



Case Study: Source Type

Using Periodicals for Investigating Postwar Popular Culture of the 1960s–1970s Rock/Counterculture Era

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#### **Abstract**

This case study provides concepts and methods for research and critical examination of periodicals. A periodical is a category of publication, which appears at a regularly set interval, the most common of which are newspapers and magazines. As an abundant media genre among predigital sources, periodicals may appear both familiar and strange to contemporary observers. Periodicals contain a wealth of sources: art and design, advertising, photography, cultural commentary, reporting, and first-person testimonials. Students may find multiple forms of

evidence for social and technological trends and can be used to illustrate and bolster arguments. Stretching back to the coffee houses of the enlightenment era, periodicals offer a critical record of history. They served as a "first-stop" vehicle for the forming of community, communication between and among observers, critics, and participants wishing to interface with a broad public sphere.

I model here how careful analysis of a periodical bears insightful information, in this case, for the historical understanding of popular culture. The periodical *ROCK*, discussed here, is a window onto changes in musical experience, as well as changing technological, economic, and social trends stirred and advanced by the postwar "generation gap." This gap refers to divisions between youth and their elders, especially regarding changing values. (The postwar "baby boom" generation remains a paradigmatic case as for the first time, youth was consolidated as a distinct economic and cultural demographic.) As with any artifact of popular media, periodicals had to balance bias and self-interested economic concerns alongside the identification and support of new directions in music, style, and the consumption thereof. Periodicals, thus, can serve as a platform not only for reporting new trends but also for the innovative use of photojournalism, fashioning culture of celebrity, new understandings of sexuality, the advance of civil rights, creative advertising, and new trends in graphic design. Periodicals are particularly valuable for granular studies of incremental changes in a compressed time period, as well as research questions that tackle overarching changes and transitions on a generational scale. This guide will present the kinds of questions to address periodicals and will provide what responses this source provides.

## **Learning Outcomes**

After reading this case study, you will be able to:

- Recognize and identify different types of periodicals and understand their social and cultural placement.
- Develop a set of queries that skillfully and effectively probe such a source in order to produce data and material suitable for research study.
- Classify and organize the source material to respond to different research questions.

• Interpret extracted material in the context of wider historiographical and conceptual narratives and debates. (Historiographical refers to the writings of historians about history, e.g., secondary sources of a scholastic nature.)

## **Initial Steps and Questions**

Before reading this piece and evaluating the primary source in full, you may want to reflect on these questions and initial steps.

- 1. When examining a periodical, begin with an examination of its origins. Where is it based? When was it created? Who created it and who seems to be the target audience? Where was it printed and how often was it released for circulation?
- 2. What is the format of the periodical in question; is it glossy or compact, with shorter or longer articles, and does it more resemble a newspaper or a magazine? Examine and collect the names of the contributing writers, does it appear to be a small coterie of staff writers or an unpredictable mix of freelance writers. This is critical to ascertain whether there is a guiding editorial position to be gleaned from the perspective in the interior pages.
- 3. A periodical, especially from the popular press of the postwar era, may at first appear as a colorful mix of photos and design images interspersed with reams of monotonous black and white type-print. Especially, when there is no clearly defined layout or table of contents, you should not assume that all of the material inside belongs to the same category. Your first step should be to identify and classify what you have in front of you, and the following step-by-step questions will support you in that process.
- 4. What section titles are presented that may help you group together items from various issues? Is there a pattern in the organization of the materials, for example, the sequence of articles or the placement of advertisements?
- 5. It is advisable to breakdown the contents of individual issues into raw material for you then to reassemble according to research objectives. Written articles may already come with headings that help to identify contents, though advertising and design elements may

seem at first to be placed in a haphazard fashion. Though the periodical may define itself as based on a musical style, it may be helpful to separate out material that pertains directly to music and that which does not. When examining visual material specifically it would be helpful to ask, does this pertain to technological products, other media or is it largely decorative? And then turning to material that does deal with musical materials, it would be helpful to ask, does this information directly engage with musical products, for example, reviews or portraits of musicians, or does such writing handle questions of the wider context, for example, the economics of record publishing.

- 6. After having set out and classified the various categories of material which this source may offer, you may now examine the materials from the perspective of history or change over time. A particularly useful facet of such periodicals is that they not only provide contemporary reporting but also serve as a "first draft" of history writing in that they serve as a vehicle for the exposition of the back history and origin for the trends covered. You may ask yourself, are there a number of articles and entries of a historical nature, and might these enable you to compare change over time as well as gain a better grasp of the historical self-understanding of the writers in your periodical source?
- 7. When approaching a periodical with a very specific theme, for example, *ROCK*, ask yourself how is this theme conceptualized and defined by this source?

## **Contextual Information**

The consultation of periodicals as a key source for research is of great utility as they served as the most rapid conveyor of information in the predigital age. As the first draft of history, students and researchers can direct a wide variety of questions toward a great array of component elements. The rapidity and density of information conveyed in a periodical offer much evidence into a historical moment or period. Visual analysis of photography and advertising may be pursued as well as textual analysis for thematic preoccupations or even linguistic insights into a specific cultural moment. Periodicals can illuminate cultural themes as well as economic and technological trends which in turn inform broader historical developments. Postwar periodicals chronicle new technological advancements while also embodying such changes, incorporating color, and new

and unusual forms of design and text setting. As a first signpost for an interest group, a periodical has an especially close tie with its target audience.

The role of bias is enormously important when interpreting and utilizing periodicals as a source. Bias means the taking of the viewpoint of one specific interest group as dominant and as the norm to the exclusion of alternate or opposing viewpoints. Periodicals are under no obligation to adequately represent all the views on a given matter. The orientation of periodicals is highly commercial and deeply subjective as they strive to cater, shape, and engage with an audience or community deeply invested in a certain perspective and subject matter. Periodicals seek to provide definition and reinforcement for specific interests, while ultimately constructing a history and usable past for a given audience. Periodicals often grew out of a specific urban landscape, and the resultant bias enhanced and enclosed reference points of that demographic. In the case study that follows, we will investigate a periodical clearly set in the urban context of postwar New York. The editors took great pains to be linked to other urban centers, notably London and San Francisco, to tie them together into a shared transnational fabric of a newly emergent, largely urban counterculture.

The primary source in this case study is a periodical entitled *ROCK* from 1970, with a focus on the second volume of said publication. This magazine was a biweekly in newspaper format based in New York with offices in London and Los Angeles. Founded by Larry Marshak, later the business manager of the Drifters, the Platters and the Marvelettes, it was first issued on August 30, 1969, and ceased publication in March of 1975. The issues are bound together in strict chronological sequence and include performance and recording reviews, interviews, investigative stories, as well as colorful and innovative graphic design, photojournalism, and advertising. Periodicals such as this may be viewed as the primary overseers of this new dominant genre of popular culture, namely, the rock idiom. As a vehicle for discourse, these publications maintained the coherence of this newly emergent culture, presented and reemphasized a stable roster of icons, as well as setting boundaries for the growing canon of musical artists to define the genre. The writers of this periodical represent the first generation of serious rock criticism, not only did they interpret and analyze with an editorial lens for what constituted this new musical culture, but they also endeavored to establish a historical narrative for the roots and forerunners of said music.

Beyond the confines of musical experience, this periodical provides a valuable window onto the so-called counterculture of the baby boom generation, which attempted to fashion broad lifestyle alternatives in a variety of social areas by the end of the 1960s. This publication thus allows for research into changing social mores, the economics of youth consumption, the legal challenges of this counterculture, evolving technology, intercultural relations, as well as the tenuous harmony of a variety of different subcultures that momentarily fused into this larger counterculture. Notable about this specific periodical is an attempt to strike a balanced middle ground between a nonconformist alternative underground and the more commercial "fan-based" idiom of much of the rock press. Notable in this regard is the consistent effort by the contributors to craft a conceptual and historical bridge to African American and Tin Pan Alley traditions of popular culture, as well as with the swing era of the 1930s and especially the "doo-wop" and early rock n roll of the 1950s.<sup>1</sup>

A further compelling contextual component of this publication is that its periodization, for example, 1969–1975, coincides neatly with the fracturing of the rock counterculture into a diverse array of disparate and often conflicting trends. The main transition here worthy of note is the move away from communally "band" based forms of musical experience that fused songwriting and improvisation and toward a balkanization of differing styles including, intensely personalized singer-songwriters, ominous occult-like "metal" and jazz oriented, or classically influenced long form improvisation oriented ensembles ("jazz rock" and "progressive rock").<sup>2</sup> To better situate this periodical among the publishing landscape of its era, the student would do well to consult John McMillan's Smoking Typewriters<sup>3</sup> as well as Sean Stewart's On the Ground<sup>4</sup> to fully appreciate the range of periodicals that emerged in this period. The seminal theoretical text for popular culture would be Theodor W. Adorno's homonomously named essay and for a theoretical analysis of style, genre, and subculture studies should turn to the Birmingham School of Cultural studies, in particular, Dick Hebidge's Subculture: the Meaning of Style.<sup>5</sup> It may also be well worthwhile to consult a reader of rock criticism, especially that of Lester Bangs (whose writings are featured in this periodical), in order to familiarize oneself with the features of the genre and stylistic priorities of this type of journalism. 6 Many secondary narratives exist to provide a basic overview of the essential historical and musical material of the period, and two to suggest include Christopher Gair's The American Counterculture<sup>7</sup> and Charlie Gillett's The Sound and the City.<sup>8</sup> These studies provide optimal points of entry to understand the narratives crafted by critics and historians that have shaped and applied this source in practice. For additional background on the

civil rights movement, students should consult Charles M. Payne I've Got the Light of Freedom.9

For wider context on the Vietnam War, Marylin Young's Vietnam Wars will provide a helpful

overview.<sup>10</sup>

**Source Analysis Questions** 

1. How does this source enable us to better understand the economic basis, cultural style,

and thematic concerns of the postwar "rock" culture from a historical perspective?

2. Materials within this source were compiled in a key postwar transition period of

suburbanization, assimilation, and then youth revolt. How does this source provide

evidence of the interchange between trends in popular culture and broader social issues

and tensions in this period?

3. How does this source provide evidence to understand the values, cultural priorities, and

boundaries of the rock idiom within post-60s popular culture, particularly with regard to

style, values, and practices?

4. What other types of sources and evidence would help to further contextualize and

interpret the evidence provided here for a fuller picture of the economic and social history

of the "rock counterculture"?

5. What are some potential biases and editorial commitments of this source, and how does

this potentially limit its utility? What perspectives are largely missing, and how does this

impact the reliability here?

**Critical Evaluation** 

Introduction: Structure

We should begin by an examination of the organization of each complete issue of the periodical

in question to understand the internal order and pattern of this publication. There is no table of

contents per se, but the critical details for publication dates, times, and offices are provided on the first inside page (image 2). An entire biweekly issue comprised approximately 30–35 pages bounded between two large format color covers informed by a form of 3D art and design emerging out of the Pop Art movement (image 17 provides one of many examples). The use of such a bold design or a large format portrait photography would seem to indicate a periodical of photojournalism akin to *LIFE* magazine.<sup>11</sup> Yet, the first interior pages quickly change this presumption as instead, they cover, newspaper style, a variety of news bulletins pertaining to the personal lives of culture leaders (images 2 and 3), but also from the front lines of this culture's landscape, namely, college campuses and the festival circuit. Therefore, the structure of this periodical reveals itself to be a kind of news echo for a very specific community. Every second page thereafter includes a large format, whole page advertisement, almost always of either new technology, usually relating to sound engineering, or for a new album (image 3 or 4, for instance). Here the kinetic visual style is equally important with the messaging of the type, as in both sets of advertising there is a use of startling perspectives, double exposures, fluorescent colors, or humorous juxtapositions.

Every issue begins then with one or more extended and personalized interview portraits, usually of a prominent musician, but occasionally with actors that have identifiable links with the counterculture. This in turn is usually followed by three shorter length articles, one devoted to an economic, social, or historical topic, one to an upcoming and not yet established artist, and finally one to music-adjacent matters such as new audio technology. The latter third of every issue (see images 11–15) is devoted in small format bulletins to album reviews, surveys of various club scenes, album reviews, a personal "viewpoints" section, and the publication of readers' letters. A striking instance of where structure reflects the theme, the very inclusion of such materials highlights a priority with personalization and highly liberalized, idiosyncratic expression. The use of language throughout is often nonstandard, and off color, without ever sacrificing journalistic rigor, however. The overall impact of this review section is to reemphasize the "community" nature of the publication, even when correspondents deliver reviews from other locales, such as London, every emphasis is made to reflect the idea that although in a different city, the culture in question is one in the same transnational and countercultural.

Introduction: Theme

Now that we have grasped the organizational pattern of this periodical, we should move along to focus on thematic content. If we now turn to the centerpiece of every issue which is a portrait or an interview of one particular artist, several key thematic points come to light. The various artists portrayed in our sample from Alvin Lee to Van Morrison to Dustin Hoffman all reflect an underlying thematic postulate of this publication and the culture it sought to serve, namely, the ideal of personal authenticity and expression. Previous modes of popular culture, especially that for which "Tin Pan Alley," serves as shorthand, adopted an assembly line model for a popular song made by teams working in separate silos on clearly differentiated and classifiable output, for example, dance, comic, etc.<sup>12</sup>

The critical departure of the new rock culture was the emphasis on unique authorial expression and a new creative fusion of styles that transcended previous commercial categories. The emphasis on the artistry of individual popular culture creators was further bolstered by the project of iconization of enshrining certain artists as heralds of this new culture, to be not only admired but also emulated. The editorial disposition of this particular publication is to engage with such figures in a critical dialogue in order to serve a parallel project, namely, the establishment of serious rock criticism, the application of the highest standards of journalistic integrity to the rock idiom. Evidence for critical awareness and engagement with the possible limitations of the iconic approach is a material analysis of various fan clubs that formed much of the rock landscape (image 73) as well a consistent discourse on the fragility of such individuals, specifically the threat and dangers of addiction and premature death (see images 49-52 especially). A further overarching theme consistent throughout is the notion of a "generation gap." This culture emerged amidst a vacuum of authority hence the need for new icons to serve as displaced elder figures. While the rock counterculture should not be subsumed or equated with the political "New Left," nevertheless, the shadows of new forms of radical politics also informed the cultural choices reflected in this publication (see image 5).

# The Social and Material Bases of "Rock" Culture: Insights and Observations

The social context for the emergence of rock culture is a crossroads of two key long-term trends, the civil rights movement and the growing integration of African-American society and culture and the expansion of the middle-class franchise and gradual assimilation of immigrant enclaves.

The cultural and personal background of the periodical's staff writers in the greater New York region, as well as clues to their Jewish identity allows, if approached with sufficient care, the plotting of points of migration and assimilation in this transition generation. Place names and specific references to the suburbs (e.g., Scarsdale or Great Neck) provides insight into a more hidden or subterranean character of this rock culture, namely, as the expression of the alternative culture of America's white ethnic postimmigrant groupings. While the attuned researcher will find place name reference points sprinkled throughout various articles, the letters section at the back of every issue provides a clear and consistent venue for research into gradual deurbanization and immigrant assimilation.

Befitting this ethnic and subaltern cultural character underlying rock culture is the affinity for African-American music and culture, especially that of the blues genre which constituted the primal music vocabulary for most of rock music. In fact, each and every one of the historically oriented articles found in the sample in question serves as a similar objective, the "mainstreaming" or centralizing of black music history. This serves a dual purpose as it, on the one hand, fashions a usable past for the rock counterculture, but also decenters America's colonial Anglo heritage in favor of its neglected African component. Images 25 and 58 reflect this historical narrative well, and the portrait of Memphis Sun Records on image 89 represents a past example, and by implication, a future aspiration, for a harmonious musical culture of fusion with both African and European input. This valuing of African-American music culture as an alternative is by no means limited to the past as striking attention is paid to an "R &B underground" of the period in question, which includes notable portrayals of forgotten subgenres overlooked still to the present day.

The rather large set of materials pertaining to technology and the economy enable us to gather data about the material reality that made this unique moment in popular culture possible. Often referred to as an era of "postscarcity," unparalleled postwar economic growth combined with technological innovation meant that an entirely new market emerged that catered to the cultural and musical spending power of the youth. Let us for a moment mention in passing the multitude of advertisements that relate to changing audio technology, for example, from cartridges to ever more powerful transistors, conductors, and higher powered speakers (image 4). Such technology focused upon the ability to replay music over great lengths in time, for instance, for radio disc

jockeys. Such technology was thus critical in enabling the widespread proliferation of this music for a wide public.

This periodical can well serve as an index of the rapid advance and innovation in recording and listening technology that made this idiom of popular musical culture possible and uniquely accessible. We are therefore brought here to a theme that is at once a method and a value, namely, access points to this culture or, stated otherwise, the promise and perils of accessibility. Authors and researchers themselves, writers for *ROCK* were well aware of the history of recording technology which they dutifully charted for their readers (see image 111). Unlike previous generations, they benefited from technical advances that brought high fidelity and stereo musical reproduction into the domestic sphere at a lower cost and higher quality. From the development of four channel stereo (image 9) to a precise analysis of the economics of record pricing (image 94), the pages of such periodical provide clear insight and an evidence base for exploring material factors which enabled a new musical culture. The rising standard of living afforded by what has been termed the post-war economic "miracle," created such surplus that young people independently carried a significant, autonomous power of the purse for the first time in modern history.

## Challenges to a New Culture: Economic, Legal, and Social

As with any new culture, especially with one which challenged pre-existing norms of bourgeois mores and respectability, voices from the rock counterculture consistently reflect an atmosphere of siege and turmoil. <sup>13</sup> The content of this periodical supports the contention that such challenges were much more real than just a matter of romantic self-stylization. The economic market opened up by this new musical culture found itself uniquely vulnerable to the predations of shadow industries of organized crime. Multiple articles present evidence of the infiltration by the mafia of various facets of musical presentation from the installation of jukeboxes (image 7) to various pop music festivals (image 86).

Large-scale festivals (which first originated in this era beginning with Monterey Pop, Woodstock, and the Isle of Wight), a hallmark of this new culture, comprise an element that is at once thematic, a formal vehicle, and an economic component. Festivals were emblematic of a new value of community that could model alternative social lifestyles, though they also proved to be a microcosm for the social and legal challenges that beset the rock world. Violence and drugs

proved rife in such settings, hazards which threatened both health as well as legal security (see image 92). The particular excerpts in question here cover a time period that saw the untimely demise of several icons of the rock world, notably, Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin (image 52.) The legal troubles of Jim Morrison are also covered extensively (image 20) which would contribute at least in part to his exile in France and similarly premature demise.

Such deaths highlight in stark terms the fragility of the social experimentation of this new popular culture, as well as the psychological demons that lurked beneath the surface. The combination of flamboyant outspoken youth who flaunted middle-class mores proved an irresistible target for state repression as well as economic exploitation. This periodical thus also furnishes ample evidence for "lawfare" against the new rock culture. He Record companies, theatres, and leading musical figures all faced legal challenges with the objective of censorship, resembling even the McCarthyite witch hunt of a decade or so earlier (images 18 and 102). In many ways, the attempts at censorship and repression can be seen as an embryonic phase of the sorts of "culture wars" that would dominate civil society in decades to follow. He would dominate civil society in decades to follow.

#### Aesthetic, Editorial, and Lifestyle Commitments

A final thematic element in this critical evaluation to be considered is that of aesthetics. After all, the "revolution" of this period to the extent that this term could be applied occurred largely in the aesthetic realm, one, however, which did reflect the political and cultural upheaval of the historical moment. Aesthetics in the most literal sense of the infusion of art into life may be seen in the treatment of what had been neutral delivery vehicles of music, the album cover, into ever more ambitious works of art. This artistic dimension of musical culture is covered in great detail by this publication (images 106–8). In this regard, the aesthetic expression is paramount not only within music and fashion but also in journalism and print media itself.

A publication such as *ROCK* may also be analyzed as a "participant observer" which partakes in the same styles and trends upon which it also reports. The style of new journalism (sometimes referred to in shorthand as "gonzo") as exemplified by Tom Wolfe and Hunter S. Thompson in this same period, which featured idiomatic language, ideograms, and other creative uses of typeface, may also be found in the aesthetic of this publication (image 10). Attempting to visualize an altered or enhanced state of consciousness one may also find instances of upside down or 3D print (image 26). This may also be seen as a kind of editorial commitment of the publication which

could be construed as a bias in the sense that the writers and editors sought to curry favor and legitimacy from their target demographic. The delicate balance between the search for legitimacy and craven pandering may further be discerned in the often self-ironic and self-critical stance of the music critic and reviewers of this publication. They are well aware of the plague of imitators and the risk of the descent into superficial and immature musical creation and propound the value of authenticity above all else (images 39 and 59). Finally and perhaps most of all a periodical devoted to a musical genre allows for great insight into the development of musical style. Especially noteworthy regarding this particular snapshot in time is that the period around 1970 was a moment of stylistic bifurcation after an era where a multitude of creative styles had been contained within the vehicle of band ensembles. The issues of *ROCK* in question here chronicle the development, on the one hand, of solo singer songwriter "roots music" (image 41) as well as the turn to long form instrumental "jazz rock" (image 59). While one cannot impose too strict a division in these styles and while certain bands would continue to embrace a combination of the two, this periodical reveals how the stylistic tensions within the rock counterculture led to an eventual balkanization in musical style and expression.

#### Conclusion

The evaluation of periodical sources is complex, multifaceted, and rewarding. They provide a lens onto political and social context, technological developments, and new media. While not fully representative of any given epoch, due to inherent bias, periodicals constitute a singular "first draft of history," that provides a wealth of granular detail for the attuned researcher for a variety of investigative fields. At once a textual and a visual source, periodicals function much like a time portal, which can unlock primary dimensions of lived experience often covered over by the broad brush of history and time.

## **Post-evaluation Questions**

1. Whose voices and which perspectives do we not necessarily encounter in this publication? How partial therefore is our view on rock culture and its place in postwar American society? 2. How representative a picture do we receive from such a periodical? In order to obtain a fuller picture what would be additional periodicals to enlarge the view of the researcher?

#### **Further Research Considerations**

If you were to research this area further, you might consider the following questions and discussion points:

- 1. What kinds of additional data and sources would be necessary to advance research questions relating to patterns of immigration, suburbanization, middle-class economic growth, and assimilation in post-60s Greater New York?
- 2. From the perspective of art history, visual culture and design how might we learn more about the influence of the art world on the visual language of rock music culture?
- 3. How could we expand an investigation into the development of sound and recording technology to discern patterns of innovation and discovery? What resources from other fields might assist in such a venture?
- 4. How might we approach and embed evidence for changing lifestyles and forms of personal expression into political and social narratives of so-called "third wave" liberalism? How could musical culture therefore speak to politics?

## **Further Resources**

Bangs, Lester. Main Lines, Blood Feasts and Bad Taste, edited by John Morthland. Anchor, 2013.

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#### **Notes**

- 1. (The African-American tradition in question here would be that of the largely rural blues idiom based around the Mississippi Delta. Tin Pan Alley is the shorthand for the commercial production of popular songs which repackaged and often sanitized folk practices. Swing was the genre of Jazz dominant in the 1930s and 1940s characterized by highly rhythmic big bands performing set arrangements as a backdrop for a number of different vigorous dance styles. Doo-Wop was a rhythm and blues genre of vocal harmony singing associated with African American and Italian urban residents of the 1940s and 1950s.)
- 2. (Balkanization is a short hand term for bewildering fragmentation which takes its name for the break up of the European Balkan peninsula into numerous often conflictual small nations with the retreat of the Ottoman Empire out of Europe.)
- 3. McMillian, Smoking typewriters.
- 4. Stewart, On the Ground.
- 5. Hebdige, Subculture.
- 6. Bangs, Main Lines, Blood Feasts and Bad Taste.
- 7. Gair, The American Counterculture.

8. Gillett, Sound and the City.

9. Payne, I've Got the Light of Freedom.

10. Young, Vietnam Wars.

11. LIFE magazine was the dominant player in American photojournalism and amassed the

greatest collection of iconic large format photographs published for a wide public in its golden

age of the 1930s and 40s.

12. Tin Pan Alley was a literal district near New York's Times Square which housed most of the

songwriters and music publishers from the 1890s until the mid twentieth century.

13. Bourgeois is a French term to denote the property owning middle class often connected to

the post-feudal rise of capitalism in the 19th Century.

14. Lawfare serves to indicate the strategy of state repression and criminalization of the new

youth counterculture with legal means ultimately culminating in Richard Nixon's "war on drugs"

of the 1970s.

15. One may in fact maintain that the current fault lines of politicized culture wars in

contemporary English-speaking societies have their roots and were shaped in the era in question.

Not essentially changed is the boundary between, one the one hand, sexually libertine, culturally

diverse, environmentally concerned and future oriented urban liberal culture, and a nostalgic

white Christian, libertarian peripheral suburban and rural demographic uncomfortable with and

suspicious of a rapidly diversifying and transforming ethnic and sexual populace.

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