but the reward is their
knowledge that what is happening at each instant
of the electric present is good or bad for them,
good or bad for their cause, their love, their
action, their need." (37)

The Beat was essentially an American figure, and it was
in the United States that his life style and philosophy was
studied and discussed. Nevertheless his effect was felt
"across the water" in Britain, albeit to a lesser extent.
Neville tells us that Hempstead was London's Greenwich Village,
and despite local hostility an attempt was made to set up a
Beat "haven" in St. Ives in Cornwall. (38). However the
situation and mood in Britain, differed to that in America, in
several ways. Here, protest was more in the hands of the Angry
Young Men, who rather than being beyond caring, had a grave
concern for the society of their time. Theirs was a protest
on a more political level, which began with the C.N.D. movement
in 1958. They still sought some connection with the world of
the "Square" in attempting to achieve social reform, and
criticising their elders' policies. It was a culture deeply
concerned about the effects of the H Bomb, and for this reason
Nuttall has termed it "Bomb Culture".

The young radicals in Britain, in the 50's, were sons of
lower middle class and working class fathers; their cause was
more socialist orientated, although they too refused to commit
themselves to the causes of the Left. Having been educated out
of their class at Universities, their aspirations were raised

above all opportunities, and finally the future was seen as full of mediocrity and inconsequence. As with the Beat, this "forced" them to find meaning in the immediate present, and led to interest in the spiritual nature of man. Through the demonstrations of the 50's, they attempted to bring to society's attention, the humanity and freedom of mankind, in a time when society was being rushed along in a wave of growing affluence and technological advance.

The C.N.D. Movements

Peace movements in Britain can be traced back to 1916, when the first Military Service Bill, authorising the call up of all single men between the ages of 18 and 41, received royal consent. This resulted in the formation of the No-Conscription Fellowship (N.C.F.). Its beliefs were those of solidarity of the human race, international harmony and the "value and sacredness of human personality" (39). It was this that formed the basis of the peace movements in the 50's, because of its success in the 1st World War, despite harsh treatment from the law enforcement agencies.

In 1939, its effect was not as noticeable, because conscientious objectors, at home, still felt the full brunt of the German War effort. Indeed public reaction to the horrors of the German concentration camps and death chambers, tended to undermine the influence the N.C.F. had in the four years after the War. It still existed though, continuing to publish its own journal, "Peace News".

However, following the destruction and horror, caused by the atom bombs, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Americans exploded

their first hydrogen bomb in November 1952. In August of the following year, the Russians did likewise. Ten years after the end of the Second World War, the leaders of the great powers were talking in terms of megatons. From events such as these the British peace protest was revived. In the face of such superior military strength Britain was defenceless, and the old armaments were seen as being of little use. The peace movement's policy, then, was to urge the government to disband the armed forces, to stop the British manufacture of atomic weapons, to withdraw all American troops from Britain, and declare to the World that Britain was in a state of neutrality and military incompetence. This was seen as the only way that Britain could be saved from complete annihilation.

Between 1953 and 1957 the public began to realise the dangers of atomic fall out on life and health, and correspondingly the number of societies campaigning for the abolition of nuclear tests increased. Early in 1958 massive support was gained by the addition of another movement to the Cause - the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (C.N.D.) - which alligned itself with the Committee for Direct Action, and organised a protest march to the atomic weapon research centre at Aldermaston. The C.N.D. brought support and "respectability" to the movement, for amongst its members were several of the most distinguished names in the country, including Earl Russell (it's president), J.B. Priestly, Michael Foot, A.J.P. Taylor, Henry Moore, Flora Robson, John Osbourne and Spike Milligan.

In February 1958 meetings were held in Central Hall, Westminster. The platform called for moderation, but after the meeting closed, a thousand went to Downing Street where the cry "Ban the Bomb" was raised. There were some sit-downs and arrests began. The C.N.D.

indeed helped to activise the peace movement, by providing a core and a purpose. It helped foster a feeling of group consciousness, where actions were co-ordinated to achieve a sense of belonging and solidarity. It was these factors which helped to attract large numbers of youth to the movement, along with the excitement of the march, and, for some, the conflict with the police.

"Nominal support for C.N.D. was for many teenagers a more or less commonly accepted feature of the youth culture; like the preference for folk music, outlandish clothes and the like, it was a way of drawing a line of demarcation between adolescent and adult values.

Undoubtedly too, a further attraction of the campaign for the young was its preference for political activity by way of marches and demonstrations ... The excitement of a four day march ... the creation of Gemeinschaft relationships ... (and) the one occasion when the radical young stood for a brief moment at the centre of the stage of national politics." (40)

Glock's analysis of "social movements" would seem to be most appropriate. Here was a classic case of an ethically deprived elite, wishing to enlist the support of the more absolutely deprived masses (41). Those who were most likely to suffer such ethical deprivation, were members of the upper and middle classes, because the nature of such deprivation involved conflicts of value and ideals with the larger society. It also involved a certain philosophical disputation and presupposed a certain intellectualism within its followers. The C.N.D. movement was a case in point, and in attempting to gain mass support accordingly widened its scope of protest.

"It was at the height of C.N.D.'s colossal numerical power, that the C.N.D. committee gently edged the whole organisation towards

protest, not only against the bomb, but against hunger, old age, pensions and the whole gamut of socialist grievances". (42)

Such policies, though, were later to lead to the break-up of the organisation as a unified body, although it did attract more youth and left-wing support, than was at first hoped for.

Thus on Good Friday 1958, four thousand demonstrators set off from Trafalgar Square, to march to Aldermaston. At this time they were mainly middle class and professional people, with some students in support. When the procession had reached its destination, its number had swollen to ten thousand. The march was organised annually. In 1960 twenty thousand people were attracted. However by then C.N.D. had widened its political aims, and this led to a split amongst its members and its directives. A cleavage between moderate and extreme sections of the movement was becoming more marked. The organisers, led by Canon Collins, were composed of older people whose protest was made on humanitarian and religious grounds. They became increasingly cautious in their policies, because they had too much reputation to lose, and decided to protest only through the normal constitutional channels. The activists, on the other hand, led by Bertrand Russell, were in general younger, more uncompromising, and began to demand direct action and open confrontation.

A survey taken in 1959 estimated that 41% of the protesters were in fact under 21 years of age. (43) This indeed led "The Times" to denounce C.N.D. as being "immature" and simply "protesting against authority" (44). Parkin concludes that "the ideal type of young C.N.D. supporter could be said to come from a middle class home with a radical leanings," (45) and that a

majority were still receiving a full time education, or were engaged in non-manual occupations. High educational achievement then appears to lead to deviance over moral rather than economic issues.

The movement soon split into the more restrained C.N.D. and the more uncompromising Direct Action Committee. The latter urged a policy of civil disobedience as the only means of furthering their cause. The breach was made absolute, when Bertrand Russell, President of C.N.D., was elected President of a break-away group calling itself the Committee of 100, which eventually took over the functions of the old D.A.C. In doing so, Russell resigned the presidency of C.N.D.

Battle of Britain Sunday 1961 marked the highest point of the D.A.C. campaign, when 1,314 people were arrested in Trafalgar Square. It was supported to a large degree by John Osbourne, John Braine, and those writers who became known as the Angry Young Men. In doing so they prolonged the bohemian spirit of the demonstrations, attracting youth who were looking for an excuse to protest against British Society. In 1961 a hundred thousand demonstrators accumulated in Trafalgar Square. Nuttall describes the strong youth and Beat influence ...

"... although teenagers made up by no means the bulk of the marchers, as the square press consistently claimed they did, they nevertheless made each march into a carnival of optimism. The Colyer fans by now dubbed beatniks, although they differed from the Venice West originals in many important ways, appeared from nowhere in their grime and tatters, with their slogan-daubed crazy hats and streaming filthy hair, hammering their banjos, strumming aggressively on their guitars, blowing their antiquated cornets and sauzaphones, capering out in front of the march destroying the wooden dignity of Canon Collins ... and other celebrities who were the official leaders of the cavalcade. It was this wild public festival spirit that spread the C.N.D.

symbol throughout all the jazz clubs and secondary schools in an incredibly short time. Protest was associated with festivity." (46)

However in 1962, the Aldermaston march was dominated by Communist youth and various left groups aligned themselves to the campaign as a way of forwarding their own particular causes. Even the more militant D.A.C. began to crumble due to internal dissension and lack of outside support. The Beat too, withdrew from the public demonstrations, when he came disillusioned with the internal political haggling and the "name dropping" of its leaders.

The significance of these marches was by no means their direct effect on government policy, for the movement won no concessions on this part, but rather its importance ^{lay} ~~lies~~ in that it stirred large numbers of youth to active demonstration. In bringing together traditional pacifists, left wing groups and disillusioned middle class youth, it brought to many an awareness of the facts about nuclear weapons, the wastage of government expenditure on false security and led to the equating of such military policies with social deprivation and injustice in general. It brought many middle class people into contact with police hostility and repression, and above all gave youth some feeling of solidarity, and belief that they could effect some social change.

No doubt C.N.D. gave many young people a political consciousness, but some were more concerned with creating an atmosphere of frivolity and gaiety. Neville concludes

"Duffle coats and C.N.D. Badges symbolised a new generational identity. For the young being sad about the Bomb was fun." (47)

It was the attempted coming together of these strands - the search for political and cultural freedom - that characterised the youth movements of the later sixties. In Britain the C.N.D. marked the first time when large numbers of youth made visible their disgust with society.

In 1963-4 the anti-bomb movement moved to America, with the beginnings of the American involvement in Vietnam, and the introduction of compulsory draft procedures. This in turn helped to characterise a new spate of youth rebellion throughout the Western World. The early sixties were also important, because by 1961 L.S.D. was increasingly being used in the Beat world. Previously it had been confined to a small and wealthy minority. The call was now to Tune In and Turn On to L.S.D., in order to create a revolution by consciousness, as well as Drop Out. L.S.D. began to unleash the optimism of youth, as opposed to the pessimism of the Beat.

The combination of the Vietnam War protest movements and the introduction of hallucinogenic drugs, indeed saw the downfall of those youth movements, as characterised by the Beat philosophy in the USA and by political activism in Britain.

The Beat became more active, the left-winger more retreatist. The culmination of this was, that by 1966, a movement emerged, that attempted to synthesise the rebellion on both cultural and political levels. To this, was given the name: "hippie".*

* The word "hippie" is reputed to derive from "Haight Independence Proprietors" (Leech, 1973, p.56) or an extension of the word "hip", meaning wise or "tuned-in" (Thompson in McCabe, 1967, p.69).

Chapter 5

The Hippie 'Moment' and Aftermath

A New Consciousness

The hippie era bridged the gap between the liberal humanitarianism of the C.N.D. movement and the retreatist philosophy of the beat; and indeed much of the hippies' history from their 'moment' in 1966-67 to the present day shows a wavering of opinion between these two positions.

The hippie, like his predecessor, the beat, had no time for the society into which he was socialised. However, his withdrawal was not necessarily one of self-imposed poverty, but involved a definite attempt to create a 'new and distinct' way of life, that would hopefully convert others by example. Neither was the movement manifestly politically orientated. It had no party, no leadership and no manifesto, but lived by its unwritten demands to the rest of society; to seek love rather than violence, and to be able to freely express oneself without fear of social sanctions. Above all the hippies' alternative life style was aimed at revolutionizing society through peaceful means.

It is largely accepted that this particular brand of bohemia was born in the early 1960s on the West Coast of America, and particularly in an area of San Francisco known as Haight Ashbury.

"Hippies are many things, but most prominently the bearded and beaded inhabitants of the Haight-Ashbury, a little psychedelic city-state edging Golden Gate Park. There in a daily street-fair atmosphere, upwards of 15,000 unbounded girls and boys interact in a tribal, love seeking, free-swinging, acid-based type of society" (1)

The Haight has a relatively prosperous middle class history, characterised by the development of fine art studies and boutiques in 1963. It seemed a suitable environment in which

young poets, writers and artists could flourish. In the early 60's there was a steady movement of such people from San Francisco's North Beach - the old beatnik area described by Kerouac in "The Subterraneans" - into Haight Ashbury. The colony brought with it some of the trappings of the beat existence. Of note was drug usage, but here drugs were used to explore the limits of imagination and self expression. A life-style developed, based on the use of Lysergic Acid Diethylamide (L.S.D.) which due to its hallucinogenic effects, enabled the user to 'trip' through a multitude of distorted ideas, images and actions in quick succession. The dedicated hippies believed that such an experience enabled reality to become clearer, because it was only through the use of such drugs that objects could be seen free from all preconceptions. The heightening of aesthetic powers, and the notion of immediacy, were thus conducive to the needs of the artistically-oriented bohemian, and it was from this quarter that wide experimentation of psychedelic drugs originated. The cult was spread by Timothy Leary in 1964, and his attempts at popularising such a life-style brought the Haight into the limelight.

However, it was not until the coming of Ken Kesey and his group of 'Merry Pranksters', that the "hippie explosion" was initiated and L.S.D. became world renowned, for both its "good" and its "evil" characteristics. This group moved around the cities of the West Coast introducing people to the "Acid Test" and from a combination of L.S.D. and electronic equipment came the San Franciscan sound which was to transform American pop music. (2)

If Leary's interest was partly scientific and partly a religious experience,

"... in the art centres of the country hundreds of thousands of the creative young take L.S.D. to explore their own consciousness: the new cult of visionaries" (3)

then Kesey's contribution was to make the Acid experience spectacular, wild and playful. Throughout San Francisco and Berkeley, large multi-media dances were held where the audience was encouraged to take acid and participate - Freak Freely - Do Your Own Thing. Haight-Ashbury was becoming the place where reality was "the stuff that dreams are made of." Hundreds, and then thousands, came to get away from home, to live out their fantasies and discover this new world. Street parties took place 24 hours a day and all were invited. The collective ecstasy that resulted initiated a belief that hippie power would eventually succeed in covering the whole planet, and that love would solve all difficulties. (4) An abundance of people volunteered to deal with the problems that inevitably occurred when the population of the Haight rose so dramatically. Houses for runaways, medical and legal services and crash pads sprung up in an atmosphere of openness and willingness to help strangers and convince them (and oneself) that all were brothers. By 1966 the Diggers were providing free meals in Golden Gate Park, helping people find places to stay and spreading the idea that if you wanted a free society then you only had to live freely. *

* The original diggers were a breakaway group of soldiers who deserted Cromwell's 'model'-army of the 17th Century. They had become disillusioned with the English Revolution and developed a strong community of dissenters in Oxfordshire, before being crushed by Cromwell's armed forces.

The experiments with L.S.D. led to an interest in consciousness, spiritualism and mysticism, associated experiments in life-style (notably the formation of communes based on communality and sharing), and above all a massive rejection of Western materialism. At the beginning of 1967 San Francisco held its "Human Be-In" and by the summer had attracted 100,000 young people into the district. Soon the media discovered the Haight, and the hippie became a major focal point of interest, - a figure to be sympathised for his ideas of love, but mistrusted and hated for his anti-work, and drug ethos. Such publicity attracted many more curious young to the area, but many had no commitment to taking personal responsibility, for the maintenance of the 'dream'. Increasingly, the hippie began to be harrassed by police raids and street sweeps. 'Entrepreneurs' moved in to exploit the area and make it consumable. The flooding of what had been a predominantly black area with the new white young population, raised rents and tempers among the blacks. Acid and marijuana began to give way to methedrine and heroin. The diverse groups that the Haight attracted, began to adopt a violent attitude to others and the police. Generosity gave way to suspicion, and gaiety to pessimism. The hippie moved back to North Beach, Berkeley or to the more remote communes, and by the end of 1967, Haight Ashbury was reduced to a desolute ghetto.

The time of high aspirations and optimisms was shortlived and indeed the true hippie state lived and died in the Haight. The hippie experience was, in its purest form, merely a "moment" in American history, destroyed through its own internal contradictions and external forces. However, those few months in the Haight had sowed the seeds in many young minds, that society needed to be changed, and that alternative ways of

living should be created. In the following decade widespread movements developed throughout the Western world resulting in a spate of youth oriented, anti-establishment and anti-political protest movements.

The hippie was many things - rebel, drop-out, self-defined revolutionary - an amalgam of classifications and labels which both help us understand his role and also distort it.

Bennett Berger was perhaps the first to attempt an analysis of the hippie doctrine. He used a summary of bohemian ideology which was taken largely from Murger's "Scenes of Bohemian life" of the mid 19th century. (5) Using this as a base we can explore the outlook and directives that characterised the hippie movement.

Firstly they believed that the major "evil" in society was technology and its associated bureaucratic processes. They argued that such forces crushed the individual's potentialities and made man replaceable by machines. They understood that man was gradually becoming insignificant, and that his life was being increasingly dominated and constrained by technological progress. With the aid of the L.S.D. experience, the hippie attempted to be resonant and find his own "true consciousness", with a deeper reality, which was free from social control. Consciousness was therefore seen as the pure framework for all societies. Man was seen as originally, good, peaceful and equal, but had been perverted by technological society. Primitive tribes, and most notably the Northern American Indian, (who were used as a dominant model for hair, clothing and fashion styles) were seen as being on the side of nature, and in opposition to culture and society,. Accordingly the hippies' concern for nature, spirits, and the land, was an attempt to return to the early days of American

history. Such a concern was premised on the belief that a return to basics was necessary in order to rethink and reshape society. This notion was partially expressed by the "Hip philosopher" Stan Russell.

"The notion that the great plastic society is the only reality and anything other than that is a drop out culture, is one of the crazy, insane, lunatic notions that is indulged in by its leaders. Another more profound reality existed before American culture existed. Hip people who live in the woods by themselves have beards and make their own clothes are very natural people who live close to the land and are part of the reality of nature. Or hip people in the city tuned into their community, like HaightAshbury are not living in a drop-out culture, they are part of a truly turned-on new way of life." (6)

The essence of hippie ideology which Russell refers to as the "turned-on new way of life" is the re-discovery of the self - the self which lies underneath the socially constructed being. It was understood that this re-discovery could not take place through normal educational routes, because of the present enforced mechanical modes of teaching. The University was in many ways seen as instrumental to, and at the very core of, the dehumanisation process. The University, at the head of the educational system, did very little other than prolong a vicious circle which young people were "compelled" to enter, in order to gain high status, self-advancement, and material achievement. The hippies withdrew from this 'rat race' because such goals distorted rather than aided self understanding. Secondly, the hippie viewed the purpose of each individual's life to be an expression of the self, and to realise individuality through creative work in conducive surroundings. In London this call for self-expression originated in the Arts faculties in the Universities and Art colleges. In 1966 a disused railway engine shed in Camden, called the Roundhouse, was used to launch a multi-media experiment with lights, music and drugs. As such it was the nearest Britain came to the

Kesey Acid Tests in California. Mick Farren described the scene.

"At the top Miles and Hoppy passed out sugar cubes. According to legend one in twenty was dosed with acid ... For the first time in my life I saw joints being passed round openly in a public place. Pink Floyd played music ... they honked and howled and tweeted, clanked with great concentration. Across the room an Italian film crew filmed a couple of nubile starlets stomping in a mess of pink elulsion paint ... one thing I was conscious of was that inside was something more than a new rock and roll show. Somewhere in there was the germ of a new way of life." (7)

Linked to the idea of freedom for self expression was a third notion of living for the moment - a rejection of past and future and a concentration on living the present to ones fullest capabilities. Fourthly was the idea of liberty: that every law that prevents self expression or the full enjoyment of the moment should be abolished.

John Gerassi affirms this view:

"I want to live in a world where I don't have to stand while my boss sits, where I can talk to a black man as an equal, where I can enjoy a painting without caring about who did it. I want to smoke pot if I like it. I want to be able to have some guy represent me there and another guy over yonder, but I want to be able to recall him anytime. I don't want to worry about food, clothing or a roof. I know the world is rich enough to give me all that - me and everybody else - and I'm willing to do my share of the work but not for somebody else's profit. Every man ought to enjoy what he does." (8)

Repression of man's realisation of his self was seen as emanating from all the major institutions of Western society - police, industry, universities, mass media and 'democracy' parliament. The hippie thus withdrew from all normal channels of protest.

Finally the hippie held the notion that his ideology and actions were prominently revolutionary. Marcuse indeed saw the movement as providing a more threatening attack on the

established order than any other protesting movement, because the hippie "hits the system from without and is therefore not deflected by the system" (9). The movement's revolutionary potential was based on the number of young people who were attracted to San Francisco - London and every other metropolis throughout the Western world in the mid sixties. Youth were seen as having the potential to collectivise and enforce change in society. The ideological aims of the movement - peace, love, freedom - were proclaimed as the only saviours of Western society. The bohemian no longer thought in terms of reformist measures, total disengagement or ignoring of "straight" society: what was needed was a Revolution. It was not to be a revolution of the Left, but a revolution which would allow individual freedom, and would not demand any high degree of organisation or indoctrination. The old styles of anarchism and socialism were seen as having failed, due to the rigid bureaucracy that developed in Russia, and the lack of working class solidarity in the Western World. A new consensus based around these two notions was needed. The movement demanded a collective recognition of the way in which technological and bureaucratic processes destroyed consciousness and reduced individuals to numbers. When this recognition was achieved an era of liberation, self awareness, and community (as opposed to State) could begin. It was understood that technology was the enemy, not just of the hippie, but of the whole of society. A change in consciousness within all individuals would lead to an overthrow of technological domination. Control would be returned to a community level and power shared for the good of all in that community. The end result would be self-sufficient communities instead of a State controlled society. There would

be no need for a high degree of division of labour,. Many commercial material goods would be discarded, and society would be more or less organised on a primitive band level of social organisation. Technology would not be destroyed, but would be used to serve man, instead of vice versa. An ideology developed that society could be changed by a peaceful revolution occurring through the spread of the new consciousness throughout society at large, until all power relations were dissolved. Charles Reich called this, consciousness III.

"The discovery is simply this: there is nobody whatever on the other side. Nobody wants inadequate housing except the machine. Nobody wants war except the machine. There is no need then to fight any group of people. They are all fellow sufferers. There is no reason to fight the machine. It can be made the servant of man. Consciousness can make a new society". (10)

The revolution would originate from the individual and not the economic structure of society. Political structures would be the last to change, not the first. It would not require violence to succeed, merely a raising of the consciousness of a majority of people who would come to realise that their life is wasted within present social relations.

"What would happen if large numbers of people in the country started getting together forming communities, hustling free fish and passing out brass washers to be used in laundromats and phones? What if people in slums started moving into abandoned buildings and refusing to move even to the point of defending them with guns? What if this movement grew and busy salesmen sweating under the collar on a hot summer day decided to say fuck the system and headed for welfare? What if when they called a war, no-one went? Well you know what? We'd have ourselves one hell of a revolution that's what." (11)

In 1966-67 the revolutionary impulse was seen to be in the hands of youth; beginning with rebellion and protest, and emerging into new life-styles which were to form the basis of

a model which would inevitably be followed by the rest of society.

The enemy being technology and not politicians, it followed that the first societies to change in this way would be the most technologically advanced; those where desire for material goods had prevented man from realising his true individual self. The revolution of the 20th Century would begin in the U.S.A., and then spread to the rest of the Western World. The hippies' view was that oppositions between oppressor and oppressed, poor and rich, exploited and exploiters were outdated. The revolution would thus be based on disagreement on values and goals, rather than means of existence. In itself it demanded a whole new conceptualisation of revolution - it was not a case of sharing the goods equally, but creating totally new goods altogether. In this way the hippie believed that he had transgressed the selfish interpretations of revolutionary theory, and found a more relevant framework for action, for in many ways it attacked those facets of the culture of society which the political radical left unchallenged. Jean Francois Revel thus believed that,

"Today in America, a new revolution is rising ... It is the only revolution that joins culture, economic and technological power and a total affirmation of liberty for all in place of archaic prohibitions. It therefore offers the only possible escape for mankind today: the acceptance of technological civilisation as a means of not as an end, and ... the development of the ability to reshape that civilisation without annihilating it." (12)

Revel argued that freedom from technology, space races and rat races, was necessary if civilisation was to survive. The hippie revolution looked forward to a time when the machine would produce the goods and means of livelihood, thus enabling the individual to live a freer and self-controlled life.

Education would no longer be geared to supplying an industrial workforce, but to widening individual experience beyond the consciousness III Reich talks of, in a never ending quest for transcendence and personal liberation.

This was epitomised in the hippie's choice to live his immediate life more freely, with the ultimate aim of searching for self awareness and knowledge. Revolution emanated from the criticism of society in which,

"schools and universities keep students stupid, hospitals perpetuate suffering, media prevent the communication they are to facilitate, factories produce goods to destroy themselves, courts produce criminals. In short a world gone mad."
(13)

The hippie believed he could initiate a revolution by living out an alternative.

"Look you want to have more fun, you want to get laid more, you want an outlet for your creativity, then get out of school, quit your job. Come on out and help build and defend the society you want. Stop trying to organise everyone but yourself. Begin to live your vision." (14)

This was to form the basis for mass revolutionary action.

The aforementioned is perhaps crediting the hippie movement with a more positive framework, than it itself had. In the mid sixties there were many emotional claims of revolution, but it would be true to say that all were related by the notion of revolution by consciousness.

Some of these are illustrated below as represented by the hippies' "spokesmen" (remembering of course that the idea of one man ever speaking for another was condemned).

"This revolution never occurs but always is in the process of occurring. This revolution is change. This revolution is the movement by which any individual or society confronts, creates himself." (Joseph Berke) (15)

"The first revolution is in your own head. Dump out their irrational goals, desires, morality. If it feels good, do it, provided it doesn't hurt you or someone else".

"Never forget the greatest battlefield of them all is right within you, in that treasure-room called consciousness ..."

(Simon Vinkenoog) (17)

"The surface of the planet has to be replanted back to some living delight, instead of dead vibrations. It doesn't need leaders, doesn't need centralised authority, just needs realisation of ideas." (Allen Ginsberg) (18)

"When life and society are set in a competitive ratio, it is simple to see which is the greater and which demands the greater licence.

(Jeff Nuttall) (19)

However what followed in the post 1967 years was not the expected coming together of all young people, but rather a fragmentation of groups into specialised interests, - a movement beginning with the break-up of the Haight Ashbury community in the autumn of 1967.

For a 'moment' the movement had been perceived as representing a unified whole. However, from 1968 onwards, it became increasingly difficult to isolate any one systematic approach to the problem of social change by any large group of people. The hippie had however opened various avenues for dissent in the fields of drug usage, mysticism, community experiments, anarchism, political activism, liberation movements, and hedonism.

Many writers have indeed tried to delineate different types of rebellion by referring to different types of hippies. Yablonsky categorises the movement in terms of the "True Hippies (High priests philosophers and Novitiates) and the "Plastic" Hippies (the hangers-on who have no commitment).(20); while Young talks of a middle underground (who run the various community organisations), the Beats (the drop-outs from consumer society) and the Pop Aristocracy (the heroes and respected figures of the movement) (21). My own categorisation is based on the central interests of the hippie. Although the

varying strands many be viewed as elements of one sub/counter cultural group, a clearer view results from analysing these separately, for it is this fragmentation of the hippie ideology which in part has led to its demise.

Before discussing in more detail the numerous hippie interests, the social characteristics of the '60s, version of bohemia should be noted. Yablonsky estimates that, in 1968, there were 200,000 visible hippie drop-outs in the United States, while many more thousands - students, young executives and professional people - were sympathetic towards the movement. However, he only classifies a small minority, some 10% - 15%, as being of high priest status, and actively concerned with building a revolution. He classifies at least 50% of the movement as "plastic hippies". Yablonsky's data, also led him to conclude that most hippies - over 70% - came from middle and upper-class homes in society, a figure which none of the available material seems to deny.

Charles Reich concludes that "the core group was always white, well educated and middle class" (23). Musgrove is less dogmatic and states that "the counter-culture is probably closely associated with a liberal, middle class education; rather less demonstrably with a middle class background." (24) It would seem fair to conclude that the main upholders of hippie ideology were middle class, although it did attract some support from the educated lower-middle and working classes - the petty bourgeois elements.

Fragmentation

In order to study the development of hippie ideology from 1966 to its demise in the 1970's, the following strands can be noted, which although emanating from the experiences of 1966, do not now represent any group of people as a whole.

1. Mysticism.
2. Drug Usage.
3. Community experiments.
4. Anarchism.
5. Political Activism.
6. Liberation Movements.
7. Hedonism.

These will be discussed in order, hopefully enabling both a clearer understanding of the bohemian phenomenon, and also presenting some reasons for its demise.

Although many of these categories involve conflict with others, four main themes - expressivism, aestheticism, freedom, and a concern for humanity, remain important elements of each. Each too, shows how the search for a new consciousness continues, albeit, in often directly conflicting ways.

1. Mysticism

The early psychedelic drug culture prospered on the L.S.D. experiences, often reputed as having the ability to induce 'religious experiences'. However, as Leary noted, in these experiences there was little guidance, and the 'trip' was just as likely to bring confusion as peace, because of the wealth of unconscious material that was suddenly revealed. It was out of this need for guidance through the drug induced spiritual 'journey', that the drug culture found interest in Eastern religions, which were believed to have more to offer than did Christianity and the religions of the West. (25) The main reason for this identification with "East" rather than "West", would seem to lie in the fact that the Gods of Eastern Religions can be found within oneself. They are not elevated to the realm of an untouchable monarch, as in Christianity. The Western approach allows one to consciously attain union with

God, through spiritual learning, more easily than through the highly moralistic and bureaucratic structures of the "West".

Alan Watts put it,

"The repellent externals of modern church life organisational busy-ness, inadequate teaching, excessive moralism, doctrinal obscurantism, lack of conviction, absence of reality, the very disunity of the church - all are rooted in the fact that the modern christian has no sense of union with God. Naturally then, the Church has no spiritual power either for creative morality, for speaking with the conviction that converts, for understanding the true meaning of doctrine and dogma, and still less for building a Christian culture and social order to displace the barren confusion of our present secular culture." (26)

If it was believed that L.S.D. enabled one to directly contact God, then the Eastern mystical approach gave that experience some meaning and direction. As such the drug experience provided an avenue into a critique of Christianity and, by definition, into much of Western experience.

The underlying aim of Eastern religion is to reach God intimately, thus gaining a unity with oneself and God which is located within oneself. Noticeable too is that there is no distinction between mind and body, for Eastern doctrine allows God to be located within each individual, in a fusion of all ideas and actions. Rather than worshipping some external deity, and thus separating God from man, the Eastern approach tries to show how man can find a oneness within himself and God. One can then be certain of the existence of a God as opposed to the unsurety and doubt which is inherent in Christian philosophy.

"obviously if Christian groups cannot or will not provide mystical religion, the work will be (and is already being) done by Hindus, Buddhists, Sufis, unaffiliated gurus and growth centres." (27)

Sharing the belief, that technology will be the downfall of all society, many bohemians withdrew into the world of

God, through spiritual learning, more easily than through the highly moralistic and bureaucratic structures of the "West".

Alan Watts put it,

"The repellent externals of modern church life organisational busy-ness, inadequate teaching, excessive moralism, doctrinal obscurantism, lack of conviction, absence of reality, the very disunity of the church - all are rooted in the fact that the modern christian has no sense of union with God. Naturally then, the Church has no spiritual power either for creative morality, for speaking with the conviction that converts, for understanding the true meaning of doctrine and dogma, and still less for building a Christian culture and social order to displace the barren confusion of our present secular culture." (26)

If it was believed that L.S.D. enabled one to directly contact God, then the Eastern mystical approach gave that experience some meaning and direction. As such the drug experience provided an avenue into a critique of Christianity and, by definition, into much of Western experience.

The underlying aim of Eastern religion is to reach God intimately, thus gaining a unity with oneself and God which is located within oneself. Noticeable too is that there is no distinction between mind and body, for Eastern doctrine allows God to be located within each individual, in a fusion of all ideas and actions. Rather than worshipping some external deity, and thus separating God from man, the Eastern approach tries to show how man can find a oneness within himself and God. One can then be certain of the existence of a God as opposed to the unsurety and doubt which is inherent in Christian philosophy.

"obviously if Christian groups cannot or will not provide mystical religion, the work will be (and is already being) done by Hindus, Buddhists, Sufis, unaffiliated gurus and growth centres." (27)

Sharing the belief, that technology will be the downfall of all society, many bohemians withdrew into the world of

contemplation and mystical experience, in an attempt to be resonant with a deeper, eternal structure, and to find peace when faced with an unstable and destructive world. We cannot however directly equate the psychedelic and mystical experiences, for two have many differences. For example, Buddhism values humility, and emphasises concentration and silence, while the drug experience stresses sensuality and egocentricity. The latter aids a pure self enlightenment and self expansion, which the Buddhist would condemn because of its excessive qualities. Buddhism both condemns excess and severe self discipline, favouring a world view of moderacy, regularity and control. Leary's search for "ecstasy and revelation within" would thus also be disapproved. (28)

The bohemians' general use of Eastern religion would seem to be highly selective, plagueristic and vulgarised. Nevertheless it created a general interest in a whole realm of mystical, occult and psychical revivals.

The bohemians interest in Zen Buddhism harks back to the Beats of the '50s. Both Ginsberg and Kerouac were concerned with a coming apocalypse rather than a social revolution. The religion's main attraction for young people was its lack of doctrine, or systematic approach to discovering God. Zen is basically a technique of meditation. It is believed that enlightenment comes suddenly and intuitively, rather than by prolonged mental effort. Man only has to realise the existence of a spiritual reality, and does not need to strive for it. The emphasis lies on the need to look inwards, to mistrust the senses and all material reality, but above all it rejects the notion of a separate God as a supreme being. Likewise it recognises no definitive route to discover Him, and thus allows more individual freedom. Similarly though, the

bohemian seems only to extract from the religion those elements that are acceptable to him. (29)

"Zen Buddhism firmly opposed the idea that Buddhahood is something to be sought outside oneself or in another world. Every man has a buddha-nature and to realise it he need only look within. Self understanding and self-reliance are the keynote of Zen ... sitting erect, cross legged and motionless, with the mind concentrated so as to achieve, first, tranquility and then active insight. But in the light of this insight the method and realisation are seen to be one; no 'means' is employed, no 'end' is attained". (30)

Yoga has also been an innovation into Western life, both for its physical practises, and its claim to achieve a perfect harmony within oneself; similar to the Nirvana attained by the Buddhist. Again mind and body are seen to unite, and the ability to discover more about oneself is heightened.

Transcendental Meditation (T.M.) became renowned with the Beatles use of L.S.D. and their temporary association with the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, in 1968. It is defined as

"a technique which allows the conscious mind to experience systematically finer states of thought until it arrives at the finest state of thought and transcends it, arriving at the source, the state of pure awareness." (31)

T.M.'s aim is self-realisation, but unlike psychoanalysis or self hypnosis (Western methods), it requires no effort or strain and no special belief. By 1972 there were an estimated 135 teachers and 20,000 followers at 60 centres in Britain, the majority being young people. T.M. marks a serious effort by many people, to try to discover the existence and relevance of their 'inner' or 'cosmic' consciousness. Hinduism has also made an impact. The Krishna Consciousness movement emerged in 1966 in America under its leader, his Divine Grace A.C. Bhaktivedanta, and is similarly a movement to aid understanding of one's consciousness, but worded in terms of self-purification and directed by a

spiritual master and obedience to Hindu scriptures.

"The intent of this movement is to bring man back to his original consciousness, which is Krishna consciousness, Krishna means the highest pleasure ... Krishna is seated in your head. God is situated in everyone's heart. God is not away from us. He is present." (32)

The movement is well known for its chants of the Hare Krishna Mantra, and its followers are common sights at pop festivals and in metropolitan centres generally. Krishna Consciousness not only seeks self enlightenment, but claims it can bring about universal peace and divine love to everyone, as long as we realise that all men are brothers and that we all share God as our common ultimate Father. Although this requires more obedience and adherence to established religious values, it was attractive to those bohemians who rejected psychedelic drugs, and turned to Krishna consciousness in a belief that man's natural state is already one of ecstasy. Chemical alteration of consciousness is then unnecessary. All that is needed is a self-realisation that Man is not actually his body, but is rather eternal spirit and soul, and is therefore forever in union with God.

Its slogan is attracting bohemians to its ranks, was "unlike L.S.D., Krishna Consciousness enables one to stay high forever".

More recently the Divine Light Mission has attracted much support. In 1973 it was estimated that there were 6,000 followers in Britain under the leadership of the fourteen year old Guru, Maharaj Ji. (33) The movement claims to give knowledge of one's own true self, through meditation practises, and offers inner peace in a troubled world. In recent years however (1974) membership is reputed to be declining - many have criticised the wealth of Maharaj Ji and also his own devotion, due to his rather "scandalous" relationships with

women in America.

The use of drugs, then, initially sparked off a concern and search for Inner Truth and Reality which led to interest in Eastern religions. For some, Religion has taken over the role of enabling an "escape" from the material world, and has consequently led to a critique of drug usage, as being mere chemical stimulation. Paradoxically, a revival of Christianity has also taken place, with the rise of the Jesus Liberation Front and the Children of God. Both take Jesus as their model of all that is good and holy. Although Jesus is still viewed as a figure external to Man, these movements differ to established Christianity, in that they are highly evangelical and their relationship with Jesus is both emotive and expressive. The movement is even seen by some to have revolutionary potential, due to its criticisms of secular society. Every effort was made to attract the support of the young through the now famous "Jesus loves you" stickers and the popular music of the "Godspell" and "Jesus Christ Superstar" operas. Christianity was 'sold' to the young through the use of modern symbols and signs, but in essence its doctrinal picture remained conservative and biblically based. (34)

Some have found contentment with such religions, while others have a more sceptical interest and are wary of fundamental doctrines which are over repressive. The bohemian has been attracted to ideas of Truth and Reality in his attempt to find a more fundamental meaning in life, but it is likely that the majority have only a fleeting relationship with the "religious freaks" and "mystics", and a minority detest them as much as they do the outside world. (35)

The search for mysticism meanwhile, has continued beyond religion, into a resurrection of occult and magic interests.

Again, the bohemians "search" is based on the belief that there lies somewhere, an entity more real and more powerful than man has ever created. 20th century man has chosen to neglect such entities because they cannot be wholly explained by scientific analysis and are therefore dubbed irrational.

It is a further attempt to highlight the limitations of man and to try and cultivate a concern for a deeper Reality.

In Britain, this was portrayed through interest in the Druids, Stonehenge, Blake, flying saucers, science fiction, ancient British history, E.S.P., witchcraft and Ouija boards. The first centre for such contemporary mystics in Britain was 'Gandalfs Garden' in Chelsea, which published its ideas, through a newspaper of the same name in November 1967. Its founder, Muz Murray claimed to have experienced a state of mystical awareness without the use of drugs, and set up the garden as a meeting place for young mystics, so that their experiences - drug induced or otherwise - could be co-ordinated and controlled.

The upsurge in such concerns was largely related to astrological movements in outer space which were thought to cause an increasing number of people to experience a 'cosmic consciousness'. This consciousness in turn enabled people to perceive the essential destructiveness of the earthly world, and the severe limitations of man in altering this process. The essential idea here seems to be that the earth is merely a speck in the Universe and is controlled by unseen forces from outer space. It justifies a certain disengagement with present day society, in that activism is believed to be severely limited and futile. It also recognises that there is

an infinity of undiscovered knowledge external to man in the Universe,

as well as an infinity of knowledge inside man, in his consciousness. Certain poets and novelists have also influenced the bohemian with their interests in fantasy, otherworldliness, the battle between good and evil, and romantic symbolism in nature. For example, Tolkien's "The Hobbit" and "Lord of the Rings" made this author into a youth cult figure. His highly imaginative tales of the adventures of Bilbo Baggins and Gandalf the White Wizard are attractive to the bohemian, because they speak of the triumph of good over evil, and look to a time when right will be victorious over might, and mankind will be unified. The involvement with mystical power in Britain has its centre around Glastonbury. It is believed that the 'Holy Grail' (the cup which collected the blood of Christ from Calvary) is buried there, and from this legend the stones of King Arthur and the English Tarot cards derive. More recently it was discovered that Glastonbury was the centre of a zodiac marked out around the local countryside by ditches, tracks and burial mounds, and as such, it was seen as a source for the transmission of spiritual power. Glastonbury has now acquired as significant a position for mystics as it had among earlier Anglican devotees. In 1969 hundreds of young people visited the area on Midsummers Eve, in the form of a pilgrimage to a centre of power, where they felt at one with nature and the Spirit. The value of the psychedelic experiences thus progressed from providing access to the Mind and new dimensions of awareness to initiating higher forms of religious and mystical expectations. (36) Above all Eastern mysticism and wisdom oppose the technological determinism of the 20th century.

It attempts to reunite man with nature and claims that God is still alive and is all important in reaching an understanding of ourselves.

"Our normal waking consciousness, rational consciousness, as we call it, is but one special type of consciousness, whilst all about it, there lie potential forms of consciousness entirely different ... No account of the Universe in its totality can be final which leaves these other forms of consciousness quite disregarded. How to regard them is the question - for they are so discontinuous with other consciousness." (37)

This so-called mystical or radical theological approach is important, for although it finds contentment in the present, its real objective lies in the future. Realisation of these unseen forces at work could bring about a conception of a power external to all man, that may at sometime help him to understand that immediate material living is unimportant, and thus pave the way for peace and utopia on earth. Radical theology is an ideology of Hope for the future within a general resurgence of man's need for the sacred. Scientific knowledge cannot answer all man's questions about existence and creation and so there is a perpetual need to explore spiritual avenues. The 20th century Western World favours the "scientific" character of Man, for the spiritual is incompatible with its highly rational and materialistic conception of the world. The mystic has a revolutionary stance because in looking to the future he has a necessity to

"say no to the given and yes to the new: to challenge the status quo and create the future, accepting nothing that is."

"There must be new spheres of freedom, a movement towards ultimate freedom, the formation of personal and group self identify over against the system ... All this will be possible by a God of hope "who is bringing a new future into being" and whose word of promise upsets old stabilities, arousing dissatisfaction with the old order and frees us to expect and serve the things that are to come." (38)

The contemporary interest in mysticism is indeed a complex field covering many differing strands, but all in some way contain themes of achieving universal peace on earth by way of recognition of the spiritual. In reaction against the impersonality of everyday life, it is an attempt to rediscover the essential being and purpose of Man. It also has shades of a search for the purity of mankind, which Western society has foiled through its censorship dogmas, its scientific rationale, and its negation of past traditions of enlightenment, Karma and reincarnations.

It is also a reaction to the religious ethics of mainstream society, and opposes them on various levels. Mysticism is oriental rather than Western, non-rational rather than rational, occult rather than prophetic, emotional rather than intellectual, and spiritual rather than material. The age of Aquarius is the mystic's future. The age of Pisces brought the word of Christ, now the Aquarian age must awaken consciousness and put the Christ spirit into practise, in order to achieve the kingdom of God, not in heaven, but on earth.

2. Drug Usage

The main drugs used by the modern bohemian are marijuana and L.S.D., and remain central to any understanding of bohemian phenomena. The use of drugs seems to indicate a general stress on expressiveness and creativity within bohemian ideology and this in turn correlates with the bohemians' "need" to live in a more unstructured social setting. In every culture people have found that eating certain plants, boiling them in water to make a drink, or smoking them, has produced pleasant effects on the body or mind, either to stimulate, relieve pain

or fatigue, or calm anxiety. Some drugs produce alterations in perception (hallucinations) while others bring sleep. These practises have become accepted parts of the cultural pattern of all societies, but while some condone certain drugs, other societies condemn their use. In Western society, socially accepted drugs include Tea and Coffee containing the stimulant caffeine; tobacco, which produces dependency on nicotine; and alcohol which in prolonged use causes physical and nervous deterioration. In 1965 it was estimated that there were approximately 100,000 acute alcoholics in England and Wales. (3) Alcohol also probably causes some 1,200 deaths on the roads every year. Meanwhile £20 million a year is spent advertising alcohol on T.V. and in the press. (40) Against this background the illegal drugs, marijuana and L.S.D. are viewed by the bohemian as being less harmful and moreover, more worthwhile and constructive, than those that are legalised.

Marijuana, an extract from the hemp plant, smoked either as a crushed plant or as a brown resin extract, has the effect of giving an increased sense of well being - a benevolent attitude to people and life in general. It may also cause changes in perception of time, shape and colour, and an increased awareness of^{and} sensitivity to music and rhythm. It would seem that marijuana as a relaxative can provide an essential muting of the pressures of work. As Becker established, marijuana smoking is also an important social activity. (41) One has to learn to enjoy and use its effects with other people, and for the bohemian it generally aids a feeling of solidarity and communality. Young concludes

"the bohemian smokes marijuana so that he can more easily enjoy aesthetic, sensual and group experiences"

(42)

A cursory look at the number of convictions for marijuana possession over the past decade in Britain suggests that the use of the drug is increasing enormously. (43) The size and extent of the trend cannot be solely attributed to the increase of law enforcement or the unreliability of official crime statistics. We can safely conclude that use of the drug has become widespread although we cannot specify the extent of drug usage because there is no reliable means of determining what percentage of users are convicted. The increase in use is largely credited to the situation of youth in the sixties. Marijuana had been used before in the West, in the negro ghetto areas and a few jazz bohemian circles of the beat era, but knowledge of its effects did not penetrate the young middle class until the '60s.

Due to the mood of the time - the rejection of conventional society; distrust of technology and bureaucracy; lack of conformity to established moral and workethics, and the need for more expressive and creative outlets - drugs were found both to increase the distinctiveness of rebellion within bohemian groups, and to aid their immediate creative and hedonistic desires.

"social reaction against marijuana smoking increases the marginality of hippie groups. Drug use becomes the major accusation levelled at them. But more profoundly hallucinogenic experiences act as a catalyst to the bohemian exploration of identity and subterranean values" (44)

The use of drugs thus helped to give the bohemian self identity. Official sanctions do not serve as a deterrent since the bohemian considers the laws punitive and based on misinformation. The classic case of this can be found in Schofield's "Strange Case of Pot", where he discusses many of the media myths regarding marijuana. He uses an article

from a Daily Mirror of 1939 to substantiate his argument. The Mirror argues that the drug is addictive, leads to violence, or irresistible sexual desires, and has effects comparable to opium and heroin. Schofield in showing these claims to be untrue, also marks a lack of belief the bohemian has in the "objective truth" of the mass media. (45) Ignoring official information channels, then, has helped to characterise the bohemian spirit, and also helps the bohemian gain solidarity within his own ranks. Marijuana smoking is seen as central to the attack on the established ethics of self-restraint, sobriety and earned leisure. Its use grew in the sixties precisely because more people wanted to rebel, and the numbers involved made the drug more available.

"The more users, the less viable the official line on marijuaan and to a lesser extent on other drugs. The less respected the rationale for such sanctions, the greater the experimentation. Greater experimentation increased the number of those who use, and makes it easier for novices to obtain drugs. The more varied the user groups, the less any potential user has to change his identity to begin using. The more users, the more jobs open for traffickers, and the more sellers will operate among their own kind; the more they blend with their clientele, the more difficult it becomes to catch them. Over time the contagion effect reaches a point where serious doubt about official positions is replaced by contemptuous disregard." (46)

The hallucinogenic drugs of L.S.D. and mescaline were also used widely (though not to the same extent as marijuana) by the hippie. Similarly the use of hallucinogenic was largely dependent on availability - more drugs are available today because of scientific breakthroughs in creating new substances. L.S.D. for instance is manufactured from the ergot fungus *Clairiceps Pupurea*, but can also be made synthetically.

In 1966-7 L.S.D. was seen as "the revolution", due to its ability to enable the user to see inside himself and to

discover a different and new reality. Day to day concerns were thus viewed as trivial, while ecstasy and harmony were found within. Aldous Huxley described his experiences with mescaline,

"At ordinary times the eye concerns itself with such problems as, where? - How far? - How situated in relation to what? In the mescaline experience the implied questions to which the eye responds are of another order. Place and distance cease to be of much interest. The mind does its perceiving in terms of intensity of existence, profundity of significance, relationships within a pattern." (47)

He argued that hallucinogens can thus by-pass the carefully selected utilitarian information by which we have learnt to gain a picture of what we perceive as reality, and gain a direct insight into the true Nature of Things. The results of this experience are that

"the man who comes back through the Door in the Wall will never be quite the same as the man who went out. He will be wiser but less cocksure, happier but less self satisfied, humbler in acknowledging his ignorance yet better equipped to understand the relationship of words to things, of systematic reasoning to the unfathomable Mystery which it tries forever vainly to comprehend" (48)

Further verification of the "powers" of hallucinogens was given to the bohemian, through the works of Carlos Castaneda. His first book tells us how the author made several trips to South West U.S.A. in 1960 to collect information on the medicinal plant peyote. In so doing he attached himself to Don Juan, an old Yaqui Indian, in an attempt to understand the latter's visionary powers. The description of the totally different reality that was exposed, whether using the hallucinogen, peyote, or not, was rightly analysed as being completely contradictory to all Western scientific knowledge. (49)

The way was seen, through the use of hallucinogens, to come

into contact with an essential part of our consciousness, which few of us rarely know exists, let alone how to use it. Halluciogens enabled the bohemian to be free of social constraint and to be engaged in the pursuit of self understanding and self acceptance.

"He is intent on creating a culture which is short term, hedonistic, spontaneous, expressive, exciting and unalienated. Halluciogenic drugs facilitate such aims admirably. The lengthening of the time experience allows minute examination of the moment and a sensation of directness and immediacy." (50)

In the seventies, halluciogens have been increasingly used for hedonistic, rather than philosophical/mystical ends. Many writers have described their drug-orientated life styles, in attempts to find the ultimate pleasurable experience: using fictional heroes whose one aim in life is to get high and stay high. Cult authors and musicians who have risen to fame include Hunter S Thompson, Jerry Garcia, Herman Hesse, Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, William Burroughs and John Lennon. (51)

The "harder" drugs, such as heroin (H) and amphetamines (speed) were generally rejected by the bohemian because their effects were believed to be desensitising. The introduction of such drugs, for example into the Haight Ashbury community, were viewed as instrumental to its downfall. The switch from L.S.D. to methedrine, and later heroin, indicated a growing dependence on, rather than use of, chemicals to get high. It was widely believed that those who used such chemical drugs, did so purely as a means of escape, because they lacked any philosophy of revolution.

As Yablonksy notes,

"L.S.D. and marijuana are prescribed by the hippie philosophy - whereas it is generally believed that "speed kills" (52)

"The new addicts are not the "religious hippies". They are generally younger searchers for Nirvana who have through speed fallen off rather than climbed onto the hippie movement". (53)

The use of speed was thus largely looked down upon, but Yablonsky estimates that at least 50% of his interviewees had sampled the drug. So it was certainly a part, although a contradictory one, of bohemian life.* The difference in the two drug cultures is recognised by the users level of dependency. Amphetamine users have a higher propensity to become both physically and emotionally dependent on the drug, while marijuana and L.S.D. are not known to have such effects. Above all amphetamine was not seen as a social drug. Marijuana was in many ways to the hippie culture what alcohol is to the dominant culture. It was used to aid relaxation and had a powerful social binding force - in that marijuana was almost always smoked in a group and was to be shared. L.S.D. had its philosophical and religious awakenings as its positive effect. Amphetamine has none of these effects, but rather accelerates the functioning of the central nervous system so that the user can move quicker and stay awake longer, rather than

* As the drug culture has developed into the seventies, drugs of all types are used as stimulants rather than routes to self or social awareness.

Accordingly the use of amphetamines and cocaine is now no longer discouraged, but viewed as having as much 'validity' as marijuana or L.S.D.

It is interesting to note that the use of amphetamines and 'pep pills' were in general use in the working class youth sub-cultures of the mod in the early '60s. The hippies original rejection of such means is probably indicative of his general distaste for working class culture.

obtain any euphoria. It is thus an individualistic rather than a collective 'high'. Ironically, the hippie, in introducing chemical drugs may well have "sowed the seeds of his own destruction" by opening the way forward to harder drug addiction (as opposed to drug usage). Similarly the bohemian ranks have been split through the differences in drug experiences.

A progression to heroin is a comparatively rare phenomenon, but may have occurred partly as a result of this initial fragmentation and disillusionment with the softer drugs. The customary definition of heroin dependency, as viewed by the hippie, is one of sickness - a state from which the individual cannot escape. It is a totally hedonistic, but also destructive experience. The heroin user (junkie) is viewed then as no longer so much a deviant or a threat, but as "sick" and in need of treatment. Burroughs tells of the junkie's experience, and distinguishes it from the experience of other drugs.

"I have learned the junk equation. Junk is not, like alcohol or weed, a means to increased enjoyment of life. Junk is not a kick. It is a way of life." (54(a))

From this discussion it should be apparent that the use of drugs has created many varied cultures. A unified drug culture no longer exists. Today there is little emphasis on the use of L.S.D. for any positive solution to the problem of seeking alternatives, and drug usage in general has degenerated into a purely hedonistic activity, where one can snub authority by "rolling a joint" or "dropping a pill".

As such it tends to mark a negative escape from, rather than any positive reaction to, the problems the hippie tried to face in 1966. On the other hand, the sought after

legalisation of marijuana may only lead to normalisation of the drug as a commodity whereby it can be sold for profit and "somebody in Imperial Tobacco will be given an O.B.E. for rationalising "pushing" ... and it'll be advertised as a good way of taking your mind off work and enjoying the good things of life." (54(b))

3. Community experiments

Bohemian culture has always emphasised the notion that power should be reduced from a state to a community level. Some attempt was made to make Haight Ashbury a self sufficient community in 1966, and the idea of community has been put into practise in two ways. Firstly there has been a marked movement into communes, and secondly the bohemian has created his own organisations to serve his needs in the urban centres. The community experiments, then, are characterised by the creation of new institutions. However, as in any discussion of bohemian culture, the hardest task, is to discover common themes, from a host of details, of which many are unique to a particular group.

As regards the creation of communes there is no single model of such a community, groups vary widely in size and organisation, with their location being either rural or urban. Their unity lies in widely shared beliefs about the way life is, and the way they feel life ought to be. The experiments are also believed to be radical alternatives to, and escapes from, society - an attempt to create a more egalitarian society in microcosm. Their revolutionary potential lies in their example to others and their refusal to wait for a utopia of the future. Andrew Rigby describes their general characteristics -

"a commune consists of a group of people, of three or more persons in size drawn from more than one familiar kinship group, who have voluntarily come together for some purpose or other, shared or otherwise, in the pursuit of which they seek to share certain aspects of their lives together, and who are characterised by a certain consciousness of themselves as a group. The sharing together of their lives may range across such dimensions as living accommodation, economic activities and income, child rearing and perhaps also sexual activities." (55)

The bulk of commune membership, he concludes, are young people from middle class backgrounds, who wish to live in relative isolation. They seek a life that is fuller and more meaningful to them as individuals. (56)

The movement has its roots in communities that were formed in the 19th century, particularly in developing middle America. There was still an abundance of land, and the notion of a self-sufficient community of several hundred people was in many ways an economic necessity due to lack of transport and communication facilities. However, whereas these communities were large groups cemented by strong leadership, the communes of the bohemian are generally small and anarchistic. Whereas many of the former were highly structured and regimented, those of the sixties were consciously unstructured, the lives of their members purposefully unregulated. Men, women and children of all ages were members of the 'old' communities, while today they consist mainly of young people in their late teens and twenties. Historically, however, they share a utopian dream of the creation of a federation of such communities, where power would be retained on a local level. It is ironic to note that in America the main critics of the bohemian communes are from those very same sections of middle America which have now "made it good". (57)

For those contemporaries who choose the commune alternative, both to living in conventional society and commitment to revolutionary activism, the priorities are; to expand one's consciousness; to be aware of one's natural environment; to be concerned for the welfare of others; and to change institutions in order to delimit their power. (The political activist would presumably reverse this order). Communes, though, have not just been attractive to the bohemian, but to both (as Keniston termed them) "The Young Radicals" and "The Uncommitted". These respective politically active and retreatist elements, have joined communes, for the two are united over such questions as egalitarianism and collectivism, (long-term goals) while they may disagree on the means to achieve these ends.

Many young people and students who joined such protest movements as the C.N.D. and anti-Vietnam marches presumably often felt frustrated by the limitations of such action, but also gained an intangible sense of comradeship and togetherness. It was in the sit-ins, marches and festivals that a feeling of community was born for these people, because in such situations they could enjoy a shared (rather than competitive) commitment and purpose. Such ideals were important in the foundation of bohemian communes - for people to get together, to find contentment (usually away from the polluted cities) and to get "back to the earth". It was the nearest they could come to fulfilling the dream of being able to start all over again. To some degree they were revolutionary, in that they disregarded the nuclear family structure which has long been recognised as the backbone of Western society. This in turn has revived interest in

peasant tribal societies. The customs and mythology of the American Indian have been of particular influence and pioneer groups were set up to return the rights and land lost to the white man. The "white man's society" is perceived as not only destroying the Indian tribal system, but, because of industrialisation and division of labour, decision making has been taken out of the hands of individual, and local communities. Again, the growth of technology in the past 50 years is used to explain much of the bohemian dissatisfaction. Keniston remarks that,

"Two generations ago children had relatively little difficulty understanding their fathers work, today most jobs are far beyond the comprehension of most other adults much less their children. The older view of the world as an open, understandable place and the view of the self as a jack-of-all-trades are hard to maintain in the 1960's." (58)

The specialisation and fragmentation of tasks, the growth of large organisations and the need to emphasise cognition and reason, in order to fulfill technological demands, have made it difficult to maintain a warm and absorbing community of mankind.

Keniston writes,

"In peasant societies throughout history, men's obligation to their work, their children, their fellow and the Divine has been seen as a part of an indissoluble whole - and in most primitive societies today an intimate nexus exists between family, social obligation, work, ritual, magic and religion. All these reasons which we would consider different are experienced by him as one and the same". (59)

Durkheim makes a similar statement and comparison when he says

"In a small society, since everyone is clearly placed in the same conditions of existence, the collective is essentially concrete. The whole tribe, if not too widely extended, enjoys or suffers the same advantages or inconveniences from the sun, rain, heat or cold ...

The collective impressions resulting from the fusion of all these individual expressions are then determined in form as well as in object and consequently the common conscience has a defined character ... Because conditions of life are no longer the same everywhere, these common objects can no longer determine perfectly identical sentiments everywhere". (60)

Both these statements imply that any large technological society will of necessity find that much of its social reality is abstract, and as such it will be difficult to sustain a strong community. The bohemians' concern for personal, whole relationships is epitomised in his escape from technological society.

From the few sources that are available I have attempted to list the chief characteristics of the bohemian commune experiments.

Time

The communes of the bohemian rarely have clocks or calendars. Conversation appears to be about the present, rather than past or future. There are no schedules, and there does not appear to be any firm commitment to the future.

Play

In rejection of the world of work and deferred enjoyment, the category of play is resuscitated, for it offers openings for immediacy and expressivity.

Romanticism

There is a notable turn away from modernity and development of interest in pre-industrial ages particularly tribal living; mysticism, the unknown and the spiritual. It emphasises the ideal and subjective, rather than the real and objective. As such it harks back to a "golden age" which was materially poor, but spiritually rich.

Organisation

There is usually a fear of leadership, or any form of bureaucracy. Decisions are taken collectively, and as far as possible in the interests of all, in an attempt to absorb the self in the community. For this to be operative, the division of labour, has to be almost negligible, where each person shares the same values, precisely because he also shares the same experiences.

"The community is a place for people to find the kind of work they'd be doing, whether or not they got paid for it - in short your own thing, the abandonment of materialist values." (61)

General agreement is sought before any policy decided, most communities having some sort of meeting to determine what the consensus is. When this process breaks down, a lack of unity is indicated and is a sign that part of the group should leave to form another community. Being unstructured and leaderless, the communities are generally small; most having between six and thirty members. Their structure then is small, intimate, and involves a primitive simplicity.

Conflict seems largely to be caused by overcrowding. Conflict with neighbours and local authorities is also apparent, causing many communes to move to more remote regions. Membership is partially controlled by this inaccessibility, but most communes, particularly in the late sixties, reported that policies of offering free access to everyone was not really practical.*

* It would seem evident from such conflict though that there would be a general difficulty in translating such communities into a national federation for once the numbers grow then so does the possibility of internal dissent.

Lifestyle

The rural communes have developed a voluntary primitivism due to limited income, and consequently material needs have been drastically reduced. There is a high dependency on the land, to grow one's own food.

"You've really got to respect the land here.
The message in a thousand ways is "Take care
of what you've got. Because man if you fuck
up the land, you fuck yourself up". (62)

Clothing is usually secondhand, or homemade. Domestic skills - carpentry, plumbing - have to be learnt, and scavenging is raised to a high art. The urban communes are probably more dependent on people temporarily earning a wage, or relying on Social Security payments. Nevertheless the subsistence (though not the primitive) level of existence is virtually the same.

In any account of commune life, one is continually reminded by the author that it can only really be understood by living it. Similarly the numerous different types of communes make any systematic categorisation virtually impossible. Melville remembers a poem of the beat generation.

"sorry to say
you miss the point
these things are lived
not sociologised" (63)

The sociologist can fall back on the 'facts' of the commune movement, that is the extent of its existence. Rigby tells us that in 1970 there were 2,000 rural communes in America, as well as many urban ones; while in Britain, in 1972, the figure was estimated at 100. (64) However Leech believes that many of these were the 'crash pad' type which were devoid of any goals or discipline, but served as a temporary and unstable means of accommodation. (65) Indeed much of the commune movement in urban areas has disintegrated, and has been replaced by squatters movements. Houses, usually owned by Local Councils, are broken

into and occupied, while they are empty and awaiting demolition.

Squatting first received national media coverage in 1969 when a small private militia was formed to evict three homeless families in North East London. Since then many young people have joined squats, either because it suits their ideological outlook or because conditions are more open and communal, in spite of continual harrassment from Councils and Police. Squatting is seen as an effort to resist urban renewal, an alternative to homelessness, and a political threat to the ethos of private ownership and property speculation of capitalism. The two main areas for squats in London today are probably the Camden and Islington areas, but the movement has spread to all areas due for redevelopment in every major city in Britain. The London Squatters Campaign came into being in November 1968, uniting revolutionary libertarians with young Liberals. Thus started seven years of housing struggle throughout Britain, where the bohemian became involved in a tenuous union with the genuinely badly housed and homeless. (66) This has involved a considerable degree of organization, and community support has been provided by setting up switchboards and free advice centres to give information and legal aid to the new communities. Whilst such organization may seem to totally contradict the original hippie philosophy, Musgrove concludes that bohemianism in the seventies could only survive through such deliberate organization. The bohemian community now could best be seen as isolated individuals and groups acting independently, but informally supported by the alternative organizations. It has been discovered that there are limits to the expressivism possible in any social organization, and a move towards more deliberate organization, and instrumentalism, is seen as a

necessity. As such, centres have been set up to give information on such topics as suicide prevention, child care, abortion, homosexuality, psychiatry, legal problems, arrests, drugs, alcoholism and contraception. (67) This move was begun in 1967 with the setting up of Release - an organization concerned mainly with helping people who had been arrested on drug charges. Today it is the main welfare agency for the British bohemian. In 1968, 603 cases were recorded but by 1970 Release was dealing with nearly 4,000 cases a year. Release's success gave impetus to the development of many such groups throughout Britain. In 1975 it was estimated that there were over 200 information centres and legal and welfare centres in Britain's major cities. In 1967 the underground magazine IT set up a 24 hour information service called BIT, which acted as a central information distribution centre specifically for London, but including information of bohemian activities throughout Britain. Its leisure, entertainment and cultural information has now largely been taken over by the magazine Time Out, which has circulated the London area since August 1968. However the latter is viewed by the bohemian as catering for spectators rather than activists, for followers of fashion rather than deviants, for fans of Alice Cooper and Bernadette Devlin alike, rather than critics. (68) In 1970 it tried to extend its readership by publishing a Manchester edition but lost £4,000 in the process. (69)

Other experiments in co-operative living involved the setting up of alternative food supplies, similar to that of the Diggers of Haight Ashbury. The Free Universe Co-operative was formed in Brighton in 1971, in order to achieve cut rate prices for food, by buying in bulk and organizing distribution. Similar

ideas have been used in North London and Nottingham.*(70)

There has also been interest in setting up alternative, or "Free schools", which attempt to become involved with local issues and problems. It is an attempt to return education to more immediate and local day to day problems, to teach what is relevant, rather than what is traditionally judged to be of educational necessity. The schools advocate community control, rather than state control, and claim more personalization within the school, and more involvement with the community outside the school.

"'Free Schools' are in the disreputable experimental margins of society. The teachers meet one critical test of 'alternatives' in that they have given up paid employment and live on social security in order to teach in these schools. Although they are in the margins of society, they are deeply concerned to establish close relationships with the local community and even to merge with it. These teachers have the characteristic concern of the counter culture with authority and hierarchy; they are especially concerned about the constraints of the traditional teacher role. " ** (71)

Similar experiments have been performed in the fields of art, cinema and street theatre. Each has attempted to combine education with leisure and to be resonant with local community concerns.

* A developing trend in the seventies has been bulk buying of food by forming food co-ops, either amongst individuals buying retail or shops buying wholesale.

** Free schools main role today is to provide alternative educational projects for children with "special difficulties" or who are persistent truants.

To this extent they may be seen as propping up the system, rather than providing real alternatives. In 1975 there were about 10 such schools in Britain.

Concern for community has also lead to concern for environment, ecology; and, due to the subsistence level of many of these ventures, survival techniques. Thus many bohemians began to teach themselves the necessities of survival without the aid of machines. The Whole Earth Catalog tells us how to make our own candles, dye, furniture, houses and tools, how to use the earth more productively by growing our own foodstuffs, and how to survive in a world where we can only depend on ourselves. It defines its purpose as:

"We are as gods and might as well get good at it. So far remotely done power and glory - as via government, big business, formal education, church - has succeeded to the point where gross defects obscure actual gains. In response to this dilemma and to these gains a realm of intimate personal power is developing: power of the individual to conduct his own education, find his own inspiration, shape his own environment, and share his adventure with whoever is interested." (72)

However, this new-found ecological consciousness is something which the bohemian shares with many liberal elements of the "straight" world. The dangers of excess industrial waste, pollution, exhaustion of mineral resources and over population are envisaged by both groups. But while the Liberal may seek to introduce government control on these issues, the bohemian views them as part of the general war man has been waging against nature since the industrial revolution. Rather than take political action, the bohemian retreats into cults of naturalness, satisfied that he is aware of the dangers, but seeing little he can do, except by example. Nevertheless, the bohemian's assumption about the place of man in the natural world, is one of his most radical ideas, even though it may be subsumed under a general conservationism in the outside world. Such a concern can be traced back to the art and craft of the primitive shaman who communicates with the

forces of nature as a respected part of the universe. Hunting and gathering is performed with a certain reverence and ritual, in order to keep the partnership between man and nature intact. Indeed it is a peculiar sort of radicalism that looks back to primitivism for its inspiration. However through such means, the bohemian has at least begun to question some of the basic features of modern society - the role of science, the "civilised" nature of industrialism, and the meaning and purpose of progress. From such interests the 'Friends of the Earth' organization was formed in 1970. Since then it has been active nationwide in campaigns over the use of plastic packaging, the extinction of species of animals, the use of non-returnable bottles and the pollution of many of Britain's rivers. Such concern for naturalness, has stimulated interest in health foods, macrobiotic foodstuffs and vegetarian diets. To the bohemian, dangerous drugs are not marijuana or L.S.D., but white bread, property, money, television and work. In true bohemian style, work, for example, is seen as the

"First step on road to addiction. User adopts compulsive life patterns and a readily identifiable appearance. Leads to heavier stuff like money and property. Signs: sloped shoulders, pale flesh, ties or nylons". (73)

The community experiments are an attempt to create viable alternatives to the above; to be able to live more freely, at a local level. They also mark a dissatisfaction with the viability of social change or revolution on a national or international level, and prefer to tackle more reformist measures, while consolidating their position in small, integrated communities. The hippie spirit of 1966-7 is still an important binding force of many of these ventures and deviant styles of life. They remain opposed to the dominant value system, even though they may not be envisaged in a

total revolutionary perspective.

As such the movement provides both an alternative to the accepted 'face' of western society, and also an alternative to revolutionary commitment. Communities are, then, a compromise, but one which enables the individual to live his life as freely and as independently as the rigours of mainstream society will allow.

4. Anarchism

The bohemians' anarchistic groups are characterised by their anarchist ideas, rather than the dogmas of traditional anarchist organizations.

The first group that could be so categorised was the Yippies - the Youth International Party in America "led" by Jerry Rubin. Their protest used primarily aesthetic rather than violent means. Their aim was to provoke the existing society into revealing itself as working behind a pretence of humaneness and individual freedom, while at the same time consolidating its position through racialist, imperialist and exploitative policies. The Yippies were active, in that they openly organized demonstrations and protests, but they still remained anti-political. They were thus a quasi-^{which was} revolutionary movement, more hardened than the hippie. While the emphasis on play remained, the themes of love were forgotten. They realised that an alternative society could not be found merely by living it; the elements of social control in the police, army and law courts would not allow it. The persecution of the hippie by these agencies was probably a major reason why some turned to more active means of attacking the establishment. Theirs was an aggressive sensibility that attempted to destroy all respectability any

institution may have had. They used uniforms and military equipment in mockery, disturbed solemn processions by releasing colourful ballons and interrupted court proceedings. Their action contained strong elements of play and as such Neville has called their ideology the "politics of play".

"The Yippies are politicised acid freaks or as Paul Krassner once put it, 'they're hippies who've been hit on the head by a policeman'. Doped, they stumbled into politics backwards. Instead of painstakingly acquiring a text book ideology and seeking to feed society into its vision machinery, the Yippies found their politics and their freedom through a lifestyle ... By abolishing the distinction between theory and action, the Yippies were to challenge not only the cliché hypocrisies of the White House and the Pentagon, but also the dogged atavistic weekend-seminar ploys of the New Left". (74)

At the turn of 1968, when the hippies' "flower power" was very much on the decline, the Yippies emerged. The Yippies, however, were never an organization, but mainly three people - Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin and Paul Krassner who attempted to integrate the hippie mentality with the political philosophy of the New Left. They first came to the public eye when a crowd of Yippies gathered together at the Pentagon, to exorcise the demons from the building and levitate the building. Hoffman describes the events,

"... Someone gave a marshall a leaflet on U.S. Imperialism, another squirts him with L.A.C.E., a high potency sex juice that makes you pull your clothes off and make love ... people are stuffing flowers in rifle barrels". (75)

Other notable Yippie events were the throwing away of money in the New York Stock Exchange, and the demonstration and festival at the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1968, for which Hoffman, Rubin, Hayden and Dellinger, amongst others, were tried for Conspiracy. Chicago had important consequences for the development of anarchist movements, for it brought to the

surface the existence of a "police state", and repression. Hoffman earned a five year prison sentence for his part in organizing the joint-rolling contests, nude grope-ins, and general hysteria in Chicago. Consequently, previously non-violent demonstrations introduced violent tactics, and the Weathermen became the self appointed "guerilla army" of the bohemian. Courses in the free universities in U.S.A. and underground newspapers worldwide began discussing the use of small arms and the construction of bombs. The White Panther movement evolved in America (the bohemian version of the Black Panther Movement) and spread to Britain in 1970.

The most positive element of the Yippies was having Hoffman and Rubin at their head. In the late sixties they seemed to have an indeterminate ability to be able to attract media attention, which they then played on by deliberate policies of agitation and provocation. The establishment was confused by its "revolution" of media-freaking and improvised street theatre. For the Yippie the only way to run a revolution was to have fun while doing it, and as such they adolescentised the anarchist tradition. The mood is perfectly depicted by Rubin in his unique fantasy mixture of politics and play.

"Clerical workers will axe their computers and put chewing gum into the machines ... Workers will seize their factories and begin running them communally without profit ... Yippie helicopter pilots will bomb police positions with L.S.D.gas. Kids will lock their parents out of their suburban homes and turn them into guerrilla bases storing arms ... At community meetings all over the land Bob Dylan will replace The National Anthem ... People will farm in the morning, make music in the afternoon and fuck wherever and whenever they want to." (76)

The Yippies first became widely known in Britain when a group of twenty, led by Rubin, invaded a Saturday Night David Frost Show on I.T.V. television on November 7th 1970. The Daily Mirror reported that,

"They swarmed onto the stage while Frost was quizzing Yippie leader Jerry Rubin and forced Frost to change to another studio. Some shouted four letter words and threatened to take over the programme." (77)

The disruption was effective enough to get Rubin quickly deported. In Britain, however, Rubin's activities were only the start of more anarchist activities, for a month later the Angry Brigade began to receive public attention. Like the Yippies, the A.B. were not an organised group, and thus police detection was made much more difficult.

"Asked what sort of organization the Angry Brigade was, Commander Bond said he didn't know. "I regard the Angry Brigade as an idea which anyone can join". (78)

However it is reputed that such anarchists used an activist theory formulated by the Situationists, one of the student groups that was influential in the May student/worker alliance in Paris in 1968. Both the A.B. and the Yippies are in line with situationist ideology, by rejecting traditional revolutionary ideology completely, and emphasising the importance of a revolution in daily life. Each was just as much influenced by Karl Marx as by the Marx brothers.

"Since the individual is defined by his situation, he wants the power to create situations worthy of his desire. With this in view, poetry (communication as the achievement of a language in situation), the appropriation of nature and complete social liberation must merge together and be realised." (79)

They thus aim to be seen as reflections of conflicts that are occurring in everyday society, rather than vanguards of any revolutionary action. The A.B. attempted to reflect their view of contemporary Britain by planting bombs at targets connected mostly with the American, Spanish and Italian governments, but also with the British Establishment.

Bombs had in fact been planted as early as 1968, but this was ignored by the mass media until 1971 when Robert Carr's home was bombed. Following this, there was a swift police hunt, in which Jake Prescott was arrested. The envelopes containing copies of the Angry Brigade Communique No. 4 sent to the press at the time of the Carr bombing were found to have been addressed in his handwriting. Nine others were also arrested on conspiracy charges. (80) Their main aim was to provoke the established order and defy whatever authority was thrown back at them. Their actions may have been violent, but no-one was killed, or badly hurt as a result of their activities. The political stance of such anarchist movements can be seen in the White Panther Ten Point Party Programme.

1. We Want Freedom

(Power to determine our own destinies)

2. We Want Justice

(an end to all political, cultural and sexist repression of all oppressed peoples (an end to all police and military violence)

3. We Want a Free World Economy

(free exchange of energy and materials/abolition of money economy).

4. We Want a Clean Planet

(an end to all industrial and military pollution of land, water, air and mind).

5. We Want a Free Educational System

(to teach everyone how to survive and grow to their full human potential).

6. We Want to free all Structures
(to turn all buildings and land over to public ownership).
7. We Want Free Access
(to all information, media and technology.)
8. We Want Freedom of All People
(abolition of conscription to armies).
9. We Want the Freedom of all Political Prisoners of War
10. We Want a Free Planet
(free time and space/everything free, for everybody). (81)

They also mark a recognition that a revolution was not going to occur through consciousness alone, but needed action through the use of bombs, strikes and sabotage. Their philosophy may have adhered more strongly to Marxist revolutionary theory, but there was still little inference of alliance with the working classes, or of any alternative to replace capitalist society. Their anger was bitter, their actions often violent, but they had little positive direction. By 1972 such anarchist movements seemed to have totally disappeared. The mood of the early seventies was epitomised by Mick Farren, in the realisation that one has to fight to change anything.

"The awful fact is that it will require guns and bombs to defend it against a civilisation that as it falls would rather destroy everything with it, than admit it was wrong. When we have to fight, we will fight like crazies. Killer acid freaks turning up where they are least expected, destroying property and structure, but doing their best to save minds." (82)

Meanwhile, however, many a bohemian was alarmed at the violence and aggression that was being introduced into the culture. This was epitomised through the case of the Altamont pop festival, where a member of the audience was murdered, and more particularly the Charles Manson murders in USA. (83)

Here was a case where bohemianism was split into two camps. Many admired Manson's commune life-style, while being horrified by his violence. Similarly many always wanted to be free, but were never prepared to fight for it. The Weathermen may have condoned Manson's actions, but perhaps they too were confusing violence for its own sake (as a decadent form of bourgeois culture) with violence being necessary for liberation. (84) To try and formulate this distinction was something which the bohemian had to do if he was to accept and use violence systematically as a necessary part of his search for "an alternative". However, a majority decided to ignore the question all together. Politics without play was not for them. The total anarchism of Manson's activities was too atrocious for many a bohemian to accept. Their anarchism would have to remain on the Yippie's irreverent, scathing and playful level. Playing with a gun was alright, but many a bohemian could not pull the trigger.

5. Political Activism

To talk of the bohemian as being politically active would at first sight seem highly contradictory. In fact the bohemian's search for a utopia is based on the supremacy of the spiritual, rather than the material, world. Their revolutionary basis lies in this idea and therefore transcends the materialistic preoccupations of the established political parties. It goes beyond criticism of capitalistic/technocratic/dictatorship societies, beyond a socialist ideal even, to a society where each individual can attain total freedom of expression. It transcends socialist revolutionism. The bohemian generally sees political action as shortsighted in its goals, and limited in its actions. Indeed the major conflict between the bohemian and the dominant value system is not just over

questions of inequality, human suffering, income differentials, poverty, discrimination and the like, but over questions of the existence of a Being within all of us, and a Reality which lies outside of the scope of materialistic and sociological explanations. The discovery of such a Reality is viewed as more important, than all the measures of social reform and revolution that man can conjure up. Such materialistic knowledge is seen as insignificant to the whole realm of spiritual knowledge within us that has not yet been unleashed, because we have neither the knowledge to understand, or the 'right' social situation in which it could prosper. Our necessary preoccupation with work, money and materialism gives us neither the time nor inclination to pursue these ideas. The relationship of spiritualism to western society then is a revolutionary one - one which denies the value of social reform in this world.

Nevertheless, the injustices suffered by many bohemians in 1967, did lead to some alliance with other minority groups, and this in turn fostered relationships with political groups. In bohemian terms, however, it was a relationship with very little basis. Political action was still seen as a very limited route to reaching the goal of complete freedom for the individual.

The bohemian then, has affiliations with the political radical, and as we have seen previously in the case of the Aldermaston marches, political demonstrations do attract bohemian elements - more so over questions of humanitarianism and liberation, than student autonomy or student/worker alliances. He lies on the fringe of the more dogmatic, principled revolutionary but shares with him a view of the 'decadence' of capitalism and its

institutions. He will not join any left-wing groups, but on certain occasions will join with them in protest.

1968 is accepted as being the watershed year, when bohemianism turned to open protest.

"Students throughout the world captured universities, marched in demonstrations and fought police. Thousands of young people called themselves revolutionaries and spoke of overthrowing the system. Rarely a day passed when the newspapers or television did not carry some news of fresh student demands; magazines were filled with pictures of young men and women waving red flags of radical socialism or the black flags of anarchism."

(85)

This activity was indeed most prominent in the industrialised democracies of U.S.A. and Western Europe. Columbia University in New York was seized by students in March; the Sorbonne in Paris was occupied in May; the London School of Economics was likewise threatened by sit-ins in April; and Berlin students almost shut down the right-wing Springer press after the shooting of student leader Dutschke in March. Events in the U.S.A, culminated in May 1970 at Kent State University in Ohio, when four students were killed and nine wounded, after the National Guard had been called in to suppress a student sit-in. The lack of humanity and the power of authority shown here, were further unifying agents to which both bohemian and activist could relate. They were united too, in that the students critique of their university life is based on the notion that functional intellect is over-emphasised. Both were convinced that exclusive intellectual or instrumental mental exercises necessarily neglect a non-intellective awareness. It is of interest to note that the majority of dissident students come from the Arts and Social Science faculties, where this awareness is at least awakened, but by no means satisfied through the University curriculum. For the bohemians, the emphasis on the

supremacy of rational, abstract modes of thought is seen as a fetter to any search for the 'proper' purpose of one's life; for the activist the University is seen as a part of society which prolongs its inegalitarian and elitist structure.

Rebellion then is a sign of both a moral (bohemian) and a political (activist) sensibility.

However, when the activist attempts to achieve solidarity with the working classes, as the basis of revolutionary action, he parts company with the bohemian. The occupation of the Sorbonne in May 1968, in Paris, and the alliance between French workers and students which followed, was the only case where the student has in fact gained support from the working classes.

Usually their actions are treated with contempt, and mass support is rarely achieved; in fact student dissidence usually has the effect of isolating itself from the power and influence that it sought. The reasons for the alliance in Paris were probably only because of a momentary coincidence of grievances, of a politically sophisticated proletariat, and a common respect for the masses' culture and intellect. It was by no means a permanent alliance, although it was seen as such by many left-wing groups throughout Europe at the time. (86)

Moreover, it was seen to be of more importance to foster an alliance between bohemian and activist, and for this purpose a movement known as the New Left emerged in 1968. It attempted to make the bohemian more aware of contemporary injustices, and at the same-time make the activist more concerned with notions of 'total freedom', so that their utopia of the future would have none of the bureaucratic and repressive elements as portrayed by Russia and the Eastern Communist bloc.

It thus attempted to fuse the works of Moa Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh, Che Guevara, leaders of the 3rd world revolutionary groups (Al Fatah; Tupamaros guerillas), with those writers who were involved in questioning the values of modern affluent society. (Allen Ginsberg, Timothy Leary, Norman Mailer and Herbert Marcuse). As such it was an attempt to unite the 'objectivity' of the Old Left and the subjective orientations of the bohemians' cultural revolution. It was hoped that political opposition and cultural opposition could develop side by side. However, by 1969 it was soon seen that there was an essential difference in merely providing symbols of opposition and actually adhering to a policy of political activism. (87)

Mick Farren told of his dissolutionment after the October 1968 anti-Vietnam march to the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square

"The October revolution had sold itself out after three hours. For most of the freaks in the crowd, the flirtation with the conventional left was over. We had to work out our own tactics. We could expect no allies from that situation." (88)

The New Left disintegrated because its aims were too optimistic, and its goals were sought for immediately. Their energy for performing political work was tested and failed, when the effectiveness of their demonstrations were seen to be limited and their attempts at gaining public support defeated. Organization, commitment and acceptance of failure were all lacking. They too were characterised by student bodies, whose interest in revolutionary activity, is characteristically shortlived. They may be active for three or four years, but when university life is left behind, occupations and families begin to create new and more immediate problems. The students today are more akin to their predecessors of the pre 1966 days,

and, indeed, far from being radical, seem eager to join in the benefits of a technological age.

However, this is not to discredit some of the positive results that the New Left can claim as its own. Many universities have now been restructured to give a greater student participation and autonomy in the organization of these institutions; the Anti-Vietnam War marches helped to stir up enough bad publicity for the Pentagon, that American participation in Vietnam has now at least officially ended; and the Civil Rights marches in the U.S.A. have played their part in at least showing the world that racism does exist as a problem to be tackled.

Immediate goals may have been achieved, but long term goals have been utopian. The alliance may have been worthwhile, but the bohemian always maintained that political hankering was shortsighted; and that the battles will still have to be fought, even within a socialist society.

6. Liberation Movements

Over the past decade there has been a dramatic increase in campaigns for the rights of minority, and otherwise exploited groups, and the bohemian spirit has played its part in this field. The main concern is over the 'morality' of western bourgeois societies, beginning with the beats' and hippies' attack on sexual norms, and spreading into the seventies in the fields of Gay Liberation and Womens Liberation. Parelleling these, interest and support were also forthcoming for racial minorities, mental patients and prisoners.

In part, bohemian interest in these areas reflects changes that are going on in the outside society, within an apparent liberalisation of dominant culture morality. The bohemian

though adds fuel to the fire of a protest that is apparent not just from its own ranks. As such he tests the establishment's power to accommodate such movements into the overground society.

The hippie has indeed received as much media attention for his 'perverse' sexual relationships, as he has for his use of drugs. The bohemians' sexually orientated life-style though is open to doubt. The sexual revolution represents a shift in attitude and education, rather than behaviour. It attempts to show how sex, like drugs and play, are looked down on by the mainstream society, because of its apparent ideology of condemning whatever is immediately enjoyable in life. Actions which have no long term gratification patterns, seem always to be discarded as meaningless, and of little relevance. The bohemian, pressed for a reversal of this situation, and demanded the introduction of unconstrained sex education programmes which could reveal how sexuality is repressed. Reich's works have become most influential in this respect:

"Parents - unconsciously at the behest of authoritarian, mechanised society - repress the sexuality of infants and adolescents. Since the children find their way to vital activity blocked by asceticism and in part by unemployment, they develop a sticky kind of parent fixation characterised by helplessness and guilt feelings. This in turn prevents their growing out of the infantile situation with all its sexual anxieties and inhibitions. Children thus brought up become character-neurotic adults and re-create their illness in their own children. In this way, conservative tradition, a tradition which is afraid of life is perpetuated." (89)

For Reich, full human freedom is impossible without full sexual health. The attainment of freedom he sees through genital sex, culminating in the orgasm, as the highest liberating moment that can be attained. Genital gratification will then eliminate the source of neurosis from which contemporary puritanical adults appear to suffer. Sex is not just necessary for

procreation and pleasure, but for individual freedom of mind. In sexual relationships, this mood has not lead to promiscuity, but rather to a relaxation in behaviour patterns. Schofield's study of sexual behaviour of young people aged between 15-19 found that in Britain, at the age of 18, 34% of males and 17% of females were sexually experienced. (90) However, their ideas were still characterised by a need for love and platonic dualism rather than lust. The extent of the 'permissive' society and its dangers are thus often sensationally exaggerated. However there appears to be a more widespread acceptance of casual sex among young people. Pre-marital sex may still be viewed as morally wrong by many people, but it has reached such widespread attention through media reports, that it is no longer viewed as perverse. Neville describes it as a change in sexual style

"Underground sexual morality is, in its own way, as direct as the Old Testament. If a couple like each other, they make love ... The ancient rituals do not apply. " (91)

The bohemian thus reacted against the outdated taboos of the adult way of life. Nuttall describes the adult generation's inability to talk about sex openly as being always confined to the curtained room, "imprisoned there as a secret". (92) Adult sex is rarely openly discussed. The bohemian however, attempted to show sex to the world, and openly publicise it as healthy and enjoyable. Sex was not to be gained by payments for magazines, strip shows and prostitutes, but by contact between liberated human beings of any sex. Moreover, what the bohemian advocated was more access to sexual information,

"It seemed clear to me that artificial standards of morality and censorship were causing information to be withheld from people, to the detriment of their mental and physical health". (93)

so that the sexual liberation movement could develop smoothly and without causing further severe feelings of guilt and neurosis for its indulgents.

Questioning of the ideas of marriage and family have led many people into community experiments, and attempts have been made to de-perversify other practices such as homosexuality and lesbianism. The first public demonstration by homosexuals in Britain was in November 1970, when 150 supporters of the Gay Liberation Front met at Highbury to put forward their demands to end all discrimination against gay people by the law, employers and society at large. They also advocated a more liberal sex education programme where homosexuality could be seen as normal and not a symptom of the mentally ill.

- "1. Nature leaves undefined the objects of sexual desire. The gender of that object is imposed socially. Humans originally made homosexuality a taboo, because they needed every bit of energy to produce and raise children: survival of species was a priority. With overpopulation and technological change, that taboo continues to exploit us.
2. Bisexuality is good, it is the capacity to love people of either sex.
3. Exclusive heterosexuality is fucked up. It reflects a fear of people of the same sex." (94)

Emphasis lies in the breakdown of male and female definitions; to see the individual as he is, rather than as pre-defined by his sex, or the role that he is playing.

The movement has had widespread support and in 1975 had forty branches throughout Britain united by their own journals, "Come Together" and "Gay News".

Freedom for the individual is also an essential part of the feminist struggle. Struggles for equal rights for males and females, have continued since the Suffragettes at the beginning of this century, but the new Womens Liberation

Movement has a far more wide-reaching and critical approach. It begins by attacking the advertising and mens' magazines mentality, in which women are merely aids to commercial success and sexual fantasy; and ends with a criticism of all exploitative relationships that women have to suffer, both socially and politically. In essence it is recognised that complete liberation can only come about through a socialist revolutionary programme.

"The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed slavery of the wife ... within the family he is the bourgeois and his wife represents the proletariat." (95)

As well as demanding emancipation from the stereo-typed figure of woman as a mindless sex object, the movement also rejects the limitations imposed by marriage and conventional family patterns on the development of each female as an autonomous individual. It may concern itself over questions of abortion, law reform and free contraceptives, but these are only short term measures. Radical feminism soon moved, in the seventies, to a totally libertarian viewpoint. It demands an end to sexual repression; an end to the separatist character traits of 'masculine' or 'feminine'; and an end to male dominance, so that the female sex may achieve freedom and full human status. (96) Authority, economic independence and power are defined as the prerogative of man, and radical feminism sees these traits not just in the home, but inherent in the very structure of our patriarchal society.

These three movements represent a very real attempt by the bohemian to break down the formal and exploitative relationships that the dominant culture's morality fosters. To a degree it has been successful: sexual relationships are more open; men are not averse to wearing some "female" styles; and the ideas

of homosexuality and feminism have at least been introduced, even though they suffer from "camp" humour in theatre and T.V.

The three are all in some way interrelated in their demands for freedom of sexual expression, and their rejection of the Freudian theory of a female vaginal orgasm, allowing women and men to be sexually satisfied in other ways, than the 'accepted' face to face position. But it is an emancipation that is fought for not only in the sexual, but also the economic, social and political spheres. The concern for minority groups, has also shown itself in white support for militant black power groups, and a search for alternatives to conventional systems of psychiatry and penology. In Britain the relationship of the bohemian to Black Power and the Penal Reform groups is perhaps somewhat tenuous, but concern has been notable over questions of psychiatrics, mental illness and madness, if only because the bohemian himself was so labelled under such categories, due to his experiences with L.S.D.

The bohemian questions the ability of western rational and scientific methods of ever being able to understand the mentally ill. Objective models cannot be used to understand what is basically a highly subjective experience. The anti-psychiatry school (Laing, Szasz, Cooper, Brown) and the P.N.P. (people not psychiatry) organisation, attempt in differing ways to encourage reliance on human contact, rather than psychiatrics, in treating the mentally ill. In the popular mind schizophrenia, for example, is the violent acts of a totally mad man, while anti-psychiatry tries to discover some sense lying within this apparent nonsense. At its extreme, it is viewed that the mentally ill are in contact

with a deeper reality within themselves, which the bohemian is striving to find, and thus are in some respects more sane than the rest of the population. Mental illness then is another reality, through which we can find self realisation. This is the view expressed by Mary Barnes, who experienced the 'world' of madness and the mental hospital. (97)

For her, to experience madness and go through it, was salvation. Orthodox psychiatry only obscures an understanding of the highly contradictory situations that all people face in industrial society. Through anti-psychiatry, both a humanitarian and a radical critique of society can be obtained. Inability to understand the mentally ill is a failure of ours, not theirs. However, dominant culture, in its efforts to maintain control, finds itself unable to accommodate such ideas, - and the fear of the label of "mentally ill" remains a threat for us all to conform.

Through all of the liberation movements one can distinguish two differing strands - political commitment and the exploration of the Mind. Their aim remains: to find an environment in which both spiritual and material desires can be fulfilled.

7. Hedonism

The bohemian has always stressed a need for immediate gratification of his desires. He needs to see something changing in his everyday life in order to justify his dissidence, over and above the more long term goals he may have. However in living a hedonistically orientated life-style, the bohemian has attracted many elements, whose sole concern is hedonism. The phenomenon of the "weekend hippie" is of relevance here. Some may work all week, seemingly like any "normal" member of society, but at weekends they are relatively "free" to do whatever they like, and their life-style accordingly changes.

The hedonist element may well have rejected all searches for alternatives. Their culture then involves a low level of aspiration, and is basically a compensation for the failures and the repression the bohemian may feel today.

The hedonist feels that society cannot be altered fundamentally, and falls back on an escapist philosophy, living his life as freely as possible, stretching the boundaries of what is "acceptable", but above all seeking self gratification whenever possible. Such a pattern of living does not offer others much in the way of support. The styles it may exude may tell of suffering and protest, but it is essentially a short sighted hedonism that is perhaps characteristic of all groups who live on the margins of society. Of course, according to Neville, the hedonist element, in creating new styles of recreation, leisure and play, is looking to the future. It laughs at the establishment of today, but could well be the forefront of the acceptance of total expressivism in a leisure society of the future.

"The essential characteristic of play is fun. Play 'adorns life, amplifies it and is to that extent a necessity both for the individual as a life function - and for society by reason of the meaning it contains, its significance, its expressive value, its spiritual and social associations, in short, as a cultural function. The expression of it satisfies all kinds of communal ideas. ' Play is freedom.'" (98)

The bohemian anticipates a workless society. Mundane tasks will be performed by machines, work will only be performed if it is creative, meaningful, or in fact another element of play. The political activist asks, why work in alienating situations? the bohemian asks, why work at all?

It would appear that one has to distinguish between hedonism as play, and hedonism as apathy. Hedonism could well lead to the establishment of a 'liberated' society which has neither the intention of the bohemian to control the productive system

and those who will profit from it. The hedonist approach, then is not a solution to the problem of an advanced technology, but rather an aspect of its growing affluence.

Of all the bohemian elements, the hedonist would seem to be the most easily controlled and accommodated. If marijuana were legalised today, the hedonist would not complain, whilst the activist would argue that it would only create another profit making organisation, and also stifle an area of dissidence within society.

"... the hedonist at best probably enjoys what Marcuse has referred to as "euphoria in unhappiness" ... more concerned with being than becoming, and hedonism might be described in fact as a state of frenetic stasis." (99)

Despite these limitations, hedonism is an important element of bohemianism, and is forever revived through the influence of music, drugs and festivals. Hedonistic activities still have the ability to create and stimulate areas of dissidence, precisely because Western society is still regimented by a work, money, and anti-play ethic. Hedonism still involves a non-conformity or an anti-authoritarian approach to life.

Music

Music is an essential element of the bohemian spirit and was a central preoccupation of both beat and hippie groups. For the beat it was avante-garde jazz; for the hippie, rock music. To large numbers of young people, music seems to matter passionately and in its awakening of emotions becomes a necessary part of their life-style. Through studying musical styles one can gain important insights into the culture from which it originates and represents.

Alfred Willener goes a long way in showing how avante-garde jazz forms an important part in revolutionary ideologies,

paralleling a study of the May 1968 student riots at the Sorbonne in Paris, with their liking for unorthodox music. (100)

He equates the student motivations for rejecting rules that they themselves did not make and inventing others, to the improvisation that is an essential part of avant-garde jazz. Free-form jazz, is regarded by many as the expression of a desire for social emancipation. In its form, it breaks away from a strict rhythmic alignment between wind instruments and the rhythm sections of trad. jazz and classical music. The traditional dialectical interplay of instruments and integration into order is ignored. The jazz player then produces an impure sound, but one which concentrates on expressing the sound of the individual voice and mind, rather than that of a collective group. The musician expresses himself, rather than a sheet of music, in his search for the innovative and the undefinable.

Rock music on the other hand, does not necessarily appeal to the mind, but to the body: it demands immediacy and participation. Again the opposing strands of bohemianism, of expressivism and instrumentalism are shown.

The hippie phenomenon brought Rock music to the forefront as a powerful element in achieving a social critique. In its values and assumptions it diverges from those values that have been dominant in our society since the Industrial Revolution.

"to stand in a pop club in any of the world's larger cities in these days is to experience a sensation rather like that of being suspended over a vat of boiling oil. The battery of curdling colours projected around the room, the aggressive gobbling of the lead guitars, the animal wails of the singers, the throbbing danger of the abused amplifiers and the stunned trance of the crowd all contribute to a ritual that can be nothing if not profoundly disruptive of most things that life has been about up till now. " (101)

The need to release emotional energy, to lower inhibitions, to communicate with musicians and to identify with the protest inherent in musical lyrics, have attracted the bohemian to rock music. Rock music in turn proved to be the major communicative organ of the culture. If the major impact the bohemian of the 1830's had on the 20th century was artistic creation then the 1960's will be most remembered for its musical innovations. The music favoured initially, emanated from the American West Coast and was closely associated with the 1967 Trips Festivals that were organised at that time. Those that come to mind are Quicksilver Messenger Service, Country Joe and Grateful Dead, Jefferson Airplane, and/the Fish. San Francisco indeed had a whole radical artistic tradition in which "eccentrics" were encouraged. Their music is experimental and immediate.

"It was like a scene Nietzsche had described -

"Orgiastic movements of a society leave their traces in music" he said. "Dionysiac stirrings arise either through the influence of those narcotic potions of which all primitive races speak in their hymns - or through the powerful approach of spring which penetrates with joy, the whole frame of nature. So stirred the individual forgets himself completely." " (102)

In Britain The Pink Floyd, Soft Machine, Pink Fairies, Arthur Brown and Hawkwind were popular, but the movement can be traced to the days of Elvis Presley and Rock 'n Roll. He was the first to blatantly exploit sex on stage and many musicians have followed him in such cathartic releases of aggression aimed at arousing the audience into a similar state of ritualised frenzy - a ritual they can enjoy because it demands participation rather than passivity. At its best too, it can break down barriers between performers and audiences allowing each to rid themselves of their specific roles and join in with some kind of "communicative worship." (103)

However, much of Rock music today is now established and commercialised, deeply entwined in the mass culture of our society, and so it is the relatively unknown and not overtly successful groups that are now favoured. The movement to respectability and grasping for commercial success is probably apparent even within these, due to exploitation by record companies. In being attractive to a wide audience, the experimental and protesting elements are automatically reduced.

Much bohemian music has become popularised, and as a part of a mass culture, is now accommodated and 'acceptable'.

Drugs

There is a whole history within bohemianism of drug-orientated songs: Bob Dylan's "Mr Tambourine Man" ; the Beatles' "Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds"; The Grateful Dead's "Dark Star"; The Byrd's "Eight miles high" Jefferson Airplane's "White Rabbit" to name but a few. Today drug usage and songs have both lost their contact with bohemian revolutionary ideology. Enjoyment of drugs, particularly marijuana, and bohemian music, is now more of a pure hedonistic experience, with little direction, besides compensating for the alienating and contradictory situations in which many bohemians find themselves. (104)

Festivals

The musical festivals, organised by bohemians, provide the hedonist with a near idyllic situation, wallowing for a few days in a world free from the pressures of the outside society.

Dating from the Jazz Festivals of the '50's, the bohemian festival took its modern form from the multi-media experiments

of small groups in San Francisco - the Acid Tests - and the event at the Roundhouse, London in 1966. Such 'happenings' culminated in the Woodstock Music and Arts Fair in New York, where a quarter of a million people were able to live peacefully under the most primitive conditions for 3 days in 1969. This was followed by similar events at Bath and the Isle of Wight in Britain in 1969 and 1970.

"... you consider that the sheer number of beautiful people struggling against the inclement weather, and basic needs of survival, turned the festival into a Nation dedicated to victory..." (105)

Anyone that attended these earlier events can hardly deny the feeling of solidarity that existed temporarily amongst the audience. It was of course a false aspiration, but one which led to the high optimisms of many a writer and "underground" journalist.

Besides being a vehicle for drugs and music, the festivals were important, because they transcended the isolation in which the hedonist is normally involved. There is no doubt too, that living in the open, and making one's own home under branches, is fun and provides a space of freedom, but one cannot escape the feeling that such festivals could either be full of pilgrims or lemmings; an area of freedom or destruction; a truly free society or a commercially viable enterprise.

Mills, somewhat cynically, describes the scene at a festival.

"A lot of them seemed to be playing little surviving in the wild games, just like bullocks, pretending to fawn each other doing all this sort of running about - an instinctive sort of thing. They all made little homes, hundreds of people grouped together, sitting in piles of rubbish all over a field." (106)

The festivals of the seventies, however were different propositions. They became overcome by commercial exploitation, admission prices rose, site ammenties were reduced. The festival and the music no longer "belonged to" the audience. As such there has been a resurgence of the notion of Free Festivals, which have no admission charges.

"Free festivals are based around the concept of community and collective responsibility. Participation rather than observation is the key. For a short period of time, the participants create a liberated zone - a territory where they can survive and enjoy themselves, without the intervention of rent men, bailiffs or police." (107)

Such ventures have been organised at Windsor and Stonehenge, but due to lack of organisation and "respectability" are more prone to police harrassment. Festivals are no longer seen as the basis of a cultural revolution, but strive to give the bohemian yet another hedonistic escape from the outside world. The nature of all hedonist activity, must be tempered by the fact that it is short-sighted, and in building outlets for itself in the music industry, will necessarily lose its impact.

"Take a closer look at the establishment. See its made of rubber - it co-opts by expanding, by stretching a little bit further and absorbing all the freaky excesses and aberrations. Acceptance that's the real disarmament. The media canonise hippie dom, and soon Broadway's "Hair" offers the flesh rather than the Spirit. One of those days grass will be legal and then what: Big Brother moves over just enough; and as soon as he gets a piece of the action, the Angry Young Man settles for a lip service revolution full of sound and fury and signifying nothing". (108)

Concluding remarks

Bohemianism's potential to instigate change in the social order appears to be highly doubtful. The culture still exists; the critique of society and materialism still remains; people now

are living totally different ways of life, than their parents ever envisaged, but due to lack of direction and unity and also lack of visibility, the alternatives are no longer seen as revolutionary viable. Such middle class dissidence is no longer apparent. In turn the mainstream society has learnt to accept long hair to a large degree; the ideas of homosexuality and feminism have at least been introduced; and the radical theology, ecology and musical movements are easily accommodated into more "acceptable" institutions.

It is only when such occurrences as the OZ obscenity Trials and Political demonstrations "hit the headlines" that bohemianism becomes of national interest.

The protest is now concentrated in various communities, and is of an essentially reformist nature. Otherwise the bohemian has retreated in to second thoughts and his own insular social worlds.

The dissatisfaction may remain, but the voice is rarely heard.

Chapter 6

What is "Underground" about the Underground Press?

Objective definitions of the term "underground", when referring to the bohemianism of the late 1960's, are both hard to find and perhaps also unnecessary. The most useful definition for our purposes can be reached on a pragmatic basis. The underground press then is perhaps best defined as the communiqué of that bohemian culture which I have tried to systematise and explain. Any journalism that affirms such bohemian ideology can be called "underground". The term itself however is unsatisfactory and appears more beloved of Fleet Street and the mass media, than bohemian journalists. Tom Forcade, an American author involved in promoting various underground newspapers, conferences and festivals expresses the general distaste with the term...

"...underground is a sloppy word and a lot of us are sorry we got stuck with it. "Underground" is meaningless, ambiguous, irrelevant, wildly imprecise, undefinitive, derivative, uncopyrighted, uncontrollable and used up..." (1)

The underground press had a vital role to play in co-ordinating and structuring the life style of the many varied brands of hippie, drop-out and "the alienated". Present forms have developed out of the Beat era in America, where in New York two papers, the Village Voice and the Realist, were created in the mid 1950's. By 1970 hundreds of underground papers were being published in America and Western Europe, although their highly irregular publishing dates and lack of funds, makes it difficult to state a precise number at any one time. Also, the range of this

material is by any standards too wide to be easily encapsulated by any one term. Yet it does have various prominent features.

Underground newspapers are above all anti-establishment papers, criticising the news printed by the "established" media, and as a result they have produced their own journalism of dissent. This dissent is presented not only by "printing news the others won't print", but by the style and format of the papers' production. Their policy seems to be one of shock tactics, stretching western liberalism to the limit, printing material that would elsewhere be unacceptable and in a style that the mass media has described as "debauched" and "illiterate". As a result some have argued that the underground press was at the forefront of some revolutionary social change that was overcoming western society throughout the sixties.

There are numerous left-wing papers in Britain, e.g. "International Socialist" and "Workers Press" which advocate a socialist revolutionary change of society. These usually view the working classes as their main revolutionary vehicle. Other papers have a less dogmatically politicised orientation and have been labelled as anarchistic. Examples of these are "Red Mole" and "Freedom", but they are either too rigidly organised or doctrinaire to be included in the category of "Underground". "Private Eye" and to some degree "Punch" have also been partially equated with the notion of an underground press, due to their irreverent and critical style, but these papers limit their criticism to point out society's smaller deficiencies and by no means advocate any kind of

revolutionary change. Underground papers look and feel entirely different. Their emphasis is on individual modes of action, rather than collective. In Britain their main representatives were "International Times" (later to be renamed "I.T."), "OZ", "Frendz" and the earlier editions of "Rolling Stone".

John Hopkins of the London Free School described the Underground as being:

"...political, but no one gives a shit if its anarchist or communist or what it is. There's no organisation, no leaders, just lots of people who are disgusted and disillusioned and frustrated. People want to protest, but that's only one side of it. The positive side is doing something creative right now, doing something with joy and love..." (2)

The emphasis then is on individual expression directed towards protest against organisations, the state and an outdated morality which control rather than allow people a necessary freedom to express themselves as they wish. The aim of the press is to "spread the word" and to "educate" its readers by entertainment rather than dogma. It teaches self survival, providing information and advice of how best **the** counterculture and the individual involved can take action over various issues of freedom and equality. As such it...

"...printed news of what ideas had been born instead of who dies, where instead of reality being fed downward from the top, reality was everybodys. Or everything is everything." (3)

I.T., OZ and the like see themselves in open war with the rest of society, attempting to secure social change by changing outlooks and life-styles. Life-style here is the important factor. Above all the underground press is an

expression of a style that has to be lived to be fully understood; a style that is communal, drug orientated and protesting.

In addition to its deviant message, the underground press can be readily distinguished by its deviant style and structure. A much greater emphasis is placed on artwork and graphics than is 'normal' in the mass media; and originally less emphasis was put on advertising space.

"It assaults the retina with multicoloured pages, complex superimpositions, often impact at the expense of clarity. The ambiance is nearer cartoon than newsprint. One is likely to find a large quantity of erotic visuals, serving the dual function of harassing taboos and boosting sales." (4)

This in turn emphasises the immediacy of its message with undefined visual impact, rather than newsprint columns.

In the accepted sense of the word, the underground press' political role is fairly limited. It does not concern itself with Party politics or propaganda manifestos. Rather it functions to provide its readers with information that is not in the interests of the established press to release, or to counter the information of the official press and try to show that another reality exists beyond that which is created and promoted by the mass media. The case of coverage of the "drug problem" is indicative of the underground's alternative stance.

The mass media have been noted to widely use sex and drugs as sensational press formulae in order to boost sales. Such topics are dealt with as obscene, immoral and dangerous, and as a result provide important sources of income. It is hardly likely then that the media will turn

to a more constructive approach to such problems of criminality and drug usage, for in merely condemning such activities, they appeal to that very middle class prurience and indignation which is largely successful for sales. By publicising drug arrests and obscuring the distinction between the effects of different drugs, the press has in itself a large role to play in prolonging what is generally perceived of as a "drug problem". For example, a Daily Mirror of the 1930's led with a feature claiming that cannabis is habit forming and "turns people into" psychopathic killers. The underground press has done much to show how such official information is contentious and plays an important role in pointing out distinctions between such drugs as marijuana and heroin, which it is not in the interests of the official press to reveal. Once marijuana is seen as no longer a controversial subject, then it is no longer a news sensation. The underground press can thus often refreshingly show us the contradictions and limitations that the official press is bound to.

The Press may also be defined by looking at the characteristics of its readers. It would be true to say that its readership is made up largely of young people, but can include anyone who is at all interested in "improving" and changing his life. Nicholl writes,

"The Underground Readership is young, belligerent and predominantly middle-class: students, hippies and the avant garde, the stoned and the unemployed". (5)

while Glessing believes,

"Underground newspapers reach an audience far wider than students and drug takers. Many elements of the Establishment who are interested in or

or sympathetic to the underground youth movement read the papers, as do tourists and those who seek partners for unusual sexual activities". (6)

This difficulty of reaching a concise definition, however, is not totally unredeeming. It serves the Underground and its culture well to escape being rigidly categorised by the normative values of western capitalism, for from such a position it can reinforce its own belief that it is positively creating a direct alternative. Once it can be defined, it faces institutionalisation and destruction.

Above all the press itself is by no means all of a likeness.

International Times (I.T.) which was founded in October 1966 was essentially apolitical, based on a form of passive anarch^o-liberalism. It began as a vehicle for avante-garde arts and has developed through virtually every element of the 1960's bohemian scene.

OZ first appeared in February 1967 as an Underground magazine, rather than the IT style of community newspaper, and evolved into a vehicle for the hedonistic hippie, praising the value of play.

Friends began as the British edition of the American rock music paper, Rolling Stone, but between 1969 and 1971, its format, along with its name (Friends, Friendz, Free Friendz) changed dramatically and on the whole became more overtly political. The need for a rock music journal was filled by Zigzag, which existed side by side with Rolling Stone. Nasty Tales and Cosmic Comics catered for the British Underground Comix market.

However, certain general features can be noted as common to all.

To conclude, the Underground Press is youth orientated; its message is anti-establishment; it advocates some sort of revolutionary social change by life-style and culture, rather than overt political activity; it is the preserve of, and fights for, the causes of deviant minority groups usually existing on the margins of society, and it carries with it a highly noticeable deviant style, structure and organisation. Definitions of what is "Underground" however can be left to the individual concerned, for its central notion is that each individual can make of it whatever he likes. Or as Tom McGrath said in his introduction to the first copy of IT.

"If you're with us, you'll know".

The Underground Press however, played a vital role in giving the many interested parties of mystics, politicians, drug users, hedonists and libertarians some sort of unified radical culture to which they all implicitly belonged. Out of all the counter culture's aims it produced only one unifying institution which could communicate between and inform these various groups - and that was the Underground Press.

By 1975 the culture had withered and along with it the national underground press. But in its wake emerged a multitude of localised low key economics community newspapers, which owe much of their inspiration, outlook and approach to their forerunners of the mid 1960's.

"International Times" (I.T.)

A Case Study

In many ways the Underground Press in Britain began and ended with I.T. Not only was it the longest lived paper in this country, but its span from 1966 to 1975 covered the hippie movement and its aftermath in total. Through its ten year history and over 160 copies, it perhaps more faithfully than others documented the events and discourse which characterised the bohemian movement in Britain. With it were carried the successes and the limitations of a British Cultural Revolution.

In this chapter I wish to study the Underground Press and particularly I.T. in close detail, in order to gain a clear picture of the movement as a whole in Britain, and secondly to clarify what a bohemian life-style actually entails in practice. An in depth content analysis of I.T. will be undertaken using the following theoretical framework and categorisation. (7)

1 Cultural Analysis

This envisages that any journalistic media creates its own style which is indicative of those groups from which it can gain most support. Thus any form of media cannot be analysed in isolation from the cultural activities and life style of its audience. Here we can discover the consistency of the bohemian culture, its determining features, and features that are incongruent. It's style may be compared and contrasted with other cultural patterns. To elucidate these points, data can be collected from letters which are

received and printed by I.T. and compared to the culture value orientation of the movement as a whole.

2 Social Analysis

This level of analysis will be concerned with the social organisation of the Underground Press and will attempt to place the organisation involved in the production of the press, in a wider social setting. Pragmatic explanations of press production may also help to highlight other incongruent features.

3 Semiological Analysis

This understands that any style implicitly carries with it a system of connotational symbols, which may convey emotional meaning sometimes easier than language itself. Such meaning is transmitted best by music, yet in terms of the press, slogans, phrases, graphics, artwork and comic strips can all be seen as additional conveyors of meaning apart from newsprint. The press can convey its message via its very style and format and thus provide an 'image' to which its readers can relate.

The problem lies of course in the fact that such implicit symbolisation of meaning may hold different connotations for each individual reader. Semiological analysis must then suffer from a high degree of subjectivity, but nevertheless reveals a level of understanding whereby objects can be stripped of their mythical qualities and can be seen as they "really" are.

4 Historical Analysis

This considers the historical development of the Underground

Press and its culture. Additional consideration will be given to its emergence and to factors which have affected its subsequent development. In this way the part played by external social forces on the development and structure of the underground press can be considered.

5 Ideological Analysis

This will aim to reaffirm explicitly what the other levels of analysis have stated implicitly. Thus we can conclude with an analysis of the major factors which give bohemian culture its defining characteristics, as anti - or pro dominant culture ideology.

6 Comparative Analysis

The value themes of the bohemian will be compared to those of normative dominant culture. This will be undertaken by comparing the relative expressive/instrumental values of I.T. with those of the Sunday Times Colour Supplement over a comparable period.

1 Cultural Analysis

Analysis of bohemian cultures has shown that they implicitly contain many values that counter the existing social order. Their critique is mainly directed towards modernism and technology. Many of these values were made more explicit in the 1960's with the coming of the hippie. Despite the apparent disorganisation of the movement as a whole, its latent value system can be seen as theoretically in direct opposition to that of elite culture and the dominant value system on which western capitalist societies are based.

Culture Value Orientation

Dominant (Value System)	Cultural Radical	Political, Radical
work	play	work
power	love/peace	power shared
objective	subjective	objective
materialism	spiritualism	materialism
utilitarian	hedonistic	utilitarian
conservative	anarchic	socialist
society	self	society
deferred gratification	immediacy	deferred gratification
technology	humanity	technology/humanity
state	community	state/community
coercion	self determination	self determination
politics	culture	politics
body	mind	body
force	empathy	force

Such an analysis of cultural values clearly shows the relationship of the cultural radical to the dominant value system and also conflicts lying within radical culture as a whole. (8)

However, taking such themes on face value may also be misleading. For example, we have already seen how the culture of the hippie is in itself made up of various conflicting values. The use of drugs is substantiated by a desire to eke out the spiritual nature of things, but the

hippies attempt to gain their salvation was maintained by altering their material environment, albeit their own internal, central nervous system. Similarly the desire to obtain certain consumer goods suggests that the hippie may be more materially inclined than he would like to consider. These values can be defined and substantiated to some degree however by looking at the content of articles and letters published in I.T.

The value of play is epitomised by hedonist activities, but is also central to hippie culture as a whole encompassed in its semi-anarchic outlook on life. From its beginnings in 1966 the Underground Press also vowed it would not fall into the trap of serious political dogma

"I.T. is just for fun. Even when we're blasting off or being subversive, remember we're just in it because we like playing games." (9)

"No badges, no more parades. We must keep our sense of humour. The future will belong to those who know how to play." (10)

The continuing inability of any observer to define the hippie in any rigidly defined terms would appear to substantiate the underground's success in escaping total institutionalisation. It's messages are both varied and forever changing.

In the years 1966-68, the culture was based around love, world peace and self expression. While "underground" authors were writing as follows,

"Expanding minds and bodies are demanding, sometimes, non violently, sometimes violently but always with love, that the world they live in expand and mutate with them". (11)

the readership would reply in kind, calling for peace and

an end to war and conflict. This expressivistic approach to social problems was encapsulated in the two following letters.

"We must convert from within the ranks and let the various institutions crumble from within. The power of the mind is the greatest power we possess, so why don't we use it? Love to all, everyone, everywhere and Peace". (12)

"...people will go back to turning on to people. To loving and finding wars the bore they really are..." (13)

By 1971 this theme of 'love' was offset by anarchistic movements which demanded that only violence would overcome their enemies. This presumably was a result of increasing police hostility, censorship and repression which occurred both to the paper and its readers. Nevertheless love remained central to the underground's aims, even if violence had to be used to achieve it.

"Forwards the Panthers and Angry Brigade, perhaps you are the real people in this world. Forward all Freaks and let's get both our scene and the straight one sorted out. Love, Revolution, within and without". (14)

Similarly, the underground had indicated earlier that it was not going to take such anarchic activity too seriously.

"The tactic, the deterrent is quite simple. Seize territory, announce unwanted intruders who are caught will be eaten. This is a terror tactic designed to exploit fear so to avoid real violence. This is the Total Assault of Culture". (15)

And thus we return to themes of play, love, freedom, anarchy, and the like all intertwined, and all aimed to mock, poke fun at and criticise the overground.

Emphasis on matters of mind and self determination also dominated the movement. The underground itself was described as

"a new way of looking at things, rather than a credo, dogma or ideology. Thus is can never be suppressed by force. You cannot imprison consciousness". (16)

"we are all individuals and for each of us the first problem is himself in the present... discovering oneself..." (17)

Readers echoed these sentiments well, in attempts to provide an under-lying doctrine to the totally undefined and unbounded culture to which they belonged. Indeed this created one of the underground's major problems, of how to inform and to some degree direct its followers, while maintaining that the individual was basically alone and therefore free to act spontaneously.

"The changes that have occurred over the last few years since 1967 AD or 19670 BC have sometimes been dramatic, sometimes subliminal. Slow - Yes! Steady - Yes! - as long as the doctrine do what you want (but please try not to hurt unnecessarily) spreads - as long as people can see there ain't nothing to compare with joy - it's just inevitably going to be on the up. Oh sure repression, pollution etc., etc., but pessimism ain't where it's at. Go with the flow - here and now - the Tao". (18)

The dangers of this ideology, for some, was that it lacked direction, and consequently they opted for a retreatist attitude, whereby small collectivities could gather in order to work out their own solutions together. Thus arose an interest in community experiments - the Commune, the squat, the underground organisations. It was a compromise between the guru-like individual revolution and the politically organised social revolution.

"we all had the same vision of a small isolated village with nature as our garden populated by young, organic, rythmic people instead of mechanical synthetic ones in it..." (19)

1969 saw the beginnings of this move to community alternatives. The problems were cited in specific areas, notably reform in the fields of education, women's rights, law reform, prisons and psychiatry. Underground organisations - free schools, women's lib, release, R.A.P. and P.N.P. - developed to attempt to bring such change to fruition. All was done in the name of individual freedom and civil rights but often the routes were dramatically opposed. However, although the movement could be seen as visibly divided, it was still viewed as being strong, because of the multitude of disciplines it became involved in. Internal conflict was, however, to become prevalent. Analysis of favourable or adverse comments included in letters referring to the aims of I.T. indicates a noticeable increase in internal criticism and division as early as 1968. (See Figure 1).

One example of this came from the growing division between the underground's aims and those of women's liberation movements. Allegations of I.T's sexist nature were sparked off by the use of I.T. pin-up girls in earlier copies, and later the advertisements for nude female models and sexual aids for men. As Roger Lewis concludes:

"In America their offices would almost certainly have been vandalised or taken over by women". (20)

The underground sees such entries as part of an attempt to break established moral codes, while the feminists view such acts as exploitative of their sex. By 1972 feminists had created their own form of journalistic communication to suit their own needs - "Shrew" and "Spare Rib". The severance

Figure 1

Analysis of Content of Letters to I.T.¹ (in percentages)

	1966 ²	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
New Consciousness	-	32	17.5	9	5	12	5	5	-
Mysticism	-	12	7	3	5	-	-	-	-
Community	-	8	14	13	10	10	10	22	-
Anarchism	-	-	14	6.5	5	24	5	-	-
Political Activism	-	-	3.5	2	5	-	10	3	-
Liberation Movements	-	-	2	13	15	8	25	10	-
Hedonism	-	10	7	21	20	24	20	18	-
Drug Usage	-	14	15	18	15	8	15	16	-
Repression	-	4	17	15.5	15	8	5	10	-
Miscellaneous	-	20	5	4	5	8	5	15	-
In praise of I.T.	-	12	26	4	2	-	5	7	-
Critical of I.T.	-	4	14	10	18	12	15	10	-
No Comment	-	84	60	86	80	88	80	83	-

Note

1. In all a total of 169 copies of I.T. were published from 1966-75. The total number that I had available for study was 74 - that is 43% of the total. For each year 5 copies were studied, if printed or available, to provide the figures above.
2. I.T. first appeared in October 1966 and did not publish readers' letters until 1967.

of women's lib from the original underground movement may indicate that behind the facades of sensuousness, free expression and revolutionism, lay a much more serious commitment to platonic dualism and reformism. On the issue of sensuousness, or pornography, there appears some kinship between the views of the feminists and the traditional moralist outlook of elite culture. Similarly dominant values and those of the hippie may also not be so totally opposed as a typological approach would suggest.

The themes of individualism and creativity would appear to correlate clearly with dominant themes in the elite culture, even though their modes of action are completely different. It would appear that the hippie, as part of a dominant sub culture, has taken many elements of his parent culture and twisted them to his own use. In doing so, however, his revolutionary capacity has been limited. He has been tied to alternatives which are either misfit, or which his more liberal forefathers have been practicing for years; and as a result, his activities, although seen as radical, are in practice, either reformist or reactionary.

When viewing bohemian culture we are faced with two major problems.

Firstly, it claims to be revolutionary, but in many aspects appears not to be; and secondly, the outward garb of the culture is forever changing and unstable and thus open to factionalism. Both of these points make a coherent cultural analysis difficult. However, there can be no doubt that an identifiable bohemian culture did exist in the 1960's. In 1968 I.T. was selling 45,000 copies

fortnightly. (21). However, the only major theme that seems to have remained consistent over the nine years of its history is hedonism, largely related to drug usage. Verbal attacks on the overground social control agencies have largely come as a result of drug "busts" and it would seem unlikely that the culture would have gained the support it did if there had been no initial sanction on drug usage.

One letter epitomises the attitudes of a central core of the underground:

"I just want to make a gesture of thanks to the guy who gave me a lump of dope which I found among the coins, when I was busking down Bank tube station. It was worth all the bread I made just for the nice surprise, so thanks and may your seeds be fertile." (22)

The culture was above all one of such drop-outs. People who had turned their backs on all, to try and live a new and freer life for themselves. How many, in fact, did drop-out in this sense, is unknown, but the few who did certainly sparked the imagination of many. (22b)

The true drop-out was in every sense a loner, with little or no purpose, untied to anything or anyone that would constrain him and prevent him from being his "self". To this extent the underground press could well be seen as not truly bohemian - it suffered from the rigours of organisation and deadlines; it strived to support a community when one never really existed, for the true bohemian has no voice except his own.

2 Social Analysis

The aim of this section is to show how the structure and organisation of the "underground press" reflects the Bohemian social values and life-style of the 1960's.

This will be clarified by looking at I.T.'s internal organisation, its staff, ownership and finance and its overall organisation in relation to the Underground Press Syndicate (U.P.S.).

Internal Organisation

(a) Staff

The paper was run and edited by a small group of friends rather than by a smooth running hierarchical organisation. Usually six to ten people worked permanently on the paper earning between fifteen and twenty pounds a week (1973). This income was probably supplemented by donations from the more wealthy of their followers and by the sale of drugs and clothing. I.T. for instance was launched with financial help from the Beatles. (23)

Contributions from readers were always welcomed as well as articles from people who may have been editors in the underground press, but had left to take up other interests.

Most of its original contributors were from the radical avante garde of novelists, writers and poets, including Jeff Nuttall, William Burroughs and Allen Ginsberg, but the underground style of the jokey, surreal and mocking soon emerged, through which Rubin, Hoffman and Neville have made their name. Above all I.T. attempted to escape the bureaucratic organisation of the national papers and be free

of profit motives and efficient organisation. As a medium it suffered in consequence. The papers were produced irregularly, especially since 1973, but I.T. was more fortunate than many of its followers, whose average life was between twelve and eighteen months. Such problems were aggravated by the wish to be editorially free, without experiencing severe economic and financial difficulties.

(b) Ownership

The ownership of I.T. is vested in a limited company, but has changed several times during its history, from Lovebooks Ltd in 1966-67, I.T. Ltd in 1968, Knuller Publications Ltd in 1969, Bloom Publications in 1970-72, Cardinellar Ltd in 1973, to Newspeak Publishing Ltd in 1974.

Like many other underground newspapers, I.T. has been produced by a variety of different groups of people. Many have changed the registration of the paper in order to avoid legal proceedings. I.T. was first known as "International Times" but had to change its name due to copyright law instigated by Lord Thompson's "Times".

The period of "I.T. Ltd" marks a particular period of revolutionary fervour inspired mainly by the Paris "revolution" in May 1968. I.T. was taken over by its staff and later re-registered as a worker's co-operative in the name of "Knuller Publications Ltd".

(c) Finance

Due to apparent lack of interest in economic affairs and with problems of fines for breaking copyright laws or writing subversive literature, the financial state of all underground

newspapers tends to be fairly shaky.

In 1973 each fortnightly copy of I.T. cost approximately £1,000 to produce. Nicholl writes

"The paper itself cost £600 (£500 printing costs, £50 rental on the typesetter, £50 materials and photographic equipment). Add to this £35 a week office rent, £25 a week overheads and seven full time staff earning £15 a week. No one expects to get very fat on the staff of an underground newspaper". (24)

Upkeep is mainly achieved through advertising fees, which in 1973 accounted for £400 an issue. Advertising usually accounted for between 15% and 25% of newsprint space, and was in the form of record company ads, or small hand drawn notices of

"rock concerts, movement speeches, experimental or sex-orientated underground films, head shops selling hippie paraphernalia, avante garde book stores, sandalmakers, mod clothing stores and psychedelic stores selling incense, cigarette papers and imitation hashish". (25)

The most lucrative were probably sex-orientated classified ads, but these could also create problems of police harassment and heavy fines. Street sales and subscriptions accounted for about 10% of sales, the remainder being distributed through firms such as Moore-Harness whose fee was 55% of all the sales they handled. (26)

I.T. usually managed to just about break even, but suffered vital losses due to other financial pressures. I.T.'s offices received numerous visits from the police, with warrants issued under the Obscene Publications or Dangerous Drugs Acts; and in addition they had to intervene in the occasional arrest of a street seller. In 1970, I.T. suffered a fine of £3,000 for printing homosexual small ads.

Such prosecutions were also damaging because they discouraged advertisers and publishers. Distributors too, would not take the chance of prosecution for handling a financially risky or 'obscene' underground publication. For example, retailers such as W. H. Smith and Menzies refused to handle any sales, and distribution was left with smaller and thus more financially demanding organisations. Conventional distribution methods were hard to find. All such organisation, financial or otherwise, also created pitfalls for the underground culture. Although claiming to have run on a non-profit motive the underground by necessity must have involved itself in those similar profit requirements that dominate the structure of any organisation. Profit is a condition of existence and to some degree must explain I.T.'s longer existence than any of the other British underground publications. Similarly, publishing and distributing procedures place a constraint on the press and inevitably it was found that the underground became another media capable of overground exploitation. In being forced to adhere to standard media procedures, it can provide another source of profit for publishing organisations. In essence, the underground was not large enough to live on its own. Printing and distribution firms were the first contact with the "outside" world and because they too were legally responsible for the goods they handled, many were unwilling to undergo any risk, despite any potential financial attraction. This was particularly relevant in 1968. Advertising, too, highlights a financial dependency on the

outside world. Ads from the large record companies in effect led to underground money being directed into those very institutions that were to be destroyed.

This placed underground papers in a Catch 22 situation, with the dilemma of being editorially free, but suffering constraints on the type of material being published. However, this general lack of professionalism was probably their greatest strength, in that they would try to publish any available material and ignore copyright and legal restrictions. Such was also their main weakness and explains why their lifespan was generally short.

Overall Organisation

There were two central organisations attached to the "Underground Press", both based in New York. The "Underground Press Syndicate"(U.P.S.) was originally an American innovation, whereby it was agreed that there should be a free exchange of materials between each paper, thus doing away with much copyright law. In 1969 U.P.S. became established in New York with 99 papers on its books, and by 1971 it had gathered 140 American and 60 international associates in South America, Europe and Canada. Its aims were defined as warning the "civilised world" of its impending collapse, advising intelligently to prevent a total collapse and laying down the foundations of a new and alternative order.

The "Liberation News Service" provided a similar service to that of Reuters for the overground press. News, articles, illustrations and comic strips were sent out bi-weekly to underground publications worldwide. Items that

never appeared in the dailies, due to suppression or ignorance were highlighted by L.N.S. Most reflected a political stance opposing established powerful institutions. For example, in 1968 I.T. featured an article replying to attacks made on it by the "Sun" daily:

"We don't have the nicety to refer to the Kennedy-Onassis marriage as anything other than a political farce to gather more support for the Greek fascist regime. We don't have the nicety to engage in polite chat on the political absurdities of our time. You ("The Sun") may not be capable of printing the facts of life, but we'll have a damn good try." (27)

Alternatively, articles were published which openly condemned the establishment for its inconsistencies. In 1974, I.T. reported how the cavalcade escorting Princess Anne's would-be kidnapper ran over a small child on a pedestrian crossing, on the way to the law courts. (28)

Their aim, notwithstanding organisational demands, was to try and bring all people of a similar mind together, to realise their numbers and potential. Such unity was probably strongest in 1968, but the underground always functioned as an important and healthy outlet for news which was not in "our best interests" to know.

3 Semiological Analysis

One of the major achievements of the underground press was to create a revolution in journalistic style. The format and general "feel" of the underground press was totally different to that of the established newspapers and magazines, in its use of colour, psychedelic graphics, and emphasis on immediate impact rather than clarity. As one writer noted, 'they make the overground press read like a telephone directory'.

Style, artwork and graphics became agents of the underground "revolution" in their own right. Collectively, these symbols can be seen to constitute a meaningful structure and add a certain coherence to the bohemians' many disparate strands.

Language, too, was indicative of the symbolic style adopted by the bohemian to unite him with his fellows and make him distinct from his enemies. In that there are structural constraints on the type of language one has access to, it is indicative of the bohemian's 'creative style' that he is most certainly of middle and upper middle class background.

Style then is as much a carrier of information as content, in that people will only appreciate those styles and art forms which affirm their own categories of experience.

According to Barthes, however, such symbols also serve to obscure and mystify what particular cultures actually stand for. There are thus two levels of understanding, the visible symbol, the signifier, and its meaning, the signified. (29) Extraction of meaning, though, is not a technical operation and in semiological work procedures are inseparable from the values, purposes and beliefs of the semiologist. (In a class society we can expect both the code and the message to be dominated by an historically determinate ruling class consciousness. Signification in all semiological systems is a reflection of social conditions: thus usually reflecting dominant rather than subordinate values). Thus by looking at syntactic codes we can expect to be simultaneously reading

and internalising ideological codes. Signs then are both denotive and connotive. For example, some will read the sign 'pig' and will conjure up images of an animal, while others will read the connotation that 'pig' may equally refer to a policeman.

It is this deeper level of significance that semiological analysis can help us to find. Implicitly it understands that a sign or symbol cannot be divorced from an ideology which it inevitably expresses, and thus a mythology which it creates to substantiate itself.

(a) Language (Phrases/Slogans)

The language of the hippie, oriented around such phrases as "Far-out" "turned-on" "split" "cool" and so on, was created as language for a new age, to describe experience for which words previously did not exist, and to mock the establishment with words that were not universally understood.

However, such bohemian language of the post war period was not totally original, but was drawn from a variety of sources; much of which being reducible to Negro culture. Primary sources were found within expressive male dominated roles within the Negro urban lower classes and particular exponents were the bluesmen and jazz musicians of the 1930's onwards. In the Negro's case the new language was an effort to identify himself within the "black and white of American culture", to assert that his is a culture which exists outside of the realm of the white man's world. (30) The hippie and his predecessors used this base for a similar purpose, to highlight the gap between "their world" and that of

mainstream society. (This heritage may also partially explain male dominance within the underground as a whole). More recent sources of hip language have been the music pop world, homosexual slang, drug sub-cultures and the slang of the street, indicating some relationship between the hippie, drop-outs and the "down and outs".

Language was noticeably forthright, to the point, and linguistically striking. Words were 'created' to explain new situations, particularly in relation to drug usage, and were thus both immediate and expressive. To be under the influence of drugs has been described as anything from "stoned" "zapped" "smashed" "zonked" to "blasted" and "spaced".

Something can be learned of the underground simply by examining the manner in which the papers were named. Traditional titles were ignored and preference given to the more expressive or double meaning. The title "International Times" was chosen to mock the establishment and its change to "I.T." or "It" may in itself, have been superficially meaningless, but could refer to what the paper was aiming to do - absolutely anything (or nothing). The headlines of each leading article were similarly aimed at gaining an immediate or shocking effect

"Arrest the Home Secretary"	(31)
"Head Quest"	(32)
"Take your positions for '69'"	(33)
"Drugs n' Sex"	(34)

or as Glessing notes:

"to refer casually to any established authority figure as 'an uptight motherfucker' became a symbol of the hip culture." (35)

The use of such connotational symbols became widespread in the culture, but the symbols themselves were always changing. From 1960 to 1970, reference to the bohemian changed from "beat" "hipster" "hippie" "freak" to "head", while reference to marijuana changed from "tea" "weed" "dope" "smoke" to "draw", to mention but a few of the euphemisms. In this sense meaning within the culture was never stable (as was the culture itself). The language inevitably became an extremely "restricted" style, in Bernstein's sense of the word. The emphasis was on immediate relationships, implicit understanding and connotations. Various words have drifted through to the overground and therefore the symbols have been changed, even though the connotations have remained the same. The use of this language in the press gives it an immediate, highly intense and emotional feel rather than the logical, rational and balanced journalism found in the overground press.

The slogans of the underground had two distinct characteristics. Firstly, there was an emphasis on the present tense e.g. "grooving" "tripping" "balling" and secondly the use of active verbs e.g. "turn on" "freakout" "drop-out" "get together" "spaced out". This in turn correlated well with the essence of bohemianism being solely concerned with the present and the "here and now". They are indicative too, of an existential outlook on life, being active, person orientated and highly expressive. In all, the use of such "gut language" indicates an attempt to achieve freedom of expression, and yet at the same time illustrates the class background of its users. Britain is

rich in restricted codes, the majority of which are working class in origin, examples being "cunt" "bugger" and "bastard". The British bohemian however, chose an imported restricted style such as the Americanism "he's a motherfucker" and appeared to reject his own national street slang. This presumably signified some desire to identify with counterparts in America and to segregate himself from all subordinate tastes. This can be substantiated by the evidence that the elites have taken to aspects of bohemian culture - love, individualism, expressivism - much more than the subordinates.

(b) Presentation (Graphics, artwork, cartoons)

The appearance of underground papers varied enormously but very few adhered at all to the "Colour Supplement" mode of concise and deliberate arrangements, where there is no doubt as to where the narrative ends and the artwork begins. The visual "disarray" of articles and headings was very much an essential part of the expressive style the bohemian was promoting. With no apparent meaning or reasoning, the individual was free to interpret it as he wished. The power of the imagination was emphasised in collages, colour overlays, photographic distortion and cut ups, all aiming to juxtapose images and ideas to maximum effect. In 1966 I.T. simply used black and white print, but by 1967 was heralding in the psychedelic era with colour. Most notable in this field were the graphics of OZ which surpassed by far any of I.T's artwork. As OZ No. 16 claimed, "the price of admittance is your mind".

Reprints of Andy Warhol's "Pop Art" and the more surreal and dada influences of Dali, Escher and Duchamp

have also had their effect, particularly in relation to the use of L.S.D. and the experiences that were "conjured up". Much then was highly hallucinogenic and dreamlike, but of a specific nature which usually incorporated facets, heroes, or images of the culture: for instance, the mystical flying saucers in I.T. No. 9, the copulating figures in I.T. No. 127 and the acid-giving mushrooms in I.T. No. 25.

"Flowers, babies, pre-Raphaelite heroines, wise old Indians, and beaming gurus blur and merge into swirling vortices. Dying fires glow and skulls wink on the edge of immense waterfalls, canyons plummet to infinity and illuminated runic scripts wriggle, serpent-like through dying galaxies" (36)

The "stuff of dreams" the erotic, the horrific and the unknown were central to underground artwork. The rational, ordered and comprehensible were omitted as being worthless. They did not inspire the mind, or spark off the imagination.

The culture did highlight its own heroes, although this was largely decried as being escapist and appertaining to the star status symbols of the "straight" world. However, in I.T. full page pictures of Ginsberg, McCartney, Burroughs, Jagger and Angela Davis have appeared at various times, indicating some acknowledgement of the influence these figures have had on the culture.

Above all, the underground recognises that graphics are as important as text and can often convey meaning in a more direct manner. Between 1967 and 1969 I.T. was predominantly affected by psychedelic artwork, but during the early seventies this was replaced by more direct images

of violence or overt sexuality which have generally nauseated, rather than inspired ones hidden consciousness. On average 6 pages from a 20 page edition of I.T. is taken up by photographs and graphics. Given I.T.'s original concern for the avant garde arts, and because Haight Ashbury was a haven for artists, poets and art school drop-outs, such visual emphasis is only to be expected. The format of the underground papers owed much to their ideas.

The underground press has also produced a number of exceptional cartoonists and illustrators. These leaned heavily on such features as long hair, drugs, sexual freedom and violence and aimed to satirise society to its fullest extent. The utmost attempt was made to offend the establishment mentality, and consequently please underground readers.

In 1973 I.T. devoted an average 8% of its newspace to comic strips, including Gilbert Shelton's "Fat Freddy's Cat" (who defecates everywhere), "The Fabulous Furry Freak Brothers" ('dope' freaks extraordinaire) as well as the occasional cartoon of dogs copulating or general blood splattered gore to introduce a 'relevant' article.

The comic strip sections became so popular that underground comic books were published in their own right. One of the first in Britain was, in fact, an offshoot of I.T. called "Nasty Tales", which was created by Mick Farren in 1970.

Robert Crumb has emerged as the underground's most famous cartoonist, usually taking stereotypes from the underground culture and both deflating them and the establishment at the same time. I.T. has used his work as

article headings and as full page cartoons. Such characters as "Honey Bunch Kaminski", "Bo Bo Bolinski" and "Mr Natural" come to mind, to name but a few. His most renowned character, due to film commercialisation in the overground, was "Fritz the Cat".

The comics and strips rapidly became an integral part of the underground style, reflecting both the general state of "everyday life" in the bohemian lifestyle, and the opinions of their authors. In effect the media of the cartoon is able to satirise cultural figures in an original and often more "cutting" manner than mere print.

"I think we're witnessing, the mere beginnings of a cultural kick with a real kick in it". (37)

However, the "new comix" and particularly the growing emphasis on violence was not liked by all. To this Tom Veitch replies:

"Actually we've formulated a whole philosophy of comix. In it's starkest terms it exists as three words: Think the unthinkable. If there's anything in the universe we're not supposed to think, we want to think it. Even at the expense of selling fewer comix than the dudes who do funny hippie dope stories. Even at the expense of offending our mothers. The theory is that once all the demons are out of Pandora's box, you'll find a big lump of gold at the bottom. And a secret doorway to another world...." (38)

As "Fritz the Cat" becomes "acceptable", new forms of expression have to be explored. This was the essence of the underground artistic movements, attempting always to discover new forms of media and to find 'other worlds'.

In their own way, the symbols, signs and slogans of the underground created a new medium which attempted to tear away the myths perpetuated by a moralistic and puritanical

dominant culture. But in doing so, it has created myths of its own, or at least has painted a picture which may be ideologically, but not pragmatically, pure.

Behind the signifiers, the open and apparent signs exuded by I.T. and its readers - rebellion, social criticism and individual creativity, - lies a deeper significance bound to a general ideology of expressivism and romanticism - irrationality, sensuousness and idealism. The relationship of these to dominant culture is not totally antagonistic. The underground breathed equality, alternatives and freedom for all, but beneath we find that such alternatives were only open to a few. Based on individualism, it could only be the reserve of those middle classes who were like-minded. Whilst fighting for freedom, we find the underground was only concerned with freedom for itself.

A revolution in style is a revolution for the few. The mass media may create its own myths of social equality and freedom, but the underground have only created similar myths, albeit that they are based on journalistic freedom and artistic innovation. In 1967 this innovation was seen as central to the movement.

"The intuitive poster art, words to songs that are not quite understandable, superimpositions in films that don't quite focus into a subject and groups like the Pink Floyd where the melodic line has gone and been replaced by feedback, all moves us towards the new era". (39)

but five years later the mood was far more pessimistic,

"...after all we did start out to tell people where its at, behind the crud the straight press throws at us. Didn't we? Huh? Oh well, perhaps not, maybe we just wanted to produce different myths; sexier, dopier and rock n' roller myths, rather than do without myths at all". (40)

Similar to the overground, the underground press can be seen as only providing an 'escape' or a substitute gratification, and the consequence of this process was demonstrated in a further withdrawal from the arena of social and political action.

4 Historical Analysis

I.T. was the first British underground newspaper to appear and did so in October 1966. Since then it has been heavily criticised by the established press, its offices have been raided by the police, and it has suffered substantial fines. Similar newspapers followed in its wake, but while they have all now disappeared, I.T. still manages to publish today (summer 1977).

I.T. then would appear at present to be Britain's first, and last, national underground newspaper.

In this section I wish to detail the historical development of the paper from year to year, in relation to the development of the underground in general, by analysing the content of I.T. (see Fig. 2).

1966

The first edition appeared on October 14th 1966, from the basement of the Indica bookshop in Southampton Row in London. 5,000 black and white copies were printed. The centre for the underground in those early days was around the Notting Hill Gate area, where many had gathered who were interested in avant garde arts. Similar to the Haight in San Francisco, they marked themselves as being in some way "different", by their style of clothes, long hair, electric

Figure 2

Analysis of Content of I.T.¹ (in percentages)

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Arts	40	15	5	-	3.2	-	-	-	-	2
New Consciousness	5	15.8	12	10	4.2	-	-	-	-	-
Mysticism	-	9.5	6.8	3	2.1	4.6	-	3	-	-
Community	10	2.5	15.4	18.3	2.1	4.6	1	8	15.5	12.6
Anarchism	-	-	1	1	6.3	11.5	12	3.4	-	-
Political Activism	5	-	5	-	2.1	2.3	2	-	-	-
Liberation Movements	-	-	1	-	3.2	4.5	3	8.3	-	-
Ecology	-	-	1.7	-	1	2.3	2	3	3.3	2.75
Hedonism 1. Drugs	10	11	3.2	3.2	3.2	6	12	8.3	1.7	22
2. Music	2.5	5.8	9.2	28	18.9	9.2	8	12.5	13.2	4
3. Film/Book	2.5	3	1.6	2	5.8	9.2	6	6.2	13.2	1.4
4. Festivals	-	-	-	1.75	3	2.3	1.0	-	-	24.5
Comic Strips/Graphics	5	2	1	4.75	7.3	12.7	15	10.2	6.6	15
Letters	-	2.6	5.2	2.0	5.2	3.5	6	3.8	-	2
News	10	9.7	6.4	8	8.4	20	11	11.4	14.1	11
Advertising (personal/ commercial)	10	23.1	25.5	28	25	15.2	2.1	20.8	27.4	2.7
Sport	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.8	5	-

Note

For each year 5 copies were studied, if printed or available, to provide the figures above

music, and use of drugs. Already there was a growing interest in freedom in the arts and this spread to freedom in all walks of life. In the light of this growing community, I.T. was launched to inform, guide and unite, and above all, inspire some demand for social change from all like-minded people.

"Yes, one thing everyone connected with this paper agrees on is the need for change - a particular kind of change in a particular direction, and we have put out I.T. in the belief that many other people, particularly young people, will agree with us" (41)

The paper was started by Jim Haynes of the Traverse Theatre, Miles of the Indica bookshop, John Hopkins of the London Free School and Tom McGrath, previously an editor of "Peace News".

The first issue included a review by Charles Mairowitz of the Royal Shakespeare's production "US", a poem by Adrian Mitchell, an obituary of Andre Breton and articles on films, China, theatre, pop and drugs. Also included were suggestions from the Dutch provo, Simon Vinkenoog, which urged that London drop-outs ought to become more activist by:

"throwing a smoke bomb at the Queen, make the horses of any parade nervous by spreading their way with lions' shit, ridicule the bowler hats, poke fun at tradition, empty the House of Lords, throw flower parties instead of tea parties..." (42)

In general, the emphasis of the early copies was one of free expression through art, -films and alternative forms of media. This was achieved by questioning the norms of obscenity and censorship against which they were confronted:

"It was especially the poets who articulated most lucidly the growing disaffection with the direction of history" (43)

To celebrate the publication of the first issue of I.T. an "all night rave" was held at a disused railway engine shed in Camden Town, called "The Roundhouse". Between two and three thousand gathered to celebrate, and with the use of marijuana, LSD, electric music, coloured lights and the like, first introduced Britain to the "Be-in" extravaganzas of America.

The community gathered strength and by the end of the year demand for the paper had tripled to 16,000, but was still largely centred in specific areas of London. The scene began to explode; mixed media dances, events, experimental film shows and ideas for free radio stations abounded.

Following a number of LSD parties, the drug was made illegal in September.

1967

In February the more satirical OZ joined I.T. on the streets of London, launched by Richard Neville, a young Australian journalist. In addition, other mixed-media clubs were born, taking over from the arts labs of 1966. In Tottenham Court Road, "U.F.O" and "Middle Earth" were formed. Psychedelics were used extensively and these places soon became social centres for the growing hip-drop-out community.

"The early days of U.F.O. were an externalised acid trip, traumatic, familial, euphoric" (44)

and

"In London in 1967 every Friday night until dawn, shimmering flower children splashed with Day-Glo, spotted with marcasite, clad in diaphanous re-vamped negligees, tarted up Grenadier Guards jackets, in tat and glitter from the markets of Asia and the stalls of Portobello Road, in everything as long as it was beautiful, tripped inside a monstrous basement or queued outside bedazzling the passing traffic. This was U.F.O. ..." (45)

I.T. kept pace with such movements and provided an important fortnightly information service. It was not as psychedelically orientated as its American partners (who at this time were experiencing the acid tests of Ken Kesey), because Britain (or more explicitly, London) was not yet ready for such an emphatic onslaught of LSD culture. The British underground was also not as active as that of Holland or Germany, but nevertheless, by mid summer, the establishment saw that it was time to subjugate it to some control. As early as March 1967 drug squads were formed to deal with the increased use of marijuana. Consequently, I.T.'s offices were raided and John Hopkins was jailed for possession of cannabis. Letters and articles decrying the "drug busts" flooded into the I.T.'s offices during the summer. The policeman became the hated adversary.

"I am never going to love policemen whatever the hippies might tell me" (46)

The underground knew it had to fight back. Demonstrations became stronger when it was learnt that the Rolling Stones had likewise suffered and 1,500 freaks of the community gathered at the News of the World offices (the paper responsible for setting up the 'Stones arrest) to protest.

The community however, continued to expand. Protest was expressed through festivals and "love-ins" at Alexandra

Palace and Woburn Abbey and the "24 hour Technicolour Dream" concert organised for the benefit of I.T. Protest was deliberately non-political.

"Politicians love "Private Eye", it is their own magazine. What terrifies them about I.T. is the hint that people can make their own scene without reference to politics... politics do not concern us, action on that level is a permitted part of a different way" (47)

However, towards the end of 1967 the mood had changed and the first influx of hippiedom had waned. Nevertheless its spirit had been introduced and accepted by many.

The freak centre U.F.O. also suffered from increased police activity. In effect it was priced off the market by landlords increasing rents both in Tottenham Court Road and at the Roundhouse. By October 1967 U.F.O. finally closed. The underground also faced problems from a backlash youth culture of working class origin - the skinheads. They too had reacted against their parents' values, but had adopted an extreme version of the latter's racism and prejudices. The hippies were attacked as much as the black population.

(Later I.T. was to recognise the skinhead aggressive stance and style of anarchism and some saw in them a new possibility of protest. In 1969 I.T. ran a section called "Yell" devoted to such skinhead concerns as Reggae music and football).

During this year, though, the style of I.T. had changed, becoming more extrovert and more concerned with the use of LSD as a vehicle of revolution.

"the widespread use of LSD represents a new social force in England. These people take LSD for religious and aesthetic experience for insight into themselves and a view of the world as it could be rather than as it is." (48)

LSD became influential in the literature, music, advertising, clothing design and graphics of the newspaper, paving the way for a multi coloured presentation of material. Weird projects were forever being planned, constructed and forgotten, such as McGrath's "London Silence" project.

"Plan is to have as many as possible empty rooms, warehouses, shops etc in the busy parts of London, given over to the business of silence. Admission would be free 24 hours a day. Nothing would take place there except SILENCE" (49)

In addition, several anti-institutions were established to promote ideas that had been generated to service the new community. Of note was the anti-University of London which became the forerunner of numerous free school systems. Learning was deformatised and subjected to the immediate needs and desires of students, rather than curriculum.

The mass media continued its attack on flower power, drugs and all remotely associated topics, while the Institute of Phenomenological Studies organised "The Dialectics of Liberation" congress in July to explore new forms of social action for the underground. Speakers included, Laing, Marcuse, Ginsberg and Paul Goodman.

1968

Activity in Britain still centred around non-violent ways to develop and consolidate the new community, by creating underground organisations. In response to the drug 'busts', publicised through raids on the homes of the

Beatles and Rolling Stones, in 1967 the community had formed an organisation called Release to give accurate advice on drugs, provide free legal service and representation and give information to the growing number of unfortunates who had found themselves arrested. The 'digger' influence of San Francisco, as a body aimed to help those who had dropped out and to organise free food, also emerged in London.

From an extension of the I.T. information service and the promotion of London as a 24 hour city, B.I.T. was formed as an underground social work agency which still survives today as a welfare and information centre.

"B.I.T. is now processing 80 pieces of information per day and answering 175 enquiries per week" (50)

In itself it inspired a national upsurge of such centres located throughout Britain.

The sciences of mind and body also began to filter into the underground in the shape of Zen philosophies, Krishna Consciousness, macrobiotic food and arts laboratory experiments in poetry, films and mixed media. There was talk of travel to the near and far east, Turkey, Morocco, India, Tibet, became the places for the freak to visit, to meditate and escape the technological urban life of the West. The drop-out fraternity continued to seek social change.

"The time is now to tear down the old forms, the forms that separate...that enslave... that divide us from ourselves. Reality is what you make it. The time is now to drop out of the social games, to remove the structures that burden our lives"

(51)

while others advocated developing alternative communities or tribes

"Men, women and children, all of whom together hope to follow the timeless path of love and wisdom in affectionate company with the sky, winds, clouds, trees, waters, animals and grasses - this is the tribe" (52)

1968 was most noted for the spate of university campus sit-ins and riots throughout America and Europe. In Europe the radical student was particularly motivated by the take over of the Sorbonne in Spring in Paris by a student/worker alliance. Reverberations from Paris were felt in England in London at the L.S.E. and the Hornsey Art College. For a while slogans such as "a gun in your right hand, a joint in your left" abounded in I.T. The protesters were described as students, but there was little doubt that many were freaks of the underground fraternity. I.T. paid more attention to the Hornsey sit in, which it saw as a more personal "underground" affair. The six week demonstration which began as a protest over Student Union autonomy ended in debates over the whole elitist nature of art and the structure of art education.

"At Hornsey a microcosm of society changed totally, the people who took over had to change the inner organisation, to change its relationships with the outside world and to change themselves. Revolution of thought and feeling is the only permanent revolution. A structure can only work so long as it grows out of feeling. The only magic wand was our imagination. Anyone, anywhere, can create this revolution." (54)

However, the underground soon became bored with students' political games, and outwardly criticised the L.S.E. students.

"a lot of what I said fell barrenly on the ears of a basically middle class racist audience, who were present because they thought Student Power was a nice game to play until they had to leave their comfortable institutions and get on with 'real living' that is to say, working for and paying homage to the very establishment they had revolted against". (55)

Less interest too was given to the anti-Vietnam marches to storm the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square, first in March and later in October

You will have seen it all in or on the other media and must be familiar with the forces at play and the issues at stake in this our green and pleasant land". (56)

For the underground the most significant happening of 1968 was that it had begun to develop its own institutions with the ideal of becoming self sufficient. It was probably at this time that support was at its strongest, with I.T. readership reaching a peak of 45,000.

However, as 1968 came to a close Neville notes that the feverish optimistic tone had mellowed

"The rage, paranoid and cultism had been replaced by languid lengthy theses on the Workless Society, Marcuse, Miseducation and an Alternative World. From Rock to Acid Rock, the Sexual Revolution, Arts in Society. I.T. No. 10 hinted that the world of the future may have no clocks! Two years later I.T. lamented in a new found circumloquacity 'disappointing progress preconceptualising time. Humanity still experiencing itself in a clockwise direction....!' (57)

1969

All in all 1969 was a quiet time for the underground. Hippiedom, student revolt, mysticism had apparently all failed in their objectives. Now was a time of reappraisal and second thoughts. The 'hippie' movement was criticised for being the 'right wing' of the youth revolt, as it remained in an ideological, rather than a practical world, and interest was directed away from new consciousness to community experiments, communes and the like. I.T. continued to supply the London Community with news and information and attempted expansion into the 'wilds' of the rest of Britain.

In April, its offices were again raided by police, for printing homosexual small ads. I.T. was charged with conspiracy to corrupt public morals, for such advertisements that it published in issues 51-56.

"Wanted. Passive muscleman who would enjoy sex with a very good looking, well equipped 24 years old. Photo please". (58)

Following the December Trial I.T. was fined £3,000. However, the most notable change in the format of I.T. was the recognition that music had a large part to play in the underground culture. I.T. No. 56 devoted 50% of its newsprint either to music ads., reviews or analysis. Rock Music became a central part of I.T. It was to replace avant garde arts as the mainstay of underground style. (In doing so, however, the underground could well have brought about its own downfall. Although rock music was to prove popular and thus attracted large audiences, it also attracted the attention of commercially minded record companies).

"the mood is right for us to fight politics with music, because rock is now a media. Sure, its basically a recreation, but because we've now applied new rules to the way it's run, it's also a weapon. Let's use it. I want to see a band who can scream about the dangerous thoughtlessness of the great grey society, of the brutality of our cops. I want to see some action". (59)

The main item to come to the mass media's attention occurred when 200 dropouts moved into an abandoned building in London's Drury Lane and began to clean and paint the building for habitation. Fifty police soon arrived and evicted the squatters.

"The building now stands useless and deserted - an ugly memento of bureaucratic idiocy". (60)

This loosely knit group of squatters slept in the parks and had their headquarters by the Statue of Eros in Picadilly Circus. Periodically they would take over empty houses, and as such the London Street Commune was born, unleashing a wave of hysteria and hostility from the press and public alike.

By the end of 1969 anti-authoritarian currents began to build up again. In numerous secondary schools the pupils formed Schools Action Unions to combat teacher autocracy, and consequently formed a powerful agitational force for head teachers to reckon with. This partly explained the severity of the December fine of I.T. and also the seizure of the 'school-kids' issue of OZ in 1970.

The underground in general though was in a state of uncertainty. Although drugs were still viewed as the first revolutionary step, there was now nothing to replace them, besides confrontation with authority as a continual way of life. It was suffering its own cultural crisis. The situation was similar in America.

"The underground press around the country today is searching for a new role, a new way of relating to its readership - a new readership, or something. After talking to scores of editors over the past two months, it can be said that they are all thinking of doing it a new way - and no-one has a clear idea exactly what that will be. Either they talk changes or they get morbid, and a kind of boredom with the routine of weekly (or bi-weekly) journalism seems at the root of it". (61)

1970

1970 saw a change of government from Labour to Conservative in Britain, and this brought with it a growth in the repression of all "deviant" groups. Of note were three government policies. The Industrial Relations Bill to make "wildcat" strikes illegal, the Immigration Bill to simplify deportation of Black immigrants and limit entry numbers, and a new drugs bill that gave the police greater powers to search and hold suspects.

The repression had a profound effect on the underground. Its members were faced with two choices; to struggle or to retreat.

The cry of revolution drifted away from drugs, mysticism and community experiments, towards advocating anarchism and violence as the only viable solutions. In four years the underground had changed its battle cry from "love" to "aggression". Consequently, 1970 and 1971 were marked by more open "warfare" between the underground and establishment forces.

A branch of the anarchist White Panther Party, emulating their American counterparts, the Weathermen and the German Bader Meinoff group, was formed in London. It first made its presence felt at the Isle of Wight Pop Festival by criticising the capitalist orientations of its organisers. Jerry Rubin, the Yippee anarchist, visited London, disrupted ITV's "Frost Programme" and was promptly removed from the country.

Towards the end of the year confrontation became even more evident. In June the OZ offices were raided by police, and during the winter the Angry Brigade began bombing

selected targets in London.

Such activity turned many away from the underground, violence was not for them, or at least they were forced to retreat further into a hedonistic life-style and basically "not give a shit", about what was happening in the outside world.

IT No.95 at the turn of the year, devoted four pages to reporting the OZ busts, hell's angels, and the Angry Brigade, and the remaining twelve to music and book reviews, advertisements, comic strips, cartoons and health foods.

The OZ obscenity trial began on the 23rd June, 1971 and ended up being the longest trial of its kind in English history. ^{affair}
~~The~~ began on the 8th of June, 1970 when the OZ offices were raided by Detective Inspector Luff and copies of the now infamous Schoolkids issue, office files and correspondence were confiscated. Summonses were issued against Neville, Dennis and Anderson under the 1959 Obscene Publications Act, largely concerned with a cartoon of Rupert Bear raping Gipsy Granny, which was seen as particularly offensive, and the 'alarming' fact that school children had helped to produce the issue. A statement from a headmaster of a London school was indicative of the tone displayed by the prosecution.

"The bulk of the illustrations appear to me to be the work of sick minds, intentionally pornographic and emphasise the sordid and deviant forms of sexual behaviour". (62)

What was "morally unsound" for the judge and jury was an attempt by the Underground to criticise the educational system and society at large. The trial turned into a battle of wits between Neville and the prosecution, and

ended in a battle of generations. Neville was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment and a deportation order was recommended; Anderson to 12 months and Dennis to 9 months. By any standards the sentences were harsh and after a public outcry they were dropped on appeal. (63)

During the trial, sales of OZ soared, but the prosecution was economically damaging, not only in costs, but by deterring potential advertisers and printers.

Meanwhile, in the close of 1970 the Angry Brigade appeared on the scene and was prepared to take more positive and violent action. On November 20th a bomb damaged a BBC van outside the Albert Hall, on the morning before the Miss World Contest. Explosions at the homes of the Attorney General and the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police had previously been unreported by the national press, but this time the news leaked. The first communique from the A.B. was sent shortly after this, claiming responsibility and signing themselves

"Solidarity and Revolution, Love, the Angry Brigade"

Bombs later exploded at the Department of Employment and Productivity in London and at Robert Carr's house (senior minister for Employment and Productivity).

Communique 5 in January 1971 explained the rationale behind the bombings:

"We are no mercenaries
We attack property not people...
We have started to fight back,
and the war will be won by the
organised working class.
With bombs".

1971

Attempts were certainly made during 1970 and 1971 to lead the underground in a new direction. Three papers appeared that were of a more "political" nature, namely "Friends", originally an offshoot of the San Franciscan rock journal "Rolling Stone"; "Ink" directed towards those "hippies who had grown up" and "7 days". The latter were weekly papers providing alternative news, rather than exhortations of underground life-style.

However, they appeared to do little to vitalise a political awakening of the "underground". Politics were still viewed as being outdated and activists resorted to violence.

Jake Prescott and Ian Purdie were arrested for the A.B. bombings, but whilst they were in custody the bombings continued, at Biba's boutique in May, the General Manager of Ford's in June and at an army recruiting station for Northern Ireland in August.

"The A.B. is the man or woman sitting next to you. They have guns in their pockets and anger in their minds" (64)

But anarchy was not the solution for all, and this division seemed to destroy any unity the community once had.

IT printed articles on sabotage, the White Panthers and constructive violence, but its mood was not shared by all

"we must not let ourselves become accustomed to violence, if we do we will become no better than they are"

"...there's quite a few of us who find IT more of a joke than anything else. If we were on the same trip as you we'd plant a load of bombs in your building and detonate them. After all that is what you advocate so strongly". (65)

The continued use of sexist material, such as the Furry Freak Bros. cartoons, which had been banned by some underground papers in America; and the cutback on homosexual ads, to avoid prosecution, also reduced the readership of IT. The women's lib. and Gay lib. movements had begun to develop their own papers suited to their own needs.

Not even the imperialism of the British Government in Northern Ireland, provided a rallying call for the Underground. This in itself was in some ways surprising given the centrality of the U.S. government's activities in Vietnam. But perhaps by now the "revolution" was over and dying away, for Britain had begun to suffer economic troubles of its own which were affecting the very livelihood of the Underground Scene. The hippie had advocated a life-style of relative poverty, but absolute poverty was something he could not bear.

The underground was more prepared to rally around the huge rock festivals, which were fast becoming the sole bastions of hippiedom, where a relative freedom could be gained for three or four days. Of note were those organised at Glastonbury, Bath and Weeley; although they too encountered violence in the shape of the Hell's Angels, and the festivals' own security forces.

In the overground too, the establishment was throwing up its own extremist groups, in the form of the Festival of Light. It aimed to attack "moral pollution" by proclaiming Christianity as society's only saviour. The underground saw it as a repressive movement solely concerned with attacking sensuousness and freedom of expression. The addition of

Lord Longford, Malcolm Muggeridge and Mary Whitehouse to its ranks only served to heighten the hostility of the underground which increasingly began to see the "Light" as a reactionary rearguard of the elite culture.

1972

By now another development was occurring out of the 'underground'. It was spreading out from London quietly and undramatically and marked by an increase in localised community newspapers in many urban centres. IT. OZ and the like were always very much London orientated, and circulation to the rest of Britain was never very widespread. Copies were frequently difficult to obtain. Now such papers as "The Manchester Free Press", "Styng" (Yorkshire), "Liverpool Free Press" and "The Nell Gate" (Notting Hill, London) attempted to bring alternative news of a highly specific nature to localised audiences. Change on any national scale had long been abandoned, and tactics reverted to aiding and supporting communities in their battles with local councils, or local police. Rent strikes, Tenant's Associations and similar small pressure groups were building up throughout British cities. Similarly the development of street and community theatre groups indicated an attempt to re-educate and activise people to adapt to and change their own immediate situation. Inevitably such papers took on a more general working class struggle, rather than supporting a freak or head ideology.

In fact the old guard underground was in some disarray. Ink and Frendz expired with debts amounting to £42,000 between them, due to lack of finance, organisation and

readership. The underground began to disperse into its many and varied interests. There was no longer any recognisable core or over-riding purpose. IT. continued to be intermittently militant and hedonistic. When commitment was out of favour, rock music usually took its place and was discussed with the same fervour, but it too had developed so rapidly that it was rent with many opposing factions.

IT. tried to "recognise the changes around it" by changing from a tabloid to a magazine format in issue No. 125. More particularly it was an attempt to attract bigger sales.

However, by 1973 the tabloid presentation had returned.

1973

May saw the collapse of OZ with debts of £17,000 and any role the underground press was to play now rested firmly on the shoulders of IT.

IT too showed signs of financial difficulty, and in turn the underground was disintegrating around it. Neville noted that the one-time freaks of U.F.O. were now seeking respectable jobs and realised that "Today's heads treat each other no less savagely than the grey flannel skinheads of "Whitehall"

This was epitomised in a letter to IT.

"Verily pure acid is revelation, safe, beautiful revelation. I want to make a protest, a loud one about all the harmful, mind fucking shit that has been put in our tabs lately" (66)

Similarly Neville writes

"If the Underground Press is the voice of the new movement, then it is a choir of soloists, each member singing a different tune". (67)

"We blithely declare World War III on our parents and yet have already forgotten how to smile at our friends". (68)

IT. seemed to sum up the growing despair by running a "Where are they now?" series of articles on such "stars" as Rubin and Leary. It appeared that there was no new spark to follow them, except a new generation, a new youth.

But as Jonathan Green writes:

"I don't actually dig the young
The young, the teenies, the weenies,
the tinies...the fruits of my lots
struggle against social, sexual and
political repression are such that
my lot, us lot, can't handle them.
...The tinies of today are media
reared, they don't need all those
nice Bobby D. images; they don't want
to know about reading, merely writhing". (69)

The underground could get no support from above or below. But perhaps in some small way the underground was now the above; it had been watered down enough to be a part of mass culture. Topics from the drugs, sex, rock n' roll and cheap thrills philosophy which had once been its own province, were slowly creeping into the mass media. The scandals of Watergate, Poulson and Lambton were all covered, one way or another, by the dailies. Music papers such as Melody Maker, Sounds and N.M.E., were catering for the music freaks. Time-Out had long since provided a more substantial coverage of What's-On in London than IT. ever did. One of the promises of the new life-style was the abolition of false criteria for judging human beings, now the symbols of the hippie were becoming fashionable and just as elitist as those of elite culture. The call for individual freedom had gone the way of the old capitalist, entrepreneur ethic - to better oneself irrespective of others.

But yet IT. still stuck to it's task, albeit

intermittently. It did not go to print from October 1973 to May of 1974.

1974-1975

In these years only 5 copies have been produced under the name of Vol. 2 and Vol. 3 in conjunction with Maya Free Nation News (the paper of the Windsor Free Festival). IT. No. 169 was published in July 1975 and since then its voice has been quiet.*

The 1974 Volume 2 editions provided very little innovation except a growing interest in football, with articles on "Could Kung Futball save Manchester United?" and "The Pigskin Godhead", but IT. still presented itself as:

"The crooks, cranks and do-gooders
who unite to attack the police
whenever opportunity offers - that's us
folks". (70)

Largely it retained its drugs and rock music interests, but by now the mockery of the establishment had become somewhat institutionalised. At best it read like a dopier "Private Eye", full of jokes, insults and obscenities, but in a style that was by now readily tolerated.

In 1975 IT. joined forces with Maya which had first appeared in September 1974. Each issue was dependent on donations, rather than advertisement fees and thus the

* Some copies of IT. have been published in 1976 and 1977 mainly to add weight to the growing campaign for the Decriminalisation of cannabis, initiated by Release and C.A.R.O. (Cannabis Action Reform Organisation).

Volume 3 issues likewise appeared infrequently. IT. remained determined to supply, to whoever was still prepared to listen, an alternative source of news. Or as the editorial of Vol. 3 No. 1 read,

"It is our intention that IT. shall be a select paper. We are not interested in an intellectual wank for Hampstead". (71)

In so saying IT. had turned its back on the avant garde art movements, to which it owed its very existence.

Nationally the underground was by now well and truly dead, but its effects were still felt across the nation.

In its own way it has given rise to a multitude of small organisations who are carrying on where the underground left off. Alternative ways of living, eating, thinking and acting are now being practiced throughout Britain. They are by no means underground - out to revolutionise society - but perform important functions in allowing individual voices and ideas to be heard in the fields of squatting, renting, Tenants' rights, do-it-yourself homemaking, macrobiotics, vegetarian foods, claimants' unions, self-defence, legal aid, psychiatric welfare, prisoners' welfare, drugs, meditation, spiritualism, Eastern religion, alternative medicine, addiction clinics, community action, neighbourhood councils, free education, child welfare, food co-ops, abortion, playgroups, ecology, alternative technology, women's lib., gay lib., communes and self sufficiency.

To try and unify these many and varied activities is an impossible task.

There really is no longer any need for IT. and a national underground press.

5 Ideological Analysis

The core ideology of I.T. revolves around a concentration upon the individual, hence the concern for individual orientated religions such as Bhuddism and Hinduism. The individual is seen in terms of his potential creativity, imprisoned and controlled by social institutions and cultural forces. Thus the importance of drugs, especially LSD, as agents of liberating the individual from this socially imposed prison. The individual is alienated from society because affluence has led to a mass levelling and enforced the standards of a mass on all. In such a situation the individual finds that his "soul" and "creativity" have been lost within the "machine" of the social structure.

The bohemian attacks this structure by trying to get his voice heard, by advocating an environment where total freedom of expression can be achieved. His is a life dedicated to individual expressivism. Thus the constraints of social life are attacked by ignoring them, and acting out 'abnormal' and socially 'unacceptable' roles. Objectives and actions become ends in themselves rather than necessarily goal orientated, focussing on immediate gratification and the present, rather than the future. The quest for self expression and freedom is experienced in every situation. The bohemian follows his own path to wherever it leads him.

There is also an element of concern for others, ranging from the search for love and intimacy in human relationships to the Freudian Marxism of Marcuse.

This voiced egalitarian ideology, however, appears not to have been realised in practice. Throughout I.T. one also detects a commitment to certain forms of elitism in the fact that the advocated alternatives are only open to a few who have the time and money to devote themselves to a search for alternative ways of living.

Two features have remained dominant in the content of I.T. - hedonism and community experiments. It is these that have characterised British bohemian life in the 60's and early 70's. Drug usage, rock music, and "alternative" life styles were central to the culture, and still are to its remnants today. Interest in the avant garde and new forms of expression likewise are signifiers of bohemianism.

These traits of expressivism and individual creativity were originally claimed to be the basis of revolution, but can be seen as elements of an ongoing Romantic tradition which has always in some form been a part of capitalist industrial societies. It is an ideology bound to those middle classes who have become disillusioned with the "progress" of capitalism. Originally believed to be the saviour of the individual, capitalism has become the individual's prison, in that it leaves no room for the irrational, the spiritual and the "meaningless".

The Romantics, and in particular, the bohemian, have tried to break out of this web. He has, in virtually every case failed, because in effect he has only served to replace one class based ideology with another. At every point his ideology can be seen to be a part, albeit an

extreme version, of dominant cultural values.

6 Comparative Analysis

Bohemian culture may reflect dominant values, but in emphasising individualism, expressivism and freedom, it remains a part of a radical culture. Elite culture cannot adapt itself to the bohemian's demands, even though it is faced only with an extreme version of itself.

The bohemian has always outwardly tried to substitute a viable alternative to elite cultural values by attempting to provide some escape from the ordered and symmetrical modern world, to explore beyond the limits of the rational mind. This "escape" and "exploration" is, however, essentially the individual's own affair. If bohemianism can be characterised as individual expressivism, the dominant value system can be characterised as individual instrumentalism.

The opposition then is not in terms of inter-class hostilities, but in the amount of freedom each individual has to direct his own life. In this sense a bohemian-elite debate is largely a bourgeois debate within itself. Being based on individual freedom and organic solidarity, bourgeois society has also thrown up elements who believe that "freedom" has not been realised.

To clarify this debate and to discover to what extent the bohemian's ideology was both radical and in direct opposition to elite culture, a comparison of the main value themes of I.T. and those of the established press will be undertaken.

As an example of the value pattern of the normative middle class life style, "The Sunday Times Colour Supplement" was chosen as being highly representative. It reflected the mood of the middle classes in Britain wishing to participate in the consumerism of the Post war economic boom. The first issue was published in February 1962 and although it predated the "underground" press by four years, both can be seen to be a product of a boom period, even though by 1967 the Labour government had devalued the pound, and a period of economic depression and rising inflation was well on the way.

Both were concerned with this new found wealth, one wanting to promote, the other wishing to destroy it. The Colour Supplement was the ideal expression of the consumers' "dream image" of the time. In its way it too was revolutionary. It marked a "revolution" of affluence that was affecting the British middle classes at this time, and which indirectly also led to the increased 'dropout' rate of the late 60's. As the middle class wished to escape from the conformity of a mass culture and aspired to live out this Colour Supplement dream, it was hardly surprising that some began to see the barriers that stopped them reaching their goal and so decided to leave the "rat race" altogether. It was hardly surprising too, that some would "see through" the uselessness and emptiness of the status symbols which the Colour Supplement offered, and similarly reject them outright.

Middle class values are manifested typically in the pursuit of economic concerns, to increase production

profits and raise occupational status by means of extended education and hard work. Such features are central to the "self made man" ethic on which capitalism has thrived. There is thus a high achievement motivation 'forced' on middle class children. The over-riding value climate is one of deferring gratification in favour of future rather than present goals. Aspirations are set on reaching the elite positions in society and accordingly live the 'dream' that the Colour Supplements offer.

If the bohemian life-style is characterised by an essential "expressiveness" then the normative middle class life style is one of status, goal, success and achievement orientations. These indicate an instrumental view of life. Every action is geared to a specific purpose or goal to be achieved or gained. Everyday actions are viewed as being purposeful only if they have a specific goal, rather than being ends in themselves.

For purpose of comparison, analysis of non fictional articles from twenty I.T's (two from each year 1966-75) and twenty Sunday Times Colour Supplements (five from each year 1971-74) were listed and coded, regarding the relative expressive or instrumental nature of their content. (72) The total number of articles which were coded were 44 from I.T. and 51 from S.T.C.S.

The following sub-categories were also added

1 Expressive

(a) Individualism

Values stressing the importance of the individual in the development of his unique personality and potential.

(b) Concern for Others

Values containing themes of love, community and a general humanity demanding liberation and freedom in a social, political and psychosexual context.

(c) Self-Expressive

Values of humour, play, recreation and hedonism and such creative-expressive activities which may be practiced for their own sake.

(d) Religious - Philosophical

Values dealing with ultimate meaning in life.

2 Instrumental

(a) Economic (consumption)

Values promoting the consumer ethic as central to the welfare of modern society.

(b) Individualism

Values stressing individual success and high status by way of hard work or economic value.

(c) Cognitive

Values stressing the importance of traditional learning for its own sake in fields of history, geography and such 'rational' interest topics in which creative possibilities for individual action are limited.

(d) Economic (politics)

Values of a national political nature, in relation to State or International objectives, rather than individual objectives.

These categories largely speak for themselves. The expressive value of individualism is clearly indicated in I.T. as essential to the full development of an individual's personality and creativity.

The instrumental value of individualism as exposed in STCS is the achievement of success or high status in education, business, sport or other similar highly competitive fields.

For example, both papers have printed articles on Mohammed Ali, the heavyweight boxer, and their different accounts of his individualism pinpoint their opposing orientations.

In I.T. the poetry and black militancy of Ali was highlighted, along with his refusal to be drafted into the U.S. military forces in Vietnam:

"Because it's better in jail
watchin' television fed
than in Vietnam somewhere dead" (73)

By contrast, STCS preferred to emphasise Ali's achievements in the ring and his monetary career as a professional boxer

"Ali comes out to meet Foreman
But Foreman starts to retreat
If he goes back any further
He'll wind up in a ringside seat!
Ali swings with a left
Ali swings with a right
Look at Ali carry the fight" (74)

Other comparisons are equally as obvious: The cartoons of I.T. compared to the Bridge, Chess and Mephisto Cross-words of STCS; the emphasis on avant garde music, art and graphics in I.T. to the articles on antiques, pre 20th

Century art and ancient history in STCS; and the attacks on the production/consumption cycle in I.T., compared to the slick glossy paged advertisements and articles on commodity production and sales (e.g. surveys of wine, cordon bleu cookery, Paris fashions and beauty) in STCS. The results of the coding are as follows:

Value Theme

	<u>I.T.</u>	<u>Sunday Times C.S.</u>
Expressive	75	22
(a) Individualism	25	10
(b) Concern for Others	22	4
(c) Self Expressive	18	8
(d) Religious/Philosophical	10	0
Instrumental	25	78
(a) Economic (Consumption)	5	30
(b) Individualism	5	22
(c) Cognitive	2	16
(d) Economic (Politics)	13	10

Expressive concern accounted for 75% of the value themes of articles in I.T. compared to 22% in STCS.

I.T. placed most emphasis on individual self expression and experimentation in community projects, while STCS articles concentrated on individuals who had "made their name" through occupational success: film stars, sportsmen and the careers of politicians and statesmen. The recreation concerns of I.T. were dominated by festivals, music, the avant garde and drug usage, while STCS ran articles on cookery, gardening, motoring and hi-fi, all containing the value of consumption and the necessity to own the material

goods necessary for such activities.

Above all the very styles of journalism are noticeably different. I.T. is expressive, unrestrained, emotional, biased and personal, while STCS tries to display a more rational, precise, calculating and 'objective' character.

This contrast is supported by an analysis of the advertisements of both papers. I.T. focusses on the expressive concerns of concerts, records, books and personal contact (although it is noticeable that it became more consumer minded in the seventies), while STCS's advertisements were orientated solely around the sales policies of insurance companies, banks, bookclubs, cigarette manufacturers and the like. While an average 20% of I.T. was taken over by advertisements, 64% of STCS was devoted to advertising.

Bohemian ideology thus represents an attack on an instrumental outlook on life in order to return to the more personal needs of an individual as a human being, rather than a status conscious consumer. It advocates turning our back on commodity production, so that we can live in a more affective world; where people can have the time to show some concern for others. It marks a reaction against western societies where the soul of man has been lost in a world apparently only concerned with profit and material considerations.

Above all it is highly idealistic. In putting the case for the expressivistic approach so strongly, it appears to have neglected to consider the importance of certain instrumental modes of thought in the structure

and continuing existence of social life. To this extent bohemian aims may be too radical. Is there any possibility of ever providing a situation in which each individual is free to do as he likes, and yet be constrained by the necessities of social life?

More importantly such an analysis shows us that both bohemian and normative middle class life styles have elements of expressivism and instrumentalism in their supportive ideologies. Elements which one may emphasise, the other ignores, and yet both are intrinsic parts of being 'human'. What is illustrated here is a conflict of interest within dominant culture, between humanism and technologism between individual needs and social needs; and between radical and conservative forms of liberalism.

Bohemian culture remains radical because elite culture cannot accommodate it, but it also remains a part of dominant culture because of its class origins and concern for individual (rather than collective) forms of liberation.

Similarly, the underground press and the community press' greatest strength is simultaneously a main reason for its weakness as a social force; that is, it is so personal and individually orientated. In achieving some of its aims, it has necessarily allowed others to slip by the wayside.

And if we ourselves are to ask 'where are they now', concerning the editorial mainstay of the underground press, we find that Neville wrote for Private Eye and the London Evening Standard before moving to America (75).

Similarly, Felix Dennis and Don Ayteo (a former editor of I.T.) are presently working for a publishing company whose latest offerings to the consumer market are 'Crossroads Monthly' and a Bruce Lee biography. (76)

Mick Farren is writing science fiction and music reviews for N.M.E., while Tom McGrath is a playwright, and Jim Haynes moved to Holland to work on the sex magazine 'Suck'.

Chapter 7

The Demise of Modern Bohemian Movements and the Limitations of Bohemianism

An analysis of the reasons for the 'disappearance' of bohemia in Britain in the mid 1970's can clarify the relationship between this sub-culture and its parent culture, and also highlight some of the contradictions inherent within the notion of a 'cultural revolution'.

The bohemian of the seventies, born out of the Beat and the Hippie, has suffered both at the hands of his 'fellows' and his enemies. His demise as a radical force in society can be attributed, then, to both external and internal factors.

External Factors

(a) Persecution and Repression

It would be fair to say that in the eyes of the majority of the population, bohemians have always been perceived as constituting some sort of threat to Western Democracy. During the 60's their acts were defined as deviant, whether it was because of style of dress, length of hair, or 'subversive' literature and action.

"Rear Admirals (ret'd) from Ventnor could be sure of a couple of inches in the letter columns of the Telegraph inveighing against the young, quoting Horace as often as not, and advocating the birch, the noose, or a third world war to deal with the menace of those who disturbed the calm of a Sunday afternoon, fornicated in public places, beat old ladies about their persons with rolledup copies of subversive and pornographic magazines, and worst of all, grew their hair." (1)

As a result bohemian history from 1966-1975 bears witness to an ever growing wave of repression, in which sanctions were taken against this 'threat' to prevent it from reaching widespread proportions.

The notion of deviancy amplification is applicable for we have seen, for example, how the hippie moved away from a peace/love ideology to an anarchist ideology; from a passive to an active role. This in part can be explained in terms of the persecution the hippie suffered. Once defined as deviant, and harrassed by the social control agencies, the deviant person perceives of himself as being more deviant, and thus exposes himself to more punitive sanctions. It was such a cycle which culminated in the Angry Brigade Bombings in London and the Mansion 'atrocities' in California. These events marked a time when the 'cultural revolution' was at its most active, but also at the height of its disintegration. Such a snowballing effect, although to some degree presumptuous, leads us to the conclusion that social control leads to deviation. Becker put it,

"... deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label." (2)

From such an ^{na}alysis we can presume that if the initial hippie life-style of drug taking had not been externally controlled, then these more violent actions may not have occurred.

"Youth Culture can work out fine when it is left alone. The bombs of the Angry Brigade and the Weathermen are the results of the constant attempts to destroy it." (3)

On the other hand, there is ample evidence to support the hypothesis that the hippie made his deviance more visible, because he found himself in a situation of tolerance rather than repression in the early 60's. Thus originally he was not defined as deviant and had ^{to} continually up the stakes of his deviant activity in order to have his own self conception of self-as deviant confirmed. Such a cycle would then continue until tolerance had created a hard core of activists in the hippie

ranks who could only be dealt with by more repressive measures.

This aside, the elite culture was seemingly always disturbed by the hippie phenomenon. Stories of drug busts, political arrest, and harrassment of the underground press, are abundant in bohemian literature. The only explanation for such condemnation that has been systematically argued is that of 'moral panics', expounded by Stan Cohen. (4) He argues that societies are subject to periods of panic, when a group of people is perceived as a threat to established values and interests. The public are sensitised by mass media interest, and 'demand' something to be done. Social control is exerted by police and the judicial authorities until such a time that the dilemma is seen to have passed. This is achieved by either direct coercion or through a gradual change in the way such problems are perceived. Here again there is a cyclical effect. A specific issue is identified, such as drug usage, and associated with a subversive minority - the hippies - and used to explain other problems such as the 'waywardness of youth' or the increased crime rate. Drug usage in this example, becomes the scapegoat for many of society's other evils, and therefore must be stamped out. Accordingly, drug law enforcement developed dramatically throughout the 60's. Since 1960 there has been a marked increase in convictions for possession of marijuana in Britain - 235 in 1960, 4,863 in 1969, 10,728 in 1971 and 11,111 in 1973.* Part of this increase must be explainable in terms of successful police activity, but we can also safely conclude that the number of marijuana smokers has risen just as dramatically. Marijuana remains a vital element in creating a 'moral panic', even though every major official enquiry into the drug, from the La Guardia Report to the Wootton Report, has recommended greater liberality in the treatment of users. The 'panic' culminated in 1971 when a new Drugs Bill - Misuse of Drugs Act - was made law. This enabled police

* Since then convictions for marijuana possession have fallen to 8,837 in 1975.

to have greater powers to search and hold suspects, and penalties were increased to a maximum of 6 months imprisonment or a £400 fine for first offences. All this occurred against a background of growing knowledge that marijuana is non-addictive and not as harmful as alcohol. The law then appears to misinform and helps give rise to heightened feelings of injustice and alienation to those who are caught, and may only serve to amplify their deviance.

Persecution then depends on definition. Sub-cultural groups share a definition of deviance, and in turn they share subjugation through social control and become ready scapegoats for society's ills.

In particular it appears as if "the collective adult mind has become neurotically imprinted with the idea of the menacing teenager". (5) or in the words of Cohen,

"More moral panics will be generated and other as yet nameless, folk devils will be created. This is not because such developments have an inexorable logic, but because our society as present structured will continue to generate problems for some of its members and then condemn whatever solution these groups find." (6)

Despite the moral panic and the criminal status of the user, it was estimated by the Wootton Report in 1968 that there were between 30,000 and 300,000 users in Britain. Release estimated the figure in 1971 to be over a million. Nevertheless marijuana is still regarded by many as a dangerous drug which threatens to undermine the fabric of Western society. However it is not only drug usage that has alerted the social control forces. With the view that the bohemian takes from his community and gives nothing back, cannot face the reality of life, and is of no service to anybody, judicial authorities have increasingly 'clamped down' on many of the hippie's activities. In the early 60's repression was not as visible as it is today. The hippie existed in a world of repressive tolerance whereby his ideas were

repressed because no-one took any notice of them. The early sixties were probably the most pure for the bohemian - his numbers were small and he did not suffer interference from any external agency.

However, the anti-war and anti-bureaucracy demonstrations were to change all this. By 1967 the bohemian had made his aims more visible and accordingly a period of moral panic followed. In 1968 street sweeps by police in San Francisco and Berkeley were common. Likewise in Europe, meeting places for youth such as London's Picadilly Circus and Amsterdam's Dam Square witnessed police hostility. Raids on houses were increasing, but although the excuse was a drug search the cause was also something deeper. Brown argues that it was an attempt to destroy a whole culture,

"These are the effects of repressive control. We may contrast them with the criminal law which merely prohibits the performance of specific acts (with the exception of course of the 'crimes without victims' - homosexuality, abortion, drug use).

Repression converts or destroys an entire social form, whether that form is embodied in a group, style, or an idea.

In this sense it is terror." (7)

He compares it to similar persecution suffered by the Jews in 20th Century Germany, and the early Christians in (Imperial) Rome. Their respective alternative values and world views were defined as deviant and dangerous, and social control agencies were given power to use whatever means possible to 'strike these forms from the list of human possibilities'. The hippie was indeed an obvious target for the creation of such a moral panic. He was viewed as dangerous and subversive in his ideas, and immoral and irresponsible in his actions. His non-conformist life style, depicted as dirty, uncouth and unruly by the mass media, provided the 'proof' that the hippie life style of drug usage inevitably led to crime. This general equation of bohemianism and crime provided a supportive ideology for their persecution. It was indeed over the questions of drugs

and morality (pornography/homosexuality/bisexuality/sexual perversion) that the hippie was most likely to confront the law, as well as his infrequent excursions to political and anti-war demonstrations. Although the bohemian preached peace, the reaction he met was anything but peaceful.

In March 1967 regional drug squads were formed in Britain and later that year the Rolling Stones were arrested and the IT offices were raided.

"The conviction of the Rolling Stones added weight to the opinion that the drug laws were being severely enforced in the case of youth, not so much because the rulers were concerned about dope, but in order to check the spread of this new culture that selected dope rather than alcohol as it's most popular narcotic." (8)

Keith Richards was given one years imprisonment and Mick Jagger three months, both sentences being later reduced to fines on appeal. From the mass of letters IT received at this time, it would appear that a majority of hippies in the London community who were also arrested were not so fortunate.

June 1967 saw the raiding of the IT offices and confiscation of newspapers. Allegations of unscrupulous police activity came to the fore.

"Several close friends have been busted in a flat in Hampstead. Police unscrupulousness seems at an all time high. It all happened on a Friday before U.F.O. The raid took place about 9 o'clock, then later a girl received a telephone call at U.F.O. saying "come home we're having a party here" - no surprises it was the fuzz lying as usual. Warrants will soon become unnecessary, police as low as these can just come under the door." (9)

Police activity was estimated to have increased fourfold in the first

five months of 1967.

Also in June, John Hopkins, the art editor of IT was jailed for nine months for possession of marijuana.

In October 1967 U.F.O. was closed due to landlords withdrawing the lease after substantial police pressure.

In March 1968 Middle Earth, another Underground Club, was raided by 150 police and eleven arrests were made.

In April 1968, IT offered free distribution of its paper to people in prison, but were banned distribution by the Home Office.

In April and October the "Peace in Vietnam" marches to Grosvenor Square were met by mounted police charges, leading to allegations of police brutality.

In April 1969 IT offices were raided by police and fined £3,000 for printing homosexual small ads for their "conspiracy to corrupt public morals".

In October 1970 the now infamous OZ obscenity trial began after raids on its offices in June. OZ was fined £1,000 plus court costs. Prison sentences imposed on Neville, Dennis and Anderson were dropped on appeal.

In November 1970 Jerry Rubin, "leader" of the American Hippie movement, was deported for disrupting ITV's David Frost Show.

In February 1971 Jake Prescott and Ian Purdie were arrested for the Angry Brigade bombings - Prescott was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment which was reduced to 10 years on appeal.

In March 1971 Rudi Dutschke, named by the Attorney General as "a person dedicated to the overthrow of the system of Western democratic society" was deported for alleged subversive activity after contacting a group of workers at Swansea.

In 1972 much focus was on the repression of the I.R.A. by the British Army in Northern Ireland, but this year also marked the forming of new drug squads in the North, particularly Yorkshire, where drug arrests subsequently shot upwards; there being more arrests in the first six months of 1972 than in the previous five years.

In March 1972 Nasty Tales was taken to court to face obscenity charges.

In April 1972 a pub in Kingston was raided by 40 police. Everyone in the pub was searched, one being "knocked down and kicked in front of witnesses before being dragged outside by the hair" (10)

In 1973 Robert Carr, the Home Secretary set up "control units" in two British prisons where trouble makers could be sent for a "cooling-off period" of three months in total solitary confinement.

In August 1974 the Windsor Free Festival was disrupted and halted by police action. Skirmishes with police were reported and 220 people were arrested on obstruction and drug charges; 36 people suffered injuries. A reported 600 policemen took part in the operation to clear the festival from the park.

"I don't know why the police got so violent. People were being thrown into police vans for no reason. They were just picking people at random." (11)

The British bohemian, however, suffered slightly in the hands of law enforcement agencies compared to his companions in America.

We had no Kent State University - where four students were shot dead. (12)

We had no Chicago Conspiracy Trial where eight defendants, in Hayden's view, were in many ways unlawfully sentenced. (13)

We had no Columbia University where 2,000 police forcibly evicted students from occupied administrative buildings. (14)

And no 10 year prison sentences for possession of marijuana as was suffered by John Sinclair and Timothy Leary.

Nevertheless the repression in Britain did have a profound effect on the bohemian movement. Arguably it drove many into revolutionary politics or urban terrorism. This in turn divided the movement and became instrumental in its downfall. Above all repression was seen as a mechanism which had politicised the middle class individual.

"Getting Busted" is no longer an experience primarily limited to the inhabitants of the ghetto. When fifteen million Americans young and old, use drugs and even more feel that the country's laws are not worth obeying; when it is not uncommon to be stopped and frisked in the streets or even have your home intruded into, it is only a matter of time until the judicial glue binding the country together becomes unstuck mass arrests and intolerable jail sentences are finally becoming visible to the middle class, because it is now they and their children, who are being put into the jails they used to think were reserved for some other sort of citizenry. The arrest and jailing experience provides a common bond for the white radical, the militant black, the student pot smoker and those traditionally repudiated as criminal. (15)

Such a situation helps to relate bohemianism to the anti-prison movements, particularly P.R.O.P. (Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners which organised the strikes in British Prisons in the summer of 1972) and R.A.P. (Radical Alternatives to Prisons).

Although hardening the reaction of some to the coercive power of dominant culture, the persecution and public outcry against the bohemian must be seen as a vital factor in the disintegration of the cultural revolution. In basing his protest on visible and identifiable deviance, the bohemian has in many ways promoted police observation and harrassment.

(b) Commercialisation

The survival of any capitalist system is based on the production of goods, the selling of which enables the owners of the productive system to gain a profit to provide more capital. This enlarges the productive system and extends its existence. In order to maintain the flow of resources from producer to owner to producer, the public must be willing to buy

the goods that have been produced. The process of advertising and commercialisation is essential in that it aids the life of this production/consumption circle. Articles are assigned different value, and different statuses. In essence the concept of the status symbol forces the working man to produce more so that he can be allowed to consume more. This circle must also contain another factor. The same goods cannot always have the same value. If this was the case the market would remain stable and static. Expansion is a key factor in any business venture - the larger the market, the larger the potential profit. Capitalist enterprises then are always on the look out for new markets to expropriate a profit. They may create the market themselves by massive advertising campaigns, or they may exploit the existence of a market which has not been flooded with goods. The latter is virtually an ideal situation for it merely requires a supply of goods for which the demand is already present. The latter relates to the case of the bohemian. His 'revolution' in the sixties was characterised by a "revolution" in style. The bohemian created his own symbols and signs to illustrate his protest. Male/female distinctions were attacked - men grew their hair, wore beads, headbands and colourful clothes. Clothing in leather and denim became the vogue, as did wood and pottery for household items. The recording industry was 'revolutionised' by the introduction of loud electric music, and stereo gramophones. It became fashionable, too, to decorate one's room with posters, house plants and more recently decorative mirrors. For some, interest was stimulated in vegetarian and macrobiotic food, which in capitalist terms, has only amounted to the creation of markets for wheat rather than white bread, or soya instead of baked beans!

What this "revolution" has led to, is the opening of new markets, for new commodities. This is hardly surprising. Given the fact that our society is characterised by such commodity production there is inevitably pressure to turn any possible object into a commodity, thereby providing a new source of surplus value. The consumer industry has relished the bohemian

style, providing a spate of 'head' shops selling joss-sticks, incense, water beds, water pipes, chillums and the like, and also unisex shops dealing in fashions for male and female alike. Carnaby Street and later Kensington Market in London were the centres for this industry. Both have now become tourist attractions and have widened their production into souvenirs to cater for the new market.

Likewise the record industry, long seen as one of the chief outlets for the bohemian's dissident ideas has increasingly come under the control of big business organisations. In order to widen markets, much bohemian music has been popularised through massive advertising campaigns. It is worth noting both the increase in music features and amount of advertising in IT after 1968. The record business both tries to supply the original needs of the bohemian and also command a mass market. This inevitably leads to individual groups being at a peak of popularity for only a short period of time. The more groups that are commercially successful, the more expansion and profit is made possible.

"... every underground movement came to be covered commercially in this way. It was no longer just a case of someone 'going commercial' others were standing by to do it for them. You had to dig pretty deep to stay underground." (16)

The "revolution" in foodstuffs has been on a smaller scale, but nevertheless there has been a noticeable expansion in health food stores and macrobiotic restaurants over the past decade.

A classic case in exploitation can be seen in the case of the Woodstock Music and Art Fair in New York State in America in 1969. Heralded as proof that a youth culture was strong and could exist peacefully even under primitive conditions, the "Woodstock Nation" has been successfully commercialised by both record and film companies, Woodstock, although the creation of young hip promoters who managed to assemble almost every American and British top name group, was soon bought up by Warner Brothers

who gained filming rights, and Atlantic, who secured recording rights. Woodstock has always been admired as "the peoples festival" in that it attracted almost half a million people. It was free, and police were excluded from the site, but through the media's "interference", in the event, thousands of pounds and dollars have been earned in profit, none of which has been returned to the people who first created the experience. In a real sense, Woodstock stands as the extreme example of how a style can be made commercially successful, and how an essentially protesting movement can be turned into a commodity. Records, films, T shirts, books, brochures and posters have all been produced to celebrate the Festival, not for itself, but for its ability to create profit. (17)

Neither has commercialism come solely from without. The bohemian style has attracted the small businessman, the "hip-capitalist" from within its own ranks.

"Sometimes such capitalists are more community minded than the normal merchants, but often they are simply into a new style rip-off." (18)

".... it becomes immediately evident how both the established firms within the entertainment world, and a newer breed of trendy young capitalists, sometimes sporting velvet trousers long hair and tinted spectacles have sought to exploit every conceivable object for profit from drugs and pop festivals to Che and revolution". (19)

Drugs provide a classic case of commercial exploitation from within bohemian ranks. In May 1970 Friends No 22 reported an increase in the price of an ounce of marijuana from £16 to £20. Today (1976) it is expected to cost anywhere from £24 - £34. Although import capabilities have been hampered by more stringent police and customs checks, the increase in price cannot solely be attributed to this, or inflation.

Friends estimated that drugs dealing had not only become highly profitable but also unscrupulous, and reported that £60,000 was probably lost in 'bad' deals during the month of November 1970 in London alone. Similarly the Village Voice in August 1974 reported how the manufacture of Acid in America in the early 60's was always arranged as a profit-making enterprise, "marketing a product whose time had come," largely through William Hitchcock and his associate Timothy Leary, 'who found they had wealth, connections, and a ready market for their product. (20)

The bohemian has suffered, because he has still retained a desire to consume, and in consuming he has provided a market from which others can benefit; not only defeating the bohemian's own purpose, but also having the effect of milking all the protest from the culture's udders.

In allowing itself to be commercially viable, the culture has been subsumed under the control of capitalist enterprises. Today even the most well intentioned bohemian finds it hard to wipe the smell of money from his nose. The cultural revolution has been lost within a proliferation of commodity fetishism, wrought with elitist notions of status afforded to those who are seen to be 'cool' or 'hip'.

All this may be a well intentioned attempt to supply the needs of a bohemian market, but cynicism is not entirely unjustified.

"A revolution of the spirit. Attending a pop festival is revolution. Wearing a groovy leather vest is revolution. Buying records is revolution. Drinking coke is revolution. A revolution of the spirit. Thus cultural radicalism is easily defused, packaged and merchandised to a youthful generation." (21)

The genius of the capitalist system continues, being able to take any phenomenon no matter how remote or radical, and transform it into a product, or into ways of selling other products.

Bohemian culture has undoubtedly suffered in this way. Its style, now

torn from any radical cultural base it may have had, has been trivialised and diffused by commercial popularisation.

(c) The economic limitations of bohemianism

A historical analysis of bohemian movements, from the industrial revolution to the present day, reveals how they are linked to actual historical conditions. It appears that the bohemian impulse comes to the fore in times of economic boom, and decreases in times of economic crisis and instability.

In times of relative affluence it appears there is a higher tendency for such cultural movements to come to the fore. They become more noticeable in that the mass media concentrates on such features, and this in itself helps to create more support and interest in such matters. Economic considerations - profit, investment etc. - are still important, but because society is viewed as affluent, these are largely taken for granted. The notion is that wage increases can take care of themselves, - they are apparent and do not have to be fought for. Such analysis, of course, applies more to the middle than the working classes. The latter remain in a relatively impoverished position, whether the rest of society is affluent or not.

In times of 'boom', the economic, instrumental side of man, or at least middle class man, appears to be satisfied and attention is directed to his more expressive abilities. In times of affluence man can realise that society does not absorb any of his spiritual energies; and he can afford, both economically and socially, to question himself and society in order to try and discover his true meaning and position in life. Periods of affluence thus create pockets of dissidence in society, where people can sit back and look at themselves in a more detached manner. In times of crisis, however, economic factors again become all important, in attempts to retain existing standards of living. Conformity to established ethics of competition, and goal achievements is reasserted. Contact with the ideological and philosophical vacuum is lost. Of course dissidence also

occurs in times of crisis, particularly when that crisis becomes severe and jobs and living standards are under attack. The dissidence at such times, though, is more likely to derive from working class sectors, because it is they who suffer the full brunt of job shortage, unemployment and economic cutbacks.

If we look back over the past 200 years there are three noticeable periods when Britain was either considered affluent or was enjoying an economic boom. They also mark times of technological advance and economic expansion. The first occurred after the Industrial Revolution, when the 1830's onwards marked Britain's extension of her Empire in India and Africa. The second took place after the First World War with the economic reconstruction and scientific advances of the 'Roaring' 20's. The third period was marked by the so-called Technological Revolution of the 1950's when Britain began to consolidate her position in Europe after the Second World War, and along with other Powers began to advance rapidly in the fields of computerisation, machine technology and electronics.

These periods correspond to upsurges of bohemian activity. In the 1830's Britain's bohemians drew their model from the Parisian bohemian whilst in the 1920's and 1950's Britain's model was that of America.

The bohemian of the 19th Century was largely a French figure, but the mood, Europe-wide, never finally disappeared until the outbreak of the First World War.

"The golden age of Bohemia was the near century which lay between 1830-1914. Since there were no major wars, men felt the need to expend emotional energy, to earn distinction, to assert themselves."

(22)

The First World War changed all this. It was no time for romantic daydreaming, and the atmosphere of gaiety and freedom, so strong in Western Europe throughout the 19th Century, was lost. The War needed virtues of heroism and patriotism and an essential serious outlook on life

and was no climate in which the bohemian could prosper.

"In 1879 Alphonse Karr had looked back with regret on the youth of his own generation: on a gaiety which he felt no longer existed. 'Modern life is more active, more urgent and more feverish'." (23)

Middle class dissidence has to be put aside in times of economic and social instability, for all are called upon to do their 'duty' in supporting and maintaining society.

"... modern life was too exacting to allow the young to pause a while in the dream world of Bohemia." (24)

This situation compares with that of the 1970's. The hippie, not faced with war, but an ensuing economic crisis of cutbacks in educational and welfare institutions, decrease in the standard of living, inflation rates of over 20% per year, and growing unemployment figures, has likewise disappeared into obscurity.

Occasional jobs are no longer available for those who wish to work when they like, and thus the bohemian has been forced to adopt a more utilitarian outlook. The sixties' cultural revolution and its self-acclaimed revolutionary basis can now be seen in a different light. At the very time that capitalist society is undergoing a major crisis, the cultural radicals are also undergoing a similar crisis. Each part of society is suffering through the same process, including those who believe they have an 'alternative'. If the cultural radical was really an 'alternative' force, then we would now expect him to be coming to the fore. However, this is clearly not the case.

Bohemianism would then appear to be limited to certain historical and economic conditions.

Today 'dropping-out' is no longer seen as any true alternative for even the poverty that the beat and hippie endured, is gradually worsening..

The 'underground' press too is limited by financial and economic considerations.

In 1972 Ink and Frendz expired with debts amounting to £42,000 between them, and in 1973 OZ collapsed with debts of £17,000. IT remains somewhere, but only goes to press occasionally. Economic limitations are by no means the only cause, but must be a major factor. The lessons of history have shown the patterns of affluence/boom and crisis/demise to have some validity when discussing movements which have little desire to attract mass working class support. We can only have a cultural revolution when we can afford it. Middle class disillusionment has now been put to one side, for it is they who are now fighting for their very jobs and livelihoods.

These then are the external contradictions bohemianism finds in its relation to the outside world.

"... the combination of coppers on one hand, the liberal embrace and pampered sensibilities of the groovier merchant bankers, commercial nabobs and corporate impressarios on the other, was deadly." (25)

But this is not the whole story of its demise. Within the bohemians' own ranks we can see further contradictions which helped it sow the seeds of its own destruction.

Internal factors.

(a) Conflict within bohemian culture.

Looking back over the past 20 years of bohemian activity, it is very difficult to find any essential core which unites all the differing movements together besides the label of individual expressivism.

The fear of industrial routinisation which was born out of the bohemian in the 1830's, has today been expressed in varying fields from mysticism to political radicalism. Even the hippies in 1966-67 in San Francisco,

though often observed as a cohesive group, which could eventually unite the whole of youth, were wrought with internal conflict and contradiction. Any movement which is dependent solely on the notion that each individual should be able to live in an environment, where he can do as he pleases, where he can express himself without constraint, surely opens itself to internal haggling, if only because of each individual's different personality and outlook. Of course the underground press tried to hold every new libertarian idea together, but it was not its policy to produce a manifesto or statement stating the nature of the "underground's" revolutionary policy. This was partly because it did not know, and partly because it did not want to, for it too was dependent on the idea that only the individual can speak for himself. Each individual was to be his own leader.

The initial notion of achieving some radical change has thus been expressed in many different ways.

This has led to a central conflict in bohemianism, between a radical mystic approach and a radical activist approach. Does one alter society by opting out and building one's own life, or by staying within society and trying to change its structures through political or anarchistic interference? The mystics, echoing Reich's stages of development of consciousness, prefer social isolation through choice. A revolution can only occur through changing one's own consciousness and spreading it to others. For the anarchists, consciousness is also important, but in terms of an awareness of the inequalities and repression that exists structurally throughout society. For the mystic, society can be changed by altering the individual's relation to it, for the anarchistic society can only be changed by altering the very basis of that society - by becoming involved in social, rather than individual, issues and by political movement, rather than metaphysical consciousness. Such division has led to a rather confused picture of bohemianism. There may be an overall interest in matters of alternative philosophy, and a

rejection of established work ethics, but the two groups are inherently contemptuous of each other. Such a major rift occurred in 1968. At this time, a content analysis of IT illustrates a decline in interest in the notion of a new society based on development of one's consciousness, and renewed interest in mysticism or political and anarchistic involvement. In the following years the mystic approach declined while the anarchistic spirit flourished up to 1973 and then was replaced by more reformist community politics.

The conflicts between action/non action and involvement/opting out were epitomised by the trend of the cultural 'revolution' by 1974 to move either into community politics or pure hedonistic pursuits. Both again are aimed at liberation. The hedonistic approach criticises old and new Left programmes alike.

"Such traditional learning is entirely meaningless in the search for a true identity. It will not get us out of this distorted messed up world and will not enable us to find the harmony we are looking for. That can only be reached by concentration on the inner self." (26)

Such is the concentration of the hedonistic on the self-liberation of the individual, which can only be realised by a heightened awareness of the 'self'. The hedonist is disillusioned both with community politics, because they are seen as somewhat negligible and powerless, and with revolutionary politics which are seen as too dogmatic, bureaucratised and impersonal.

Harmony in the future, is seen as being dependent not on power struggles and political leadership, but on consciousness and human interaction.

Theirs is an attempt to go beyond materialistic conceptions of man, nature and history, such as those propagated by Marx.

"Our starting points are not those abstractions of thinkers of past ages - we simply cannot go on living life in the way it is demanded of us by this mad society. We must begin to live our new life now and to create the alternate forms to this society. This we shall not do with book knowledge, however great the ideas expressed." (27)

However activists point out that no-one can really exist independently of social, economic and political pressures. Thus, the notion of building an alternative society within capitalism is seen as misguided, for self-autonomy ultimately depends on power, and power is one thing the cultural revolutionaries condemn. The problem also remains that the bohemian differentiates himself from the mass of the population, and has no means by which he can gain their support.

"You can refuse to participate in the rat race of this society, but you are still compelled to eke out an existence somehow; even if you try to live on Social Security benefits you are still living off the old society - opting out may be a personal necessity for you but it does not open up a social perspective and it is a long way from an alternate harmonious society ... Such a step may be alright as a form of defiance directed against the existing society but it does not offer a solution for the large majority of people." (28)

The activist points out that society does not change with a retreatist philosophy of sitting back and thinking about alternatives. Neither does it change by living in a commune, or forming alternative organisations, for these ultimately rely on the very system they are criticising. Berke highlights this point in regards to the publishing of the underground press.

"Many contradictions are involved in making a statement on cultural revolution. While utilising the bourgeois publishing system, to print, bind, promote and distribute it. We want to initiate action, they want to titillate. We want to reach all who fight for the relevancy of our ideas, they only care about those who can afford to pay. Capitalist logic forces this book to be so expensive that only those who most profit from the very society we would dismantle are able to buy it." (29)

He would seem to advocate that an 'active' and not a 'passive' war against society must take place.

Much of the downfall of the "underground" can be explained by this internal conflict and more so with the gradual recognition that freedom has to be fought for. Freedom will not be gained by ignoring social constraints. Much of the hedonistic/consciousness expansion argument can now be equated with apathy, and it remains for the fight to continue within political groupings, local community actions, or liberation movements. Liberation movements derived a strong impetus from the cultural "revolution", but further conflict has occurred since they discovered that their cause could be best fought through their own movements, rather than through a unified movement which may occasionally act in their interest.

The Women's liberation movement is a case in point. Although recognised as part of the revolution of the sixties, it became disillusioned with that movement, and has now reverted to its pre-1966 position of fighting its battles alone. In fact there has been great discontent from many quarters concerning the 'revolution's' treatment of women. Preaching equality and freedom, the woman found she was to be liberated solely by offering free and easy sex to male partners. She sought to live with a partner rather than marry him, and earn her own livelihood rather than be dependent on a husband, but essentially her role never changed.

Women were rarely seen, even within the underground, to be anything more than loyal companions, 'easy lays', or mother figures. Sexual liberation then was dominated by male assumptions. The resentment felt by women over their treatment in a so-called egalitarian movement was highlighted by the formation of solely women's liberation magazines after 1970 - namely Shrew, and Spare Rib in 1972. The reasons are not too hard to find. Marsha Rowe tells us how she worked for the Australian OZ with Richard Neville. While she was earning £14 a week, he earned £20 a week for similar work. Later on, the English OZ posed similar problems. Every major policy decision was taken by male members of the editorial staff. Her experience throughout eight years work with the underground press, was that she was "Workin' for the Man - along with the Cause." (30)

Today few would not recognise the sexist nature of OZ and some of the earlier IT's. The underground press tells us that sexual liberation cannot be achieved by glorifying the female body as this degenerates femininity into a masturbatory fantasy object, but this was the very trap the underground press fell into. Admittedly it shocked the 'public' and helped to boost sales, but stories such as the infamous "Down on the farm" in OZ 33 where a Danish girl tells of her sexual experiences with animals, hardly do much to overcome the exploited position women have to suffer in society. One is left with the conclusion that behind the 'facades' of communalism, sensuousness, egalitarianism and revolution, there was a much stronger commitment, to the age old established roles and distinctions of male and female. In the underground the male was always dominant. It seems that the only way a female could gain any recognition was by cohabiting with the rock stars - the groupie phenomenon - but here again her credibility was based on the degree to which she was an "easy lay". Jenny Fabian's book "Groupie" adequately describes the pervasively inferior position that women endured. In many ways they were reduced simply to objects for male sexual pleasure.

"What finally knackered the underground was its complete inability to deal with womens liberation ... Men defined themselves as rebels against society in ways limited to their own sex ..." "Because the underground remained so utterly dominated by men, sexual liberation was framed in terms saturated with male assumptions, right down to the rape fantasy of 'Dope, Rock and Roll and fucking in the streets'." (31)

The cultural revolution then has suffered through its own choice of not providing a unified programme of action. Its revolutionary perspective of "total expressivism" was so wide and loosely defined, that the multitude of people it attracted, (giving the illusion of a solidified base,) were in fact widely factionalised. A cultural revolution, like the notion of a "youth culture", then, is in part, mythology. It marked a time when interests converged towards opening one's mind to the possibility of alternatives. However, the practising of these alternatives has only led to the surfacing of internal dissension and an essential lack of unity.

(b) Contradictions within bohemian culture.

Such conflicts between various underground factions can also be seen as symptomatic of fundamental contradictions which lay at the very base of the cultural revolution.

Let us again begin with the premise that the underground was a revolutionary movement and that youth constituted its revolutionary vanguard.

The movement is now recognised as being defeated and a large part of this process must be attributable to one of bohemianism's major contradictions.

It has revolutionary aims, but is concentrated within a middle class radical culture. It makes little effort to attract mass working class support. It is middle class youth orientated and represents for most merely a temporary conflict between those presently in power and those who will be in power in the future. It claims freedom for all, but holds

élitist notions; the working class are seen as being duped, unintelligent, and at worst stupid. The underground holds little respect for the working classes, and sees no future in trying to win their support.

Secondly the underground is bound by its ideology of individualism that no man can represent another. While this may be highly creditable, it has, in essence, led to a total lack of formal organisation in the cultural revolution. In being informally based, disruption is necessarily caused by the lack of any collective agreement on which to base a common policy. Political parties may have to suffer petty bureaucratic squabbles and rigid formalisation but at least they still exist. It is noticeable that the only elements of the underground that have survived in any visible form are the welfare organisations of Release and B.I.T.

Bureaucracy, once the adversary of the underground, is now seen to be necessary for its survival.

Not only was the underground elitist and individualist, but it was also centred largely on the urban metropolis. In France, Paris; in the U.S.A. San Francisco and New York; in Holland, Amsterdam; in Germany, Berlin; and in Britain, London, were the centres of bohemian activity. Little attention was paid to the provinces. For example, in Britain, IT's information service and news service was originally totally London based, and although some movement spread outwards, there was little concentrated effort to spread the "word" nationally. This would have probably required too much formal organisation, and it was left to the community papers of the seventies to serve the needs of the provinces.

If revolution is based on mass popular support then the underground did little to fill this precondition. Attacks have also been made on the underground as being specifically white and male orientated. The attention paid to black power and feminist movements, probably attracted some interest and support from the white, male, middle classes, if only because of some general libertarian notion that the underground held,

but besides this, it would be fair to say that little was done to alleviate the repressed position of either of these groups.

The underground was steeped with ideas of revolutionary action. These have now been seen in a more realistic light, as being retreatist and escapist. The hedonist, by his very nature, falls into this trap and so does the commune movement. The attempt to create a Utopian society by withdrawing from the rest of society, and living a life of self sufficiency where greater control over one's own life could be gained, was in itself a very bourgeois notion. It opened itself up to a multitude of contradictions. The formation of a federal society of communities where everyone was free to do as they liked, contradicted the fact that these communities necessarily had to consume the goods of the very society they had rejected. Because of the high cost of land, the commune "alternative" was only available to those who could afford it. Both in terms of money and education it was only the middle classes who had the finance or the inclination to "move back to the land". Above all the policy of retreatism in itself, does not allow for any movement of alternative ideas and actions back into the mainstream of society. The commune becomes a sheltered haven of deliberate non activism. The poverty, pollution and repression suffered by the rest of society can be forgotten. Withdrawal into communes, mysticism or indeed, oneself, was indicative of the underground's inability to bring about social change. It offers no long term social revolutionary perspective; it is a policy of affecting social change by ignoring those elements which stand in the way of change. The major contradictions of bohemianism lie in its elitist, retreatist and fragmented nature. Similarly the contradiction between preaching the need for a mass social revolution whilst retaining individual autonomy, is something which the movement has never come to terms with and probably never will. It has suffered through a grandiose view of its own self importance, without looking closely at itself and its own illusions and contradictions.

"Long hair may frighten the repressed, but who besides the (music) industry and Abbie Hoffman ever put the idea in our heads that rock fans constitute a revolutionary vanguard? The shining happy faces of Woodstock are, almost to the 450,000th, white; the enormous means displayed have been lavished on the pacification of the young, free, affluent and fair." (32)

The movement may have suffered severely in the hands of the social control agencies, but its limitations and internal contradictions were always present even in the early days of Haight Ashbury. Its demise and factionalism then were always imminent. The bohemian has not only failed to protect himself from outside influences - the parasites of consumerism, commercialism, media interference and the exigencies of social control, but he has also failed to maintain his major ideology of voluntarism and has begun to recognise the need for organisation and order.

The limitations of bohemianism in Britain

This process of demise has been endemic in bohemian communities in America as well as in Britain. However British bohemianism has always appeared a somewhat watered down version of the American model and it never managed to gain as strong a foothold in this country as it did in the States.

The reasons for this can also help to explain why the hippie phenomenon was so shortlived in Britain.

The basis of any comparison between Britain and U.S.A. must focus on their respective class structures. Although both cultures share a similar European heritage, in the U.S.A. economic individualism has reached far greater proportions than it ever did in Britain. Britain has retained remnants of an aristocracy, a monarchy and a closed public school system, all of which make class differentials more observable than in the U.S.A., and more vital in any consideration of social change. The American hippie

could afford to condemn the working class, but Britain's attempts to do likewise only allowed cries of middle class élitism to come to the fore. Any social movement in Britain must take account of the working class as an important social force. Lewis writes,

"The political consciousness of the British working class is immeasurably higher than that of their white counterparts in the United States. If freaks and hippies seriously attempted to rid themselves of the bourgeois élitism that is endemic in the British underground they would find that working people could be their closest allies. Revolutionary rhetoric is absolutely futile unless it is related to the social forces that can effectively initiate change." (33)

Maybe the American bohemian could afford to ignore class distinctions, but the British bohemian could not; and his failure to do so only served to alienate himself from the majority of the population and from sectors where he could well have done with support. Lewis continues by arguing that an alternative lifestyle in Britain did not demand the same commitment as in America. The boundaries between the freak and the conventional were not as rigid as in the U.S.A., mainly because of the less severe repression the British Underground suffered. Until 1970 the British Government seemed more concerned with tolerance and co-option than outright repression. In that class distinctions were more rigid and social control was less repressive, the British bohemian had comparatively little to fight about. He was concerned with the contemporary social issues at stake, but the Vietnam War and the draft could never directly affect him.

Above all the core of bohemianism - self-expression - was less an integral part of British culture, while America thrived on such individualism in every walk of life. Accordingly aspirations are lower, and

there is a higher degree of stability in Britain. These factors can also help to explain why British youth have failed to protest as arrogantly as their American counterparts.

We too appear far more concerned with young working class delinquency than that of middle class youth. Football hooliganism is now a more volatile subject than marijuana usage, and thus the latter is now more acceptable and used less in the creation of 'moral panics'. Bohemianism also appears tied to certain economic conditions. The affluence and material prosperity of America, as it elevated itself to the position of world supremacy, was a vital factor in the widespread bohemian activity of that country. It would appear that the more affluent a society, the more middle class youth see only emptiness in their 'prescribed' roles. To this extent British youth have had neither the means nor the motive for protest on the American scale.

"One of the factors which will exert a crucial effect on the future of British society is her capacity for economic growth. If she falls substantially behind other European countries in productivity and fails to develop along the lines which have already brought riches to America, many of the features and problems which affect contemporary U.S.A. could remain marginal and fractional in Britain." (34)

Coupled with the more universal reasons for demise it could well be argued that a British Cultural Revolution never really got off the ground. In general, then, Bohemianism appears to have lost whatever social base it had gained. The notion of "making a living" is now no longer looked down on with so much disrespect. Survival is a necessity. For many, bohemianism is only a weekend pastime. The economic conditions necessary to produce a population attracted to bohemianism now no longer exist so it is safe to assume that in the near future middle class youth will not be drawn to any extreme form of bohemianism. In other words, while

dissatisfaction may be just as present, attempts at building alternative realities will become markedly reduced, and dissidence less apparent.

In the long term however the bohemian may be our saviour. If the predicted age of machine technology, automation and increased leisure time ever comes about, then the bohemian's search for spiritual satisfaction and freedom of expression may be vital factors in preventing our future from developing into the 1984 anti-utopias as "foreseen" by Orwell and Huxley.

Of course this is not to say that no-one is any longer interested in matters of social change. Some may have become silent, but powerful movements exist in areas of racial, feminist and homosexual liberation, albeit often on a local level. The bohemian may have slipped into apathy because his espoused causes of ending racism, poverty, wars and pollution have not been implemented, but his more immediate goals of liberalising educational and sexual attitudes, and gaining acceptance of 'more open' styles in fashion, literature, music and leisure activities have all been partially successful.

But maybe this is the extent of bohemian radicalism. If so he would be better described as belonging to a tradition of bourgeois liberalism, rather than as one of society's social revolutionaries.

"National economies are crumbling, famine is rife throughout the world and the threat of a major international war is looming on the horizon ... But what of we that told them it was going to happen? Now we seem to have sunk into apathy ... a lot of people have worked really hard for years to construct sensible alternatives but the net result of all these achievements is scarcely a fleabite compared to the crisis that is imminent." (35)

Chapter 8

The Romantic Outsider: Conclusions

A decade has now passed since the Western World was "threatened" by Leary's battle cry that its young should "Turn on, Tune in, and Drop Out." The events that followed shocked, and bewildered, but as yet little serious attempt has been made to understand the "counterculture", or analyse its role as a contemporary social movement.

I have argued earlier that a fruitful starting point is not to concentrate on the often confusing and misleading labels of "alternative", "radical", "counter", because of their forthright ideological connotations, but rather to try to distinguish historical precedents of the sixties "cultural revolution", so that we can begin to analyse the latter in a more detached manner. It is no difficult task to discover that forerunners of the 60's hippie can be found in the 50's Beat, and more significantly in the Bohemian of the 1830's. Moreover the Bohemians initiated a so-called tradition of "radical Romanticism", from which modern society has by no means escaped.

The Romantic Tradition

The word 'romantic' seems to have first come into use in England, in about the middle of the 17th Century, when it meant 'having the wild or exciting qualities of medieval romances'. In the 18th Century it was either used as a social term of abuse, referring to anything that was irrational; or as an artistic term describing subjective expressivism.

German philosophers were the first to use the term 'romantic' as an opposite of 'classical'. 'Classic' writing was seen as simple and objective, whilst 'romantic' writing was complex and subjective. Classical forms were mechanical, in that the ideas they forwarded were ordered and finite, whereas romantic forms were organic, in that their origins were in the 'free' and infinite essence of things.

Such philosophy was primarily aimed at rejecting the philosophy of the Enlightenment, with its assumption that this was a rational universe in which all problems had a rational answer. Rather, it sought to explore the irrational forces which governed human actions, and to discover a meaning on a deeper level than that explored by science.

This more "radical" use of the term 'romantic', as being counter to accepted values, came to prominence in the late 18th Century, with the origins of industrialism.

While the Industrial Revolution brought about many changes in the economic structure of society and gave birth to an urban proletariat, it also effected the intellectual life of the declining aristocracy and rising bourgeoisie. Conflict arose between the bourgeois inclination towards progress through man's economic and scientific achievements, and the aristocratic advocate of stability and reverence of ancient tradition. The bourgeois was backed by a rapidly developing culture of Romanticism entailing individual innovation, entrepreneurship, creativity and freedom from the bonds of slavery and serfdom. Accordingly the bourgeoisie came to be seen as a class with progressive and advanced ideas which were capable of breaking down the old forms of domination. Industrialism had enabled Man to become "free" in a world of multitudinous choice and

opportunity. However the industrial world that was created soon came under attack, not only from the Luddite factory wreckers, but also from within the ranks of the bourgeois intellectuals. The so-called "Children of Romanticism" soon saw that both "freedom" and opportunity were only open to a select few. They were not so concerned with the increasing immiseration of urban working people, but about "promises" which the Romanticism of their fathers had failed to fulfill. The "new world" proved to be just as ordered and symmetrical as the old, and above all Man's Romantic/Spiritual needs were being squashed by a total commitment to scientific discovery. Somewhat paradoxically these "radical" Romantics could only revert to a harking backwards to a perceived medieval golden age of man/nature unity and spiritual awareness, which had previously been the concern of the medieval aristocracy and monarchy. Thus, ironically, the new "liberating" forces found support only in those antiquated forms of social domination, that industrialism had destroyed. The heroes may not be the same today, but the core of the sixties' "cultural revolution" was likewise geared to attacking the constraints of industrialism and dreaming up visions of a "long-lost" utopia. Weber's critique of the 19th Century "disenchanted" bourgeois world is virtually repeated with the disillusionment with technology a century later.

"The fate of our times is characterised by rationalism and intellectualism, and above all by the "disenchantment of the world". Precisely the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendental realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human relations. It is not accidental that our greatest art is intimate and not monumental nor is it accidental that today only within the smallest and intimate circles, in personal human situations, in pianissimo, that something is pulsating that corresponds to the prophetic pneuma which in former times swept through the great communities like a firebrand, welding them together." (1)

Thus contemporary reaction to the stifling forces of bureaucracy and technology are by no means unique. The cry of the intellectual to escape individual anonymity is as old as industrialism itself. Even the routes through which individualism can be reasserted show a marked similarity. The sixties' commune movement, contemporary devolution and community action policies are descendents of the bohemians' advocate for a return to close knit communities, where the rights of each individual could be secured and respected. Such localised self autonomy was seen as preferable to an industrial world that had only replaced old forms of domination with new ones based on factory discipline, wage labour and, more particularly, a stifling of all non-utilitarian activities. By 1830 the tradition/progress conflict between the aristocracy and bourgeoisie was turned on its head. Romanticism became synonymous with the past, rather than with a prosperous future and the young intelligensia of poets, authors, artists and philosophers wanted no part of it.

In the latter part of the 19th Century Weber wrote:

"Science as the way to nature" would sound like blasphemy to youth. Today youth proclaims the opposite: redemption from the intellectualism of science in order to return to one's own nature and therewith nature in general."(2)

This might well have been written in 1967 and would have no less a social significance.

The point to note here is that Romanticism, rather than supporting industrialism, was now believed to offer a major critique. The bohemian turned himself backwards and inwards, to the days of irrationality, and the inward soul searching of a medieval way of life. The vision was so strong that the strictures of landlordism and serfdom were soon forgotten, and

the age of aristocratic hedonism and self reflection was ressurected as a base from which man could once more discover, and be, himself. The tradition/progress debate returned in the form of a conflict between a bohemian literary culture and a scientific culture. Today this is probably best illustrated by the ongoing and usually separate developments of "art" and "science". It is vital to remember that while both of these were originally products of a general Romanticist outlook, they had become virtually distinct from one another by the early 19th Century.

The disjuncture between Romantic and Scientific values, and the need to reassert the vitality of imagination and the uniqueness of the individual is best illustrated by the works of the Romantic poets and philosophers of the 18th and 19th Centuries.

The Romantic started from the assumption that empirical science and philosophy were inadequate as a means of answering the most important questions concerning human life. In the age of Reason the mind was a kind of mirror reflecting and recording the external world, which in turn was knowable through ascertainable laws. To the Romantic it was different: there was a material world, but it was transcended by the ideal world of the mind, within which the real answers to the world could be found. In practice this meant that Man did not simply interpret and act on this world, but that he also had the power and right to be a creative agent. However, the rigours of industrialism had stunted this need. Nevertheless the Romantics did not consider themselves as living in ivory towers remote from reality, but as men of action; and indeed many provided support for the Revolutions in France and America,

as well as developing a profound critique of the development of industrial capitalism in England. Indeed Romanticism glorified the isolated individual and delighted in the theme of the man of action, pursuing some passionate purpose against enormous odds. From such a position comes a wealth of literature on the excitement, but also the despair, of being a social outcast. Romanticism is bound to extremism. To conclude, the Romantics returned recognition to the powers of individual imagination. As a result they were frequently seen as being immoral in their actions, but inspiring in their idealism; as social misfits, but effective social commentators. They were greeted with an air of sympathy, but little tolerance. Blake was seen as an "insane" mystic, Coleridge as a drug addict, and Shelley as a social rebel. However all were major poets of their day, and were the originators of similar aspirations and elements to be found in contemporary society.

The Beat of the 1950's provides a mirror of that Romantic bohemian culture of a century earlier. Visions of man in unity with himself and nature re-emerged as did self imposed poverty and retreat from scientific and technological domination. Critical theory continued where Weber had left off, bemoaning loss of individuality, freedom and spiritual awareness. Once more a generation returned which believed existential problems to be far more serious than economic and social ones. Accordingly, they too elevated themselves as the saviours of personalisation in a growing age of impersonal social relations and confusing patterns of urban life.

"In their day Flaubert and Baudelaire met the appearance of a well dressed populace by inventing a new personal elegance. In our day when "style" is being distributed on the mass market such people as the American 'beats' have chosen the "new poverty", the elitism of non-

consumption. There is also the issue of preventing the loss of aesthetic surprise in an environment swamped by utilitarianism and oversocialised piousness. One traditional response to this was provided by the outrageous idiosyncracies and cryptic styles of willfulness invented by the 19th Century Bohemians and still practised by their heirs. Another is the literary enthusiasm for happenings whose sole value resides in a moment of great poignancy or in a display of memorable singularity."(3)

Since the 1950's, authors have been less ready to make comparisons of this sort, and yet although the sixties' "revolution" was undoubtedly more politicised and publicised, the links back to a 19th Century heritage can still be made. Leary's call for the awakening of a "new consciousness" through the use of L.S.D., is undermined by an examination of DeQuincy's experiments with opium, which indicate that the sought for consciousness was nothing new at all. Blake's critique of the "satanic mills" of industrialism is echoed by Marcuse's attack on the one dimensionality of modern technological society. The hippie's arguments for free love and his extrovert flamboyant nature were similarly not original, but rather mirrored the dandyism of the Parisien bohemian.

However, comparisons can best be substantiated by examining the social base of all such bohemian movements. They are predominantly attractive to highly educated youth, who have become disillusioned with the rules and regulations to which they are expected to abide. They are critical not only of their bourgeois dominants, but also of the masses, who are viewed with equal contempt for their lack of imaginative prowess, and their participation in the capitalist productive process. Whatever these movements thought of themselves, they effect a strategy of mass exclusion with the political and cultural elitism that they profess. Matters of the mind are

more vital than matters of the body, and those who adhere to the latter are accordingly seen as worthless to bohemian "revolutionary" movements.

In that the Romantic Tradition condemns any form of social conformity or participation within the "system", the bohemian has always had to uphold notions of the self and visions of utopia as vanguards of his liberation for "freedom". Romantic intellectual pride is thus attached wholly to individual desires and personal spiritual possessions, and consequently denies freedom to all those who are bound to routine. Creative and imaginative pursuits are seen as boundless and thus essentially free, while labour is viewed as spiritually unfree and therefore worthless.

The bohemian, beat and hippie would all seem to play a central part in this Romantic Tradition.

"Nineteenth century Romanticism was strikingly like the contemporary counter-culture in its explicit attack on technology, work, pollution, boundaries, authority, the unauthentic, rationality and the family. It had the same interest in altered states of mind, in drugs, in sensuousness and sensuality ... But perhaps the most striking and significant similarity between the Romantics and today's counter-culture is this: the imagination of today's counter-culture feeds on science fiction. The Romantics invented it." (4)

All such movements would appear to have a temporary, but regenerative, quality. A disaffiliated bourgeois intelligensia will always be alert to providing society with a liberal conscience, by fighting for individual rights. But at the same time such groups necessarily elevate themselves as being individually unique and original: asserting themselves as the only hope of salvation. In effect this is the role that Romanticism has played since the Industrial Revolution.

Romanticism and Capitalism: Necessarily in opposition?

We have noted how Industrial capitalist societies have been characterised by a forever present opposition between Romantic and Rational values and cultures. The opposing values of productive/non-productive labour; routine/uniqueness; servitude/freedom; and impersonality/individuality, have remained an intrinsic part of such societies.

Whereas the industrialist may wish to develop through economic progress, the Romantic wants society to stop a while and recover its humanism. A bourgeois society which fought for, and was built in the name of, freedom, has produced elements which recognise that freedom to be illusory, and therefore seek to provide more utopian solutions. Hence the Romantic views the world as being split into opposing factions - work is separate from leisure, material from spiritual, rational from irrational and so on, to a point where Man has lost his essential unity. Man has become increasingly isolated, and his knowledge specific and detailed, rather than general. He can no longer hold the answer to all questions, and is replaced by an army of isolated experts whose knowledge is so great that no one person can ever hope to comprehend it. Every walk of life is characterised by a material explanation and a Romantic opposite. Romantic thought then is clearly non-dialectical. Opposites are highlighted, but not the possibility of their synthesis. Aspects of reality are seen as separate and defined in terms of absolute categories (e.g. Good and Evil), rather than as unrealisable poles at each end of a continuum.

However the notion of Creativity does tie the Rational and

the Romantic together. Capitalism is dependent on the creative mind for expanding its productive and market capacities, while creativity is central to the notion of Romantic freedom. However, the latter sense of the word only relates to individual idealism, and in this sense is uncategorisable and incomparable. It cannot be measured in terms of anything other than itself. Thus one finds that the Romantic has no good word for industrial society, but can maintain some praise for traditional society, because of its reverence for such unbounded and non-utilitarian virtues as honour and aesthetic wholeness. The target for the Romantic critic will always be the "anonymity" of the middle classes and mass industrial society, rather than the exploitative characteristics of capitalist society. In reifying creativity the Romantic has lost sight of the importance of productive labour in securing man's continuing survival.

The debate nevertheless continues between these two opposing elements of bourgeois ideology. While the industrialist perseveres in exploiting and reaping profit, he is countered by liberal humanitarian currents which provide society with some kind of moral conscience. These two elements give dominant culture its defining characteristics. Thus whilst we can accept that the oppositions between irrationality and rationality, transcendence and control, etc. do exist, we cannot unambiguously associate these oppositions with that between a radical bohemian culture and a conservative dominant culture, as if the former was entirely irrational and the latter entirely rational. The Romantic movement is not simply a protest movement in art and politics which stands in direct opposition to the main body of society; rather the main body,

with its concern for imperialism, nationalism and capitalism, is also profoundly Romantic. Capitalism is Romantic in that it emphasises and requires the individual hero, who lets nothing stand in his way, and who through vision and greed transforms whole continents and ways of life. Nationalism and Imperialism are similarly based on Romantic mythologies which refer to unity, wholeness and the New Worlds. Irrationalism thus has an opposite face, seeking to transform, and order the world. Hitler may have based his actions on a ruthless idealism, but equally his visions of world power were those of a Romantic. Only a Romantic could conceive of such an idea as Utopia and the perfectability of Man, and yet none but the most callous rationalist, brought up in the traditions of modern science and positivism, could carry it out. Putting "men on the moon" was an expressive Romantic desire, but science was essential for its realisation. The assurance of making consumer goods available to all was the result of a Romantic vision, but mass production demanded an even higher adherence to rationalistic principles. Similarly, the value given to Romantic love produces both orgiastic transcendence and bourgeois chastity.

The linkages and dialectical nature of these opposites are also no accident. Romantic/Classical debates or the similar dichotomies of art and science, self and society, idealism and materialism, and so on, are all dual aspects of the same culture - that of a dominant culture in industrial capitalist societies.

The dichotomies may be useful for purposes of philosophical analysis, but the ends of each can only be realised through using elements of the opposing ideology or

culture. To this extent bohemian opposition is also somewhat illusory. The bohemian may illustrate more strongly than others this underlying contradiction within bourgeois ideology, but as he rarely moves out of a philosophical realm he can be seen to be as much a part of dominant culture as a Conservative Party manifesto. Romanticism can be seen to be as much a part of the Right as it is of the Left, and we must expect this conflict to be as equal a part of bohemianism, as it is of dominant elites. Its ostensible humaneness often masks the actual oppression and elitism it instigates when put into practice. Bohemian culture presents itself as a radical force, but in reality it is bound to the very values of individuality, cultural refinement, creativity and liberalism which are similarly central to dominant culture.

In any discussion of human praxis, pure Romanticism is as much based on mythology as pure Rationalism. It is a myth, however, which remains important to any social movement and particularly those of a self acclaimed revolutionary nature. In that it visualises the "impossible" as a possibility, it allows Man to break out of everyday constraints. And if one is to resort to violence and self sacrifice to achieve one's ends, then a conviction that the struggle is for more than short term goals must be present.(5)

Romanticism then is not synonymous with a progressive outlook on life, but, as an amorphous ideology, is free to be adopted by movements of any political persuasion.

"The reverberations of this polarity between nature and science/industry set in motion by the dual impact of the French Revolution and the advent of industrial capitalism have lasted down to the present day ... the tendency to assimilate one or other of the poles of this couplet to a progressive or reactionary standpoint has been

overwhelming. In England for instance, where the scientist pole has been dominant, and in general closely integrated with the viewpoint of the ruling class, the left has not surprisingly tended to endorse the essentially progressive nature of the romantic anti-scientist tradition ... A simple equation between romanticism and progressive attitudes, however can only be sustained by ignoring the rabidly racist and elitist character of many of (its) exponents. The unpalatable fact remains that depending on the prevailing political climate romantic anti-capitalism is no less assimilable to right-wing extremism and variants of fascism than it is to socialism."(6)

However not only must we be alert to the differing political rôles that Romanticism can play, but also to the contradictions it brings to any movement with profoundly idealistic aims. Visions of utopia are open to many varied interpretations, and the routes by which they can be achieved become highly contested even between groups of similar political persuasion.

The contradictions inherent in Romanticism can be clearly indicated by analysis of the "cultural revolution" of the 1960's. Although the ideas and values of bohemianism appear to lie in a polarised position to those of dominant culture, the routes through which these ideas have been expressed have allowed them to be accommodated into ongoing practices in the wider society. We must then consider the 'radical' nature of what the bohemian is advocating and the general role cultural radicalism plays in processes of social change.

Bohemianism: A revolutionary movement?

It has been claimed by Marcuse, Roszak and other counter-cultural theorists that the "youth culture" of the 1960's, not only led a most significant and relevant attack on modern society, but in itself was a movement bound to revolutionising the status quo. Much was made of the counter-culture's disregard for accepted styles of living, its overt criticism

of dominant values and its attempt to provide "alternative realities". Due to the apparent failure of a working class revolutionary consciousness, and the 'discrediting' of the socialist states of the Communist World, the bohemian was seen by himself and others to be the only realistic advocate of a free and more tolerant society. Mass abstract political solutions were believed to be too remote and misguided and the vanguard of social change was thought to lie with each particular individual and minority groups in general. Coupled with various other liberation movements such as radical students, feminists, anti-war movements, gay liberationists, Third World and Black Power groups, and backed by a New Left intelligensia, this outbreak of bohemianism was seen as providing the only hope of escaping the forces of fascism and totalitarianism.

However, to what extent does a concentration on personal, rather than political, forms of liberation, constitute a liberating or revolutionary perspective for the mass of the population? Whilst attacking the confessed superiority of the bourgeois and the ideology of capitalism, the bohemian and the ethos of Romanticism can be seen to stand as the ideological symbol of but another form of superiority expressed this time in religious, intuitive and instinctual terms. Thus the bohemian has been unable to attract mass support, and has fallen prey to telling criticisms of depicting yet another form of bourgeois elitism.

The bohemian and the New Left were also beset by a lack of well defined political praxis, and consequently many of their laissez faire attitudes have easily become accommodated into

ongoing practices in the dominant culture. The cultural radicalism of the sixties has now become institutionalised in the fields of conservationism, women's liberation, progressive education and has developed within a vast expansion of the welfare state and a general service ethic. These features beg the question of whether the culture was in fact counter to the status quo or merely represented a more dynamic wing of already existing and accepted movements. If any political ideology can be deciphered from the values and strategy of bohemian movements it must be some kind of Romantic vision of participatory democracy calling for some form of worker control and participation, but ignoring socialist forms of ownership. This orientation is correspondingly backed by theoretical critiques of power elites stemming from C. Wright Mills, rather than class relations, as expounded by Marx. If all such radicals are thus persuaded that they are a part of a plural society, rather than a class society, then their demands for democracy begin to seem reformist rather than revolutionary. Although the extent and intensity of their critique may have been great, in that no major institution from government to media was left untouched, their social analysis was never far removed from that of traditional liberalism. Above all, the sixties' radicals can be located within a Romantic tradition, which may provide a good reason for dropping out, but does not in itself amount to an ideology for a political movement. We can only conclude that the bohemian is more of, and in, society than he would like to believe. For example concern for self expression has been assimilated into liberal notions of freedom of speech; attempts to "return to nature" are similar to bourgeois rural retreatism and conservationsim; and emphasis on individual uniqueness has only justified the impossibility

of mass political action. Equally, interest in the politics of ecstasy has aided a general revival of interest in religion, and support for institutionalised church organisations.

Similarly many features of bohemianism have closer parallels with dominant culture than would be expected from any totally opposed radical culture. The ranks of mystics, drug users and hedonists have little concern for the building of any mass movement. Their activities demand no overall strong commitment to a cause, and consequently symbols of revolt are emphasised, without forcing the individual concerned to live out this revolt in everyday life. Moreover such symbols, and the development of deviant life styles, have only allowed "hip capitalism" to come to the fore. Bohemian needs are supplied by profit making organisations, claiming to support the bohemian community, but performing a role no different than that of any other consumer industry in the wider society. The cultural manifestations of this radicalism then are exuberantly capitalistic. The swift rise of the underground press, pop art, acid rock music, the poster revolution and new fashions and fads are all a tribute to the ethics of private enterprise and laissez faire. It is now clear that although the culture advocated the abandonment of the ethic of production, it was still intent on consuming, and provided vital markets for capitalistic expansion. Moreover the bohemian who was only prepared to sit back and wait for things to happen "getting his head together", and thinking he was the purest revolutionary of all, can easily be seen as a dangerous reactionary, rather than radical, phenomenon.

"In fact by voluntarily dropping out of the work force and providing an ideology that allows many young people to live on a lower income, youth culture may be giving capitalism a new lease of life."(7)

The vanguard of modern bohemianism, which was once a "new consciousness" based on Romantic traditions, has found its practical expression in community action. Yet here the same process of bourgeois assimilation is prevalent, due to an inability to tackle the problems of welfare recipients and the like on any terms other than those determined by the dominant culture with its organisational and legal constraints. Whilst supplying legal aid and advice to clients, the rigours of liberal reformism and professionalism have become difficult to avoid. Indeed Pearson has argued that there is a close affinity between bohemian ideology and social service ethics. Both hippie and social worker are concerned with personal modes of acting and helping. Both view themselves as essentially altruistic, concerned with human values, feelings and needs, rather than overt political activity.

"While some social workers - students and practitioners alike may employ the rhetoric of Marx, there is no indication of any serious attempt to understand matters of social welfare and deviance in terms of a marxist theory of political economy. Rather the politics of the social work recruit mixes together humanism, pluralism, christianity, the Fabian tradition of social reform and snatches of Marx in a sort of political 'soup'; his ambitions fly between a revolutionary utopia and a careful case-by-case appraisal of distress. Fundamentally, he wants desperately to 'do good'." (8)

During the seventies the bohemian's move back into orthodox society has not been as difficult as one is led to believe. While Cantor writes "Stockbrokers could adopt long hair styles and smoke pot without renouncing capitalism", (9) we should similarly not be surprised by a faith in the use of Zen Buddhism to introduce compassion and empathy into social casework. (10)

This impact of humanism can similarly be traced in the free school movements of the seventies. They advocate a

breakdown of rigid systems of mass schooling to be replaced by community learning centres which would help individuals of all ages identify and meet their teaching needs. (11)

The impact of Romanticism is thus reflected in many recent developments in both education and the social services. Bohemian concern for the individual has undoubtedly played an important role in these movements, but they are ultimately only concerned with melioristic measures, rather than revolution. Moreover it has been argued that such concern for individual cases only reasserts the dominant view that deviance and social problems are a result of individual maladjustment and individual failure, rather than focussing on their wider structural causes and implications. (12)

The sixties' optimism has thus been replaced in the seventies by either disillusionment and cynicism or an acceptance of established roles. The latter has been made possible, partly as a result of dominant culture interference, but more probably because bohemianism in essence is not incompatible with those aristocratic and humanitarian aspects of dominant culture. Thus whatever it thinks of itself, bohemianism appears to be inherently consistent with the basic structures of western society. Such consistency is maintained by the perseverance of Romanticism with bohemian movements and its ready equation with liberalism and reformism.

To view Romanticism, and thus bohemianism, as being fundamentally revolutionary phenomena is not only unsubstantiated, but also disguises the limitations to which both are held. To this extent Grana's view of the bohemian of the 19th Century may be equally valid today.

"Seeing themselves as a small embattled company of select spirits in the midst of a massive onslaught of materialistic grasping, the literary men became self conscious, easily threatened and almost unappeasable in their intellectual fastidiousness. But it would be wrong to say they had no view of the social order, or the proper society. They did. It was that of a hierarchial world resting on the discipline established by reverence to intelligence and to the spiritual poise and aesthetic and moral superiority of a new aristocracy-themselves." (13)

The Romantic Outsider: Myth and Reality

The core of the Romantic critique of industrial society remains centred around questions of value, particularly that of rationalism, rather than the social origins and social forms of such values. Consequently the argument follows that society is essentially a system of ideas, and can thus only be undermined by the introduction of innovatory ideas. A particularly bourgeois conception of social change is advocated with idealism rather than historical materialism as its main weapon. Supported by Weber and the Critical Theorists, modern industrial capitalism is seen as the era of rational mechanisation reflected throughout society by the domination of commodity relations. Society is viewed as rational, predictable and inhuman, and thus it is argued that the only power Man has left in the control of his own Destiny, is the power of the imagination. In that such conceptions of social change have, in their extremity, been far from realised, we would be justified in questioning the viability and accuracy of Idealistic interpretations of history. In opposition, Marx has argued that history is created by the ways in which Men produce goods and how their labour is organised, rather than by eternal principles or ideas.

"... the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought not in men's brains, not in

men's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch". (14)

For Marx such idealism as represented by bohemianism and Utopian socialists, is merely an element of bourgeois ideology and has little relevance to the real movers of social change. Nevertheless this debate with Marxism continues today in a constant struggle between cultural and political routes to achieving social change, with progressive intellectualism and working class consciousness as their respective agents of liberation. Whilst it is possible to view bohemianism as an 'idealistic side-show' on the margin of history, as no doubt Marx would have proposed, such a perspective fails to account for the not inconsiderable reformist measures, that social movements of a Romantic or Utopian nature have helped to instigate. The question of whether these measures have in fact ameliorated the lot of the mass of the population, or merely a select few, however, is still open to question. Nevertheless one pointer should be made clear at this point. Romanticism does not readily lend itself to unifying groups in political action. In the sixties, bohemianism rapidly became too fragmented to exercise a sustained political pressure, and similarly its ideas were too divided to mount a coherent persuasive propaganda. Bohemianism thus has no place in labour history. Rather, it sought to set itself apart from such 'mundane' matters. A summary in terms of success and failure accentuates the view that bohemianism was largely concerned to better the quality of life for a select few, and to a large extent lay outside the interests of the mass of the population. Despite a substantial growth in religious, educational and moral

freedom, one could argue that these were primarily middle class goals and can be ascribed to previously existing and ongoing forces in society, rather than the impact of 'radical' Romanticism. Nevertheless the bohemians did produce a body of social criticism which cannot easily be ignored. In pointing to the abuses and injustices of industrial exploitation, consumerism, poverty and the like, they offer a critique which requires thoughtful and careful appraisal. Technological domination, totalitarianism, State control and interference, and the destruction of the world by pollution, nuclear warfare and material exploitation are all issues which we would do best not to avoid. The most telling criticism of bohemianism however, lies in its adherence to utopian visions of the future, in its very creation of myths, dreams and false hopes. Socialists maintain that it ignored economic realities and immediate issues of class exploitation and poverty, liberals condemned it as impractical, while conservatives claim that it disregarded natural inequalities and the human need for authority. Above all the bohemian talked in terms of final solutions - total freedom, total anarchy, total power given to the imagination - and these features in themselves may well run counter to Man's need for co-operation and labour if his survival is to continue.

This commitment to total freedom was, without doubt, a myth, in that it advocated a perfect solution to the human condition. But the centrality of mythology may not be totally damning. The importance of adhering to an ideal is an obvious inspiration and spur to action, which is relevant to an understanding of all social movements and not just bohemianism. Myths of the future abound in the history of the West, ranging

from Christianity to Marxism, and as such have the power of surviving past and present failures. It is not surprising that the bohemian has probably had more difficulty than most in translating such mythology into social practice. In using idealism as the motor, and youth as the vehicle, of social change, the bohemian has failed to appreciate and accept the quality and impact of popular class struggle in the Western industrial societies.

Consequently the bohemian can be most fruitfully viewed as a Romantic Outsider. He is firmly entrenched within the margins of dominant culture, as a radical misfit, but he is neither capable of breaking out of this bond, or able to secure any social change other than on a melioristic reformist level. Above all bohemianism falls into the trap of radical subjectivism, and the exclusive pursuit of subjectivity insures its decline.

"This is a dynamic that keeps bourgeois society rattling along; the very breathing space that could give life to theory is lost in the desperate search for life itself. This search without theory mimics death: reified activity. It grooves along in the ruts of bourgeois society." (15)

The bohemian lives and dies in his search for a mythical and illusory freedom.

Chapter 1References

- 1 J.M. Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture" in P. Rose, "The Study of Society", p.828
- 2 Ibid. p.831
- 3 L. Yablonsky, "The Hippie Trip", pp.23-24
- 4 F. Musgrove, "Ecstasy and Holiness", pp.15-17
- 5 Discussed by W. Braden, "The Age of Aquarius", p.22
- 6 J. Conger, "Adolescence and Youth", p.522
- 7 Discussed by Braden, Op. Cit, p.25
- 8 K. Keniston, "Youth and Dissent", p.8
- 9 K. Kelly, "Youth, Humanism and Technology", p.6
- 10 K. Keniston, "The Uncommitted", pp.455-464
- 11 E. Erickson, "Identity, Youth and Crisis", p.17
- 12 K. Keniston, "Youth Radicals", p.287
- 13 Conger, Op. Cit, pp.523-4
- 14 R. Laing, "Politics of Experience and the Bird of Paradise", p.100
- 15 P. Slater, "Pursuit of Loneliness", pp.9-10
- 16 Ibid, p.29
- 17 Ibid, p.118
- 18 W. Braden, "The Age of Aquarius"
- 19 Ibid, p.41
- 20 H.J. Eysenck, "Crime and Personality", p.50
- 21 T. Parsons, "The Social System", pp.205-6
- 22 Ibid, pp.284-5
- 23 Ibid, p.297
- 24 J. Horton, "The dehumanisation of anomie and alienation: a problem in the ideology of sociology", **British Journal of Sociology** 15 p.294, 1964.

- 25 T. Parsons and N. Smelser, "Economy and Society". pp.267-70
and pp.284-294.
- 26 Parsons, Op. Cit. pp.520-25
- 27 Ibid, p.527
- 28 Ibid, p.529
- 29 C. Brinton, "Anatomy of Revolution", p.262
- 30 R. Blackburn, "A brief guide to Bourgeois Ideology"
in Cockburn and Blackburn, "Student Power", p.182
- 31 Brinton, Op. Cit., p.205
- 32 G. Melly, "Revolt into Style", p.40
- 33 Ibid, pp.107-8
- 34 Ibid, pp.41-2
- 35 Ibid, p.43
- 36 C. Adelman, "Generations", p.64
- 37 Ibid, p.80
- 38 K. Marx, "Preface to the critique of political economy"
in Marx and Engels "Selected Works", p.182
- 39 K. Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte",
Ibid, p.138
- 40 K. Marx and F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist
Party" Ibid, p.55
- 41 K. Marx, "Preface ..." Op. Cit. p.183
- 42 C. Booker, T. Palmer and R. McGough, "The Sixties".
- 43 K. Marx and F. Engels, "Selected Works", p.681
- 44 K. Marx and F. Engels, Op. Cit. p.61
- 45 C. Booker (et al) Op. Cit.
- 46 D. Walsh, "Varieties of Positivism", in Filmer (et al),
"New Directions in Sociological Theory", p.54
- 47 N. Polsky, "Hustlers, Beats and Others", pp.148-183
- 48 Ibid, p.124
- 49 L. Yablonsky, "The Hippie Trip", p.X
- 50 Ibid, p.XI

- 51 A. Dawe, "The Two Sociologies" *British Journal of Sociology* Vol.21 1970 pp.207-18
- 52 P. Berger and T. Luckmann, "The Social Construction of Reality"
- 53 A. Schutz, "The Phenomenology of the Social World", p.134
- 54 K. Marx and F. Engels, "The German Ideology", p.14
- 55 M. Merleau-Ponty, "Sense and Non-Sense", p.71
- 56 B. Hindess, "The phenomenology of Alfred Schutz", *Economy and Society*, 1972 No.1 p.15
- 57 Schutz, *Op. Cit.* p.242
- 58 K. and G. Lang, "Collective Dynamics", pp.364-7
- 59 R. A. Nisbet, "The Sociological Tradition", p.183
- 60 *Ibid.*, p.209
- 61 L. Mumford, "Pentagon of Power", p.24
- 62 K. and G. Lang, *Op. Cit.* p.507
- 63 C. W. Mills, "The Power Elite", p.324
- 64 W. Kornhauser, "The Power Elite" or "Veto Groups" in P. Rose, "The Study of Society", pp.633-646
- 65 T. Roszak, "The Making of a Counter-Culture" p.3
- 66 *Ibid.*, p.5
- 67 *Ibid.*, p.9
- 68 *Ibid.*, p.12
- 69 *Ibid.*, pp.16-17
- 70 *Ibid.*, p.267
- 71 C. Reich, "The Greening of America", p.25
- 72 *Ibid.*, p.77
- 73 *Ibid.*, pp.291-329
- 74 P. Goodman, "Growing up Absurd"
- 75 M. Jay "The Dialectical Imagination"

- 76 H. Marcuse, "One Dimensional Man", p.14
- 77 Ibid., p.22
- 78 Ibid., p.19
- 79 M. Horkheimer, quoted in G. Pearson "The deviant Imagination," p.82
- 80 Marcuse, Op. Cit. p.199
- 81 Ibid., p.200
- 82 M. Jay, Op. Cit. p.103
- 83 J. Marcuse, "Essay on Liberation", p.11
- 84 Ibid., p.30
- 85 F. Field, "Unequal Britain" p.26
- 86 A. MacIntyre, "Marcuse" p.72
- 87 Ibid., p.89
- 88 Ibid., p.64
- 89 Roszak, Op. Cit. p.139
- 90 G. Therborn "A Critique of the Frankfurt School" New Left Review, No.63, 1970 pp.65-96

Chapter 2References

- 1 J. Clarke et al "subcultures, cultures and class"
in Working papers in Cultural Studies, No. 7/8, 1975
p 11.
- 2 K. Marx and F. Engels "The German Ideology", p 42.
- 3 Ibid. p 64.
- 4 J. Clarke Op. cit. pp 12-13.
- 5 A.B. Atkinson "Poverty in Britain and the Reform of
Social Security" p 38.
- 6 A.B. Atkinson "Economics of Inequality" p 19.
- 7 F. Field "Unequal Britain: A report on the Cycle of
Inequality", pp 57-59.
- 8 J. Westergaard "The Withering Away of Class?" in
P. Anderson and R. Blackburn "Towards Socialism".
- 9 F. Parkin "Working class conservatives: a theory of
political deviance" British Journal of Sociology,
Vol. 8, 1967.
- 10 E. Shils "Mass Society and its Culture" Daedalus Vol.
89, No. 2.
- 11 P. Anderson "Components of the National Culture" in
Cockburn and Blackburn "Student Power", p 125.
- 12 L. Althusser "Ideology and Ideological State Appartus"
in "Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays", pp 127-186.
- 13 E.T. Lemert "Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social
Control".

- 14(a) L. Althusser, Op. cit.
- 14(b) A. Gramsci "Prison Notebooks" edited by Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith, pp 245-6.
- 15 A. Gramsci, Op. cit. p 182.
- 16 K. Marx "Preface to the Critique of Political Economy" in Bottomore and Rubel "Karl Marx", pp 67-68.
- 17 J.H. Goldthorpe and D. Lockwood "Affluence and the British Class Structure" Sociological Review XI (2) July 1963, pp 133-63.
- 18 See the work of Max Weber, the pluralist tradition, and Kerr's Convergence thesis.
- 19 L. Wirth "Consensus and Mass Communication" American Sociological Review, Vol. 13, 1948, pp 1-15.
- 20 H. Marcuse "One Dimensional Man".
- 21 D. McQuail "Towards A Sociology of Mass Communications", p 21.
- 22 Shils Op. cit.
- 23 L. Yablonsky "The Hippie Trip", p 26.
- 24 C. Reich "The Greening of America", p 164.
- 25 R. Flacks, "Social and Cultural Meanings of Student Revolt", Social Problems Vol. XVII, Winter 1970, p 346.
- 26 F. Parkin "Middle Class Radicalism", p 34.

- 27 K. Widmer "The Electric Aesthetic and the Short Circuit Ethic: The Populist Generator in our Mass Culture Machine", in Rosenberg and White (eds) "Mass Culture Revisited", p 102.
- 28 D. Thompson (ed) "Discrimination and Popular Culture", p 13.
- 29 M. Jacques "Trends in Youth Culture: Some Aspects" Marxism Today, September 1973, p 272.
- 30 Shils Op. Cit.
- 31 J. Clarke, T. Jefferson "The politics of popular culture: cultures and subcultures", occasional papers, C.C.C.S., 1973, p 9.
- 32 H. Rose "Up Against the Welfare State: The Claimants Unions" in Saville and Miliband "The Socialist Register", 1973.
- 33 R. Dutschke - quoted in R. Flacks "Strategies for Radical Social Change", Social Policy, Vol. 1, No. 6, 1971.
- 34 J. Westergaard and Resler, "Class in a capitalist society".

Chapter 3

References:

- 1 G. Lenski: 'Power and Privilege p. 426
- 2 R. Grinder: 'Adolescence', p. 217
- 3 M. Mead: 'Culture and Commitment'
- 4 J. Nuttall: 'Bomb Culture', p. 19
- 5 P. Laurie: 'Teenage Revolution'
- 6 C. Booker: 'The Neophiliacs', p. 33
- 7 M. Jacques: 'Trends in Youth Culture - Some Aspects',
Marxism Today, September 1973, p. 269
- 8 G. S. Hall: 'Adolescence', Vol. 1 p. XV
- 9 A. Bandura: 'The Stormy Decade: Fact or Fiction?',
in Psychology in the Schools', 1964, 1 pp 224-231
- 10 B. Berger: 'On the Youthfulness of Youth Culture', in
Social Research, 1963, 30
- 11 H. M. Johnson: 'Sociology. A Systematic Introduction'
- 12 T. Parsons: 'Age and Sex in the Social Structure of
the U.S.A.', American Sociological Review October 1942
- 13 F. Musgrove: 'Inter-generation Attitudes', in
British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology,
1963, 2
- 14 J. Symonds: 'Adolescent to Adult' pp 95-118
- 15 G. Murdock and R. McCron: 'Scoobies, Skins and
Contemporary Pop', in New Society, 29 March 1973
- 16 Ibid p. 692
- 17 T. Parsons: Op cit
- 18 Previous three studies cited in: O. Banks,
Sociology of Education, p. 192-207

- 19 E. Elkin and W. A. Westley: 'The Myth of Adolescent Culture in American Sociological Review, 1955, 20
- 20 D. H. Hargreaves: 'Social Relations in a Secondary School'
- 21 B. Bernstein: 'Class, Codes and Control', Chapter 7
- 22 F. Parkin: 'Class Inequality and Political Order, p. 16
- 23 J. Young: 'The Drugtakers', p. 142-147
- 24 S. Cohen 'Folk Devils and Moral Panics', p. 109
- 25 J. B. Mays: 'The Young Pretenders', p. 169-171
- 26 J. Young: 'Working Class Criminology', Paper given to the N.D.C. Sheffield, December 1973
- 27 Daily Telgraph Magazine: 22 February 1974, p. 25
- 28 F. Milson: 'Youth in a Changing Society' p 54
- 29 J. B. Mays: Op Cit., p. 170
- 30 L. Taylor: 'The Meaning of the Environment', in Colin Ward, Vandalism, p. 63
- 31 F. Davis: 'Why All of us May be Hippies Someday', in Transactions, Vol. 5. 1967-68
- 32 J. Richardson: 'The Bohemians', pp. 14-15

Chapter 4

References

- (1) Readers Digest Great Encyclopaedic Dictionary 1962.
- (2) Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary 1972.
- (3) J. Richardson "The Bohemians." La vie de Boheime in Paris 1830-1914".
- (4) Hauser "The Social History of Art" Vol. 2.
- (5) E. Fischer "The Necessity of Art" p. 52.
- (6) Ibid, p 53.
- (7) Hauser Op. Cit. p. 644.
- (8) Ibid, p. 654.
- (9) C. Grana "Bohemian V's Bourgeois", p. 68.
- (10) Hauser Op. Cit. p. 683.
- (11) Richardson Op. Cit. p. 23.
- (12) Ibid, p. 168.
- (13) J. Bronowski (ed) "William Blake", p. 9.
- (14) K. Clark "Civilisation", p 321.
- (15) C. Wilson "The Outsiders", p. 252.
- (16) Ibid, p. 254-5.
- (17) W. Blake "Collected Works" (ed. cit.) p. 554.
- (18) T. DeQuincy "Confessions of an Opium Eater" , p. 23.
- (19) Ibid, p. 73.
- (20) M. Peckham "Victorian Counterculture", Victorian Studies March 1975, p. 276.
- (21) T. Roszak "Where the Wastelands Ends", p 280.
- (22) G. Feldman and M. Gartenberg (eds) "Protest" p. 2.
- (23) N. Cantor "The Age of Protest" p. 261.
- (24) R. Bremser "I want you to remember" in A.W. Knight and G. Knight (eds) "The Beat Book".

- (25) L. Lipton "The Holy Barbarians" p. 120.
- (26) J. Kerouac "On the Road" p. 127.
- (27) Ibid, p. 291.
- (28) Grana Op. Cit. p. 181.
- (29) N. Polsky "Hustlers Beats and Others" p. 162.
- (30) Lipton Op. Cit. p 212-3.
- (31) G. Clarke "Checking in with Allen Ginsberg" Esquire
April 1973 Vol. LXXIV No. 4, p. 94.
- (32) Lipton Op. Cit. p. 171.
- (33) Polsky Op. Cit. p. 153.
- (34) J. Kerouac "Belief and Techniques for Modern Prose"
foreword to A.W. Knight and G. Knight (ed) "The Beat Book"
- (35) F. Rigney and L. Smith "The Real Bohemia" cited in Cantor
Op. Cit. p. 263.
- (36) A. Ginsberg "Howl" (an extract) in Feldman and Gartenberg
Op. Cit. p. 143.
- (37) N. Mailer "The White Negro" (an extract) in "Electric
Underground - A City Lights Reader" p. 36.
- (38) R. Neville "Playpower" p. 43.
- (39) H. Priestley "Voice of Protest" p. 272.
- (40) F. Parkin "Middle Class Radicalism" p. 158-9.
- (41) Glock "Religion and Society in Tension" Chap. 7.
- (42) J. Nuttall "Bomb Culture" p. 49.
- (43) C. Driver "The Disarmers"
- (44) cited in K. Leech "Youthquake" p. 19.
- (45) Parkin Op. Cit. p. 166.
- (46) Nuttall Op. Cit. p. 47.
- (47) R. Neville Op. Cit. p. 19.

Chapter 5

References

1. W.Hinckle "The Coming of the Hippies" in "Conversations with the New Reality" edited by Ramparts p. 3-4
2. T.Wolfe "Electric Cool-Aid Acid Test"
3. T. Leary "Politics of Ecstasy" p. 78
4. H.S.Thompson "The Hashbury is the capital of the Hippies" in "Dialogue on Youth" McCabe (ed)
5. B.Berger "Hippie Morality - more old than new" in Transcations No. 5 No. 2 December 1967 p. 19
6. Quoted in L.Yablonsky "The Hippie Trip" p. 24
7. M.Farren "Watch Out Kids"
8. J.Gerassi "Living the Revolution" in OZ No. 21
9. H.Marcuse "Essay on Liberation"
10. C.Reich "Greening of America" p. 290
11. A.Hoffman "Revolution for the Hell of it" p. 225
12. J.F.Revel "Without Marx or Jesus" p. 200
13. J.Berke "Counter-Culture"
14. A.Hoffman Op.Cit p. 65
15. J.Berke Op.Cit
16. IBID
17. IBID
18. IBID
19. IBID
20. L.Yablonsky "The Hippie Trip" p. 28-37
21. J.Young - The Hippie Solution: An essay in the Politics of Leisure" in "Politics and Deviance" ed I Taylor and L Taylor p. 188-190
22. L.Yablonsky Op.Cit p. 26
23. C.Reich Op. Cit. p.164

24. F.Musgrove "Ecstasy and Holiness" p. 24
25. K.Leech "Youthquake" p. 64
26. A.Watts "Behold the Spirit" p. 7-8
27. IBID P. XX1
28. K.Leech Op.Cit p. 66
29. A.Watts "Spirit of Zen"
30. M.Elaide "From Primitives to Zen" p. 509-10
31. Cited in Leech Op. Cit p. 70
32. From pamphlet "Krishna - the reservoir of pleasure" The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust 1972
33. K.Leech Op. Cit p. 85
34. IBID p. 151
35. F.Musgrove "Ecstasy and Holiness" p. 139
36. W.Braden "The Private Sea" 1967
37. W.James "The varieties of Religious Experience" quoted in Psycho-sources p. 196
38. W.Braden "The Age of Aquarius" p. 279
39. National Council on Alcholism 1965
40. Statistical Review of Press and Television Advertising 33 No. 4 October 1965
41. H.Becker "The Outsiders" p. 53-58
42. J.Young "The Drugtakers" p. 48
43. See Chapter 7
44. J.Young Op. Cit p. 163
45. M.Schofield "The Strange Case of Pot" p. 64
46. James T Carey "Marijuana use among the New Bohemians" in "The New Social Drug" ed David E Smith M.D. p.93
47. A.Huxley "The Doors of Perception" p. 19
48. IBID p.65

49. C.Castaneda "Teaching of Don Juan"
"A Separate Reality"
"Journey to Ixtlan"
"Tales of Power"
50. J.Young Op. Cit p. 157
51. See P.Haining "The Hashish Club" Vol. 2
52. L.Yablonsky Op. Cit p. 241
53. IBID p. 244
54. J.Young "Watneys Hash. Its a Smash, Smash, Smash" in
OZ No. 45 November 1972
55. A.Rigby "Communes in Britain" p; 3
56. IBID p. 9
57. K.Melville "Communes in the Counter-Culture" p. 34-51
58. K.Keniston "The Uncommitted. Alienated Youth in American
Society" p. 247
59. IBID p. 248-9
60. E.Durkheim "Division of Labour in Society"
61. Melville Op. Cit p. 127
62. IBID p. 145
63. IBID p. 138
64. Rigby Op. Cit p. 4
65. Leech Op. Cit p. 139
66. For a comparison between the "homeless" and "bohemian"
approaches see R.Bailey "The Squatters", and Maya No. 4
February/March 1975 Squatting Supplement, respectively
67. F.Musgrove "Ecstasy and Holiness"
68. Inside Story No. 5 September 1972
69. Inside Story No.10 August 1973
70. Leech Op. Cit p. 140
71. Musgrove Op. Cit p. 168-9
72. Whole Earth Catalog. 1971
73. IT No. 113 1971

74. R.Neville "Playpower" p. 32-3
75. A.Hoffman "Revolution for the Hell of it" p. 46
76. J.Rubin "Do it" p. 255-6
77. Daily Mirror - Monday, November 9th 1970
cited M.Farren - "Watch out Kids"
78. Inside Story No. 6 November 1972
79. A.Willener "The Action Image of Society" p. 129
80. Inside Story No. 4 July 1972
81. Cited in M.Farren "Watch out Kids"
82. IBID
83. E.Sanders "The Family: The Story of Charlie Manson's Dune Buggy Attack Battalion".
84. S.Ewen "Charlie Manson and the Family" in Working Papers in Cultural Studies No. 3 Autumn 1972
85. S.Goode "Affluent Revolutionaries" p. 1
86. A.Willener Op. Cit p. 73-105
87. G.Vickers "The Formation of the New Left" p. 131-3
88. M.Farren Op. Cit
89. W.Reich "The Function of the Orgasm" p. 200
90. M.Schofield "The Sexual Behaviour of Young People" p.223
91. R.Neville "Playpower" p. 58
92. J.Nuttall "Bomb Culture" p. 24
93. E.Schofield "Dear Dr Hippocrates" p. 15
94. Extracts from C.Wittman "A Gay Manifesto" in "Counterculture and Revolution" ed Horowitz, Lerner and Pyres p. 54-5
95. F.Engels "The Origin of the Family" cited in
G.Greer "The Female Eunuch" p.220
96. K.Millett "Sexual Politics: A Manifesto for Revolution" in Horowitz et al Op.Cit p. 50-3
97. M.Barnes "Election/Reflection" in Radical Psychology ed. Phil Brown p. 174-180

98. R.Neville "Playpower" p. 223
99. W.Braden "The Age of Aquaries" p. 259
100. A.Willener "Action-Image of Society" Chapter 9
101. J.Nuttall "Bomb Culture" p. 9
102. R.Gleason "The Jefferson Airplane and the San Francisco Sound" p. 24
103. W.Mellors "Pop as ritual in modern culture" Times Literary Supplement. November 19th 1971
104. See previous section on bohemian drug usage
105. A.Hoffman "Woodstock Nation" p. 4
106. Mills "Young Outsiders" p. 169
107. IT. Volume 3. No. 2 July 1975
108. E.Leimbacker "The Crash of the Jefferson Airplane" in "Conversations with the New Reality" ed.Ramparts p. 104

Chapter 6 References

- 1 T. Forcade - quoted by R. J. Glessing 'The Underground Press in America' p. 4.
- 2 J. Hopkins - quoted by R. Boston 'International Times' in New Society, 27 October 1966.
- 3 T. Forcade (ed) 'Underground Press Anthology' p. 7.
- 4 C. Nicholl 'I.T., OZ and all the Others' in Daily Telegraph Magazine No. 465 28 September, 1973.
- 5 Nicholl Op cit
- 6 R. J. Glessing 'The Underground Press in America' p. 121.
- 7 These categories and theoretical framework are based loosely on that devised by Parsons and Shils in 'Toward a General Theory of Action'.
- 8 This typology is based loosely on that devised by S. Hall in 'the Hippie Movement' in J. Nagel 'Student Power' p. 195.
- 9 T. McGrath I.T. No. 1.
- 10 A. Trocchi I.T. No. 4.
- 11 E. Henry I.T. No. 9.
- 12 I.T. No. 43.
- 13 I.T. No. 27.
- 14 I.T. No. 118.
- 15 B. Levy I.T. No. 21.
- 16 T. McGrath I.T. No. 10.
- 17 A. Trocchi I.T. No. 4
- 18 I.T. No. 127.
- 19 L. Darton I.T. No. 25.

- 20 R. Lewis 'Outlaws of America' p. 88.
- 21 C. Nicholl Op. Cit.
- 22 I.T. No. 127.
- 22b R. Farquarson 'Drop-Out'
- 23 P. Overy 'The Other Press' in New Society 28 January, 1971.
- 24 Nicholl Op. Cit.
- 25 Glessing Op. Cit. p. 91.
- 26 Nicholl Op. Cit.
- 27 I.T. No. 43.
- 28 I.T. Vol 2, No. 1.
- 29 R. Barthes 'Mythologies' (1973).
- 30 C. Keil 'Urban Blues' (1966)
- 31 I.T. No. 7.
- 32 I.T. No. 36.
- 33 I.T. No. 47.
- 34 I.T. No. 95.
- 35 Glessing Op. Cit. p. 155.
- 36 Lewis Op. Cit. p. 77.
- 37 B. Abel 'Notes on the New Comix' in Rosenberg and White 'Mass Culture Revisited'.
- 38 I.T. No. 154.
- 39 I.T. No. 7.
- 40 OZ No. 42 May/June 1972 p. 49.
- 41 T. McGrath I.T. No.1.
- 42 S. Vinkenoog I.T. No.1.
- 43 P. Stansill and D.S. Mairowitz 'Bamn' p. 78
- 44 R. Neville 'Playpower' p. 25.
- 45 Ibid

- 46 M. Farren I.T. No. 15.
- 47 I.T. No. 8.
- 48 I.T. No. 19.
- 49 I.T. No. 9.
- 50 I.T. No. 36.
- 51 I.T. No. 36.
- 52 G. Snyder I.T. No. 28.
- 53 I.T. No. 40.
- 54 I.T. No. 34.
- 55 I.T. No. 34.
- 56 I.T. No. 43.
- 57 Neville Op. Cit. p. 137.
- 58 I.T. No. 55.
- 59 I.T. No. 56.
- 60 Neville Op. Cit. p. 43.
- 61 J. Burks 'The Underground Press - a special report' in
Rolling Stone 4 October, 1969.
- 62 Friends No. 17 1970
- 63 T. Palmer 'The Trials of OZ' (1971)
- 64 Angry Brigade Communique No. 9 I.T. No. 106.
- 65 I.T. No. 113.
- 66 I.T. No. 163.
- 67 R. Neville 'All God's Children Got De Clap!' in T. Forcade
(Ed) 'Underground Press Anthology' p. 182.
- 68 Ibid p. 187.
- 69 I.T. No. 154.
- 70 I.T. Vol. 2. No. 1.
- 71 I.T. Vol. 3. No. 1.

- 72 The basis of this coding was taken from J. Levin and J. L. Spates 'Hippie Values: An analysis of the Undergröund Press' in Rosenberg and White 'Mass , Culture Revisited' pp 266-275
- 73 Mohammed Ali I.T. No. 152.
- 74 Mohammed Ali, Sunday Times Colour Supplement 8 September, 1974.
- 75 Inside Story No. 5 September 1972.
- 76 Guardian 29 March, 1976.

References. Chapter 7

1. D. Benedictus "Defeated Youth"
Sunday Times June 8th 1975.
2. H. Becker "Outsiders. Studies in the Sociology of Deviance"
P. 9.
3. M. Farren "Watch Out Kids"
4. S. Cohen "Folk Devils and Moral Panics"
5. P. Laurie "Teenage Revolution" P. 123.
6. S. Cohen Op. Cit. P. 204.
7. M. E. Brown "The Condemnation and Persecution of Hippies"
Transactions Vol. 6 No. 10 Sept. 1968 P. 35.
8. M. Farren Op. Cit.
9. IT. No. 15 1967.
10. IT. No. 127 1972.
11. View of a bystander reported in The Times
The Times August 30th 1974 P. 2.
12. see J. Michener "Kent State. What Happened and Why"
13. see T. Hayden "Trial"
14. see W. Anderson "The Age of Protest" P. 67.
15. R. Firestone "Getting Busted. Personal experiences of Arrest,
Trial and Prison" P. 13.
16. G. Melly "Revolt into Style" P. 103.
17. J. Holden "The Woodstock Movie : A 64 Revolution"
editors of Ramparts "Conversations with the New Reality" P. 148.
18. M. Lerner "Youth Culture and Social Revolution"
Horowitz, Lerner and Pyes (eds.) "Counter culture and
Revolution" P. 181-182.
19. M. Jacques "Trends in Youth Culture: Some Aspects"
Marxism Today Sept. 1973 P. 277.

20. M.J. Warth "The Acid Profiteers"
Village Voice Aug. 23-30. 1974.
21. L. Leamer "The Paper Revolutionaries" P. 159.
22. J. Richardson "The Bohemians" P. 173.
23. Ibid. P. 174.
25. D. Widgery "What went wrong"
OZ No. 48 Winter 1973.
26. F. Lohenbill "Dialogus with the Underground"
Writing on the Wall No. 2 Sept/Oct. 1973. P. 5.
27. Op. Cit. P. 6.
28. Op. Cit. P. 7.
29. J. Berke "Counter Culture" epilogue.
30. M. Rowe "Working for the (underground) man"
Inside Story No. 2 April 1972.
31. D. Widgery Op. Cit.
32. J. Holden Op. Cit. P. 152.
33. R. Lewis "Outlaws of America" P. 83.
34. J.B. Mays "The Young Pretenders" P. 179.
35. Maya Free Nation News No. 3 Dec. 1974.

Chapter 8 References

- (1) M. Weber "Science as a Vocation"
 Gerth and Mills "Max Weber" p.155.
- (2) Op. Cit. p.142.
- (3) C. Graña "Bohemian v's Bourgeois" p.203-4.
- (4) F. Musgrove "Ecstasy and Holiness" p.65.
- (5) R. Flacks "The Importance of the Romantic Myth for
 the Left" Theory and Society 2 (1975) pp.401-14.
- (6) G. Stedman Jones "The Marxism of the Early Lukacs"
 New Left Review No. 70 (Nov.-Dec. 1971) pp.35-6.
- (7) M. Lerner "Youth Culture and Social Revolution"
 Horowitz et al (eds) "Counterculture and Revolution".
- (8) G. Pearson "Social Work as the Privatised Solution of
 Public Ills" B.J. Social Work Vol. 3 No. 2 p.223.
- (9) N. Cantor "The Age of Protest" p.279.
- (10) T. Keefe "A Zen perspective on Social Casework"
 Social Casework March 1975 p.140-44.
- (11) I. Illich "The Deschooled Society"
 P. Buckman (ed) "Education without Schools" pp.9-19.
- (12) I. Taylor, P. Walton, and J. Young "The New
 Criminology".
- (13) C. Graña Op. Cit. p.69.

References (cont.)

- (14) F. Engels "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific"
 in Marx and Engels "Collected Works" p.411.
- (15) R. Jacoby "The Politics of Subjectivity"
 New Left Review No. 79 1973 p.38.

Bibliography

- B.Abel "Notes on the New Comix" in Rosenberg and White (eds)
 "Mass Culture Revisited" (Van Nostrand 1971) pp.423-443.
- O.Z.Acosta "Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo" (Charisma 1974).
- C.Adelman "Generations" (Penguin 1973).
- L.Althusser "For Marx" (Allen Lane 1969).
- L.Althusser "Lenin and Philosophy and other essays"
 (New Left Books 1971).
- P.Anderson "Origins of the Present Crisis" in P.Anderson and
 R.Blackburn (eds) "Towards Socialism" (Fontana 1965) pp.11-52
- P.Anderson "Components of the National Culture" in A.Cockburn and
 R.Blackburn (eds) "Student Power" (Penguin 1969).
- W.Anderson (ed) "The Age of Protest" (Goodyear 1969).
- A.B.Atkinson "Poverty in Britain and the Reform of Social Security"
 (Cambridge U.P. 1969).
- A.B.Atkinson "The Economics of Inequality" (Clarendon 1975).
- R.Bailey "The Squatters" (Penguin 1973).
- R.Bailey and M.J Brake (eds) "Radical Social Work"
 (Edward Arnold 1975).
- R.Bailey and J.Young (eds) "Contemporary Social Problems in Britain"
 (Saxon House 1973).
- A.Bandura "The Stormy Decade" .. "Fact or Fiction" in "Psychology
 in Schools" (1964) Vol.1. pp.224-231.
- O.Banks "The Sociology of Education" (Batsford 1973).
- G.H.Bantock "Culture, Industrialisation and Education" (Routledge 1968)
- R.Barthes "Mythologies" (Paladin 1973).
- H.S.Becker "Outsiders" (Free Press 1963)

- H.S. Becker "History Culture and Subjective Experience: An Exploration of the Social Bases of Drug-induced Experiences" Journal of Health and Social Behaviour Vol.8 1967 pp.163-76.
- D. Benedictus "Defeated Youth" Sunday Times June 8th 1975.
- B. Berger "On the Youthfulness of Youth Culture" Social Research No.30 1963 pp.319-342.
- B. Berger "Hippie Morality - More Old than New" Transaction Vol.5 No.2. December 1967 pp.19-26.
- P.L. Berger and T. Luckman "The Social Construction of Reality" (Penguin 1971).
- J. Berke "Counter-Culture" (Owen 1969).
- B. Bernstein "Class, Codes and Control" (Paladin 1973).
- A.K. Bierman and J.A. Gould (eds) "Philosophy for a New Generation" (Macmillan 1970).
- C.W.E. Bigsby (ed) "Approaches to Popular Culture" (Arnold 1976).
- W. Blake "Complete Works" (Nonesuch 1927).
- C. Booker "The Neophiliacs" (Fontana 1970).
- C. Booker T, Palmer and R. McGough "The Sixties" (Sociopack Publications 1973).
- R. Boston "International Times" New Society 27th October 1966.
- T.B. Bottomore "Elites and Society" (Penguin 1966).
- T.B. Bottomore and M. Rubel "Karl Marx: selected writings in sociology and social philosophy" (Penguin 1965).
- S. Box "Deviance Reality and Society" (Holt Rinehart and Winston 1971)
- W. Braden "The Private Sea" (Pall Mall 1967).
- W. Braden "The Age of Aquarius"-(Eyre and Spottiswoode 1971).
- R. Bremser "I want you to remember" in A.W. Knight (eds.) "The Beat Book" (Knight 1974) pp.124-6.
- C. Brinton "The Anatomy of Revolution" (Vintage 1965).
- J. Bronowski (ed) "William Blake" (Penguin 1958).

M. Brown "Condemnation and Persecution of the Hippies" Transaction
Vol. 5 No. 10. September 1969.

P. Brown (ed) "Radical Psychology" (Tavistock 1973).

P. Buckman "The Limits of Protest" (Panther 1970).

J. Burks "The Underground Press: A Special Report" Rolling Stone
October 4th 1969.

W. Burroughs "The Naked Lunch" (Corgi 1974).

W. Burroughs "Junkie" (N.E.L. 1972).

A. Camus "The Rebel" (Penguin 1962).

N. Cantor "The Age of Protest" (Allen and Unwin 1970).

J.T. Carey "Marijuana Use Among the New Bohemians" in D.E. Smith (ed)
"The New Social Drug" (Prentice-Hall 1970).

S. Carmichael and C.V. Hamilton "Black Power" (Penguin 1969).

C. Castaneda "The Teachings of Don Juan" (Penguin 1972).

C. Castaneda "A SEparate Reality" (Penguin 1973).

C. Castaneda "Journey to Ixtlan" (Penguin 1974).

C. Castaneda "Tales of Power" (Penguin 1976).

A. Chisnall B. Lewis and A. Hall "Unattached Youth" (Blond and Brigg
1974).

K. Clark "Civilisation" (Murray 1969).

G. Clarke "Checking in with Allen Ginsberg" Esquire Vol. LXXIX No.4
pp.92-5 and 168-70.

J. Clarke "The Three R's - Repression Rescue and Rehabilitation:
Ideologies of control for working class youth" C.C.C.S.
Occasional Paper October 1975.

J. Clarke and T. Jefferson "The Politics of Popular Culture:
Cultures and Subcultures" C.C.C.S. Occasional Paper September
1973.

- J.Clarke, S.Hall, T.Jefferson and B.Roberts "Subcultures, cultures and class" in S.Hall and T.Jefferson (ed) "Resistance through Ritual" Working papers in cultural studies No. 7/8 (1975)
- A.Cockburn and R.Blackburn (eds) "Student Power" (Penguin 1969).
- P.Cohen "Subcultural Conflict and Working Class Community" Working Papers in Cultural Studies No,2 (1972) pp.5-51
- S.Cohen "Folk Devils and Moral Panics" (Paladin 1973).
- S.Cohen "Drugs of Hallucination" (Paladin 1965).
- J.J.Conway "Adolescence and Youth" (Harper and Row 1973).
- C.Coon and R.Harris "The Release Report on Drug Offenders and the Law" (Sphere 1969).
- D.Cooper (ed) "The Dialectics of Liberation" (Penguin 1968).
- D.Cooper "Psychiatry and Anti-psychiatry" (Paladin 1970).
- R.Dahrendorf "Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society" (Routledge 1959).
- F.Davis "Why all of us may be Hippies Someday" Transaction Vol.5. No.2 December 1967 pp. 10-18.
- B.Davies "Youth Cultures: Myths and Political Realities" Youth in Society March/April 1976, pp.13-6.
- A.Dawe "The Two Sociologies" British Journal of Sociology Vol. 21 1970 pp. 207-18
- R.S.Denisoff and R.A.Peterson (eds) "The Sounds of Social Change" (Rand and McNally 1972)
- T.DeQuincy "Confessions of an English Opium Eater" (Penguin 1971)
- C.Driver "The Disarmers" (Hodder and Stoughton 1964)
- E.Durkheim "The Division of Labour in Society" (Free Press 1964)

- T.Eagleton "Ideology and Literary Form" New Left Review No 90
March/April 1975 pp. 81-109.
- M.Eliade "From Primitives to Zen" (Collins 1967).
- E.Elkin and W.A.Westley "The Myth of Adolescent Culture"
American Sociological Review 1955 No. 20.
- F.Engels "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" in K.Marx and F.Engels
"Selected Works" (Laurence Wishort 1968) pp. 399-434.
- E.Erikson "Identity: Youth and Crisis" (Faber 1971).
- R. Evans (ed) "Social Movements: A Reader and Sourcebook" (Rand
McNally 1973).
- S. Ewan "Charles Manson and the Family: Authoritarianism and the
Bourgeois Conception of "Utopia". Some thoughts of Charlie
Manson and the Fantasy of the Id", Working Papers in
Cultural Studies no.3. (1972) pp. 33-45.
- J.Farber "The Student as Nigger" (Pocket 1970).
- R.Farquharson "Drop Out" (Penguin 1971).
- M.Farren "Watch Out Kids" (Open Gate 1972).
- G.Feldman and M. Gartenberg (eds.) "Protest" (Quartet 1973).
- F.Field "Unequal Britain" (Arrow 1974).
- P.Filmer "New Directions in Sociological Theory" (Macmillan 1972).
- R.Firestone (ed) "Getting Busted" (Penguin 1972).
- E.Fischer "The Necessity of Art" (Penguin 1964).
- R.Flacks "Social and Cultural Meanings of Student Revolt"
Social Problems Vol. XV11 Winter 1970.
- R.Flacks "Strategies for Radical Social Change" Social Policy
Vol. 1 No. 6 1971.

R.Flacks "The Importance of the Romantic Myth for the Left"

Theory and Society No. 2 1975 pp.401-414.

T.Forcâde (ed) "Underground Press Anthology" (Ace 1972).

F.G.Friedmann "Youth and Society" (Macmillan 1971).

J.Gerassi "Living the Revolution" OZ No.21.

C.Gillett "The Sound of the City" (Sphere 1971).

R.Gleason "Jefferson Airplane and the San Francisco Sound"

(Ballantine 1969).

R.J.Glessing "The Underground Press in America" (Midland Books 1971).

C.Y.Glock and R.Stark "Religion and Society in Tension" (Rand
McNally 1965).

E.Goffman "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" (Penguin 1971).

J.H.Goldthorpe and D.Lockwood "Affluence and the British Class
Structure" Sociological Review Vol. X1 No. 2 July 1963
pp. 133-63.

E.Goode "The Marijuana Smokers" (Basic Books 1970).

S.Goode "Affluent Revolutionaries" (New Viewpoints 1974).

P.Goodman "Growing up Absurd" (Vintage 1960).

A.W.Gouldner "The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology" (Heinemann 1973)

C.Grana "Bohemian v's Bourgeois" (Basic Books 1964).

G.Greer "The Female Eunuch" (Paladin 1971).

R.Grinder (ed) "Studies in Adolescence" (Macmillan 1963).

P.Haining "The Hashish Club" Vol. 1 (Owen 1975).

P.Haining "The Hashish Club" Vol. 2 (Owen 1975).

S.Hall "The Hippies: An American "Moment" " in J.Nagel (ed) "Student
Power" (Merlin 1969)

- S.Hall and T.Jefferson (eds) "Resistance through Ritual
Working papers in cultural studies No. 7/8 (1975)
- G.Hancock "Half Free at Windsor" New Society 5th September 1974
pp. 620-1.
- S.Hansen and J.Jensen "The Little Red School book" (Stage One 1971).
- P.Hanson "Ideology and the New Left" New Society 26th December
1968 pp.943-4.
- D.H.Hargreaves "Social Relations in a Secondary School" (Routledge 1971)
- N.Harris "Beliefs in Society: The Problem of Ideology" (Watts 1968).
- A.Hauser "The Social History of Art" Vol.2 (Routledge 1951).
- T.Hayden "Trial" (Jonathon Cape 1971).
- G.Hegel "The Philosophy of Right" (Oxford U.P. 1942).
- J.Henry "Culture Against Man" (Penguin 1972).
- W.Hinckle "The Coming of the Hippies" in Ramparts' editors
"Conversations with the New Reality" (Canfield, 1971)
pp. 3-27.
- B.Hindess "The Phenomenological Sociology of Alfred Schutz"
Economy and Society No. 1 1972 pp. 1-27.
- A.Hoffman "Revolution for the Hell of it" (Pocket 1970).
- A.Hoffman "Woodstock Nation" (Pocket 1971).
- J.Holden "The Woodstock Movie : A / 4 Revolution" in Ramparts'
editors "Conversations with the New Reality" (Canfield 1971)
pp. 148-154.
- M. Hollingshead "The Man who turned on the World" (Blond & Briggs 1973)
- D.Horowitz "Revolutionary Karma versus Revolutionary Politics"
in Horowitz et al (eds)"Counterculture and Revolution"
(Random House 1972).

D.Horowitz, ~~M.Lerner~~ and C.Pyes (eds) "Counterculture and Revolution" (Random House 1972).

J.Horton "The Dehumanisation of Anomie and Alienation: A Problem in the Ideology of Knowledge" British Journal of Sociology Vol.15 1964 pp. 283-300.

R.Houriet "Getting Back Together" (Abacus 1973).

A.Huxley "The Doors of Perception" (Penguin 1972).

I.Illich "The Deschooled Society" in P.Buckman (ed) "Education Without Schools" (Souvenir 1973) pp. 9-19.

R.Jackson "The Political Ideas of the British New Left in the 1970's" Swinton Journal Vol 18 No.3 Autumn 1972 pp.39-51.

R.Jacoby "The Politics of Subjectivity: Slogans of the American New Left" New Left Review No.79 1973 pp.37-49.

H.Jacques "Trends in Youth Culture: Some Aspects" Marxism Today Vol.17 September 1973 pp. 268-80.

L.James (ed) "Electric Underground - A City Lights Reader" (N.E.L. 1973).

M.Jay "The Dialectical Imagination" (Heinemann 1973).

H.M.Johnson "Sociology: A Systematic Introduction" (Routledge 1961).

R.Kedward "The Anarchists" (McDonald 1971).

T.Keefe "A Zen Perspective on Social Casework" Social Casework March 1975.

C.Keil "Urban Blues" (UNiversity of Chicago 1970).

K.Kelly "Youth, Humanism and Technology " (Basic Books 1972).

K.Keniston "The Uncommitted" (Harcourt Brace and World 1965)

- K.Keniston "Young Radicals (Harcourt Brace and World 1968).
- K.Keniston "Youth and Dissent" (Harvest 1971).
- J.Kerouac "Dharma Bums" (Mayflower 1965).
- J.Kerouac "On the Road" (Penguin 1972).
- J.Kerouac "The Subterraneans" (N.E.L. 1974).
- H.Kidd "Trouble at L.S.E. 1966-67" (Oxford U.P. 1969).
- J.Kornbluth (ed) "Notes from the New Underground" (Ace 1968).
- W.Körnhauser "The Power Elite or Veto Groups" in P.Rose (ed)
"The Study of Society" (Random House 1967), pp.633-46.
- R.D.Laing "The Divided Self" (Penguin 1965).
- R.D.Laing "The Politics of Experience" (Penguin 1967).
- K.Lang and G.Lang "Collective Dynamics" (Crowell 1961).
- P.Laurie "Teenage Revolution" (Blond 1965).
- L.Leamer "The Paper Revolutionaries"(Simon and Schuster 1972).
- T.Leary "The Politics of Ecstasy" (Paladin 1970)
- K.Leech "Youthquake" (Sheldon 1973).
- K.Leech "A Practical Guide to the Drug Scene" (Sheldon 1974).
- E.Leimbacker "The Crash of the Jefferson Airplace" in Ramparts'
editors "Conversations with the New Reality" (Canfield 1971)
pp. 103-108.
- E.M. Lemert "Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control"
(Prentice-Hall 1967).
- G. Lenski "Power and Privilege" (McGraw Hill 1966).
- M. Lerner "Youth Culture and Social Revolution" in Horowitz et al
"Counterculture and Revolution" (Random House 1972).
- J. Levin and J.L. Spates "Hippies Values: An Analysis of the
Underground Press" in B. Rosenberg and D.M. White (eds.) "Mass
Culture Revisited" (Van Nostrand 1971) pp. 226-275.

R.Lewis "Outlaws of America" (Penguin 1972).

A.Liazos "The Poverty of the Sociology of Deviance: Nuts
'Sluts and Preverts" Social Problems Vol.20 No. 1 1972
pp.103-20.

L.Lipton "The Holy Barbarians" (Allen 1960).

F.Lohenbill "Dialogue with the Underground" Writing on the
Wall No. 2 Sept/Oct 1973.

A.MacIntyre "The Cannabis Taboo" New Society 5th December 1968
p. 848.

A.MacIntyre "Marcuse" (Fontana 1970).

N.Mailer "The White Negro: Superficial Reflections of the Hipster"
in "Advertisements for Myself" (Corgi 1963) pp.241-59.

D.Mairowitz (ed) "Some of I.T." (Knullar 1968).

K.Mannheim "Ideology and Utopia" (Routledge 1960)

H.Marcuse "Eros and Civilisation" (Sphere 1969).

H.Marcuse "An Essay on Liberation" (Penguin 1972).

H.Marcuse "One Dimensional Man" (Abacus 1972).

K.Marx and F.Engels "Selected Works" (Laurence and Wishart 1968).

K.Marx "The German Ideology" (Laurence and Wishart 1970).

R.E.Masters and J.Houston "The Varieties of Psychedelic Experiences"
(Turnstone 1973).

J.B.Mays "The Young Pretenders" (Michael Joseph 1965).

J.McCabe (ed) "Dialogue on Youth" (Bobbs-Merrill 1967).

D.McQuail "Towards a Sociology of Mass Communications"
(Macmillan 1975).

- M.Mead "Culture and Commitment" (Panther 1972).
- W.Mellers "Pop as Ritual in Modern Culture" Times Literary Supplement November 19th 1971.
- G.Melly "Revolt into Style" (Penguin 1972).
- K.Melville "Communes in the Counter-Culture" (Morrow 1972).
- M.Merleau-Ponty "Sense and Non Sense" (Northwestern U.P. 1964).
- J.A.Michener "Kent State: What Happened and Why" (Corgi 1973).
- K.Millett " Sexual Politics. A Manifesto for Revolution" in Horowitz et al "Counterculture and Revolution" (Random House 1972).
- C.Wright Mills "The Power Elite" (Oxford U.P. 1956).
- R.Mills "Young Outsiders" (Routledge 1973).
- F.Milson "Youth in a Changing Society" (Routledge 1972).
- L.Mumford "Pentagon of Power" (Secker and Warburg 1971).
- G.Mungham and G.Pearson (eds) "British Working Class Youth Culture" (Routledge 1975).
- G.Murdock and R.McCron "Scoobies, Skins and Contemporary Pop" New Society 29th March 1973 pp. 690-2.
- F.Musgrove "Inter-generation Attitudes" in British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology 1963 No.2 pp.209-223.
- F.Musgrove "Ecstasy and Holiness" (Methuen 1974).
- R.Neville "Playpower" (Paladin 1971)
- C.Nicholl "I.T., O.Z. and All the Others" Daily Telegraph Magazine No.465 28th September 1973 pp.61-6.
- F.Nietzsche "Thus Spoke Zarathustra" (Penguin 1961).
- R.A.Nisbet "The Sociological Tradition" (Heinemann 1970).
- J.Nuttall "Bomb Culture" (Paladin 1970).

- G.Orwell "Nineteen Eighty-Four" (Penguin 1954)
- P.Overy "The Other Press" New Society 28th January 1971 pp.158-9.
- T.Palmer "Trials of OZ" (Blond and Briggs 1971).
- H.Parker "View from the Boys: a Sociology of Down Town Adolescents"
(David and Charles 1974).
- F.Parkin "Middle Class Radicalism" (Manchester U.P. 1968).
- F.Parkin "Working Class Conservatives: a Theory of Political Deviance"
British Journal of Sociology Vol.18 1967 .
- F.Parkin "Class, Inequality and Political Order (Paladin 1972).
- T.Parsons "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the U.S.A."
American Sociological Review October 1942.
- T.Parsons "The Social System" (Routledge 1951).
- T.Parsons and E.Shils (eds) "Toward a General Theory of Action"
(Harvard U.P. 1962)
- T.Parsons and N.Smetser "Economy and Society" (Routledge 1956)
- W.L.Partridge "The Hippie Ghetto: The Natural History of a
Subculture" (Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1975).
- G.Pearson "Social Work as the Privatised Solution to Public Ills"
British Journal of Social Work Vol.3 No.2 1973 pp.209-28.
- G.Pearson "The Deviant Imagination" (Macmillan 1975).
- M.Peckham "Victorian Counterculture" Victorian Studies March 1975
pp.257-76.
- R.Persig "Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance" (Corgi 1976).
- M.Plant "Drugtakers in an English Town" (Tavistock 1975).
- N.Polsky "Hustlers, Beats and Others " (Penguin 1971).
- Portola Institute "The Last Whole Earth Catalog" (Penguin 1971).

Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners "Statement by London Group of Prop and Prisoners' Charter " (PROP 1973).

H. Priestly "Voice of Protest" (Leslie Frewin 1968).

Ramparts Editors "Conversations with the New Reality"
(Canfield 1971).

R. Rapson (ed) "The Cult of Youth in Middle Class America" (Heath 1971)

C. Reich "The Greening of America" (Penguin 1971).

W. Reich "The Function of the Orgasm" (Panther 1968).

J. Revel "Without Marx or Jesus " (Paladin 1972).

J. Richardson "The Bohemians in Paris 1830-1914" (Macmillan 1969).

D. Riesman "The Lonely Crowd" (Yale University Press 1961).

A. Rigby "Communes in Britain" (Routledge 1974).

P. Rock and M. McIntosh (eds) "Deviance and Social Control"
(Tavistock 1974).

H. Rose "Up Against the Welfare State: the Claimants Unions' in
R. Miliband and J. Saville (eds) The Socialist Register 1973
(Merlin Press 1974) pp. 179-203.

B. Rosenberg and D. M. White (eds) "Mass Culture Revisited"
(Van Nostrand 1971).

T. Roszak "The Making of a Counter-Culture" (Faber 1971).

T. Roszak "Where the Wasteland Ends" (Faber 1974).

M. Rowe "Working for the (underground) Man" Inside Story No. 2
April 1972.

J. Rubin "Do it ! " (Simon and Schuster 1970).

J. Rubin "We Are Everywhere" (Harper and Row 1971).

E. Sanders "The Family: The Story of Charlie Mansons Dune Buggy Attack
Battalion" (Avon 1975)

J. P. Sartre "Being and Nothingness" (Washington Square 1966).

N. Saunders "Alternative London" (Saunders 1972).

- N.Saunders (et al) "Alternative England and Wales" (Saunders 1975).
- M.Schofield "The Sexual Behaviour of Young People" (Penguin 1965).
- M.Schofield "The Strange Case of Pot" (Penguin 1971).
- E.Schoenfield "Dear Dr HIP pocrates" (Penguin 1973)
- A.Schutz "The Phenomenology of the Social World" (Heinemann 1972).
- J.Searle "The Campus War" (Penguin 1972).
- E.Shapiro (ed) "Psychosources" (Bantam 1972)
- E.Shils "Mass Society and Its Culture" in Rosenberg and White
 "Mass Culture Revisited" (Van Nostrand 1971) pp. 61-84.
- G.Simon and G.Trout "Hippies in College: From Teeny-Boppers to Drug
 Freaks" Transaction Vol.5 No. 2 December 1967 pp.27-32.
- J.H.Skolnick "Guerilla Politics in California" New Society 16th
 October 1975 pp. 136-8.
- P.Slater "The Pursuit of Loneliness" (Penguin 1975).
- D.E.Smith (ed) "The New Social Drug" (Prentice-Hall 1970).
- D.Soloman (ed) "The Marijuana Papers" (Panther 1969).
- R.C.Solomon (ed) "Phenomenology and Existentialism" (Harper and
 Row 1972).
- P.Stansill and D.Z.Mairowitz (eds) "BAMN: Outlaw Manifestos and
 Ephemera 1965-1970 (Penguin 1971).
- G.Statera "Death of a Utopia" (Oxford U.P. 1975).
- G.Stedman Jones "The Marxism of the Early Lukács: An Evaluation"
 New Left Review no.70 (Nov-Dec 1971) pp.27-65.
- S.Stern "Altamont : Pearl Harbour to Woodstock Nation" in
 Horowitz (et al) "Counter-culture and Revolution" (Random
 House 1972).
- P.M.Symonds "From Adolescent to Adult" (Columbia U.P. 1961).
- T.S.Szasz "The Myth of Mental Illness" (Harper and Row 1961).

I.Taylor and L.Taylor (eds) "Politics and Deviance" (Penguin 1973).

I.Taylor, P.Walton, J.Young "The New Criminology" (Routledge 1973).

L.Taylor "The Meaning of the Environment" in C.Ward "Vandalism"
(Architectural Press 1973) pp. 54-63.

G.Therborn "A Critique of the Frankfurt School" New Left Review
No.63 1970 pp. 65-96.

D.Thompson (ed) "Discrimination and Popular Culture" (Penguin 1973).

H.S.Thompson "The Hashbury is the Capital of the Hippies" in
McCabe (ed) "Dialogue on Youth" (Bobbs-Merrill 1967).

H.S.Thompson "Hells Angels" (Penguin 1967).

H.S.Thompson "Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas" (Paladin 1972).

L.Trotsky "Culture and Socialism" (New Park 1975).

R.Vaneigem "The Revolution of Everyday Life" (Situationist
International n.d.).

G.R.Vickers "The Formation of the New Left" (Lexington 1975).

P.Walton "The Case of the Weathermen: Social Reaction and Radical
Commitment" in Taylor and Taylor (eds) "Politics and Deviance"
(Penguin 1973) pp. 157-81.

M.J.Warth "The Story of the Acid Profiteers" The Village Voice
Vol. X1X No.32 August 23 1974 pp. 5-9.

A.Watts "Behold the Spirit" (Vintage 1971).

M.Weber "Science as a Vocation" in H.H.Gerth and C.Wright Mills
"From Max Weber" (Routledge 1967) pp.129-156.

- A.Weiner "Political Rock" New Society 27th January 1972.
- J.Westergaard "The Withering away of Class: A Contemporary Myth"
in P.Anderson and R.Blackburn (eds) "Towards Socialism"
(Fontana 1965) pp.77-113.
- J.Westergaard and H.Resler "Class in a Capitalist Society" (Penguin 1976).
- K.Westhues "Hippiedom 1970: Some Tentative Hypotheses"
Sociological Quarterly No.13 (Winter 1972) pp.81-9.
- D.Widgery "What Went Wrong" OZ No. 48. 1973
- D.Widgery "Lets Have a Party" OZ No. 42. 1972
- R.Williams "The Long Revolution" (Penguin 1965).
- R.Williams "Culture and Society" 1780-1950 (Penguin 1966)
- C.Wilson "The Outsider" (Pan 1963).
- A.Willener "The Action Image of Society" (Tavistock 1970).
- L.Wirth "Consensus and Mass Communication" American Sociological
Review Vol.13 1948 pp.1-15.
- T.Wolfe "The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test" (Bantam 1969)
- T.Wolfe "Radical Chic and Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers" (Bantam 1971).
- T.Wolfe "The New Journalism" (Picador 1975).
- L.Yablonsky "The Hippie Trip" (Pegasus 1969).
- J.M.Yinger "Contraculture and subculture" American Sociological
Review October 1960 pp.625-35.
- J.Young "The Drug-takers" (Paladin 1971).
- J.Young "Watney's Hash. It's a Smash,Smash,Smash" OZ No. 45 1972
- J.Young "The Hippie Solution: An Essay in the Politics of Leisure"
in I.Taylor and L.Taylor "Politics and Deviance" (Penguin 1973
pp. 182-208).

J.Young "Working Class Criminology" Paper given to the
N.D.C. Sheffield December 1973.

Underground Press Publications

International Times (I. T.) Nos. 1-4	(1966)
5-9, 15-19	(1967)
24-25 27-28 32, 34,) 36-37, 40, 43)	(1968)
47, 52-60, 66 70	(1969)
72-77 91-95	(1970)
106, 111-118	(1971)
124, 127-129, 132, 135	(1972)
149-155, 163	(1973)
Vol. 2 1-3	(1974)
Vol. 3 1-2 (I.T. 169)	(1975)

Various Copies of OZ

Rolling Stone

Ink

Frendz

Nasty Tales

Cozmic Comix

Styng

Manchester Free Press

Liverpool Free Press

Nell Gate

Maya

Brighton Voice

Writing on the Wall

Peace News

Mole Express

Grapevine

Leicester's Other Paper (Leicester Buck)

Street Life

Inside Story

Inside Out