

A STUDY OF THE HIP ADOLESCENT, HIS FAMILY
AND THE GENERATION GAP

by

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PREFACE

This report describes a controlled and empirical psychological study of two very different groups of high school students and their parents. The first of these groups of adolescents will be called "hip," a term which obscures as much as it illuminates, but which obscures less than the media's "hippie," by now saturated with invidious connotations. "Hippie" originated as a pejorative term within Bohemian communities in the '40's to denote the novices who unconvincingly aped the values of the genuine "hipster." In September of 1965, Michael Fallon, a San Francisco columnist, probably not unfamiliar with the original connotation, wrote a series of articles in the San Francisco Examiner, labelling as "hippies" the flock of Bohemians moving into the Haight-Ashbury section of the city. The term was eagerly adopted by press and public who sensed that these new beatniks were so different from the old ones as to deserve a new name.

The "hippie" phenomenon, which crested in 1967, did not spring out of a vacuum as the impression is sometimes given, but represents a clear continuity in the lengthy history of Bohemianism. Nor has it disappeared simply because the media have begun to turn their attentions elsewhere. By all accounts the longstanding values of Bohemia have been growing in popularity among young people over the past decade and will continue to do so.

Our second adolescent group is as different from the first as could be found in a large suburban high school. In this report, we shall examine the psychological make-up of these two groups and of their parents, paying particular attention to the consistent differences between generations.

INTRODUCTION

It is possible to divide the ideologies of dissenting youth into two principal orientations: the New Left and the hip - Bohemian. The area of overlap and the interchange between the categories is marked; it should be kept in mind that they are not discrete. The focus of concern in this report will be the hip-Bohemian personality, but, as our interview data indicates, many of the subjects so described have at earlier times subscribed actively to the politics of the New Left, and have experienced intense psychological conflict between the two fraternal, though rival points of view. In many cases, we can conclude that the primary psychological fact is alienation from the dominant norms of Western society. The impulse to contend with the alienation moves the subject to experiment with a range of alternatives, though seldom is one of these a return to normative life-styles. Keniston, who has written about both hip and activist youth, argues that despite the vacillation of youth between these two allegiances, each is grounded in a distinct psychological syndrome. He writes, "In the future, the tension between the romantic-alienated and the universalist-activist styles of dissent will probably increase. I would anticipate a growing polarization between those students . . . who turn to highly personal and experiential pursuits like drugs, sex, art and intimacy and those students who redouble their efforts to change American society" (1967, page 134--references can be found alphabetically listed at the end of this report). A considerable empirical literature exists on the personality and family background of the activist, while little is known about hip alienated youth. One of the purposes of this research is to answer certain basic questions about the latter group and to compare these answers to what is known about the former.

Observers^{un}sympathetic to the new directions in youth culture have proposed two predominant arguments against the significance of the phenomenon of dissent. First it is argued that the adolescent has always been rebellious

and idealistic (i.e., that the generation gap has always existed) but that these traits disappear as adulthood is reached. Research evidence shows, however, that this is not the case. The almost universal finding of studies conducted more than a decade ago was that students were highly conformist, complacent, individualistic and status-oriented (e.g., Jacob, 1957; Goldsen et al, 1960). Gillespie and Allport (1953) reported that of all national groups sampled, none was less concerned with social problems than the American college student. He showed no trace of radical inclinations, and was, if anything, more conservative than his elders. In fact, what evidence we have suggests that the tiny fraction of young people who were rebellious in the '50's have not relinquished their views, but, as in the case of Allen Ginsberg, can be found circulating in Bohemian communities today.

The second argument against the significance of the youth movement is that dissenters represent only a small minority of young people and that the generation gap is limited to these cases. A national survey reports, however, that from the point of view of youth generally, the generation gap is large (Banks, 1969, pp. 39 ff). Only 25% of non-college youth and 15% of college students felt there was no generation gap. Young people perceived their parents' attitudes toward a wide variety of issues to be markedly divergent from their own. Relative to their own feelings, youth found their parents: 1)"more likely to compromise with things you don't like," 2)"more respectful of people in positions of authority," 3)"more likely to accept things as they are," 4)"had more faith in the democratic process," 5)"less interested in other people," 6)"less likely to do something about what you believe is right," 7)"less open to the world," 8)"less optimistic about the future," 9)"less interested in beauty," 10)"less concerned about what is happening to the country."

The survey does not of course imply that all or even a majority of these young people are active radicals. It does suggest that a novel psychological and cultural orientation particular to youth is in existence. Authors such as Mead (1970) and Roszak (1969) have proposed that the phenomenon of youth dissent, although currently embraced by a minority, foretells of cultural innovations which will be widely absorbed by Western culture. Furthermore, they argue that generational differences are real and are deeply anchored in the character structures of the generations; that the furious and chronic pace of cultural change in modern societies has bestowed upon each generation a unique experiential milieu, making us all, as Mead says, "immigrants in time as our forebears were in space." She heralds the advent of prefigurative culture, where youth, rather than their elders will have the capacity to adapt to and shape the multitude of operative cultural forces.

One basis for this hypothesis is rooted in the interrelation of culture and developmental psychology. A number of studies (e.g., Hovland, 1951; Bromley, 1958, Griew, 1958) have shown that with increasing age, adaptability and the ability to learn new tasks, especially complex ones, decreases. The accelerating changes in technological culture continually present new learning situations from which elders often retreat in bewilderment. Especially during the '60's did these changes and their effects on generational relations become apparent.

In 1959, Clark Kerr, then President of the University of California, prophesied in words which were to prove more pathetic than prophetic: "The employers will love this generation. They aren't going to press many grievances, there aren't going to be any riots."

The striking inaccuracy of such a prediction by a man ostensibly so close to youth is itself a compelling piece of evidence in support of the concept of a generation gap. As the '60's progressed, it became clear to many observers that a new life-style belonging to youth and hostile to elders was emerging, and that predictions like Kerr's about the quiescence of youth were as falacious as they were comforting.

The marked rise in popularity of the hip-Bohemian life style around 1965 inspired a great deal of interest. To date, however, almost no structured empirical studies have found their way into print, although there are undoubtedly a number of such studies in progress. Apart from the biased and often sensationalistic articles which have saturated the mass media, the literature on the hip counter culture falls primarily into one of the following categories. First, unstructured sociological field studies and thought pieces: Simmons and Winograd, 1966; Yablonsky, 1968; Pitts, 1969; Berger, 1967; Davis, 1967; Simmon and Trout, 1967. Of these Yablonsky's book is by far the most thorough and informative. The second category of writings include journalistic field studies, commentaries and anthologies: B.H. Wolfe, 1968; Von Hoffman, 1968; Earisman, 1968; Hopkins, 1968; T. Wolf, 1968; Hinckle, 1967. The third source comprises verbatim interviews: L. Wolf, 1968; Gross, 1968. Because a la McLuhan, writing as a means of expression is rejected by much of the hip community, few personal literary statements and autobiographies are available. Some exceptions are the books by Abbie Hoffman, (Revolution for the Hell of It & Woodstock Nation), Jerry Rubin, (Do it), and the poetry of Allen Ginsberg. Finally, the ever-growing network of underground newspapers furnishes what is probably the most sensitive index of the rapidly changing complexion of hip culture.

The present report will draw upon the foregoing references for a loose overview of the psychological and socio-historical features of Bohemian society. A more detailed presentation can be found in my paper, "A recent history of Protest in America," from which the main themes of the following discussion are taken.

The Historical context

The so-called hippie phenomenon represents the most recent node on the historical graph of Bohemia. Although crucial innovations have been added to prior examples of Bohemian culture, the sense of historical continuity is marked. Thirty-five years ago, Malcolm Cowley described a "system of ideas" emblematic of the Bohemian value-system circa 1920. The eight ideas listed could, with very slight alteration, fit the current hip culture. They are: 1) the idea of salvation by the child; 2) the idea of self-expression; 3) the idea of paganism; 4) the idea of living for the moment; 5) the idea of liberty; 6) the idea of female equality; 7) the idea of psychological adjustment; 8) the idea of changing place.

Initially and through most of its history, Bohemia has been a term synonymous with art. The primary *raison d'être* of Bohemian community has been the production of art in societies seen as hostile to esthetic values. The demise of systems of patronage bestowed upon the artist the role of social critic, certainly social outcast. Bohemia became the habitat of this alienation. Grana (1964) has documented the historical development of the hostility between conventional bourgeois society and its Bohemian refugees, between the ideologies of rationalism and romanticism.

Although the Bohemian's disaffection from society was primarily esthetic, emotional, and personal, he nonetheless constituted a natural, though uneasy partner, to the radical socialists whose number were growing at the

turn of the century. Such famous Bohemians of the day as Jack London, Ambrose Bierce and Isodora Duncan, took up the socialist cause.

The tensions and affiliations between the esthetic Bohemian and the political revolutionary are captured in this quotation by the poet William Carlos Williams: "I am not a Bolshevist no matter how I may sympathize with the mob. I am different and only feel for their fight from a higher plane. That is my puzzle." The history of the Bohemian fight against Puritanism has, to the present, been intertwined with the socialist fight against capitalism. The most current example of the alliance can be seen in the intentional welding of the Yippie movement from the "hippie" and the New Left ideologies, (Hoffman, 1968, p. 102).

During the '20's, the appeal of Bohemianism reached its peak. Districts like Greenwich Village were widely recognized as centres of uninhibited entertainment and (during prohibition) of easy access to alcohol, as today they are recognized drug centres. Bohemianism in many ways has been a weathervane for the conventional culture, expressing in extreme the less exotic trends found generally. The depression and World War II depleted Bohemia (as the rest of America) both in numbers and vitality. The radical movement of the '30's lost its Bohemian flavour as the "fight against Puritanism" diminished in relevance. The vigorous literary tradition represented by Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and Gertrude Stein, died out leaving a relative vacuum in American letters during the '30's and '40's. Academic writers held sway in this era, until, in the early '50's, Kerouac and Ginsberg came forth as new voices in the tradition of Pound and Williams. Thus the Beat Generation was born--initially as a literary movement, but soon to become synonymous with a life-style which took on the pejorative "beatnik" after the term was coined by San Francisco columnist Herb Caen.

For many reasons peculiar to the '40's and early '50's, the incipient Beat culture differed in crucial aspects from earlier examples of Bohemia. By far the most significant innovations sprang from developments in Negro culture and from the convergence of the Negro and Bohemian communities. Jazz provided the meeting ground for the two cultures. The creation of "bebop" by such musicians as Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker, and Thelonious Monk, represented a radical reaction against the assimilation of jazz into white music, and against the emasculation of the indigenous Afro sound. For the first time Black musicians began to see themselves (and to have the white community recognize them) not as entertainers of a folk idiom, but as artists (see Jones, 1963, p. 190). Even before the change, many commonalities prevailed between Bohemian and Black cultures. Most of Cowley's eight "ideas of Bohemianism" also characterize the romanticist themes of the Black ethos. With the addition of "alienated artist" to the jazzman's self-concept, the alliance between the two cultures was too apt to be overlooked. The very foundations of Bohemia were remodeled around the contours of Negro, jazz culture. Jack Kerouac, who wanted to be considered a "jazz poet," expressed in his epoch-making novel, On the Road, the Beat's attitude to Black culture and the alienation he felt from his own.

At lilac evening I walk with every muscle aching among the lights of 27th and Welton in the Denver colored section, wishing I were a Negro, feeling that the best the white world had offered was not enough ecstasy for me, not enough life, joy, kicks, darkness, music, not enough night.

Still today Black influence on hip culture is paramount in terms of values, life-styles and vocabulary. Of the spectrum of contributions borrowed from the Black musician, two in particular stand out: the use of drugs as a staple in daily life, and the "cool" ethic--a sort of code of personality and behaviour traits requisite for survival in an openly hostile milieu.

The two are related. Both drugs and coolness (or hipness) pertain to the valuation of simultaneously maximizing inner experience and outer control. Initially the term "hip" referred exclusively to the drug scene. To be "on the hip" meant to be a devotee of opium, smoked while the user lay on his hip (Maurer, 1938; Lindesmith, 1947). And in jazz parlance, "hipster" originally referred to a black narcotics addict, and only later to any member of the counter culture, white or black (Tallman, 1959). It is ironic that white refugees from middle-class culture found themselves at this time without a meaningful cultural heritage, and so turned to the rootless Black man to find one.

Like most contemporary movements, the Beat Generation sped past the window of history, leaving only a blur on the retina. The media turned a few Beat writers into infamous public figures, whose works stand as an index of the Beat mentality. Little however is known about the rank and file Beats who by the late '50's populated Bohemian ghettos in most major North American cities. Their withdrawal from the dominant culture and hostility to the scientific attitude precluded their participation in social research. Two major exceptions are Rigney and Smith's psychological study of 51 Beats living in the North Beach district of San Francisco between 1958 and 1960, and Polsky's more impressionistic field study of the Greenwich Village Beat colony. Although Rigney and Smith's sample was far from homogeneous, several general conclusions can be drawn from their data. The subjects came from predominantly middle class backgrounds with the distribution skewed toward the upper end of the scale. (Polsky estimated 60% of Greenwich Village Beats circa 1960 came from middle-class backgrounds). The average age was 27 for men, 23 for women. It is interesting to note that these figures are higher than the mean of 21 years for "hippies," as

found in Yablonsky's national survey (1968). Today youth are finding their way to Bohemia at an earlier age than they did a decade ago.

Asked on psychological tests to select items most and least characteristic of themselves, Beats chose as most characteristic statements pertaining to emotional disturbance; for example, "I am anxious much of the time;" "I have unusual and bizarre thought processes." Selected as least characteristic were the following: "I am able to delay gratification;" "I can maintain mature hetero-sexual relationships" (pp.193 ff.) The high incidence of personality disorders was correlated with feelings of intense isolation, a condition less applicable to present-day alienated youth

Drugs, whether as sacraments or palliatives, were widely used. Only 14 of more than 200 Beats in Polsky's study denied illegal drug use. Although psycho-active drugs were also used almost universally by Rigney and Smith's subjects, alcohol was still listed as the most popular drug. Many younger Beats however, had been socialized directly to the psychoactive drugs and never drank, a situation common today among adolescents. Polsky is particularly informative on patterns of drug use among Beats.

An astonishingly high number of Rigney and Smith's subjects (46 of the 51) considered themselves practising artists, a fact which is consistent with the traditional definition of Bohemia. These Beats echoed the sentiments of Kenneth Rexroth who asserted that "Against the ruin of the world, there is only one defense--the creative act." The anti-philistinism and elitism associated with the Beat concept of art functioned as insulation against the hostile world of "squares." Today, however, the Beat concept of "fine art" has been supplanted almost entirely by the populist concept of folk art as exemplified in rock music, psychedelic posters and light shows. The barriers to membership in Bohemia have fallen

conspicuously as defensiveness and retreatism prove less necessary in a world where deviancy is becoming almost normative among young people.

The events of the '60's ,primarily the political events, have irreversibly altered the substance of hip-Bohemian culture. As official sentiments against the Beats grew, both on the part of the press and police, the dormant political radicalism buried under an era of McCarthyist repression began to stir. Rigney and Smith provide a particularly clear account of the historical development of this political awakening in San Francisco (pp. 64 ff.).

In 1959, stimulated by the escalation of police harassment, the Beats began organizing citizens committees to protect their civil rights. Much of this new-found political energy, which had hitherto been stifled by withdrawal and despair, was later channeled into the Civil Rights and Anti-war movements (Newfield, 1966). Attitudes of dissent were so monopolized in the early years of the decade by political enthusiasms, that the fundamental concerns of Bohemian culture--art, self expression, and so on-- were largely eclipsed.

Three series of events set the stage for a Bohemian renaissance: the Kennedy assassination, the conspicuous inefficacy of political protest, and --concurrent with the evolution of the Black Power Concept--the exclusion of white radicals from the Civil Rights Movement. The disillusionments of white middle-class youth with conventional political protest created an openness to novel forms of dissent. By 1965, the psychedelic alternative offered by Timothy Leary and his associates, and mediated by established countercultural heroes such as Bob Dylan and the Beatles, inspired the creation of a movement based on the use of drugs as the sacramental means to a non-violent, spiritual revolution. Dylan's 1965

song, "Mr. Tambourine Man," which is laced with psychedelic allusions, contains the line, "I'm ready for to fade / into my own parade." Thus Dylan punctuated for himself and thousands of young people the transition from political to introspective concern. And thus were the "hippies" being born. The lines of continuity from the Beats are, of course, distinct (see Wolfe, pp. 20 ff.). The most notable difference between the two movements is that the sense of isolation and defeat felt by the Beats has given way to frequently Messianic hopes of triumph among their successors. Relatedly, the role of drugs has assumed the position of pre-eminence formerly ascribed to art.

There is, however, some evidence that since 1967 when the hippie movement reached its peak in notoriety, much of the enthusiasm for psycho-active drugs as socio-political panacea has waned. A few of our subjects claim to have given up drugs entirely; many have given up the "chemicals"--LSD, Amphetamines, STP, etc.--in favour of "natural drugs" such as marijuana and hashish. Although "dope" is still a favorite topic of conversation, much of the fervor seems to have gone. Not long ago many hip youth agreed with Leary, who preached, "If everyone in Manhattan were to turn on and tune in, grass would grow on Fifth Avenue and tieless, shoeless divinities would dance down the car-less streets." Today, one gets the feeling that such sentiments are considered at best naive. The current attitude to drugs seems to be growing more utilitarian, less evangelical. The following passage is taken from a leaflet distributed by one of our subjects.

A Word About Weed Droughts

The Vancouver Sun recently printed an article about the customs searches for pot at the Mexico-U.S. border. People were held up for up to 6 hours while both American and Mexican customs officers searched them for dope. One and all were searched, and approximately 1,000 lbs. of weed were seized. This is fine--to a point. It makes the officials and the law feel they are doing

some good by causing a shortage of smoking dope throughout the States and Canada.

There is one hangup about the shortage of weed. That is that more people turn to the chemicals--acid, D.M.T., T.H.C. (the list is endless)--without smoking dope. FACT: WEED AND HASH ARE LESS HARMFUL TO YOUR BRAIN THAN SYNTHETICS. Chemicals burn out your head more than anything God-grown ever will. A recent weed drought has just ended in Vancouver and the chemical pushers made a small fortune because people were forced to turn to the synthetics. If this border hassle keeps up, soon there will be no choice--synthetics or nothing. A small percentage will choose to stop doing dope. The majority will turn more and more to chemicals. Even those who don't do dope should have enough brains to realize a bad scene is happening.

It is important to bear in mind that these attitudes and the entire youth scene are historical phenomena, subject to continual change. The formation of the Yippies, whose intention is to "blend pot and politics into a political grass-leaves movement" (Hoffman, 1968), signals a resurgence of political interest. To what extent the merger of political and psychedelic ideologies will prove viable remains to be seen. This study represents a psychological snapshot of the protean youth movement at one point in time.

METHOD

Piloting of the subject selection questionnaire (Hip Scale). Because an objective selection criterion was desired, a questionnaire was specially constructed. In conjunction with several hip adolescents, 51 items concerning hip culture were composed. The test elicited attitudes toward rock and roll groups, public figures connected with the hip counter-culture, and toward various relevant issues. An identification question was included on which respondents were asked to identify a number of esoteric concepts and people pertinent to the underground culture.

The hip scale was then piloted on two small groups of male university students--one hip, the other nonhip--in order to ascertain something of its discriminative validity. The sole criterion for selecting these pilot subjects was their appearance, the hip group chosen for their long hair and the nonhip for short hair. On each of the 51 items, their responses were scored as falling either in the hip direction, the nonhip or as being neutral. A total score was computed by subtracting the non-hip from the hip items. Hence an overall negative score is indicative of a non-hip pattern, a positive score of hip one. (The larger the absolute value, the stronger the inclination in the given direction.) The results indicate clear support for various maxims connecting appearance to character. The means (averages) for the two groups are: hip = +24.3; nonhip = -5.8 (Eight subjects participated in each group.) So marked is the mean difference that the two distributions are non-overlapping, that is, the highest of the nonhip scores is lower, (in fact 6 points lower) than the lowest of the hip scores. On 48 of the 51 items, the hip subjects' mean is higher than the nonhip subjects'.

The results indicated that the hip scale would be appropriate. Because it was eventually to be administered to high school students, a second pilot group--this time high school students--was asked to fill out the questionnaire. The group chosen was the Liberal Religious Youth, the Unitarian Church youth group who are known for their progressive and hip views. Of the 21 members who completed the test, 17 were judged to be unmistakably hip in appearance. Their test performance, as well as comments, indicated that the questionnaire was appropriate for high-school subjects. The 11 males mean hip score was 12.5, significantly higher than the nonhip university group. The 10 females obtained a mean score of 18.1. Having completed the pilot phase, we moved on to the selection of the actual subjects, who, along with their parents, were to fill out a battery of personality and attitude questionnaires.

Selection of hip and nonhip subjects. Subjects were obtained at a Senior high school, consisting of grades 11-13, in Coquitlam, B.C., a suburb of Vancouver. The subject selection questionnaire, reviewed above, was administered to approximately 400 male English students, of whom about 90 were to be selected for further testing. The selection tests were scored and 45 names from the upper quartile of the distribution (the hip end) and 58 from the lower quartile (the non-hip end) were chosen for potential inclusion in the study. These names were selected because their questionnaire responses showed an overall consistent pattern in one of the 2 directions. It is interesting to note that approximately 11% of the males (45 of 400) scored consistently hip and about 15% (58 of 400) scored consistently non-hip. The remaining 74% showed variously distributed patterns between the two extremes

As a corroborative measure, teachers were asked to assess the 103

students as either hip, nonhip or questionable. They were asked to judge the students in terms of their own impressionistic meanings of the hip and nonhip types.

The teachers judgements confirmed that 56 of the 58 students scoring nonhip on the selection test were, in fact, nonhip. These 56 students were then phoned by the researcher and asked whether they would volunteer to spend two one-hour periods filling out questionnaires for a study on the generation gap. They were also informed that their parents would later be contacted about participating. Of these 56 students, 44 finally participated as subjects. Of those who did not participate, 2 could not be reached, 5 refused due to lack of either time or interest, and 5 who agreed to participate simply did not show up.

When teachers were asked to assess as either hip or nonhip the 45 students who scored at the hip end of the distribution, they agreed that only 30 of the students were unquestionably hip. When told that the other 15 students had scored hip on the test, teachers expressed some surprise. For one thing, none of the 15 had the full stereotypic hip appearance, nor had they, to the teachers' knowledge, expressed in their behavior, signs of the hip pattern. Because we wanted to be as certain as possible of the accuracy of our subject classification, it was decided to omit these 15 names from the study, and to use an alternate procedure for soliciting additional hip subjects. It may have been, of course, that these 15 students were devotees of hip culture and simply hid the fact from teachers; and, interestingly enough, 5 of them were subsequently re-chosen through the alternate, independent selection procedure, a description of which follows.

A student who was generally regarded as a leader of the hip subgroup at the school was contacted, informed about the study and asked if he would

help to locate additional hip subjects. He was extremely cooperative, and through his efforts, 22 more names were added to the previously confirmed 30. As we mentioned, 5 of the 22 students had earlier been selected, but were not confirmed by the teachers assessments. The 52 students were then phoned and were asked, as the nonhip subjects had been to participate for 2 one hour sessions. The name of the student contact were usually used to help legitimize the study. Not one of the 52 refused to participate on the phone and only 3 failed to appear at the designated time. The 17 new subjects (i.e., those who had been reached through the contact but who had not yet completed the hip scale) filled out the hip scale prior to the questionnaire battery. This was to confirm that they did in fact share the hip attitudes for which they were selected. All 17 did score high on the hip end of the scale. Their data was thus added to those of the other hip subjects, and no subsequent prodecural distinctions were drawn between these 2 subgroups of hip subjects.

The participation rate was higher for the hip subjects (49 of 52) than for the nonhip (44 of 56). Additionally, the hip subjects seemed far more eager to participate, more interested in the purposes of the study, and less defensive than the nonhip subjects. There are numerous reasons for this difference which pertain to personality and intellectual orientations, and these will be discussed below. Undoubtedly, the intervention of the student contact on behalf of the study facilitated the cooperation of the hip subjects. Nonetheless, their eagerness to cooperate in filling out two hours of standardized questionnaires is somewhat surprising. Edgar Friedenberg, well-known authority on, and champion of, youth movements expresses his doubt that "hippies" would cooperate in any standard psychological study (1969, pp. 25-26). In

many ways, his point is well taken and sheds some light on the type of hip subjects in this study. There is no question that they show definite support for hip ideology and that they are markedly different from the nonhip subjects. This fact will be borne out time and time again as we go through the results. It is also true however, that these hip subjects have not (yet) made an extreme commitment to the hip life-style. First, they are still young (average age 17.4); only 5 of 49 live apart from their families; only 3 are not in school, although many have continual fantasies about quitting and many will before graduation. These are unquestionably the hippest students to be found in urban high schools. It is also unquestionable that many of them will, within the near future make firmer commitment to a Bohemian way of life. Our own field studies have indicated, in support of Friedenbergs' contention, that it would be next to impossible to convince many older hip Bohemians to spend 2 hours circling "Trues" and "Falses" on questionnaire forms. In this sense it is expedient to select younger subjects from whom data can be obtained. We assume there are continuities in development and thus, that those orientations which describe our hip subjects and their families will also describe the patterns for older, more committed Bohemians, from whom comparable data are unavailable.

Table I

Means for 49 Hip and 44 Nonhip subjects

	Age	Grade	Hip Scale	Appearance
Hip	17.4	11.7	+17.1	36 hip, 12 semi-hip 1 nonhip
Nonhip	17.0	11.6	-16.6	0 hip, 1 semi-hip 43 nonhip
Statistical Significance between Means	not sig	not sig	p = .001	p = .001

As the values listed in Table I indicate, the hip and non hip subjects do not differ with respect to age or grade. Of course, they differ with:

respect to hip scale scores, as this is the variable used for selection. It is interesting to note again the significant relation between value-systems and appearance. Subjects were judged to fit into one of three appearance categories: hip (unquestionably long hair, hip accoutrements such as bell-bottom pants, steel rim glasses, Indian beads, surplus army apparel etc); semi-hip (longish hair and at least one of the accoutrements); Nonhip (short hair and none of the accoutrements.) Statistically, the appearance patterns for the two groups differ at a highly significant level. (The reader is directed to the end of this section for an explanation of the statistics used in this report.

Testing the students. Hip subjects were tested separately from the nonhip; the same procedure was used for both. The subjects who stated on the phone they would be willing to participate were given a range of times when the researcher would be testing at the school. Subjects filled out their questionnaires in group situations. When they appeared at the designated room, they were informed generally about the project and asked whether they could return in a few days to complete the second and last hour of tests. All subjects were phoned as a reminder of the second session. Of the 44 nonhip subjects who attended session #1, 41 returned for the second session. Of the 49 hip subjects, 48 returned.

Contacting and testing the parents. When the student data had been collected, letters were sent to their parents requesting their participation. A complementary letter was included from the Committee on Youth, a Federal Government Agency, informing parents of the importance of the study, and encouraging their cooperation. They were asked to come to the high school on one of several evenings to fill out questionnaires for $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 hours. In conjunction, parents were phoned, asked whether they had

any queries about the study, and whether they would attend one of the sessions. For those who wished to participate but could not attend, arrangements were made to have the questionnaires delivered to their homes.

The cooperation of parents was surprisingly high. Of the 174 parents contacted, 145 participated (83%). Of the 29 parents who did not participate, most refused, wanting no part of the study, some did not have the time or would be out of town and a few did not speak English well enough. The participation rates are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Parents' Participation Rates				
	Hip Father	Hip Mother	Nonhip Father	Nonhip Mother
Participated	34	41	34	36
Did Not Participate	9	6	7	7

Questionnaires used in the study. None of the questionnaires was designed to assess attitudes toward temporal issues such as the Vietnamese War, the Black Panthers or the Chicago 7. Rather they were chosen to appraise general personality dispositions, psychological structures and attitudes pertaining to characterological traits. For the most part, parents and children were administered the same questionnaires. A few questionnaires however were given specifically to one or the other generational group. The following tests were given to both students and parents.

The OMNIBUS PERSONALITY INVENTORY (OPI). This broad spectrum personality questionnaire was developed by Heist and Yonge (1968), primarily for use with adolescents, though it is applicable to adults as well. The test consists of 385 items to be answered "True" or "False," and yields scores on 14 scales.

Intellectual Disposition Cluster.

1. Thinking introversion - Persons scoring high on this measure are characterized by a liking for reflective thought, by interest in ideas found in literature, art and philosophy.

2. Theoretical Orientation - High scorers are generally logical, analytical and critical in their approach to problems and situations.

3. Estheticism - High scorers show interest in artistic matters and show a high level of sensitivity to esthetic stimulation.

Complexity - This measure reflects an experimental and flexible orientation rather than a fixed and simplistic way of viewing and organizing phenomena.

Authoritarian Syndrome.

5. Autonomy - High scorers show liberal, non-authoritarian thinking and a tendency to be independent of authority as traditionally imposed through social institutions.

6. Religious Orientation - High scorers are skeptical of conventional religious beliefs and practices and tend to reject most of them.

Social-Emotional Adjustment Cluster.

7. Social Extraversion - High scorers display strong interest in being with people, seek social activities and gain satisfaction from them.

8. Impulse Expression - High scorers have an active imagination, value sensual reactions and feelings. Very high scorers have frequent feelings of rebellion and aggression.

9. Personal Integration - High scorers admit to few attitudes that characterize socially alienated or emotionally disturbed persons.

10. Anxiety Level - High scorers deny that they have feelings or symptoms of anxiety and do not admit to being nervous or worried.

Additional OPI Scales

11. Altruism - The high scorer is an affiliative person, trusting and ethical in his relations with others.

12. Practical Outlook - The high scorer is interested in practical, applied activities and tends to value material possessions and concrete accomplishments.

13. Masculinity-Femininity - High scorers indicate masculine patterns which include few esthetic interests, low emotional sensitivity, and few admissions of adjustment problems.

14. Response Bias - This measure assesses the respondents test-taking attitude. High scorers generally are trying to make a good impression by answering in a socially desirable manner.

In addition to the OPI, several questionnaires were administered:

1. Child-rearing attitudes (Koch et al, 1934) - assesses permissive and authoritarian inclinations regarding children's freedom.

2. Attitudes toward women's freedom (Levinson & Huffman, 1955) - assesses traditional versus liberal attitudes toward the women's role.

3. Intimacy Permissiveness Scale (Christensen & Carpenter, 1955) - measures attitudes toward sexual freedom.

4. Death anxiety (Levingston and Zimet, 1965).

5. Philosophy of human nature scale (Wrightsman, 1964) - measures attitudes toward people in general.

6. Semantic differential rating scales (Osgood et al, 1957) - these include bipolar scales on which subjects rated, among others, concepts pertaining to a) affective or id-related processes (e.g., passion, instinct); b) cognitive or ego-related processes (e.g., time, planning, schedule); and c) superego-related processes (e.g., duty, punishment).

7. Demographic and case historical data--the following items of information were obtained: educational history, occupation, socio-economic status, marital history, family composition, political views, religious affiliation and psychiatric history.

Each parent was administered a scale assessing attitudes toward the son involved in the study (Itkin, 1952), rating scales measuring attitudes toward his or her spouse, and a segment of the hip scale.

Students were administered scales assessing attitudes toward both parents (Itkin, 1952); Academic records dating back to the first grade were available for most students.

Experimental Design and Analyses. The data were classified according to the 6 main experimental groups, represented in Table 3.

Table 3

	Experimental Groups		
	Son	Father	Mother
Hip	HS	HF	HM
Nonhip	NS	NF	NM

In general, a summary score (usually a mean or average) was computed for each of the 6 groups. For most variables, 9 statistical computations were performed, comparing summary scores of the various groups:

1. Comparison of hip son with nonhip son.
2. Comparison of hip father with nonhip father.
3. Comparison of hip mother with nonhip mother.
4. Comparison of hip son with hip father.
5. Comparison of hip son with hip mother.
6. Comparison of hip father with hip mother.

7. Comparison of nonhip son with nonhip father.
8. Comparison of nonhip son with nonhip mother.
9. Comparison of nonhip father with nonhip mother.

The results of these comparisons will shed light on the tenability of four hypotheses:

1. Null hypothesis --no differences prevail between any of the six groups.
2. Hip-idiosyncratic hypothesis--the hip son differs systematically from each of the other five groups, who do not differ from each other, indicating that influences on the hip son derive from sources other than the family or general youth culture.
3. Family differences hypothesis--within the hip family, the son, father and mother differ systematically from their counterparts in the nonhip family, indicating that the hip son's influences are linked to family sources.
4. Generation Gap hypothesis--the hip son and nonhip son differ systematically from their respective parents who do not differ from each other, indicating the contribution of generational factors to psychological dispositions.

The last three of these hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and can all receive degrees of support on any single variable. As we go through the results, we will ^{be} concerned with discovering which variables lend support to which hypotheses.

A note on Statistics.

The "differences" referred to above will be assessed for their statistical significance. The reader unfamiliar with statistical procedures may find the presentation of the results somewhat confusing.

Therefore, before turning to an examination of the data a brief explanation of the upcoming statistical tests will be provided. Three basic tests will be used.

1. The T test--On a given variable, each subject receives a numerical score based on his questionnaire responses. These scores are averaged for each of the 6 experimental groups yielding 6 means. The T test is a statistical device for assessing the significance of the differences between any 2 of these means. Applying statistical formulas to the data, we can compute the magnitude of the "T value" for a comparison between two means. From the T value and sample size, the significance of the difference can be adduced in terms of a probability level. The probability level refers to the likelihood that the difference between the 2 sample means could have occurred by chance, that is, the likelihood that the 2 samples could have originated from the same population. Thus, if the probability level is high, we discard the hypothesis that the 2 means differ significantly. Very low probabilities indicate that hypotheses regarding differences between the means can be accepted with confidence. A probability level between .05 and .10 is considered only marginally significant and should be cautiously interpreted. Probabilities below .05 are considered as significant evidence that a difference between the means exists. Probabilities below .01 or .001 can be taken as very strong evidence that the means differ.

2. The correlation--this statistic is a quantitative index of the degree of correspondence between 2 sets of paired data. Two such sets might be the son's data and the mother's, where each son's score is paired with his mother's. The correlation coefficient answers the question of whether the son's data tends to covary with the mother's. Do son's who

score high on a variable tend to have mother's who also score high? If they do, the correlation coefficient will be positive. A perfect correlation, meaning the rank order of sons is identical to the rank order of mothers, equals +1.00. If the rank orders are perfectly inverted, so that the highest scoring son has the lowest scoring mother, the correlation coefficient will be -1.00. Of course, the correlations are almost never perfect, but fall between -1.00 and +1.00. A correlation of zero indicates no consistent pattern of relationship between the 2 sets of data.

We will be interested in the probability that any given correlation differs from zero. The same scheme applies to correlations as to T tests: very low probabilities (generally less than .05) indicate that the correlations, whether positive or negative, are very likely real, and not chance occurrences.

3. Chi Square tests--this statistic pertains, not to continuous data, which can assume any numerical value within the variable range, but to frequency (or categorical) data, where each subject's response is coded into one of 2 or more categories. For example, for the variable "Intention to attend university," three response categories might be "yes," "no," and "uncertain." Using the Chi Square test, the distributions obtained for hip and nonhip subjects can be compared. A probability significance level can then be computed from the Chi Square value.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The great majority of results are presented in Table 5. Variables are listed in rows; column headings describe the statistics being reported. In general, our discussion of the findings will include references to the appropriate rows and columns of the Table. If the reader feels overwhelmed by the size and complexity of the Table, he may ignore it and concentrate on the summary of the findings, which follows. This summary will not attempt to deal with every entry, but will concentrate on general patterns among the data. The reader is invited to scrutinize the Table for whatever additional points of interest may be overlooked in our discussion. It should be pointed out that Variables 1 to 27, and especially Variables 1 - 18, are to be considered more important than the Semantic Differential scales (Variables 28 to 43) each of which is based on at most 3 summed responses, whereas the first 27 Variables are standardized, multi-item tests with established reliability and validity. The semantic differential scales will serve in many instances to supplement the findings of the major tests. Before taking a detailed look at Table 5, we will describe some of the general demographic characteristics of our sample groups.

Demographic Data

Based on the two traditional measures of socio-economic status--father's education and occupation--the hip families indicate^a marginally significant tendency to belong to a higher status level. Fathers' education is presented in Table 6 and occupation in Table 7.

Table 6

	Father's Education	
	Hip	Nonhip
beyond Grade 12	8	2
Junior Matriculation	7	8
Below Grade 12	15	23
	Chi Square = 5.22 (p = .071)	

TABLE 5

MEANS

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS (T values and

VARIABLES (1-14: OPT)	HIP			NONHIP			HIP VS NONHIP			HIP FAMILY			NONHIP		
	① SON	② FATHER	③ MOTHER	④ SON	⑤ FATHER	⑥ MOTHER	⑦ SONS HS VS NS	⑧ FATHERS HF VS NF	⑨ MOTHERS HM VS MM	⑩ SON VS FATHER	⑪ SON VS MOTHER	⑫ FATHER VS MOTHER	⑬ SONS VS FATHER	⑭ SON VS MOTHER	
1 THINKING INTROVERSION	24.33	21.59	19.34	17.20	20.38	18.64	T=4.64 P=.009 ***	.63	.57	1.73	3.10	1.77	1.59	1.77	
2 THEORETICAL ORIENTATION	19.57	18.75	14.15	11.25	15.05	13.78	P=.009 *** T=3.33	.54	.575	.090 +	.064 **	.084 +	.118	.084 +	
3 ESTHETICISM	14.54	9.25	7.95	6.25	7.01	9.41	P=.001 *** T=9.19	.44	.732	.291	.000 **	.602 **	.233	.602 **	
4 COMPLEXITY	21.19	22.06	11.83	14.32	10.24	10.59	P=.000 *** T=7.44	.174	.51	4.65	5.27 ***	.47	.38	.47	
5 ATTENDANCY	24.68	21.75	21.33	14.27	14.50	18.41	P=.000 *** T=8.25	.53	.117	8.46 ***	10.09 ***	.36	.008	.36	
6 RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION	16.90	16.17	11.70	14.47	14.44	11.83	P=.000 *** T=9.21	.109	.083 +	.32	.000 ***	.40	.731	.40	
7 SOCIAL ETHIC VIEW	19.38	21.31	14.35	15.43	20.88	14.17	T=.64 P=.542	.30	.70	1.86	.094	1.67	1.88	.07	
8 INTEREST EXPLORATION	37.06	24.32	24.77	30.18	21.55	18.31	T=3.93 P=.000 ***	.217	.217	6.43 ***	7.61 ***	.94	4.62	.94	
9 PERSONAL INTEGRATION	22.61	36.47	32.11	26.44	24.00	34.64	T=9.35 P=.000 ***	.12	.89	7.54 ***	4.59 ***	1.67	5.95	1.67	
10 ANXIETY LEVEL	16.18	13.66	13.83	11.55	14.41	13.27	T=1.49 P=.136	.77	.278	.090	.000 ***	.95	4.89	.95	
11 ATRUISM	16.86	20.28	20.38	14.57	20.68	20.66	T=2.07 P=.037 *	.30	.40	4.54	2.86	.12	4.82	.12	
12 PRACTICAL OUTLOOK	10.80	16.67	14.78	11.43	17.74	16.71	T=6.33 P=.000 ***	.92	.078 +	2.67	.000 ***	2.04	.34	.078 +	
13 MASCULINITY-HEGEMINITY	25.31	31.63	26.10	22.72	35.18	26.13	T=6.87 P=.000 ***	.31	.95	4.79 ***	.97	4.87 ***	1.17	4.87 ***	
14 RESPONSE BIAS	9.57	14.95	11.53	10.50	15.00	12.92	T=1.06 P=.294	.494	.125	5.73 ***	2.22 *	2.95	4.06	2.95	
15 CHILD'S FREEDOM	81.25	63.22	62.37	63.82	53.80	54.28	T=8.14 P=.000 ***	.003 **	1.30	6.15 ***	7.26 ***	.27	3.85	.27	
16 WOMEN'S FREEDOM	40.77	31.03	36.12	33.12	33.91	35.27	T=4.98 P=.000 ***	1.67	.51	2.10	2.77 ***	.777	3.01 ***	.777	
17 FEMININITY-PERSONALNESS	6.61	3.19	2.82	3.60	1.94	1.75	T=.100 P=.925	.098 +	.615	.092 *	.005 **	.22	.93	.22	
18 PHILOSOPHY HUMAN NATURE	123.35	145.72	145.25	121.35	142.02	133.19	T=6.71 P=.000 ***	2.48	.30	6.47 ***	9.40 ***	1.26	3.79	1.26	
							T=.795 P=.427	.84	.41	4.76 ***	6.36 ***	1.87	3.05	1.87	

① † probability ≤ .10
 * probability ≤ .05
 ** probability ≤ .01
 *** probability ≤ .001

MEANS

TABLE 5

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS (T values and probabilities) @

NATURE	HIP			NONHIP			HIP VS NONHIP		HIP FAMILY		NONHIP FAMILY		FATHER VS MOTHER	
	SON	FATHER	MOTHER	SON	BROTHER	MOTHER	SONS	FATHERS	MOTHERS	SON VS FATHER	SON VS MOTHER	FATHER VS MOTHER	SON VS FATHER	SON VS MOTHER
ADULT	24.33	21.59	19.34	17.20	20.38	18.64	T=4.64	.52	.57	1.73	3.10	1.77	1.59	1.06
ADULT	19.57	18.75	19.15	16.25	15.05	13.78	P=.000 ***	.546	.575	.099 +	.004 **	.084 +	.118	.298
ADULT	19.57	19.25	19.95	17.25	17.25	15.78	T=5.33	.44	.34	1.07	4.86 ***	3.42	1.21	2.48
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.001 ***	.667	.732	.298	.006 **	.062 **	.223	.0177 *
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=9.03	.784	.51	4.65 ***	5.27 ***	.47	.58	2.28
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.084	.417	.303 **	10.07 ***	.647	.508	.028 *
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=7.44	.53	.287	8.46 ***	10.07 ***	.26	4.40	.31
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.126	.287	3.03 **	.000	1.720	.200 ***	.754
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=8.25	.129	1.74	.71	6.10	.40	.02	.59
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.205	1.093 +	3.03 **	20.00 ***	.643	.731	.565
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=9.28	.11	1.72	.82	3.07	.12	.76	2.03
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.273	.026 +	.424	.004 **	.040 *	.57	.009 **
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=6.9	.30	.20	1.86	.97	1.67	1.86	.59
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.792	1.20	.070 +	.000	.002 +	.062 +	.512
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=3.92	.24	1.86	.070 +	7.61 ***	.002	4.62	.324
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.217	.064	.000 ***	.000	.357	.000 ***	.003 **
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=9.35	.13	.89	7.54 ***	4.57 ***	1.67	3.24	1.76
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.245	.18	.000 ***	.000	.048 +	.000 ***	.085 +
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=4.49	.77	.41	4.54 ***	2.67	.75	1.70	.50
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.452	.684	.000 ***	.011 **	.475	.000 ***	.627
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=2.09	.20	.40	2.69 **	2.86	.12	4.82	.47
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.756	.692	.011 **	.007 **	.867	.000 ***	.370
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=6.28	.90	1.77	6.74 ***	9.76 ***	2.09	.32	.18
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.374	.078	.000	.000	.048 *	.748	.246
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=6.81	.31	.959	4.79 ***	.07	4.87 ***	1.17	7.80
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.193	.349	.000 ***	.965	.060 ***	.251	.000 ***
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=4.06	.49	1.54	5.73 ***	2.28	2.95	4.06	1.81
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.499	1.25	.000 ***	.021 *	.006 **	.003 **	.017 +
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=8.14	.08	.39	4.15 ***	7.26 ***	.27	3.85	1.42
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.003	.196	.000	.000 ***	.777	.001 ***	.163
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=4.98	.67	.51	2.10	2.97 **	.22	.93	.32
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.098	.615	.092 +	.005 **	.811	3.60	1.24
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=6.71	.48	.300	6.49 ***	9.40 ***	1.26	3.79	.42
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.015	.500	.000 ***	.000 ***	.215	.091 ***	.097 **
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	T=3.97	.84	.41	4.76 ***	6.36 ***	1.88	3.06	.320
ADULT	21.14	12.06	11.83	14.34	7.25	9.41	P=.000 ***	.535	.684	.000 ***	.000 ***	.067 +	.000 ***	.003 **

† probability ≤ .10
 * probability ≤ .05
 ** probability ≤ .01
 *** probability ≤ .001

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

MEANS

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS (T-VALUES)

VARIABLES	HIP			NONHIP			HIP VS NONHIP			FAMILY			
	① SON	② FATHER	③ MOTHER	④ SON	⑤ FATHER	⑥ MOTHER	⑦ SONS HS VS NH	⑧ FATHERS HIP VS NF	⑨ MOTHERS MA VS AM	⑩ SPAN VS FATHER	⑪ SON VS MOTHER	⑫ FATHER VS MOTHER	⑬ SON VS FATHER
19 ATTITUDE TO TECHNOLOGY	49.48	60.16	62.08	49.25	56.97	62.06	T=1.13 P=.266	1.26	.01	5.38 ***	6.66 **	1.80 +	26.60 ***
20 ATTITUDE TO ALTRUISM	49.40	57.59	64.35	51.75	57.21	62.00	F=1.32 P=.257	.209	.741	4.22	6.75	2.49 *	1.01
21 ATTITUDE TO INDEPENDENCE	24.85	27.94	29.05	26.30	27.82	29.41	F=1.21 P=.276	.859	1.07	2.29 *	2.79	.078 *	1.03 *
22 ATT. TO HUMAN INSTINCT	5.50	4.71	5.15	4.80	4.44	4.67	F=1.65 P=.205	.771	.26	1.01	1.67	.506	1.91
23 DEATH ANXIETY	45.52	38.87	41.52	40.85	41.17	40.19	F=2.19 P=.143	.68	.789	1.07	1.57	1.90	1.09
24 REPRESSION	.354	.656	.825	.625	.588	.639	F=2.50 P=.114	.507	1.19	3.23	1.67	.227	1.287
25 POLITICAL POSITION	4.72	3.67	3.70	3.91	3.84	3.59	F=2.50 P=.114	1.07	.61	3.28 **	1.61	.82	.49
26 RELIG. ORIENT. (EXTRINSIC)	27.33	32.00	31.97	30.65	30.74	30.71	F=2.50 P=.114	.290	.550	2.55 *	1.67	.422	6.74
27 RELIG. ORIENT. (INTRINSIC)	29.79	26.70	23.30	27.80	25.06	21.97	F=1.39 P=.247	.679	.407	1.05	1.01	1.07	1.44
SERVANTIC DIFFERENTIAL CONCEPTS													
28 DUTY	13.46	17.20	17.70	14.13	16.52	17.46	F=3.76 P=.000 ***	1.25	.42	5.53 ***	4.36 **	.82	.96
29 LOGIC	15.20	15.57	16.32	14.73	15.80	16.29	F=.81 P=.374	.215	.679	1.05	1.62	.424	.375
30 INSTINCT	16.70	15.57	16.57	15.10	16.00	16.50	F=3.10 P=.073 **	.797	.16	3.47	1.11	.616	1.53 +
31 PUNISHMENT	9.89	15.27	15.56	15.75	15.92	16.07	F=6.57 P=.000 ***	.608	.08	1.41	.76	.677	.74
32 TIME	11.20	17.29	17.57	16.00	17.10	17.35	F=.62 P=.433	.455	.07	4.52 ***	4.80 ***	1.07	.05
33 PASSION	18.63	17.17	18.64	17.35	17.56	18.74	F=.02 P=.880	.47	.13	1.11	.96	.38	1.11
34 PLANNING	15.13	18.17	18.47	17.35	17.72	18.89	F=2.32 P=.121 *	.633	.80	2.58	.96	1.97	.27
35 SCHEDULE	9.07	13.97	13.19	12.00	13.88	14.74	F=3.51 P=.031 **	.514	.827	4.50 ***	5.14 ***	4.0	.762
36 COMPETITION	11.46	16.53	16.06	17.04	17.40	16.71	F=3.97 P=.020 **	.08	.436	5.32 ***	3.92 ***	.56	1.42
37 THE PAST	12.76	15.53	15.53	14.63	14.68	15.42	F=6.80 P=.000 ***	.874	.068	4.84 ***	3.44 **	.92	1.62
38 THE PRESENT	15.76	17.93	18.38	16.77	18.60	18.32	F=2.90 P=.090	1.18	.456	2.50 *	1.42	2.60 *	.40
39 THE FUTURE	15.67	18.03	17.50	16.45	18.50	17.74	F=.018 P=.882	.241	.87	2.08 *	1.62	.06	.72
40 CLOCKS	11.02	15.40	14.38	14.43	15.72	16.00	F=1.37 P=.241	.71	.09	1.50 *	1.42	1.22	.466
43 SELF (STRONG)	4.78	5.41	5.18	5.43	5.48	5.37	F=1.04 P=.310	.456	.38	2.23 *	1.54	.828	.97
							F=4.60 P=.010 ***	.71	.707	5.25 ***	3.18 **	.30	.347
							F=2.37 P=.121 *	.71	.60	2.22 *	1.19	.27	.30
							F=.019 P=.882	.816	.57	.031 *	.242	.778	.763

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

MEANS

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS (T-values and probabilities)

CONCEPTS	HIP			NONHIP			HIP VS NONHIP			HIP FAMILY			NONHIP FAMILY		
	SON	FATHER	MOTHER	SON	FATHER	MOTHER	SONS HS VS NH	FATHERS HIP VS NH	MOTHERS HIP VS NH	SON VS FATHER	SON VS MOTHER	FATHER VS MOTHER	SON VS FATHER	SON VS MOTHER	FATHER VS MOTHER
ANTHROPOL	49.48	60.16	62.08	49.25	56.94	62.06	T=1.13	1.26	.01	5.35 ***	6.66 **	1.80 +	3.60 ***	6.03 ***	3.15 **
PHYSICAL	49.40	57.59	64.35	57.75	57.21	62.00	T=1.32	.209	.741	4.22 ***	6.75 ***	2.49 *	2.21	3.70 **	2.69 **
EVIDENCE	24.85	27.94	29.05	26.30	27.82	29.41	T=1.24	.859	.288	2.29 *	2.79 **	.65	1.91	2.95 **	1.47
STRICT	5.50	4.71	5.15	4.80	4.44	4.67	T=1.42	.071	.901	.628	.006	.506	.242	.619 *	.33
Y	45.52	38.87	41.52	40.85	41.17	40.19	T=1.42	.68	1.19	1.07	.507	1.00	1.09	.287	.33
STATION	4.72	3.67	3.70	3.91	3.84	3.59	T=2.19	1.07	.61	.61	.61	1.27	.287	.742	.61
INTRINSIC	27.33	32.00	31.97	30.65	30.74	30.71	T=2.50	.290	.550	3.28 **	4.62 **	.82	.49	.37	.54
INTRINSIC	29.79	26.70	23.30	27.80	25.06	21.97	T=2.04	.420	.84	2.55 *	5.67 ***	1.09	.44	.29	.836
PHIL CONCEPTS	13.46	17.20	17.70	16.13	16.52	17.46	T=2.46	.472	.32	.32	.32	.58	1.24	1.16	1.8
	15.20	15.57	16.32	14.73	15.80	16.29	T=2.46	.81	.407	2.09 **	3.15 **	.35	.77	.74	.54
	16.70	15.57	16.57	15.10	16.00	16.50	T=1.89	.426	.391	2.11 **	4.07 ***	.738	.71	.27	.603
	9.89	15.21	15.56	15.75	15.92	16.07	T=1.67	.495	.366	.042	.000	.015	1.07	1.08	.876
	11.20	17.29	17.57	16.00	17.10	17.35	T=2.96	.215	.472	5.53 ***	4.66 ***	.82	.96	1.49	1.73
	18.63	17.17	18.69	17.35	17.56	18.79	T=2.81	.25	.679	1.60	1.62	.424	1.44	1.46	1.095 +
	16.70	15.57	16.57	15.10	16.00	16.50	T=3.10	.191	.08	.347	.111	.616	1.83 +	2.66 **	.76
	9.89	15.21	15.56	15.75	15.92	16.07	T=3.10	.608	.894	1.33	.25	.43	.74	1.82 +	.75
	11.20	17.29	17.57	16.00	17.10	17.35	T=6.17	.76	.616	4.57 ***	4.80 ***	1.07	.05	.44	.00
	18.63	17.17	18.69	17.35	17.56	18.79	T=6.67	.522	.086	8.66 ***	8.54 ***	.38	1.11	1.34	.950
	15.13	18.17	18.47	17.35	17.72	18.89	T=6.67	.66	.66	1.000	1.000	.279	.912	.644	.738
	9.07	13.97	13.19	12.00	13.88	14.74	T=6.67	.086	.086	8.66 ***	8.54 ***	.38	1.11	1.34	.950
	11.46	16.53	16.06	17.04	17.40	16.71	T=3.97	.49	.15	1.18	.96	1.97	.27	1.97	1.52
	12.76	15.53	15.53	14.63	14.68	15.42	T=3.51	.633	.80	.80	.348	.92	.782	1.07	1.52
	15.76	17.93	18.38	16.77	18.60	18.32	T=3.51	.674	.436	4.50 ***	5.14 ***	.40	.751	3.67 ***	1.60
	15.69	18.03	17.50	16.45	18.50	17.79	T=3.51	.514	.80	.000	.000	.697	.93	3.061 ***	1.120
	11.02	15.40	14.38	14.43	15.72	16.00	T=2.37	.894	.08	5.22 ***	3.98 ***	.55	1.42	3.12 **	1.55
	4.78	5.41	5.18	5.43	5.48	5.37	T=2.37	.816	.557	4.84 ***	3.94 ***	.55	1.42	3.12 **	1.55

TABLE 5 (cont'd)

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS (T)

VARIABLES	MEANS				DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS (T)							
	HIP		NONHIP		HIP VS NONHIP			HIP FAMILY				
	① SON	② FATHER	③ MOTHER	④ SON	⑤ FATHER	⑥ MOTHER	⑦ SONS HS VS NS	⑧ FATHERS HF VS NF	⑨ MOTHERS HM VS NM	⑩ SON VS FATHER	⑪ SON VS MOTHER	⑫ FATHER VS MOTHER
INTRAFAMILY ATTITUDES												
Attitude to: →												
44 EVALUATION	FATHER BY SON 27.40	MOTHER BY FATHER 33.45	FATHER BY MOTHER 33.97	FATHER BY SON 31.38	MOTHER BY FATHER 35.52	FATHER BY MOTHER 32.63	FATHER TO MOTHER T=2.66 P=.009**	MOTHER TO FATHER T=1.79 P=.077	FATHER TO MOTHER T=1.79 P=.077	FATHER TO SON T=1.79 P=.077	FATHER TO MOTHER T=1.79 P=.077	EACH OTHER T=1.79 P=.077
45 POTENCY	15.50	15.87	17.66	16.84	17.04	17.59	P=.033 *	T=1.57 P=.018	T=.071 P=.789	T=.071 P=.789	T=.071 P=.789	T=.071 P=.789
46 LENIENCY	4.14	4.06	4.58	3.59	4.07	3.39	T=1.72 P=.089 +	T=.02 P=.881	T=.02 P=.881	T=.02 P=.881	T=.02 P=.881	T=.02 P=.881
47 NON-HYPOCRISY	4.26	5.23	5.21	4.92	5.22	4.89	T=1.78 P=.076 +	T=.008 P=.941	T=.010 P=.934	T=.010 P=.934	T=.010 P=.934	T=.010 P=.934
48 RELIGIOUSNESS	3.24	4.19	3.86	4.00	4.44	4.39	T=1.73 P=.084 +	T=.523 P=.610	T=.392 P=.523	T=.392 P=.523	T=.392 P=.523	T=.392 P=.523
Attitude to: →												
49 EVALUATION	MOTHER BY SON 28.71	MOTHER BY FATHER 33.45	-	MOTHER BY SON 33.70	MOTHER BY FATHER 33.52	-	ATTITUDE TO MOTHER T=4.00 P=.000***	-	-	-	ATTITUDE TO MOTHER T=4.00 P=.000***	-
50 POTENCY	14.22	15.87	-	15.57	17.04	-	T=2.73 P=.017 *	T=.118 P=.911	-	T=.118 P=.911	-	T=.118 P=.911
51 LENIENCY	4.35	4.06	-	4.00	4.07	-	T=1.04 P=.305	-	-	T=1.04 P=.305	-	T=1.04 P=.305
52 NON-HYPOCRISY	3.89	5.23	-	4.85	5.22	-	T=.74 P=.461	-	-	T=.74 P=.461	-	T=.74 P=.461
53 RELIGIOUSNESS	4.11	4.19	-	4.75	4.44	-	T=1.46 P=.144	-	-	T=1.46 P=.144	-	T=1.46 P=.144
SONS ONLY												
56 ATTITUDE TO FATHER	58.37	-	-	69.60	-	-	T=3.25 P=.002**	-	-	T=3.25 P=.002**	-	T=3.25 P=.002**
57 ATTITUDE TO MOTHER	57.52	-	-	67.13	-	-	T=3.60 P=.001***	-	-	T=3.60 P=.001***	-	T=3.60 P=.001***
58 ESTIM'D MOTHER'S HAPPINESS	12.56	-	-	10.45	-	-	T=2.03 P=.043 *	-	-	T=2.03 P=.043 *	-	T=2.03 P=.043 *
59 ESTIM'D FATHER'S HAPPINESS	11.95	-	-	9.18	-	-	T=2.85 P=.006**	-	-	T=2.85 P=.006**	-	T=2.85 P=.006**
60 IQ	117.3	-	-	110.7	-	-	T=2.85 P=.006**	-	-	T=2.85 P=.006**	-	T=2.85 P=.006**
63 HIP SCORE (125)	42.12	-	-	8.43	-	-	T=29.29 P=.000***	-	-	T=29.29 P=.000***	-	T=29.29 P=.000***
PARENTS ONLY												
64 ATTITUDE TO SON	-	97.38	97.10	-	111.2	110.1	-	T=3.38 P=.002**	T=3.18 P=.002**	T=3.38 P=.002**	T=3.18 P=.002**	T=3.38 P=.002**
65 ESTIM'D SON'S POTENCY	-	5.23	5.50	-	5.92	5.75	-	T=2.54 P=.013**	T=.83 P=.417	T=2.54 P=.013**	T=.83 P=.417	T=2.54 P=.013**
67 HIP SCORE	-	78.59	77.70	-	72.39	66.61	-	T=1.85 P=.067	T=3.77 P=.000***	T=1.85 P=.067	T=3.77 P=.000***	T=1.85 P=.067

Table 7

	Father's Occupation	
	Hip	Nonhip
White Collar	17	10
Blue Collar	11	20

Chi Square = 3.33 (p = .065)

The trend for hip-Bohemian youth to originate from higher socio-economic classes than their nonhip counterparts has been suggested in several studies--Rigney and Smith (1961) and Polsky (1967) on The Beats, by Yablonski (1968) and Buckner (1968) on "hippies." The same finding has been remarkably consistent in studies of radical activists (e.g., Flacks 1967).

For our sample, the conclusion is not warranted that there is a sharp distinction between the class backgrounds of hip and non-hip youth. There is much overlap; many hip subjects come from lower middle class and many non-hip from middle class homes. The probability levels of about .07 indicate the Class differences are not particularly strong, and, as we shall see going through the findings, it is far easier to find similarities than differences between parents of hip and nonhip adolescents. There is for example no significant difference between the work histories of hip and nonhip mothers. Both groups are about evenly divided into working mothers and housewives as shown in Table 8 .

Table 8

	Working Patterns of Mothers	
	Hip	Nonhip
Working	18	18
Housewife	22	17

Chi Square = .100 p = .747 (Not sig.)

The mother's educational histories are likewise comparable, hip mothers having completed an average of 11.3 grades, and nonhip 10.8 ($p = \text{not sig.}$)

Regarding marital histories, 9 of the hip families have been disrupted by either separation, divorce or parental death; 39 families are intact. The respective figures for nonhip families are 3 and 38. The slightly higher rate of family disruption in the hip category is not, however, statistically significant ($\text{CHI SQUARE} = 1.59; p = .204$). It will be seen though throughout the report that the non-significant findings do form a pattern and ought not to be entirely disregarded.

Psychiatric histories are presented in Table 9. A "yes" response means the subject has at one time or another been a psychotherapy patient.

Table 9

Psychiatric Histories

	Hip			Nonhip		
	Son	Father	Mother	Son	Father	Mother
YES	7	7	6	1	3	1
NO	39	24	24	39	30	34

Comparing patterns for all the hip subjects combined versus all the nonhip combined, the CHI SQUARE is highly significant ($p = .006$) indicating that hip families as a whole have suffered from greater emotional disturbance. The implications of this result will be discussed when we come to the personality tests pertinent to social-emotional adjustment.

Politically one finds no significant divergences between parent groups. Party Preferences are shown in Table 10.

Table 10

Party Preferences

	Hip		Nonhip	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
NDP	11	12	9	8
Liberal	7	12	8	9
Prog. Cons	6	6	0	2
Social Credit	5	7	10	9
Mixed	2	0	5	1

Likewise on a rating scale from left wing (7) to right wing (1), no significant differences emerge between parent groups (see Variable 25, Columns 8, 9, 12 and 15). The hip sons, however, score significantly farther to the left than do nonhip sons (Variable 25, column 7), a finding in line with the notion that hip youth tend toward radical politics. The hip sons' mean of 4.72 is not, though, particularly extreme on a 7 point scale, which suggests that the hip subjects are not committed radicals but rather feel an empathy for left wing ideas. Perhaps this difference between hip and activist youth results from parental differences. Specifically, virtually all studies on activists report that their parents do have strongly liberal or radical political views (e.g., Flacks, 1967, Keniston, 1968), and that the activists, whose relations with parents tend to be warm, are carrying on, rather than rebelling against, a progressive family tradition. Our hip subjects score significantly to the left of both parents (Var. 25, columns 10 + 11), but much moreso than activists, appear to have absorbed left wing attitudes from outside the home, without the agreement of parents. The reciprocal liking for one another is

lower for both hip "mother-son" and hip "father-son" relationships than for the respective nonhip relationships. The hypothesis to be developed in this report is that the inclinations toward alienation are nurtured within the hip family but that the substance and contours of the alienation are fashioned from influences beyond the family. The relatively conservative political views of hip parents constitute a natural focus of attack for their sons' alienation. For principally two reasons though, these adolescents tend not to involve themselves in organized political activity: first, the model cannot be taken from parental activity, and second, the problems of identity confusion, emotional frustration and the refusal or inability to postpone and channel impulses precludes continued allegiance to organizational activity.

Religious affiliations are shown in Table 11.

Table 11

	Religious Affiliation					
	Hip SON 12	Hip FATHER 21	MOTHER 23	SON 20	Nonhip FATHER 23	MOTHER 23
Protestant						
Catholic	2	5	8	6	6	9
Other Christian	0	1	4	0	2	0
Atheist	14	4	3	9	3	0
Mystic or idiosyn- cratic	13	0	0	4	0	0
Undecided	6	0	0	0	0	0
Jewish	0	0	0	0	0	0

The hip sons' distribution differs significantly from both the nonhip sons' ($p = .004$) and from the hip parents ($p = .001$). In particular, hip sons show a departure from the conventional religious categories in either of two ways: toward a blanket

renunciation of religion or toward an idiosyncratic, mystical belief, e.g. "Zen Buddhism," "God is Love," etc. The Beats in the Rigney and Smith study showed a similar split between atheism and mysticism. About two-thirds of the hip sons and 1/3 of the nonhip declare their religious affiliations to differ from their parents. The nonhip sons differ significantly ($p = .002$) from their parents regarding the categories in Table 11. In fact their deviations from parents parallel the hip sons patterns, though less extremely. No significant difference exists between hip and nonhip parent groups. It is this sort of finding which provides support for the Generation Gap hypothesis.

Let us turn now to a closer examination of the major findings in Table 5. The discussion will focus on three main aspects of the data: 1) comparison of hip and nonhip sons; 2) comparison of hip and nonhip parents 3) comparison of sons and parents.

1. Comparison of hip and nonhip sons

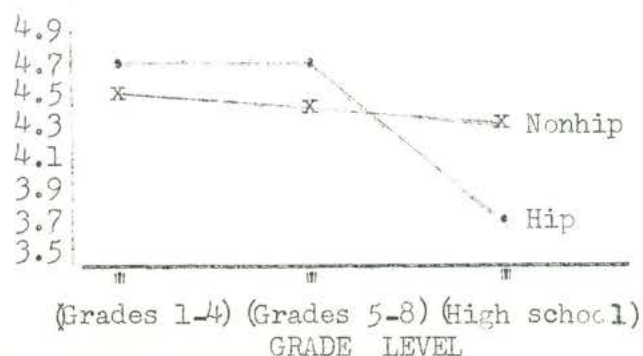
This section will concentrate on column 7 in Table 5. The reader should pay particular attention to the significance symbols along the right hand edge of the column. The "†" symbol signifies a probability level between .10 and .05, a marginally significant finding indicative of a trend. The asterisks represent significant differences between groups; three asterisks at the .001 level, two at the .01 level and one at the .05 level.

A glance will indicate that these two groups of adolescents differ on most of the scales, usually at high levels of significance. The pattern of divergences parallels those found in studies on similar subcultural groups. The OPI (Variables 1 to 14) was administered by Whittaker and Watts (1969) to groups of Berkeley "non-students," a potpourri of radicals and alienated young people, who were found to

differ from a control group of students very much as do our hip subjects differ from the nonhip. Similar patterns are reported by Heist (1965) for Berkeley activists.

Intellectual Disposition. Hip and nonhip subjects differ at high levels of significance on Variables 1 - 4: Thinking introversion, theoretical orientation, Estheticism, and Complexity. Hip subjects score consistently higher on all four scales, indicating a more sophisticated, sensitive, introspective and less simplistic intellectual orientation. Their average IQ's recorded over a seven year period are significantly higher than nonhip IQ's (117.3 versus 111.7, $p = .006$) This outcome^{is} consistent with the remarkably reliable finding that political activists are intellectually superior to their apolitical counterparts (e.g., Bay, 1967). Commenting on the intellectual talents of members of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley, Somers (1964 p. 544) concludes that they represent "a minority vital to the excellence of the university." The conclusion is based not simply on superior intellectual ability, but on superior performance. The great majority of studies on activists reports their academic achievement to be exceptionally high.

Although our hip subjects show superior intellectual ability, they do not do correspondingly well in school during their adolescent years. In fact, their academic superiority over nonhip subjects, which is displayed through Grade 8, reverses during high school. Academic histories for the two groups are presented in Figure 1.



The interaction, or crossover, between the two curves is statistically significant ($p = .01$). Despite their higher intelligence, and, as our questionnaires show, their stronger intellectual interests, hip subjects show a marked academic decline in high school. The failure of the educational system to involve the interests of these intelligent and questioning young people is a point which is both disturbing and worthy of consideration at all levels of educational policy-making.

The disappointments and uncertainties experienced in high school by the hip subjects are reflected in their plans regarding university, presented in Table 12.

Table 12

	Plans to attend University	
	Hip	Nonhip
YES	21	20
NO	12	18
UNCERTAIN	12	2
	CHI SQUARE = 8.10 $p = .017$	

The significantly greater uncertainty about the future can be seen even more distinctly regarding prospective occupations. Nearly 60% of hip subjects (as opposed to 25% of nonhip) are undecided about their future careers. The figures are presented in Table 13.

Table 13

	Prospective Occupation	
	Hip	Nonhip
White Collar	15	19
Blue Collar	4	10
Undecided	26	10
	CHI SQUARE = 9.77 $p = .008$	

Anti-authoritarianism. The argument that rigid, opinionated attitudes are as great or greater among "hippies" and radicals has not found confirmation for the latter group (e.g., Watts and Whittaker, 1966) nor does it in our research for the former. The libertarian ethic summarized in the injunction "do your own thing" does find expression in the hip subjects personality tests. This anti-authoritarianism is part of the general cultural assault on the superego, a cutting edge of which has been Bohemian ideologies.

The difference between hip and nonhip subjects on Autonomy (Variable 5) is extremely large. Hip subjects show greater independence of thought and judgement and are more tolerant of others' viewpoints. They are also more liberal regarding religious views (Variable 5). Their evaluations of the superego-related concepts, "DUTY" and "PUNISHMENT" are significantly lower than are the nonhip subjects' evaluations (Variables 28 and 31). Related to this orientation of openness and autonomy are the leftist political views of hip subjects (Variable 25).

High scores on Practical Outlook (Variable 12) are correlated with authoritarianism and conservatism. This scale assesses applied, materialistic attitudes--generally, endorsement of the Protestant Ethic. Expectedly, hip subjects' scores are significantly lower than nonhip scores.

The renunciation of the constraints of the superego is not surprising. A more crucial cultural innovation wrought by hip ideology pertains to personality structures and functions associated with the "ego". Briefly, whereas the superego is concerned with blocking organic impulses, the ego endeavors to control them, to arrange a balance between the impulses and the constraints--crudely, between instinct and society. The ego is the agency responsible for reasoning, delaying gratification,

effecting harmony between conflicting forces through compromise. Keniston has called it the "technological ego," and in technological society ego strength is tantamount to psychological adjustment. It is against these egoic processes that hip culture pits its opposition.

Social-emotional adjustment versus alienation. Our data consistently indicate that hip subjects show poorer social adjustment, which we can call "cultural alienation," and poorer psychological adjustment, or "self alienation." The two are not unrelated. As Erikson (1968) has discussed, the formation of coherent and stable identity can evolve only within a framework of communal structures. The rejection of conventional communal structures is closely linked--whether as cause or effect or both--to the high rates of emotional disturbance and personal unhappiness among hip youth. Yablonsky (1968, p. 36) says of his national sample of "hippies": "Perhaps 20% of the hippies from all categories are severely emotionally disturbed young people who have found in the hippie community a refuge and personal immunity from the formal society's approach to dealing with psychosis." Although seven, or about 15% of our hip subjects have been in psychotherapy, I would be reluctant to say that any of them are "severely emotionally disturbed;" They do as a group however suffer from greater psychological disturbance and alienation than the nonhip subjects.

The mean for hip Ss on Personal Integration (Variable 9) is significantly lower than for nonhip Ss. The items on this scale show that hip Ss; "at times feel completely inadequate, have strange and peculiar thoughts, wonder who they really are and what they should really be like and feel they are not as happy as others seem to be." (It should be pointed out that, according to our data, these differences

cannot be ascribed to the hip subjects' greater honesty in responding. The Response Bias scale (Variable 14) indicates no significant difference between hip and nonhip--that is, no greater tendency for the nonhip to present themselves in a favorable light.)

The tendency--though not quite significant--is for hip subjects to experience higher anxiety (Variable 10; higher scores indicate lower anxiety).

Hip subjects score very high, far above nonhip, on the Impulse Expression Scale (Variable 8). This scale and the syndrome it represents typifies the personality of hip subjects. The authors of the OPI describe the IE scale as follows: "This scale assesses a general readiness to express impulses and to seek gratification either in conscious thought or in overt action. High scorers have an active imagination, value sensual reactions and feelings. Very high scorers have frequent feelings of rebellion and aggression" (Heist & Yonge, 1968).

It is this scale which captures both the anti-egoic tendencies of hip subjects, and relatedly, the psychological maladjustment. It is a sign of refusal to say "no" to inner feelings or "yes" to societal and technological demands. What Keniston says of his alienated subjects applies to ours as well. "They reject the value assumptions upon which most questionnaire measures of 'maturity,' 'ego-strength' and 'good mental health' are based. They make a great effort to undermine any so-called 'defenses' that might protect them from unpleasant feelings. For most of these students openness to their own problems and failings is a cardinal virtue" (1968, p. 332).

Let us consider in somewhat more detail the nature of, and evidence for, the anti-egoic tendencies of hip subjects. Their high valuation

of freedom to express the deeper affective layers of the psyche --usually called the "id"--is often represented politically as libertarianism or anarchism. This valuation was borne out empirically and highly significantly on three issues: Attitude to children's freedom (Variable 15), attitude to women's freedom (Variable 16) and attitude to sexual freedom (Variable 17). These findings confirm three important directions of the counterculture and, as we shall see, of Western culture generally. First, the consecration of childhood as the state of unrepressed existence is affirmed, and incidently, the consecration signals a refusal to accept the egoic constraints of the adult role. Earisman (1968, p. 38) says of one subject, "The hippie life was for her the freedom to be like a child." The naturalist and romanticist impulses turn the hip vista, not ahead in the name of progress, but back in the name of reclamation of a legacy declared lost in the process of socialization.

As the direction in hip culture, just discussed, calls into question the sociological role of adulthood, the second questions sex-role distinctions. The breakdown between the male and female roles has a lengthy history, and some authors, such as the anthropologist, Winick (1968), consider it the most crucial cultural trend in modern societies. Bohemian women have been in the vanguard of feminist movements for generations. Our hip subjects' positive attitude toward women's equality is theoretically related to the consecration of childhood, which Brown (1959) and Marcuse (1955)--two reputed mentors of the youth movement--acclaim as the stage of bisexuality, the pre-egoic stage. The hip subjects' rejection of the male role is borne out by results on Variable 13, Masculinity-Femininity. Hip subjects score significantly lower than nonhip, indicating a more feminine orientation,

i.e., greater interest in esthetics, stronger feelings of sensitivity and emotionality. The refusal to accept the masculine role parallels refusal of the adult role, as both are seen to converge in a syndrome of self-control, repression and "game-playing"--traits to which hip ideology has traditionally been opposed.

The third, and related direction, sexual freedom, (Variable 17) so permeates present-day culture that it hardly seems to belong more to Bohemia than any other grouping. In fact, all three directions, which are so common generally, were listed by Cowley as Bohemian themes fifty years ago. The fact that hip subjects still endorse these three freedoms more strongly than nonhip implies the influence process from Bohemia to mainstream culture is not complete, but when we investigate the generational relationships we shall see to what a great extent Bohemian ideas have made inroads among even the least hip youth.

The anti-egoic, anti-repressive attitudes of hip youth are further illuminated by results on the semantic differential scales. The id-related concepts of Instinct (Variable 30) and Passion (Variable 33) are evaluated significantly more positively by hip subjects than by nonhip.

Whereas the id is, according to Freud, entirely devoid of a sense of time, the ego is fully responsible for developing this sense. Principal egoic functions include gratification-postponement and purposive planning--both indispensable abilities in urban, technological cultures. The trend among hip youth to take refuge from this life in either unemployment or rural communes is connected with consistent characterological traits and a critical attitude toward traditional

conceptions of time. Hip subjects evaluate significantly less positively than nonhip the following ego-related temporal concepts: Time (Variable 32), Planning (Variable 34), Schedule (Variable 35) and clocks (Variable 40). Also, a significantly smaller proportion of hip subjects wear watches (15 of 46) than nonhip (27 of 40). The Chi Square of 9.07 is significant at the .003 probability level.

The Western, linear concept of progressive time, upon which both profit motivation and the technological ethos are psychologically founded, is being rejected by hip youth in favor of a concept of cyclic or non-cumulative time which is reflected both in Oriental philosophies and psycho-active drug states.

It is in areas of basic epistemological perceptions such as this one, that differing attitudes between people constitute virtually incommunicable states. Most of the literature on the alienated has shown that little communication does pass between their worlds and the so-called normal one. Our data suggest that important changes have occurred during the '60's concerning the isolation and withdrawal of alienated youth.

Social attitudes and relationships. Gould (1969, p. 43-4) defines alienation as "a syndrome consisting of feelings of pessimism, cynicism, distrust, apathy and emotional distance." Traditionally alienation has been linked with strong anti-social or asocial tendencies. The results of Gould's study show that relative to non-alienated subjects, the alienated view others as being untrustworthy, are more socially introverted have fewer friends, and admit to more psycho-pathology. This pattern held for Beats, as well as for Keniston's alienated subjects in the late 50's, who share many of the characteristics of our subjects, such

as esthetic and romantic interests in spontaneity, experiential intensity and spiritual freedoms. Of their anti-social views, which Keniston brands "existential pessimism," the author says, "Central to alienation is a deep and pervasive mistrust of any and all commitments, be they to other people, to groups, to American culture or even to the Self. Most basic here is the distrust of other people in general--a low and pessimistic view of human nature" (1965, pp. 56-7). Although our subjects share many of the traits of the Beats and Keniston's subjects--romanticism, estheticism and emotional problems--they do not manifest the same pessimism and mistrust toward others.

There are important historical reasons for the change. The surge of political energies in the early 60's made evident to culturally alienated youth that isolation is not an inescapable concomitant of cultural opposition. The evolution of concepts of participatory democracy, communitarian values and the "love ethic" accompanied the shedding of anti-social and often, as in the case of the Beats, elitist defenses. Incidentally, the role of psychedelic drugs should not be underplayed as agents in the erosion of these psychic defenses.

The data indicate consistently that hip subjects are not more anti-social than nonhip and in some cases are less so. On the Social ~~EX~~traversion scale (Variable 7) of the OPI--which measures preferred styles of relating to people in social contexts, of not withdrawing from social contacts--the difference between hip and nonhip subjects is not statistically significant, although the hip subjects actually do score slightly higher, i.e., more in the extraverted direction.

The Altruism Scale (Variable 11) comes closest to measuring the "love ethic!" It assesses the respondent's concern for the feelings and welfare

of others. On this scale hip subjects score significantly higher, indicating a more altruistic orientation.

Variable 18, Wrightsman's Philosophy of Human Nature Scale, measures attitudes toward people in general. Variables 19, 20, and 21 are subscales, which summed, make up the Wrightsman measure (Variable 18). Since there are no interesting idiosyncracies among the three subscales, the reader can ignore them and concentrate on the total measure, Variable 18. The differences between hip and nonhip subjects is not significant on this scale, i.e. neither group shows a generally more positive evaluation of people in general.

It was felt that if hip ideology does revere the unrepressed and the natural, hip subjects should show a high evaluation of human nature. Examination of the Wrightsman scale reveals that its items pertain not to human nature, but to socialized man in Western culture. Typical items are: "Most people would cheat on their income tax if they had a chance;" "Most people would stop and help a person whose car has broken down." It is not surprising that hip subjects, who are critical of socialized, Western Man, do not score higher on this scale. (In fact, it is surprising they do not score significantly lower.)

A scale was thus constructed which was intended to differentiate between attitudes toward socialized Man and constitutional Man (Variable 22). An example of an item from this scale is: "Most people are selfish because a) it's part of human nature; b) that's the way our society trains people to be." The results of this scale indicate a marginally significant tendency for hip subjects to have a more positive evaluation of human nature than nonhip.

From a psychological standpoint, the results of this section are, I think, encouraging. The withdrawal patterns which have hitherto accompanied

adolescent alienation, impede the formation of identity, which occurs as Erikson argues, only within communal structures. The evolution of a viable subculture for youth who feel excluded from the cultural mainstream is, at least in the short run, our strongest hope for curbing the alarmingly high rates of adolescent psychopathology. (It is estimated that 6 million of the 30 million Americans between the ages of 15 and 24 are mentally disturbed.) Far moreso than did their counterparts of a decade ago, our hip subjects do have an emergent subculture to which their principal relationship can be extraverted and sociable.

2. Comparison of Hip and Nonhip parents.

This section will concentrate on columns 8, 9, 12 and 15 in Table 5, which compare parents of hip and nonhip families (columns 8 and 9) and parents within these families (columns 12 and 15). Again, the reader is advised to pay particular attention to the significance symbols along the right hand margins of these columns.

Let us begin with columns 8 (comparisons of hip and nonhip fathers) and 9 (comparison of hip and nonhip mothers).

If large and immediately obvious differences are expected a glance at the Table will show that this is not the case. Whereas hip and nonhip sons differed on literally dozens of variables, the fathers do so on only about seven and the mothers on about ten, and these include marginally significant differences. Overall, one is forced to say that these parents--who have spawned such different children--bear more resemblance to one another than differences. And this is not especially surprising. For a long while now, our culture has witnessed the growing autonomy of youth culture from the family. Most of the literature on adolescence emphasizes the erosion of traditional family bonds and

influence. As Riesman says, "All the morality is the groups'" (1950). But the group's morality, as the previous section demonstrates is not monolithic. It is in fact far more heterogeneous than the parents'. Each generation's culture can be construed as moisture droplets spewing off the accelerating wheel of history. Each successive generation leaves the wheel at a different point in time and at a greater velocity. Thus, the more recent the generation, the greater the spread of its culture.

Knowing the great diversity of youth culture, how can we account for the fact that some young people adopt hip ideology while others reject it, when their parents appear so similar? Surely, rudimentary inclinations must evolve within the family, must be related in some way--sympathetically or antagonistically--to parental values. Closer examination of the data furnishes support for this hypothesis, but it should be borne in mind that parental differences, although consistent, are very slight. Such a state of affairs makes apparent the brittleness of our cultural heritage. Small differences between parents feed through their children into a diversified youth culture which serves to magnify these differences a generation later.

Let us consider first the few variables on which hip and nonhip parents differ, including marginally significant differences. Hip fathers tend to score higher on Estheticism (Variable 3) than nonhip; feel children should have greater freedom (Variable 15); feel women should have greater freedom (Variable 16); have a more liberal view toward sexual freedom (Variable 17); score higher on the hip scale (Variable 67). On all of these variables, hip fathers differ from nonhip in the same direction as do their sons from nonhip sons.

Turning to the Mothers' data (Column 9), we find hip mothers tend to show higher autonomy (Variable 5) than nonhip mothers; to be more liberal in their religious views (Variable 6); to show higher impulse expression (Variable 8); to have less of a practical outlook (Variable 12); they are significantly more liberal concerning sexual freedom (Variable 17); on the semantic differentials, hip mothers tend to evaluate the concepts "schedule" (Variable 35), "the past" (Variable 37) and "clocks" (Variable 40) more negatively. Hip mothers also score significantly higher on the hip scale (Variable 67). As in the case of the fathers, the mothers' differences parallel, without exception, the differences between their sons.

The tendency toward intra-family consistency can be seen on the first 17 Variables. Although on the majority of Variables hip and nonhip parents do not differ significantly, on 15 of the 17, both of the hip parents differ from the respective nonhip parents in the same direction as their sons differ from nonhip sons.

Again, it is crucial to emphasize both the consistency and the smallness of the parents' differences. It is perhaps the combination of these facts to which the hip sons are reacting: to the consistent liberal orientations of their parents, but orientations which are never taken far enough--or which do not stand up to the tests to which the adolescent can put them. Consider the hip father, whose role in the emergence of the hip syndrome may supercede the mother's. He upholds the rights of young children significantly more so than does the nonhip father (Variable 17, Column 8). Accordingly, his hip son tends to see him as more lenient (Variable 46, Column 7), and his wife agrees, rating him more lenient than does the nonhip mother rate her husband,

(Variable 46, Column 9). This consistent pattern concerning the hip father's permissiveness does apply to his wife relative to the nonhip wife, but less so and statistically insignificantly.

The hip son, however, reacts to his father negatively: he tends to see him as more hypocritical (Variable 47, Column 7), weaker (Variable 45, Column 7) and less admirable (Variable 44, and 56, Column 7), than does the nonhip son. Reciprocally, the hip father evaluates his son more negatively than does the nonhip father (Variable 64, Column 8). In fact, the higher the hip son's score on the hip scale, the more his father dislikes him (correlation coefficient = $-.433$; $p = .01$).

The mother is not exempted from the higher negativity within the hip family. Relative to the nonhip mother, she likes her son less (Variable 64, Column 9) and is liked less by him (Variables 49 and 57, Column 7). She also tends to be liked less by her husband (Variable 44, Column 8) than is the nonhip mother. Her son sees her as weaker and more hypocritical than does the nonhip son (Variables 50 and 52, Column 7).

Beyond showing greater conflict and frustration within the hip family our data can suggest only tentatively which causes are responsible. We do not know, for example, whether the hip fathers were more permissive toward their children out of conviction or disinterest. Speaking of his alienated subjects and their families, Keniston suggests a conceptual framework which may be relevant to our subjects. He claims the alienated perceive their fathers as "weak, detached, absent, distant, remote and sometimes as totally uninvolved in the upbringing of their children" (1968, p. 349). The higher incidence of hip fathers' holding white collar jobs may be connected with "careerist" goals which do draw the father's interest away from the family.

Table 2 shows that hip fathers participation rate in this study is the lowest of the four parent groups. Moreover, the data indicate a greater literal absence of hip than nonhip fathers: of 44 nonhip families, no fathers have died and 2 are absent due to separation; of 49 hip families, 4 fathers have died and 4 are absent due to separation.

The hip sons see their fathers as weaker and as more hypocritical.

The latter fact suggests that the sons have found increasing disillusionment with the slight though consistent, liberal views of their fathers. And probably for good reason. It is easier to grant freedom to a young child--especially if he is bright and doing well in school as were the hip subjects--than it is to an adolescent exercising a permissive heritage. Evidence shows that hip parents hold expectations and aspirations for their children which are far less uncertain and more ambitious than those their sons hold for themselves. In Table 14, the answers are presented to the question "Do you hope to attend university?/ Do you hope your son will attend university?"

Table 14

	Plans to Attend University		
	Hip Son	Hip Father	Hip Mother
YES	21	30	33
NO	12	1	6
UNCERTAIN	12	1	1

The sons' responses differ significantly from both the fathers' (Chi Square = 18.54, $p = .001$) and the mothers' (Chi Square = 13.73, $p = .001$).

The hypothesis is suggested that childhood freedom, to which the hip son's had grown accustomed through either parents' tacit permissiveness or active encouragement, met with increasing parental restrictiveness as

adolescence arrived. It is likely that the hypocrisy ascribed to parents stems from the son's perception of an incongruence between their professed liberalism and their newly exercised conventional demands. The relatively poor relationships with parents, the falling off grades in high school, the personal alienation are all facets of the ego's resistance to these demands of Socialization; are assertions that freedoms promised earlier will not easily be abandoned.

The hip parents, who adopted variations of Spockian child-rearing practices, did not foresee that the freedoms taken for granted in childhood would not bend readily in institutions which take obedience and subordination for granted. And it is the educational system, notorious for its slowness to accept change, which is the perfect target for youthful dissent. The following representative excerpt is from a leaflet written and distributed through the school by one of our subjects:

"There is a certain group of people in this school who have ideas and opinions they want to be heard by you. Unfortunately, their ideas and opinions have not been programmed through the school's computer. The machine has not punched holes in them, rationalized them or accepted them for you. They are human ideas, conceived by human people who care about the direction in which we are travelling, the shapes in which our heads will ultimately be after being processed through our computerized educational system."

Mother-Father Relationships

Turning to columns 12 and 15, we observe that hip fathers and mothers differ on about 14 variables as do nonhip fathers and mothers. The pattern of interspouse relationships is very similar for both family types. Disregarding significance levels for the moment, the direction of differences between spouses is the same for both families on 15 of the first 18 variables; i.e., if the hip father scores higher than the hip mother, the nonhip father scores higher than the nonhip mother.

On seven variables, significant differences between hip spouses are also significant and in the same direction for nonhip spouses. These variables, which do not differentiate between families, are, we can assume, sex-linked. Relative to their respective spouses, both hip and nonhip fathers: score higher in masculinity (Variable 13); have a more scientific, analytic approach to ideas (Variable 2); are more liberal in religious matters (Variable 6); admit to fewer emotional problems (Variable 9), which may be linked to their greater bias for endorsing socially acceptable items (Variable 14); they have a lower assessment of people in general (Variable 18); and are rated as more powerful than they rate their wives (Variable 45).

The only scale on which significant differences are in the opposite direction for the two families is the assessment of spouses' leniency. Hip fathers are rated as more lenient by their wives than their wives are rated by them. Nonhip fathers, on the other hand, are rated as less lenient by their wives. This pattern for the nonhip family is indicative of more traditional parental roles; and though the other interspouse significant differences do not decisively support this finding, they tend to indicate clearer traditional role differentiations within the nonhip than the hip family. Nonhip mothers for example, have more esthetic interests (Variable 3), lower impulsivity (Variable 8), and more conservative sexual views than their husbands, (Variable 17).

Again, it should be emphasized that marital relations show marked similarity between the two family types. Where there are differences they indicate the hip family to be slightly less conventionally structured, slightly more strifeful (e.g., more broken homes; hip fathers like their spouses less than nonhip fathers like theirs).

On the first 18 Variables, the correlations between fathers' and mothers' scores are higher for the nonhip family on 13 Variables, as compared with 5 for the hip family. On Variables 44-48, parent's ratings of spouse, correlations are higher on all 5 Variables for the nonhip family (3 of these correlations are significant compared to 1 for the hip family). These findings imply a somewhat greater coordination of attitudes and values between nonhip parents.

3. Comparison of sons and parents (generational differences).

This section contains a summary of the findings presented in Columns 10, 11, 13 and 14 of Table 5. Columns 10 and 11 indicate vast differences between the hip son and both parents. On only very few variables are differences not highly significant. In general, the hip son differs from his father in the same way that he does from his mother. On only one of the first 27 variables does the son's score fall between his parent's. On 26 Variables both parents score in one direction relative to their son, and on 22 of these the differences are significant between the son and both parents. The hip son differs significantly from at least one parent on 26 of the first 27 Variables.

Not surprisingly, the hip son differs from his parents in almost precisely the same way he differs from the nonhip son. (The reader ought not to conclude that therefore hip parents and nonhip sons are psychologically equivalent.) Relative to his parents, hip sons manifest more sensitive and variegated intellectual dispositions (Variables 1-4), are less rigid and authoritarian (Variables 5 and 6), espouse greater freedoms (Variables 15-17), show poor psycho-social adjustment and higher anxiety (Variables 8-10), have a less practical outlook (Variable 12), and are politically to the left (Variable 25).

There are however, some interesting disparities between the way hip sons differ from their parents and the way they differ from nonhip sons. Hip and nonhip sons do not differ on Response Bias (Variable 14,) the measure of tendencies to present oneself favorably on the questionnaires. Hip sons score significantly lower than both parents indicating a more honest and open response set. On Variable 18, Philosophy of human nature, hip sons score far below both parents, but do not differ from nonhip sons. Relatedly, hip sons, who score significantly higher on the Altruism Scale (Variable 11) than nonhip sons, score significantly lower than both parents. The greater sociability and lesser cynicism which were discussed as an emergent trend in hip culture are evidently still quite distinct from parental attitudes. The greater parental Response Bias (Variable 14) may account for their ostensibly higher assessment of man's existential condition. One wonders whether these socially desirable responses on the part of parents are not examples of what their children label hypocrisy or not "telling it like it is."

To summarize, it is clear that the personality structures of hip youth and of their parents are colossally different. The absence of ego-development among hip subjects is pervasively evident. There is no clear cut evidence that they psychologically resemble either parent to a greater extent. The nonhip subject, we shall see, exhibits a test profile more similar to his father's than his mother's, further evidence that hip sons are rejecting the traditional masculine role. Hip sons do not differ from their mothers in masculinity (Variable 13) and are significantly less masculine than their fathers.

Let us turn now to columns 13 and 14, comparisons of nonhip sons with each parent. Clearly, the differences are far fewer than exist between hip sons and parents. They are, however numerous, far exceeding the number

of variables on which parents differ. Nonhip sons differ significantly from their fathers on 13 variables and from their mothers on 21.

The nonhip son differs from his mother, but not his father, in the following ways: he has a more critical and analytic intellectual orientation (Variable 2) he has fewer esthetic interests (Variable 3); he shows greater religious tolerance (Variable 6); is more masculine (Variable 13); tends to evaluate both ego-related concepts (Planning and Schedule--Variables 34 and 35) and id-related concepts (Instinct and Passion--Variables 30 and 33) more negatively. This pattern of contrasts seems indicative of sex-linked differences and of a greater negativity on the part of the nonhip son.

He differs from his father, but not his mother, in showing less social extraversion (Variable 7); and in evaluating the future more negatively (Variable 39).

Let us consider now the more interesting findings pertaining to the ways nonhip sons differ from both parents. The reader is asked to bear in mind the corresponding results for the hip families, an issue to which we shall return. The 11 Variables separating sons from both parents leaves no doubt that consistent generational differences do exist within the nonhip family. On all 11 Variables sons differ in the same direction from both parents.

Relative to both parents, nonhip sons exhibit a more complex intellectual disposition, are more experimental and flexible, are more tolerant of ambiguities and uncertainties, prefer complex rather than simplistic solutions to problems (Variable 4). They show higher impulse expression, less of a tendency to repress needs (Variable 8). They show lower Personal integration and admit to greater emotional problems (Variable 9). They feel greater anxiety and tension (Variable 10).

They are less altruistic (Variable 12); they show less of a tendency to distort their questionnaire responses so as to appear in a favorable light (Variable 14); they are more liberal regarding child rearing attitudes (Variable 15); and regarding sexual attitudes (Variable 17); they have a lower opinion of people in general, of human nature (Variable 18); evaluate Logic less positively (Variable 29) and evaluate the present less positively.

It is impressive to note that on 10 of these 11 Variables, hip sons differ significantly from their parents in precisely the same way that nonhip sons differ from theirs. What these Variables indicate is that adolescents today have less of a Pollyanna attitude to life than do their parents. If adulthood is supposed to be the ontogenetic stage when realistic views supplant the firebrand idealism of youth, what it has meant among our parent subjects is the tendency to see things more simplistically, to be more repressive, and to whitewash the state of their world.

Their children are less willing to distort their views to fit a socially acceptable, or comfortingly simplistic, mold (Variables 14 and 4). They feel greater personal unhappiness and anxiety, a greater cynicism toward people generally, a more negative assessment of the present and future. As they are more open on questionnaires, they are more open when it comes to children's freedom and sexual freedom.

These consistent findings among adolescents who are so different from one another typify the sophistication and worldliness commonly ascribed to youth today. This is, I believe, an historical novelty--not a set of traits which their parents had as young people and discarded or "got over" as they matured. The historical conditions of adolescence 25 or 30

years ago simply do not apply in 1970. This is one reason why the adolescent finds such easy disenchantment with his parents: their folk wisdom, acquired painfully in one socio-historical era, bears minimal appropriateness to the no-less-painful experience of their children growing up in another. Thus, young people increasingly turn to the peer group as the fount of norms and values, for although it lacks the experience of age, it does have the experience of youth, and that it seems makes all the difference.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

By way of summary, we will review briefly the findings of Table 5, relating them to the four hypotheses discussed in the Method section. Table 15, which contains a rank-ordering of the six group-means for each of the first 18 Variables, will prove useful for providing an overview of the data (see page 56).

1. Null hypothesis. This hypothesis which predicts no differences between groups finds no support whatsoever. On all Variables, at least one significant difference occurs. It is hard to say whether this marked heterogeneity among sample groups represents a triumph for the forces of pluralism or the forces of discord.

2. Hip-Idiosyncratic Hypothesis. The prediction here that hip sons will score extremely differently from the other five groups finds general confirmation. On 15 of the 18 crucial variables, the hip sons' mean falls at one extreme. On 10 of these variables, their mean is significantly different from the nearest mean of the other five groups.

Relative to all other groups, hip sons exhibit a more thoughtful, creative and flexible intellectual disposition (Variables 1, 3 and 4); lower authoritarianism, more liberal views toward children's, women's and sexual freedoms; and left wing political views (Variables 5, 15, 16, 17 and 25); higher impulse expression and greater emotional disturbance (Variables 8 and 9); and a less practical outlook (Variable 12).

That hip sons are the most extreme group can be seen in Table 15. Their average rank of 1.2 is clearly the most deviant among the 6 groups.

3. Family Differences Hypothesis.

The data indicate significant differences between hip and nonhip sons on the great majority of Variables. On the other hand, clearly significant

Rank-Ordering of Means *

	HIP			NONHIP		
	Son	Father	Mother	Son	Father	Mother
1. Thinking Introversion	1	2	4	6	3	5
2. Theoretical Orientation	1	2	5	4	3	6
3. Estheticism	1	4	2	5	6	3
4. Complexity	1	3	4	2	5	6
5. Autonomy	1	2	3	5	4	6
6. Religious Orientation	1	2	5	3	4	6
7. Social Extraversion	2	6	3	1	5	4
8. Impulse Expression	1	3	4	2	5	6
9. Personal Integration	1	5	3	2	6	4
10. Anxiety Level	1	5	3	2	6	4
11. Altruism	2	3	4	1	5	6
12. Practical Outlook	1	3	2	5	6	4
13. Masculinity-Femininity	2	4	1	5	6	3
14. Response Bias	1	5	3	2	6	4
15. Child's freedom	1	3	4	2	6	5
16. Women's freedom	1	2	3	6	5	4
17. Sexual freedom	1	3	4	2	5	6
18. Philosophy Human nature	1	4	6	2	3	5
Total rank	21	61	63	57	90	86
Average rank	1.2	3.4	3.5	3.2	5.0	4.8

* It was arbitrarily decided to assign a rank of 1, 2 or 3 to hip sons' means.

differences between hip and nonhip parents exist on only a tiny fraction of Variables. Hip fathers are more permissive than nonhip in child rearing attitudes (Variable 15); are more liberal regarding sexual mores (Variable 17); and score higher on the hipness scale (Variable 67). Relative to nonhip mothers, hip mothers are more liberal in their sexual views (Variable 17). At a marginally significant level, hip fathers exceed nonhip in esthetic interests (Variable 3); and in progressive attitudes to women's freedom (Variable 16); hip mothers exceed nonhip in autonomy (Variable 5), religious liberalism (Variable 6), impulse expression (Variable 8) and have a less practical outlook (Variable 12). On all of these Variables, we might note, hip parents differ from nonhip exactly as their sons differ from nonhip.

Condensing the parents differences in this way may create the impression of large differences between them. The reader is asked to keep in mind, however, that on the great majority of Variables, no statistically significant differences ensue. On the first 18 Variables, clearly significant differences exist between hip and nonhip fathers on just 2 variables and between mothers on just one.

Irrespective of significance however, the means indicate a very strong trend for the small differences between hip and nonhip parents to mirror, in direction, the large differences between their respective sons. Table 15 shows that on 16 of the 18 Variables, if the hip son ranks lower than the nonhip, both hip parents rank lower than the respective nonhip parents.

The average rank of parents, presented in the bottom row of the table, indicates how consistently hip parents differ from nonhip in the same direction their sons differ from nonhip sons.

Clearly family differences do exist and clearly they are very small. The idea was presented in the report that both of the facts are instrumental in the development of hip or nonhip values in adolescents. We have seen that a greater affective negativity exists among hip family members. Hip parents and children reciprocally like each other less (Variables 56, 57, and 64); hip sons see both parents as more hypocritical than do nonhip sons.

It was suggested that the slight, though consistent, progressive views of hip parents fall short of their sons' expectations during adolescence and that the sons extrapolate their parents views beyond the barriers of perceived parental hypocrisy. The inclinations toward hipness clearly evolve within the family. The extent to which they are taken, and the substantive contours which they acquire depend upon the youth culture, which displays a marked autonomy from parental influence. The question as to whether hip adolescents are rebelling against, or conforming to, family influences is thus too simplistically posed. The data show that they are doing both.

4. The Generation Gap Hypothesis.

This hypothesis is concerned with the consistent orientations of the son groups (regardless of hipness) relative to the parent groups. It should be mentioned again that the nonhip sons were chosen from the most conventional end of the adolescent spectrum. Thus, evidence that they differ from their parents in the same way as hip sons differ from theirs, can be taken as particularly strong confirmation of the generation gap hypothesis.

As we would expect, there are a number of Variables on which nonhip sons do not differ significantly from either parent. VIZ., thinking introversion (Variable 1), Autonomy (Variable 5), Practical Outlook

(Variable 12) and attitude to women's freedom (Variable 17). On many more Variables however, the differences between nonhip sons and both parents are highly significant, and in each case, parallel the differences between hip sons and parents. This is the case in 9 of the first 18 Variables. Relative to their fathers and mothers, both son groups display: more complex and flexible cognitive orientations (Variable 4); greater impulse expression (Variable 8); lower personal integration and greater emotional disturbance (Variable 9); higher anxiety (Variable 10); lower altruism (Variable 11); greater honesty and less of a socially acceptable response bias (Variable 14); more liberal views toward children's freedom (Variable 15) and toward sexual freedom (Variable 17); and a more cynical attitude toward people in general.

Further evidence for the Generation Gap Hypothesis can be found in Table 15. On 14 of the 18 Variables, nonhip sons differ from their fathers and their mothers in the same direction as hip sons differ from their respective parents. The nonhip son's average-rank differs clearly from both his parents' in the direction of the hip son. In fact, the nonhip son ranks closer to the hip son than any of the parent groups. Clearly, both son groups have shifted away from their parents in a consistent direction. A group of even the least hip adolescents is slightly closer to the most hip adolescents than are the most hip parents.

According to our data, generational differences might be characterized as follows. Young people exhibit a less simplistic and more honest approach to the world. They are more cynical toward people in general, more frustrated and unhappy personally, and are more liberal on a number of cultural issues such as child-rearing and sexual freedom.

Our data suggest that the youth culture, insofar as it affects the

entire adolescent spectrum, differs from parental culture more along cultural than political lines. However, the resemblance in psychological make-up and cultural attitudes between hip and nonhip adolescents relative to their parents, suggests that the possibility of radical cultural differences converting into political differences is not remote.

There is reason to believe that hip culture may serve as a weathervane for youth culture generally, and, thus, for the future of Western Society. My concluding remarks will be addressed principally to the issue of current trends in the hip movement, but the reader is asked to bear in mind that the full youth culture shares many of the attributes of underground culture.

The hope that the gap between conventional and hip values will narrow through the spontaneous maturation of hip adolescents is naive. A counterculture and counterideology founded on values antithetical to ego structuration have taken root, and, for all of their deficiencies, inspire an enthusiasm which the elders, who subscribe to conventional values, seldom display. The seeds of the counterculture were planted inadvertently by parents, both through their child-rearing practices and in their equivocal commitment to a system which even they will admit requires change. What young people see however, is that their parents have abdicated responsibility for effecting change--whether it be cultural or political--and have, at best, watched passively as the institutions into which their children are expected to march have grown in size and diminished in humanness.

One of the principal roots of the current generation gap can be traced to the 1950's when political dissent was virtually smothered, the

radical left eviscerated. The destruction of established channels of political dissent severed a bond which holds generations together during eras of dramatic change. In fact, during the 30's alienated youth found their way into radical organizations led by their elders. The absence of a political forum to act as a meeting ground between generations in the 50's inspired an unprecedented situation: the birth of an adolescent cultural movement, led entirely by youth and uncomprehended by parents. And that was, of course, the point--to build a sanctuary, however flimsy, from the egoic demands and projected ambitions of elders. Although in 1958, not one high school student in a thousand could have articulated it, the sources of nascent adolescent culture stemmed from the Black ghetto--in the form of rock and roll--and from Bohemia--in the form of a life-style and set of values fashioned from Black alienation and esthetic dissent. From the fusion of these two sources, a new culture was being built in the wasteland of silent Amerika. The term "culture" is chosen deliberately. By it is meant the set of coherent, affective values and meanings which are beyond question. This is why cultures are so difficult to bridge: because the native takes his culture's validity as self evident, while the tourist finds other life styles merely quaint or absurd. In many ways the generations in this society are developing a relationship of native and tourist, only neither side is sure which is which, and regardless, no one is leaving after a three week vacation.

I am not optimistic about the future of generational relations, relations which are further exacerbated by the fact that a new generation now seems to spin off the historical wheel about every five years (the same period of time it takes half of an engineer's knowledge to become obsolete). Phenomenologically speaking, the experience of each generation

is so vastly different that relative to one another we are all, as Mead puts it, "immigrants in time." Our disease of historical dislocation is symptomatic of perhaps the most pervasive neurosis of modern society, the compulsive need for change, novelty, progress. If progress is our most important product, it is also surely our most self-destructive, for it serves only itself and never man. This idea is difficult to accept for many older people, who, during their lifetimes, have stood in reverential awe of the astounding advances wrought by technology. It is easier for young people, for whom radio never stirred the least excitement and television was commonplace before their toilet-training had been completed.

Psychoanalysts argue that the impulse to progress is founded on neurotic tendencies and on basic repression. Consider the following quotation. "In the discontented animal, Man, (the desire for pleasurable repetition) is transformed into a regressive fixation to the past, with the effect of unconsciously compelling him to change himself, to become, to find the life proper to his species. But if repression were overcome and Man could enjoy the life proper to his species . . . the restless quest for novelty would be reabsorbed into the desire for pleasurable repetition; the desire to Become would be reabsorbed into the desire to Be." The words belong to Norman O. Brown (1959, p. 92), often considered a Mentor of the youth counterculture, which, as our data have indicated, rejects the modes of ego-functioning upon which the "restless quest for novelty" is founded. Our hip subjects' lower repression, belief in childhood freedoms, and reluctance to enter adulthood roles, all signal a shift in the cultural attitude to progress. And the price paid for this shift--whether as cause or effect--is personal alienation and identity-confusion.

It is, I believe, the obligation of political leaders to listen

to the voice of alienated young people for the substantive and moral intelligence it seeks to convey. For all of its uncertainty and confusion, the message is an honest and humanistic cry against a cultural system which places technological advancement and bureaucratic efficiency before the needs of its children. The discord between technological and human needs has spawned, in one short decade, a protest culture which shows no signs of abating. Neither wishful thinking nor tokenism will eradicate it. Only the most serious attempts on the part of the older generation to understand the cultural experience of young people will reinstate any measure of harmony between generations. Failing that, we are likely to witness during the '70's, protest which dwarfs anything the '60's had to offer.

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