PROGRESSIVE TRANSMISSION: INTERGENERATIONAL

PERSISTENCE AND POSITIVE ADAPTATION OF

COUNTERCULTURE VALUES

by

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A THESIS

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This thesis examines the intergenerational transmission of 1960s counterculture values, considered in the framework of pre-exiting theories about the intergenerational transmission of values. I consider how the celebration of alternative lifestyles, experimentation, community, equal rights, and self-expression in the counterculture affects the process of transmission across generations and cohorts. I use the Oregon Country Fair as a case study. Using a mixed methods approach, I combine results from a preliminary survey and follow up focus groups to identify themes and factors relating to the process of transmission.

I conclude that counterculture values are transmitted to younger generations through parents and older mentors. Community is also critical factor in the persistence of the counterculture. Motivated by an intention of having a positive influence on the word, counterculture families model a form of progressive transmission, contributing to persistence and positive adaption of counterculture values.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

  The political unrest in the United States that characterized the 1960s gave birth to a movement that sought to create a new American culture and generate change in light of the stagnant conformity and conservative, consumeristic social and political climates of the 1950s. The civil rights movement and the Vietnam War, among other issues American society was grappling with at the time, fueled a movement of resistance and ultimately the formation of a counterculture that celebrated alternative lifestyles, experimentation, community, equal rights, and self-expression, among other things. The counterculture encouraged people to question authority and pursue self-enhancement and moral awareness outside of material satisfactions. The 1960s counterculture, with its many facets and different branches, has been characterized by its collectivity and generational identity focused on social change (Weisner 2001:275).

  As the movement expanded it experienced strong opposition from political figures like President Richard Nixon. The counterculture of the 1960s, like many other subcultures throughout history, was labeled deviant by political leaders and mainstream society in an effort to snuff out the political and social transformation that threatened the status-quo. Counterculture opponents drew on the darker sides of the counterculture, such as violence, drug use, and health endangerment to disregard the social reform that the movement called for. The dark side of the counterculture was real and cannot be ignored. Plus, after the 1970s, many of the youths from the baby boomer generation eventually appeared to abandon their commitment to the counterculture revolution to

rejoin mainstream society and its capitalist-driven trajectory. However, despite negative labeling and the population that lost touch with the movement, the ideals and values of the counterculture have persisted, have been transmitted generationally, and can be found in American communities today. Its legacy has a particularly strong presence in Eugene, Oregon.

Scope of Work

This thesis explores how the ideals and values of the counterculture have been passed down through generations and how the counterculture community has been maintained despite everchanging social and political contexts and the political opposition it has faced. Utilizing the strong counterculture presence in Eugene, and my roots at the Oregon Country Fair, I use these communities as focus points for my research. Building on previous research on family value transmission, cultural persistence, and countercultures, here I use a mixed method approach to explore the Oregon Country Fair as a case study of the generational persistence and transmission of the 1960s counterculture. My personal experiences growing up in a counterculture family and attending the Oregon Country Fair my entire life have informed the scope of my project.

In this introductory chapter I explain the foundation and scope of my research and I present a literature review to frame the following two original research chapters. I explore existing relevant literature on counterculture, intergenerational transmission of values, generativity, and family socialization. I also briefly discuss the role of institutions in cultural persistence, since the Oregon Country Fair has transformed and grown into a large counterculture institution. The Oregon Country Fair has also

produced and developed alongside other countercultural organizations in the Eugene community like the White Bird Clinic, Nancy's Yogurt, and the Kesey Enterprises Inc. Exploring how institutions have aided in the persistence of the counterculture helps to frame the ways in which it has been maintained and adapted by older and younger generations today.

Using themes introduced in the literature, I designed and conducted a survey at the Oregon Country Fair in the summer of 2018. In my second chapter I present the result from this survey results within the context of this introduction and identify prominent themes relating to the intergenerational transmission of counterculture values. To further explore additional questions and ambiguities that were illuminated by the survey, I conducted a series of focus group interviews. In Chapter Three I present results from four focus groups, each comprised of multiple generations of the same family to delve more deeply into the emerging themes and questions. Finally, my concluding chapter ties my key findings together within the context of previous research on intergenerational transmission and I suggest that counterculture values have persisted and adapted through a unique form of progressive transmission.

Research Question

My thesis explores the process of cultural transmission and persistence. Uniquely, I try to provide insight into how a culture that at its core represents anti-conformity, anti-authority, and freedom of being has been maintained through generations. The 1960s counterculture presents a unique case because it is grounded in a motivation for change, belief in individuality, and rejection of membership. Here, I try to reconcile the content of the counterculture and these ideals with the perception that

family transmission and cultural persistence is often conservative and oppositional to change.

Given this, my research is predicated on the following questions. How has the 1960s counterculture been transmitted intergenerationally and how has this process influenced the nature of the counterculture and those who identify with it? For first generation participants, how did they get involved with the counterculture, how has it affected their lives, and how have they facilitated its transmission, or not? As the counterculture has been transmitted through generations, how has it changed and/or remained the same? Finally, how have the Oregon Country Fair and other institutions contributed to the counterculture that is being lived today?

Literature Review

There is a generous amount of sociological research that examines intergenerational transmission of values and similarities between parents and children. Much of it focuses on the transmission of specific categories of characteristics such as those pertaining to religion and politics. These studies are useful for my thesis because they provide insight into how beliefs are passed down through families. However, it is also important to keep in mind that the counterculture is unique in its content, and its deviant label needs to be considered while looking at its persistence. I suspect that the nature of the counterculture has influenced the way that it has persisted. The counterculture is partially defined by its questioning of authority and rejection of the idea of membership, which I hypothesize, complicates how it is transmitted across generations. This also shows how the deviant label that was imposed on the counterculture, or at least aspects of it, has been accepted and celebrated by the

community that has maintained it. In his book, *Outsiders*, Howard S Becker explains that banishment was not the inevitable outcome of being deviant (Becker 1963). The persistence of the counterculture has demonstrated this, as its deviance and otherness may be a factor to its survival. This sets my research apart from much of the preexisting work on the transmission on values.

Mainstream versus Counterculture Transmission

Typification of the family often assumes that it is "conservative and monolithic," inhibiting social progress by passing on values to younger generations (Glass, Jennifer, Bengtson, and Dunham 1986). Families are considered the primary agent in providing socialization, teaching children to follow the boundaries of social order. Glass et al (1986:685) explain that "Attitude similarity between generations, from this view, is the consequence of successful parental socialization of beliefs and values." The counterculture is an interesting case in this regard since it is built from a desire for social progress and its participants strive to be untraditional, questioning the conventional family model and preconceptions of how one "should be." The values of the counterculture prize opposition to social order, perhaps adjusting the scope of successful parental socialization. It is also possible that counterculture families embraced aspects of the conventional parenting model, especially among the families that dropped out and back into mainstream society.

Causes of Intergenerational Discontinuity

In the study "Developmental Stage and Perceptions of Intergenerational Continuity", Thompson, Clark, and Gunn (1986) explore the idea of generational stake,

which considers the reasons why different generations may or may not want to pass on their values, or for younger generations, why they may or may not want to adopt the values of their predecessors. They pose that "intergenerational continuity is a developmental process; there are basic developmental stage differences between parents and child, and continuity between generations changes over time in families" (Thompson, Clark, and Gunn 1986:913). This is partially responsible for generation gaps, or stark differences in ideals and behaviors between older and younger generations. These developmental differences can be attributed to parents' need for validation, and youths' need for emancipation. These desires, respective to the generational position, are suggested to cause youth to overestimate the difference between them and their elders, and parents to underestimate the differences between their views and those of the upcoming generation. The difference in perceptions of intergenerational closeness also has to do with historical settings of different age cohorts and different lineage positions of family members. Parents and children may judge their similarities and dissimilarities contrarily because they are at different developmental stages. Parents tend to hold a stronger stake in intergenerational closeness after raising their children into adolescents, who in turn want to gain independence and distance from their parents. Thus, the notion of generational stake speaks to these perceived similarities and differences between generations (Thompson et al. 1986).

Generativity

Thompson et al (1986) also introduce the term generativity in their discussion of intergenerational continuity. Generativity explains parents' perception of themselves as

norm-bearers, and their "concern for guiding the next generation and a sense of responsibility to one's own children or others younger in age" (Thompson et al. 1986:915). Because parents have generational stake in their legacy, which may live on through their children, they seek to maximize intergenerational similarities. Older generations may relate the meaning of their lives to the extensions of their ideas through younger generations, which could inhibit social progress because older generations encourage youth to adopt their values and beliefs rather than invest in the formation of their own new or different opinions (Thompson et al. 1986).

This notion of generativity is interesting when considering the counterculture. Since the counterculture was formed through a desire to transform the conservative values of America at the time, the youth of the 60s assembled through a shared vision of progress and liberation. If the values that embody this vision have shaped the manner of the counterculture's persistence, generativity is contrary to the ideals and values of the counterculture. If counterculture parents do have a rigid generational stake in their children adopting their beliefs and values, this would mark a change in the meaning of the counterculture as it would take away from its vision of experimentation and social progress. However, if counterculture parents apply Thompson's et al (1986) understanding of generativity to their own values, a new adaptive generativity might exist where parents find fulfillment in their children adopting the values of self-expression and experimentation to shape their own self-informed values and beliefs. This adaptive form of generativity embodies the notion that parents don't need their children to hold the same exact values as themselves, they just want their children to feel free to apply the counterculture values in a way that speaks to them as individuals.

Familial Transmission

There have been various conclusions about the level of influence that the family has in the socialization of younger generations and the development of their values. A study on the similarities between three generation families argues that "contemporary research on the intergenerational transmission of attitudes has shown that parents' attitudes, especially mothers' attitudes, are significant positive predictors of children's attitudes in adulthood" (Glass, Jennifer et al. 1986:685). On the contrary, this study concludes that there are other factors of equal, if not greater, importance in the continuity of values and beliefs. In addition to parental influence, the transmission of social status contributes to similarities between the generations of a family (Glass, Jennifer et al. 1986:686). The transmission of social status theory suggests that as children age, they experience similar life events as their parents, like marriage, education, and job experience. This can contribute to similar attitudes between generations. Also, often overlooked in generational transmission research is the idea of reciprocity, which asserts that parents adopt values and ideas from their children especially as they age, reversing linear generational transmission.

Research conducted by Glass et al. (1986) suggests that parental influence becomes less important and the transmission of social status becomes more important in shaping the ideas of children as they age and experience similar attitude shaping events and their parents. When this happens, parents tend to adopt the values and beliefs of their children who have become more connected with modern social contexts. However, transmission of social status only accounts for part of generational continuity as family socialization does affect children's attitudes even as they age into adulthood. Glass et al.

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(1986) also conclude that fewer differences concerning politics and religion occur between generations than differences concerning gender. This can possible be attributed to the fact that there are fewer competing agents outside of the family in terms of religion and politics, giving children less reason to question what they learn at home (Glass et al. 1986). Glass et al. (1986) conclude that the family transmission is not monolithic and conservative, because other factors are significant in generational continuity.

Social Contexts

A study on political views across generations reinforces the importance of social contexts as factors that prompt children to have more modern values than their parents (Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers 2009). This study looked at three generations of family members by comparing the two sets of adjacent dyads and also the first and the third generations. The study demonstrates that the historical and social context of a generation significantly influence its similarity to the prior generation. For instance, attitudes concerning race, specifically school integration, had less correspondence between generation two and generation three than it did between generation one and generation two. To explain this, the researchers point out the fact that generation two came to age in the 1960s and generation three came to age in the 1990s. They reasoned that "racial issues, while not absent from the 1990s political agenda, had lost the center-stage they held in the 1960s," explaining the stronger consistency between the older dyad (Jennings et al. 2009:786). It is likely that the liberal wave that swept over youth that were coming of age in the 1960s encouraged opinions about race that contrasted to those of the previous generation.

Given that counterculture families advocate for equality and social change in a variety of areas, is it possible that each generation adopts new values and opinions, in the nature of furthering social progress. According to Jennings et al. (2009), this may result in less continuity between generations in terms of specific opinions about social issues. However, counterculture families may also show strong intergenerational continuity regarding issues in which they have not seen adequate progress.

Transmission in Non-Mainstream Families

Jennings et al (2009) address the extreme unity and uprise that took place among the cohort of youth in the 1960s. They write, "findings from the mid-1960s may be cohort-centric, that preceding and succeeding cohorts would exhibit different patterns of relationships, presumably including more faithful political and reproduction of their parents" (Jennings et al. 2009:783). This speaks to the formation of the counterculture and how it was created out of rebellion against the values and beliefs of older generations. Because of the nature of its development, any effort for older generations to pass it on or younger generations to adopt it as is would affect the goals and ideals from which the counterculture was born. This dilemma re-introduces the question of generativity in term of the persistence of the counterculture and reconciling its independence encouraging content with the fact that it is still present today.

Jennings et al. (2009:787) concluded that political beliefs are more congruent in families that are more politicized in general. This observation is critical to my thesis, because it suggests that families that emphasis certain beliefs more, whatever those may be, may show more consistency in regard to those beliefs.

A study done in Germany looking at the transmission of hierarchic self-interest reinforces this notion. This study considered the role of zeitgeist in intergenerational value similarities. They define zeitgeist as the core value of society at a given time, or the "modal value climate" (Boehnke, Hadjar, and Baier 2007:788). In the early 2000s in Germany, where this study took place, the zeitgeist was hierarchic self-interest. Typical family values in this modal climate emphasize competition and the idea that success means performing better than others. Families who they consider atypical could stray from the zeitgeist in either direction; they could be extremely entrepreneurial and competitive, or they could reject the popular capitalist self-enhancement values of the time. Boehnke et al (2007) emphasize the fact that intrafamilial value transmission takes place in a society context. Individuals in a family have contact with the larger society through peers, school, work, institutions, and media. Thus, their research links these macro and micro influences.

Boehnke et al (2007) conclude that value transmission and parent-child value similarity are significantly stronger in families distant from the zeitgeist. Because they "do not accept the zeitgeist as their own value position, these families have to reflect on their values substantially more than families whose values are in line with the zeitgeist. Parents who are aware of their 'otherness' regarding their value position are likely to put more effort into value transmission to prevent their children from internalizing opposing values" (Boehnke et al. 2007:781). This can be accomplished through shielding children from the mainstream values or giving them strong counter arguments for when they are faced with them at school or through their peers. Boehnke et al (2007) conclude that family's distance from the zeitgeist were characterized by more value

similarity between the two parents as well, which could contribute to the stronger intergenerational similarities. Families that were in line with the zeitgeist demonstrated more difficulties reaching family decisions and had an overall less expansive decision-making process. This relates to research that suggests more politicized families also have parental consistency (Jennings et al. 2009). These two factors are complimentary, "with each elevating the likelihood that children will adopt the political orientation of their parents" (Jennings et al. 2009:790).

During the formation of the counterculture, liberal minded individuals differed from the mainstream zeitgeist values. Today, countercultural families are still atypical when compared to mainstream society. Because parents have to reinforce their countercultural values to their children, who are also exposed to mainstream values through their social interactions outside of the family, their families may relay more consistent and clear values, increasing the likelihood that children will show generational continuity (Boehnke et al. 2007). Also, parents who want to instill counterculture values in their children may make a stronger effort to expose them to institutions and communities that uphold the same ideals, like the Oregon Country Fair.

Value Misperception

The influence of parental opinions versus the influence of perceived parental influence is an imperative consideration in the study of intergenerationally family value transmission. In "Socialization and Attribution Processes: Actual versus Perceived Similarity among Parents and Youth", Alan Acock and Vern Bengston (1980) look at how the perception children have of their parents' values influence value transmission.

Children could misinterpret the beliefs of their parents, which could lead to contrast between generations.

Acock and Bengston (1980:512) suggest that a lack of communication between generations contributes to misattribution of values. This can be seen through a lack of communication between parents and children, or in deliberate misrepresentation on behalf of the parents. The authors label deliberate misrepresentation as a separate reason for misattribution, but I see a strong connection between this and lack of communication, because deliberate misrepresentation indicates a lack of honest communication. Parents may shield their children from their actual attitudes, which causes the children to adopt these false ideals, increasing the generation gap predicated on perceived attitudes rather than actual ones. Acock and Bengtson (1980:512) write, that because "the parental generation is perceived as more traditional or conservative than their actual opinions indicate [this] may reflect what parents wish their children to think." Even parents who are more liberal, or centered in the conservative liberal polarization, may paint themselves as more conservative to their children, contributing to a difference in opinions over generations. Acock and Bengston (1980:512) take this even farther, suggesting that parents, "may fear that their children will become seduced by radical or liberal orientation." This observation is especially relevant when applied to the counterculture, which takes pride in radical and liberal thought.

Acock and Bengston's (1980) research points to two different generational paths when applied to the persistence of the counterculture. Because of the dark side of the counterculture, a lot of parents who were involved as first-generation counterculture identifiers may have misrepresented themselves to their children if they thought that the

counterculture negatively influenced themselves or their families and friends. They may

worry that the liberality of the counterculture could lead their children to become

junkies, burnouts, or criminals, or that the deviant label associated with the

counterculture would hinder their life chances. It is possible that these risks led parents

to misrepresent, or to selectively represent certain aspects and values of a counterculture

lifestyle to their children, limiting persistence to the values that were more positive and

presented less risk. At the same time, many parents may have represented themselves

honestly to their children to teach them the values of radical thought and how to identify

with the counterculture in a more responsible and productive way than their generation

had. This could minimize the perceived differences and contribute to the persistence of

the ideals and values of the counterculture in a possibly less harmful way. Selective

transmission of values could also contribute to the longevity of the counterculture's

persistence if this type of selective representation minimized the harmful risks that the

counterculture present. This raises a key question— are counterculture parents honest

about the negatives aspects of the counterculture, or do they selectively represent

certain values and characteristics, while hiding others? In addition, which approach is

more effective and valued in counterculture families?

The 1960s Counterculture

Weisner (2001) presents research specific to transmission of the 1960s

counterculture. In his paper "The American Dependency Conflict: Continuities and

Discontinuities in Behavior and Values of Countercultural Parents and Their Children"

Weisner discusses his 20-year longitudinal study of countercultural American families

and their children. The research began in 1974 and followed 154 non-conventional

families consisting of voluntary single mothers, co habituating non-married couples, and other families of various forms living in communes and collective living situations. He explains that these families, like many others who identified with the counterculture, often cite two core principles of the counterculture: "exploration of all aspects of life and continuing progressive moral critique of self and others" (Weisner 2001:275). He expands on this to explain that the values of the counterculture were wide ranging, included but not limited to, "free expression and thought in all aspects of life, self-enhancing, experimental, morally aware, emotionally labile and externalized; politically radical, opposed to the Vietnam War; drug taking for civil rights; egalitarian, antimaterialistic, pronatural, antiauthority; spiritual; and experimenting with family lifestyles" (Weisner 2001:275). Counterculture families were compared with a conventional comparison sample. Weisner (2001) was interested in the dependency conflict that has become common in child rearing. The dependency conflict is the mixed messages parents send by encouraging children to seek attention from others, but also be independent and autonomous (Weisner 2001:272). While it is known that counterculture parents clearly recognized the constraints of conventional family and child rearing practices, and countercultural parents may have even experienced dependency conflict themselves. Weisner (2001) explores whether countercultural families did in fact significantly alter patterns of child rearing and dependency conflict that were so common in conventional U.S. family models. He compared rates of perpetuation of dependency conflict among the countercultural culture sample and those of the conventional comparison sample. He also looked at the intergenerational transmission of countercultural values.

Weisner (2001:284) found that "The conditions for the American dependency conflicts were present and visible in social interactions" of countercultural families. He also explains that while parents often maintained the counterculture values that they expressed in their first round of interviews, some parents did not, and their countercultural values weakened. He discusses the positives and negatives of the counterculture and how these might speak to parental choices to transmit values or withhold them. He writes,

> "the counterculture would be seriously misunderstood, however, if viewed solely as a collection of positive values, feelings, ideologies, radical politics, self-expansion, tribe-like cohesion, and spiritualism […]. There were darker sides to the counterculture. Under its broad scope countercultural groups and those claiming to be under its umbrella could be violent, protesque, health endangering, exploitative, and sometimes sexist, and cruel to family members. The counterculture could and did hurt. Many parents in our study experiences some of these injuries and gave painful reports about the damage done to themselves and others. Some regret such aspects of their past and present and blame the 1960s and its aftermath for their bad experiences" (Weisner 2001: 276).

Despite these negatives, Weisner (2001) did find significant correlation between mothers and their adolescents in terms of counterculture values. Teens with parents who were more committed to their countercultural values were farther left of the political center. However, values in the younger generation were changed by gender and changing circumstance of the cohort. For example, the younger generation was generally more materialistic, possibly due to the growth of capitalism and consumerism in the country. Also, teens in the countercultural sample were less opposed to authority than their parents; whereas, teens in the conventional comparison sample were more opposed to authority than their parents. In conclusion, counterculture families did reproduce the dependency conflict while also seeking changes in family lifestyle, and

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political and cultural values. Also, many children share some of their parents' values, especially regarding experimentation, but they also modified them through their own experiences to reflect the temporal context of their cohort (Weisner 2001).

Institutions

Generational value discontinuity is influenced by differences in extrafamilial socialization and exposures. Drawing on DiMaggio and Powell's theory of institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983), Konra and Hurst (2009) suggest that cultural homogeny within an institution is encouraged through coercive pressure placed on individuals to conform. This pressure can be formal through sanctions like fines and being fired, or informal through social disapproval. These results influence the way that members of institutions behave. Even though cultural practices within an institution may not be explicitly defined, they are incorporated into the institutional culture through observation and mimicking. For example, if an individual sees another individual getting rewarded for certain behavior, they are likely to adopt that behavior and eventually it becomes an unspoken part of the institutional culture. This encouragement of conformity is contrary to the values of the counterculture; however, Konra and Hurst's (2009) research suggests that it is a critical aspect in institutional culture, even of the institutions that are representative of the counterculture like the Oregon Country Fair.

Konra and Hurst (2009) also look at how institutional processes breakdown cultural aspects within and outside of an organization. Institution Theory suggests that some values and norms are exogenous to an organization, meaning they grow out of the organization rather than being brought in through outside influences (Kondra and Hurst

2009:45). A family can be considered a type of institution, and values can be formed from within the family rather than from outside influences. The Oregon Country Fair is also an institution that has formed its own internal culture throughout its development and growth. Institution Theory suggests that values and beliefs transmitted through family could be countered by participation in organizations outside of the family that have their own exogenous norms (Kondra and Hurst 2009:45). While the Oregon Country Fair is reflective of the counterculture, its existence as an institution could cause the values it projects to vary from those held by many of the families who participate in the Fair each year.

Institutions are understood to be isomorphic, meaning that there is a homogeneity of structure and culture that exists between different institutions, especially when they are in the same field (Kondra and Hurst 2009:40). Thus, participation in institutions could counter familial norms by exposing individual family members to the culture of those institutions. Because an institution needs structure to function and be maintained, certain cultural practices need to be implemented regardless of the aim or field of the institution. Because "social-cultural values and beliefs external to the organization play a significant role in determining those organizational norms," the isomorphism in institutions often reflects more mainstream values (Kondra and Hurst 2009). Thus, institutional culture often reflects power dynamics, hierarchies, and delegating specific tasks to specific groups. These values, along with the sanctions that encourage individuals to conform to them, oppose countercultural values and ideals which emphasize general freedom, equality, and anti-authority.

The theory of institutional isomorphism suggests that even institutions which are thought to be countercultural, like the Oregon Country Fair, can adopt structural and cultural aspects of other institutions when they are negotiating how to function effectively. Because most counterculture families partake in the mainstream world to some degree, involvement with institutions could instill values that are contrary to the counterculture values parents want to pass onto their children. Also, this suggests that even institutions born out of the counterculture may mimic non-countercultural institutions by adopting structures like hierarchy and rules. This has been the case with the Oregon Country Fair, as it has transformed from a free for all to an organization with a hierarchy, leaders, and an increasing number of rules each year.

The role of institutions and mainstream values have a complicated effect on the intergenerational transmission of countercultural values. It is likely that the inner institutional counterculture of the Oregon Country Fair differs from external counterculture represented by many families in Eugene. Considering institutional isomorphism, institutions hinder the transmission of original counterculture values and alter them to fit the institutional setting and structure. However, when the role of institutions is considers with Boehnke's theory, institutions also create a stronger more communicative transmission of counterculture values because they require families to have more direct and open communication between generations (Boehnke et al. 2007).

Literature Review Conclusion

The extensive research that has been done on intergenerational value transmission gives valuable insight into the transmission of the counterculture. This research suggests that sources of similarity between generations are perceived to be

mediated through parents passing their values onto children, adaption of parents to the values of their children (reciprocity), both parents and children being affected similarly by the social and cultural contexts they are living in, and the transmission of social status and experience of influential life events. Intergenerational differences are caused by parents misrepresenting their values to their children, and social and political contexts affecting cohorts.

Because of the counterculture's nature, some of the outcomes could differ significantly from cases that consider the transmission of mainstream values and ideals. As Boehkne (2007) suggests, families with values farther from the zeitgeist may have more value persistence because they are more communicative about their ideals and beliefs. I believe that the counterculture will uphold this conclusion because of their celebration of difference and liberal thought. I also plan to look at how the counterculture has been maintained generationally through the influence of mentors and peers, along with traditional family members. While some counterculture figures faded into mainstream society after its culmination in the 1960s and early 1970s, others have maintained the lifestyle and passed it on their children and, in turn, their children's children. This persistence in vividly clear in the Eugene community, and the growth and continuation of the Oregon Country Fair.

The Oregon Country Fair

My research focuses on the Oregon Country Fair Community, commonly referred to as Fair Family. The Oregon Country Fair (OCF) presents a unique opportunity because for one weekend a year it brings together many people who identify with the ideals and values of the 1960s hippy counterculture. Because OCF

takes place in Veneta, Oregon my opportunity to conduct research on the OCF

community extends past the three-day event. Many people who are devoted to the

Oregon Country Fair are involved in the Eugene Community as well; selling crafts at

the Saturday market, working at the WOW hall or Whitebird, and even teaching or

working at the University of Oregon. These people carry the values of the Oregon

Country Fair to the outside community. Because of this, and the fact that I have been

going to the Country Fair my entire life, I have access to people who are involved with

the Fair and identify with the counterculture.

The Oregon Country Fair has its roots in the 1960s counterculture. It started as a

small gathering and has grown into an event that draws around 4,500 people every year

to nurture the values of social progress and change. Suzi Prozanski's historical recount

of the development of the Oregon Country Fair is a central source for my research. In

the first chapter of her book, *Fruit of the Sixties the Foundation of the Oregon Country*

Fair, Prozanski explains:

> The Oregon Country Fair traces its roots to a Renaissance Faire held in
> Eugene, Oregon, in November of 1969. Many people who flocked to
> Oregon in the Late 1960s and early 1970s were striving to find a new
> way of living. They sought to create a new culture, an alternative to "the
> establishment" of that tumultuous era. Oregon—especially the Eugene
> area—was seen as a haven for people who were working to change the
> constricting, conservative values of America. The first Oregon
> Renaissance Fair, and every Oregon Country Fair since, has attracted a
> spectrum of people who share the values of this emerging culture
> (Prozanski 2009:17)

Prozanski (2017) explains how the counterculture in Eugene had something special

going on. In 1971, the Eugene Register-Guard reported that "the hippies in Eugene

seem more politically active that the stereotype," or the commercial hippies who did not

understand that the movement sought to reject everything about mainstream society

(Prozanski 2009:24). Eugene was blessed with a community was full of idealism, enthusiasm, and willingness to be different and change the world. The Odyssey Coffee house, which was a popular counterculture gathering spot in the early 1970s reflected this mentality. The owners, Bill and Cindy Wooten curated an environment that encouraged discussion and community organizing. The discussion and action that was sparked in the Odyssey resulted in the formation of many lasting and impactful community events and services in Eugene, including the Lane Free School, the Whitebird hotline, Eugene youth Hostel, The Community-sponsored Free Thanksgiving Dinner, The Eugene Saturday Market, and the Oregon Country Fair itself, many of which are still going on today. The Wootens' played important roles in the organization of the first Oregon Country Fairs, serving as an example of the living, active counterculture community that is represented in Eugene. As Prozanski (2009:63) notes, the "Odyssey's name and legacy would live on in a booth at the Oregon Country Fair," which still exists today. Clearly, the legacy of the counterculture is evident in the booths that are still represented at the event today. However, the counterculture values and beliefs that the Oregon Country Fair was created from go beyond the existence of a booth like the Odyssey. The original vivacity of the Eugene counterculture came from the actions and discussion of the people who identified with it. How has intergenerational transmission and the nearly 5 decades that have passed transformed or maintained the 1960s counterculture that is expressed at the Oregon Country Fair?

While the OCF has grown drastically from its humble beginning, many of the values and visions that were vital in its creation have maintained their centrality as the event has developed. Despite conflicts that have emerged as the event has grown, like

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contrasts between individualism versus community, elitism versus acceptance, and freedom versus regulation, the event has grown into a "a self-sustaining and lively arts festival that contribute[s] to its community" (Prozanski 2009:14). Prozanski (2009:14) writes, "The Oregon Country Fair become a place where aging hipsters, sacred tricksters and new vaudevillians, plus their children and grandchildren, would gather for decades to celebrate counterculture community." This multigenerational dynamic demonstrates why the Oregon Country Fair is an ideal case study for my research on the generational persistence of the ideals and values of the 1960s counterculture. Prozanski (2009) eloquently illuminates the development of the fair; however, the focus of her work is limited to the first decade of the Fair's existence. While the historical inspiration that encourage Fair and motivated its development is a very important context, my research is centered on the Oregon Country Fair of the 21st century as it approaches its 50th anniversary in 2019. Prozanski (2009) recognized the strong role that the values of the counterculture have in the fair. I am going to build upon her work and focus on how these values have been maintained through the decades, and how they have changed. I am going to look at this under the lens of previous research done on intergenerational value transmission and institutional culture.

There are some other sources on the Oregon Country Fair that are worth mentioning. Sandy and Scott Blackman (Blackman and Blackman 2018) continue in Prozanski's footsteps and provide a longer historical recount of the Oregon Country Fair, extending past the first decade. Using interviews, old news sources, and photographs the Blackmans have compiled short summaries of the evolution of the Country Fair over it near five decades of existence. They trace the many bumps in the

road that organizers have had to overcome as the event has grown and found a permanent home along the Long Tom River of Veneta, Oregon. The Fair has had to adjust to abide by county and city rules, appease the neighbors of the fairgrounds, and maintain the site as more people attend each year. This has caused the Fair to adopt a more exclusive outlook, since they cannot allow everyone who is interested to come in. The Fair has also developed more organization and regulation to maintain its place and good standing in the surrounding community of Veneta and Lane County.

In contrast to Prozanski (2009) and the Blackman's (2018), Schmitt (2008) looks at the Oregon Country Fair as a temporary community that only exists for a few weeks each summer leading up to and lasting slightly after the three-day event itself. In his dissertation "Oregon Country Fair: The Once A Year Community," Schmitt (2008) draws on twenty years of the Oregon Country Fair seasonal congregation and dissipation. He argues that contradiction is at the heart of the Oregon Country Fair. Like any growing event, Fair has had to adapt to its larger numbers and require systems of rationality, hierarchy, and authority. The Fair has adopted a pass system for people who want to camp in order to limit the number of people who stay on the grounds for the entire weekend. Schmitt sees these qualities as contradictory to one of the Fair's central goals to not recreate the status quo found in the outside of the community. Because Schmitt sees the Fair as an event that has adapted to resemble mainstream societies in many ways, he posits that the Oregon Country Fair could be used to help understand generic social processes and structured role relationships in outside communities, cities, and societies in general (Schmitt 2008). His argument falls in line with the theory of

institutional isomorphism but does not leave room to reconcile this phenomenon with the ability to maintain counterculture values.

Personal Experience

This thesis is inspired by my own experiences being raised in a counterculture family and attending the Oregon Country Fair my entire life. My parents came from broken homes and found a chosen family through the Grateful Dead. This community and the values of the counterculture shaped their lives and influenced how they raised me and the experiences they exposed me too.

The Oregon Country Fair was a very formative event for me, and one that I looked forward to year after year. For me, it stood out as a magical alternative world we would enter one weekend every year, but I would day dream about constantly. It also served as a family reunion where I would see and connect with my parents' friends, and my counterculture mentors and peers. Because of my early exposure to the counterculture, and the community my parents raised me in, I have a unique bond with my family that fosters openness, healthy experimentation, and a connection that I only see in other Oregon Country Fair and counterculture families. These relationships sparked my interest in family value transmission, and inspiration to explore counterculture families.

These experiences have shaped my preconceived ideas about the counterculture that inevitable shine through in my research. Also, because I attended Oregon Country Fair my entire life and my family has strong roots in a counterculture community, I had unique access to conduct this research and pre-established trust in the community that I wanted to study. While this bias has undoubtedly influenced my research, it has also

provided me with a valuable foundation and means to delve deeper into a community and approach the research with a degree of shared experiences and understandings. I have consciously approached all of my participants with an open mind, and their insights have shaped and compounded by understanding of the counterculture.

Methodology

I used a mixed methods sociological approach to research of the intergenerational transmission of counterculture values. I mix two methods of research to try and come to a deeper understanding about how this culture has been maintained, focusing on the Oregon Country Fair community. First, I deigned a survey that I conducted at the Oregon Country Fair. The analysis and discussion of these survey results are the focus of Chapter Two of this thesis. I used the survey results to help me organize a set of focus group interviews, and an additional short survey, which are the focus of Chapter Three. The focus group approach allowed me to explore broad themes and ideas that emerged from the original survey and expand upon them to get a higher level of insight and detail. I designed the focus group interviews and short survey to help me get a better understanding of some of the trends that were apparent from my original survey, and some questions that came up at my research progressed.

I conducted my survey during the 49th Oregon Country Fair in July 2018. This allowed me to talk to a larger number of people over the course of the weekend and target a group that represents the persisting counterculture. Because of the unique opportunity I had to work in a climate that attracts the exact population I am interested in, a survey allowed me to limit the time I spent with each person so that I could take advantage of this short window of opportunity. My survey was designed to answer

sixteen overarching questions about people who identify with the ideals and values of the counterculture. Because my research topic was still being developed during the Oregon Country Fair, my survey was broad and asked a wide range of questions, so that I would have more to work with as my research continued. The questions I had in my focus groups were narrower, drawing from the points of the survey that I found the most interesting and relevant.

This research strives to add a new dimension to the literature on family values transmission. I explore individual's experiences with the counterculture—how it affected their lives, their communities, and larger society. I also explore what motivates older generations to transmit counterculture values to younger generations, and how the counterculture changes as families negotiate the positives and negatives of this lifestyle with their own experiences and process of transmission. I hypothesize that the otherness of the counterculture helps maintain its persistence, the content of the counterculture creates a more dynamic form of generativity where transmission is looser, and discontinuity between generations is due to a more open dialogue between parents and children, rather than misrepresentation. I suggest that, as a result of their motivation for positively influencing the word, the Oregon Country Fair and its counterculture families model a form of progressive transmission, contributing to persistence and positive adaption of counterculture values.

Chapter Two: Intergenerational Persistence and Transmission of Counterculture Values at Oregon Country Fair

Introduction

This chapter covers the first phase of research, which consisted of a survey conducted at the Oregon Country Fair (OCF). Because I took a class on deviance and social control, I initially thought about the 1960s counterculture in terms of its deviant label. Counterculture participants deviate from mainstream society in terms of their lifestyle, values, and beliefs, making them countercultural. They were labeled as deviants in political rhetoric, as a power tool to snuff out the social change they were seeking, and deviance has become as large part of the collective counterculture identity. Thus, many of the questions were centered around the idea of deviance, even though the word 'deviant' was never used when speaking with participants.

The data from the survey is presented in three categories: demographics, the values of the counterculture, and transmission. The demographics help describe the sample and place them in the context of the persisting 1960s counterculture. The values section considers the ways that the counterculture has influenced participants, their communities, and the world. This second section sheds light on the content of the counterculture that make it worth transmitting, as well as the negative qualities of the counterculture. It also presents results regarding the Oregon Country Fair and its role as a special, institutionalized branch of the counterculture. Finally, the third section presents results pertaining specifically to transmission of the counterculture. It explores who participants were influenced by, how first generation and subsequent generations

carry the values of the counterculture, and how they conceive younger generations

carrying the values of the counterculture. This section considers how the counterculture

has been maintained to this day, and what its fate may be moving forward.

The discussion section of this chapter connects these finding to previous

authors' theories regarding the intergenerational values transmission, which are

described in Chapter One. Specifically, these results place the sample in terms of

Wiesner's (2001) study on counterculture families, and Prozanski's (2009) description

of the counterculture family that is specific to Eugene and the Oregon Country Fair. I

compare my results to Boenhke's (2007) research on families that differ from the

zeitgeist, finding commonalities due to a similar situation of otherness in the face of the

mainstream. The results in this study present some conclusions that differ from Glass's

theory about the role of social status in the process of intergeneration transmission and

similarity (Glass, Jennifer et al. 1986), illuminating a unique aspect of this specific

counterculture transmission. I consider Acock and Bengston's (1980) observation of

misrepresentation as a cause of intergenerational value differences. I also reconsider

Thompson et al.'s (1986) phrase generativity to expose the counterculture's process of

adaptive value transmission. I demonstrate how all these processes may have

contributed to the persistence of the counterculture, and its variance and potential

improvement over time, posing an important question about how the role of the

counterculture's self-maintenance and adaptation has served to influence progressive

movements in the United States. This chapter also sets up the scope of research for my

second round of data collection, which will aim to fill in some of the ambiguities

discussed below.

Methodology

Design

The first phase of my research consisted of a survey taken during the 49th annual Oregon Country Fair in the summer of 2019. The survey methodology allowed me to talk to as many people as possible during the three-day event. My survey was designed to focus participants on certain topics and limit the time I spent with each individual. Through the survey, I was able to briefly touch on various questions, helping me to focus my research on range of topics relating to value transmission; the values of the 1960s counterculture, and the Oregon Country Fair community and family. The survey was designed to identify topics that participants were passionate about that could then be explored further in my second phase of my research.

While designing the survey, I reflected on what overarching questions I wanted to explore. Because I was thinking about the counterculture in terms of its deviance at this time, many of my overarching questions were formed around this idea and used the word deviant. I came up with 16 overarching questions to frame my survey (Table 2.1) They consider a participant's level of commitment to the counterculture, how the counterculture has influenced a participant's life, how the counterculture may have benefited or harmed participants and/or their families and friends, how the counterculture has been intentionally or unintentionally transmitted through generations, the relevance of the counterculture today, and the Oregon Country Fair's relationship to the counterculture and its impact on the community.

I wanted my survey to be concise and easy to conduct in a short amount of time, so that people would be more willing to participate, and I could conduct each survey

within a 15-minute period. I constructed a series of Likert scale statements that aligned

with each overarching question (Table 2.1) Each statement was worded slightly

differently. This strategy allowed me to identify consistency in responses to the

overarching questions, and not rely on single statements that may have been

misinterpreted. It also permitted for a variety of analysis techniques through stacking

the individual questions. Each of these statements had five response options: Strongly

Agree; Agree; Neither Agree nor Disagree; Disagree; Strongly Disagree. The answers

were coded using Likert scale rankings: 2, 1, 0; -1, and -2 respectively.

The statements that related to the overarching questions and made up the

participant survey were worded very carefully. They were modified as I practiced the

survey with mock participants who were familiar with my topic and the Oregon

Country Fair. The word "deviant" was excluded completely because of its negative

connotation. Many people who identify with the counterculture may not consider

themselves deviants. Additionally, I avoided using words like "member" because some

of the participants in my targeted population may reject the idea of membership.

Alternatively, the survey referred to participants' "self-identification with the

counterculture", or the "impact of the values and ideals of the counterculture". The

wording varied throughout the questions to avoid drawing too much attention to the

idea of membership, and rejection thereof.

For the survey version I used at the Oregon Country Fair, I scattered the Likert

statements in a random order so that participants were less aware of the repetition and

the overarching questions trying to be answered. After the series of Likert statements,

the survey included five open-ended questions that allowed participants to provide

general comments about the counterculture, the values it promotes, how they became involved, how they have spread these values, and the Oregon Country Fair as an institution of the counterculture. The survey also asked for demographic and general information (age, city of origin, city of residence, age when participants began to identify with the counterculture, OCF generation, years attending OCF, 1st year at OCF, time spent working for OCF each year, OCF job, and career). A complete version of the survey used at the Oregon Country Fair can be reviewed in Appendix A.

Sample

The Oregon Country Fair attracts the very population that I wanted to survey. Therefore, I used a convenience sampling approach to collect data. Since there is so much going on at the Fair and staff members are often very busy making sure everything is operating smoothly, I approached people who seemed like they would have time to speak with me. The sample consisted of people who were staff at the Oregon Country Fair, rather than daytime visitors. The Oregon Country Fair allows its workers to camp on the Fairgrounds in exchange for their help to organize and put on the event. I chose to focus on staff because they often participate year after year and dedicated a large amount of time to the event. Staff are more likely to be passionate about the values of OCF and the counterculture. Being involved with the Oregon Country Fair at this level shows a dedication to the event and the counterculture values that it promotes. Staff members are identifiable by special wristbands that allow them access to the camps and to the main Fair Grounds after the hours when it is no longer open to the public.

In order to get my camping pass to the Oregon Country Fair, I worked with the Stewardship Program. The Stewardship strives to educate people about the initiatives that the Oregon Country Fair takes to steward the land that is takes place on and reduce its environmental impact. The Stewardship sets up stations all around the Fair site to educate people about how the different crews at the Fair work towards a common goal of sustainability and environmental responsibility. Because of my involvement with the Stewardship, I was able to survey people who work in all different areas of the fair, like recycling, environmental protection, and White Bird medical services. These individuals show a strong commitment to the values of the Oregon Country Fair. This provided a good starting point for data collection. My sample expanded from here and I surveyed people with staff passes who were accessible and willing to dedicate time to my research. I also ensured that all participants self-identified with the 1960s counterculture.

Before each survey, participants were informed about my research and asked if they self-identified with the values and ideals of the 1960s counterculture. Anyone who did not identify was not included in the survey. I read a recruitment statement to each participant to ensure consistency (Appendix B). When individuals decided to participate, I read them a consent form and obtained verbal consent, to follow International Research Board Protocol (Appendix C and D). I read the survey to most of the participants and filled it out with their responses as they provided answers. Some participants preferred to complete the survey on their own, filling out the questions for themselves.

Analysis

      The results from each survey were transcribed into an excel spreadsheet based on their Likert scale rankings. Surveys were eliminated, when necessary, if any participants disagreed that they identified with the counterculture. This disqualified them from further review. Additional surveys were eliminated from some sets of analysis if the questions being considered were left blank. When more than one question was being looked at simultaneously, any survey that did not provide an answer to one of the statements was removed from that analysis. This is reflected in the varying sample sizes listed with each aspect of analysis.

      After being transcribed, statement responses were sorted back into their respective Likert groups based on the overarching questions they reflected using a letter/number (Table 2.1). Histograms were constructed for each individual question to look at the distribution of univariate data. Stacked histograms were created to look at cumulative scores of agreement or disagreements with the overarching questions. These created a visual representation of the distribution of answers to overarching questions.

      A correlation analysis was run to identify patterns of correlation between the responses to different questions (Table 2.2). Because the sample was not large enough, the correlation analysis was not appropriate to determine significance values. However, it served as a heuristic tool to help organize and shape ideas about the patterns that were evident from the survey. This helped relate theories from previous research on intergenerational value transmission to the results of the survey. Correlations > 0.75 were represented with scatter plot graphs that I used to visualize the underlying patterns in the data. Additional scatter plot graphs were also created for some variables that had

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correlation values between 0.5 and 0.75 as well as additional histograms that to further

compare relationships between various questions and with demographic information

provided by the participants.

Some of the open-ended questions were represented with word clouds. These

word clouds served as a heuristic tool to visualize patterns and themes by representing

more frequent responses with larger font, and less frequent responses with smaller fonts.

One word cloud reflect the actual values that participants believe were represented by

the counterculture, those which they believe to be more important, and those which they

believe the Oregon Country fair encourages most strongly. The second word cloud

reflects the individuals that participants identified as having an important role in their

personal identification with the counterculture.

Using these tools, the data were analyzed with a focus on three areas: (1) the

demographics of my sample; (2) individuals' opinions about the counterculture, the

Oregon Country Fair, the benefits of both to society, and other factors that would

influence why someone would or would not want to transmit the culture to younger

generations; and (3) theories about intergenerational value transmission explored in

previous research that is not specific to the 1960s counterculture.

Results

Demographics

After eliminating invalid surveys, the total sample number was 20. There were

additional records eliminated in some analyses because of incomplete responses. The

sample ranged in age from 18 to 74 years old. The sample was skewed towards the

older side; over half of the participants were 50 years or older (Figure 2.1). Most

participants (83%) were the first generation of their family to identify with the

counterculture, meaning they did not have parents that were a part of the counterculture

(Figure 2.2). The majority of people whose parents were not a part of the counterculture

(93%) were above the age of 40 (Figure 2.3, M1). Two out of the three youngest

participants (i.e., under 40) were of the second generation of their family to self-identify

with the counterculture. Five of the respondents, ages 31, 32, 44, 59, and 73 agreed that

their parents or guardians taught them the values of the counterculture (Figure 2.3, M2).

In general, older participants were less likely to agree that their parents were a part of

the counterculture and that their parents taught them the values of the counterculture.

Many of the participants (80%) became interested in or began to identify with the

counterculture when they were adolescents (i.e., 20 or under) (Figure 2.4). The two

respondents that said that their parents were a part of the counterculture reported that

they were seven years old when they became involved/began to self-identify with the

counterculture based.

Values of the Counterculture Yesterday and Today

Many participants (84%) agreed that their involvement with the counterculture

influenced four areas of their lives: (1) career; (2) values; (3) social groups; (4)

recreation (Figure 2.5). Participants also agreed that their counterculture identity shaped

their politics, and that they actively seek positive social change (Figure 2.6). Of the

different causes listed in the survey, most participants strong agreed that they regularly

advocated for environmentalism (n=17), economic equality (n=15), racial equality

(n=14), and health care (n=14) (Figure 2.7). Agreement regarding gun control advocacy

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was the most inconstant of the causes – two participants disagreed that they regularly advocate for Gun Control. Most participants respond that they neither agreed nor disagreed that they were prison reform advocates.

Participants agreed that the Oregon Country Fair is a part of the counterculture (Figure 2.8). Participants' opinions varied on how the Oregon Country Fair influences their expression of the counterculture (Figure 2.9). Nine participants agreed that their counterculture identity is more apparent when they are at the Oregon Country Fair. Six participants disagreed with this statement. Both of the questions under this overarching question showed a bifurcation in the data. When asked about the ways that the Oregon Country Fair deviates from mainstream society, participants consistently agreed that OCF encourages self-expression more than the American norm. They also agreed that OCF encourages political activism more than the American norm, but there was one participant who disagreed, and one that neither agreed nor disagreed (Figure 2.10).

Participants consistently agreed that the Oregon Country Fair's counterculture values and representation is a positive influence on the world (Figure 2.11). Six participants neither agreed nor disagreed that most OCF Family members are a positive influence on the world, and only one participant neither agreed nor disagreed that the Oregon Country fair encourages behaviors that are a positive influence on the world. Participants also agreed that they and most of the OCF staff actively spread the values of the Oregon Country Fair to the outside world (Figure 2.12).

Most participants agreed that their involvement with the Oregon Country Fair has positively influenced their life, their family and friends, and their ability to achieve

their life goals (Figures 1.13). However, two participants reported that their

involvement with OCF did cause problems for their family and friends (Figure 2.14.)

Most participants agreed that the counterculture has as much potential to

influence society today as it did in the 60s and that issues that the counterculture was

addressing at its start are still present today (75% and 95% of participants) (Figure

2.15). In addition, there was little agreement that the atmosphere of the 1960s made the

counterculture more meaningful than it is today (Figure 2.15). The six participants that

disagreed that the atmosphere of the 1960s made the counterculture more meaningful

than it is today were all over the age of 40 (Figure 2.16).

Most participants (90%) agreed that their involvement with the counterculture

has positively influenced their life, their family and friends, and their ability to achieve

their life goals (Figure 2.17). However, there are some participants (n=5) that believe

their involvement with the counterculture did cause problems for their family and

friends (Figure 2.18). The four participants who did not agree that their parents taught

them the values of the counterculture were split with regards to their agreement about

their involvement causing problems for their families. In contrast, all of the participants

who agreed that their parents taught them the values of the counterculture did not agree

that their involvement has cause problems for their family and friends (Figure 2.19).

Figure 2.20 reflects participants answers to the open-ended question: "what are the

ideals and values of the counterculture?" Equality was the most frequent response.

Transmission

The response to statements M1 and M3 (Table 2.1) regarding whether or not a

participant had counterculture parents and their parents influence on them were

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correlated (r = 0.78) as were the responses to M1 and M2 (r = 0.84) (Table 2.2).

Respondents who agreed that their parents were a part of the counterculture also agreed that their parents taught them the ideals and values of the counterculture and influenced them to identify with the counterculture (Figure 2.21). The sample was split in regard to if participants had older mentor, aside from their parents or guardians, that influenced them to identify with the counterculture (Figure 2.22). Nearly half of the participants who did not have parents that taught them the ideals and values of the counterculture had mentors who taught them these ideals. Similarly, only half of the participants who had parents that taught them the ideals and values of the counterculture also had mentor who taught them about the counterculture (Figure 2.23). The sample was split with regards to whether or not participants had peers who influenced them to identify with the counterculture (Figure 2.24). The participants who agreed that they had parents who were a part of the counterculture, also agreed that they had peers who influenced them to identify with the counterculture except for one, who disagreed that they had peers that influenced them to identify as part of the counterculture (Figure 2.25).

There were some participants who agreed that they were influenced to self-identify with the counterculture by a celebrity (Figure 2.26). However, participants who were the first generation of their family to self-identify with the counterculture were more likely to agree that they were influenced by a celebrity (Figure 2.27). In contrast, participants who agreed that their parents taught them the values of the counterculture were not influenced to identify with the counterculture by a celebrity. Figure 2.28 gives a visual representation of figures who influenced them to identify with the counterculture.

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While the majority of participants agreed that they would/have encouraged their children and other younger people to take on aspects of the counterculture, less participants agreed that they want their children and other younger people to identify with the counterculture (Figure 2.29). Agreement that a participant would/have encourage younger generations to take on aspects of the counterculture correlated with agreement that the counterculture positively influences a participant's family and friends (r=0.78) (Table 2.2). Agreement that a participant would/have encourage younger generations to take on aspects of the counterculture also correlated with agreement that the counterculture shaped a participant's career (r=0.78), their politics (r=0.80), and how they like to have fun (r=0.80).

There was a strong correlation between questions about transmitting to younger generations and questions about how the counterculture influenced a participants life [L1 x B1 (r=0.78), L1 x C3 (r=0.80), and L1 x D2 (r=0.79)](Figure 2.29)(Table 2.2). Participants who agreed that they would/have encouraged younger generations to identify with the counterculture were likely to agree that their own involvement in the counterculture influenced their career, shaped their politics, and positively influenced their family and friends.

Discussion

In the sample, there was a stronger representation of participants who were of first generation of their family to self-identify with the counterculture. This correlates with the representation of participants who were older (i.e., over 50). Based on Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.4, the majority of participants reported that they began to identify with the counterculture between 1969 and 1978. This indicated that the sample was

representative of the counterculture members who stuck with the movement. Weisner (2001) recognized that many of the baby boomer hippies blended back in with mainstream society after the height of counterculture popularity. However, because this sample was comprised on individuals who maintain their counterculture self-identity and work at Oregon Country Fair they more resemble the "special breed" of Eugene hippie that Prozanski (2009:25) identifies in her book -- those who are "seriously dedicated and working very hard to make a better world." Because of the older, first generation dominant sample, the results from this survey provide stronger insight into question geared toward the transmitter of values. This also indicates that the second-round research will need to have a stronger focus on second generation counterculture identifiers. Despite the older sample, almost 10% of the sample agreed that their parents were a part of the counterculture, showing that the second generation is lightly represented.

It was hard to determine generation from the M questions in the survey (Table 2.1); the results are slightly ambiguous. Based on M1, which directly states "My parents were part of the 1960s counterculture," two participants fall in the category of second-generation counterculture members, due to their agreement. However, based on question M3, it could be argued that five of the participants were of the second generation. M3 said, "My parents or guardians taught me the values of the counterculture" (Figure 2.3). This discrepancy shows a misunderstanding in the statements, and it is unclear how participants interpreted this question. This highlights an important point for the topic of culture transmission. Based on the inconsistency in answers to statements M1 and M3, it is possible that parents unintentionally taught their

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children the values of the counterculture, or they taught them the values even though they themselves were not a part of the counterculture. Also, it is possible that participants agreed that their parents taught them the values of the counterculture because their parents did not discourage them from exploring or identifying with the counterculture. Regardless, it will be important to further investigate intentional transmission verses passive transmission of counterculture values in the second round of research. Despite this ambiguity, participants who agreed that their parents were a part of the counterculture or taught them the values of the counterculture prove to have maintained this identity because they are participating with the Oregon Country Fair in their adult lives. This confirms that the intergenerational transmission of counterculture values contributes to the persistence of the 1960s counterculture.

The two participants who agreed that their parents were a part of the counterculture reported that they began to identify with the counterculture at an earlier age than the rest of the participants. This could be because their parents intentionally raised them around a counterculture community, families, and institutions like the Oregon Country Fair. Klaus Boehnks et al. (Boehnke et al. 2007) suggest that parents who values differ from the zeitgeist values of society make a stronger effort to talk about their values with their children and surround their children with experiences that reinforce their values. In his study, the families that did not reflect zeitgeist values showed stronger value transmission. This theory could be applied the second-generation counterculture members of my sample. Because their parents emphasized their values more, they developed a stronger identity at an earlier age. The answers to this question do not explain weather or not their children were aware of the actual values, or of the

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fact that they were growing up with some differences when compared to other children. Additionally, the results in Figure 2.23 suggest that non-familial community has a strong impact on younger generations. Of the participants who had parents who influenced them to identify with the counterculture, half reported that they also had older mentors who were a part of the counterculture. It is likely that counterculture parents surrounded their children with other older figures who represented the same values. Participants who did not have counterculture parents also reported that they had older mentors who influenced them to identify with the counterculture, showing that older mentors help spread the counterculture to children who are from more mainstream families.

The five participants who agreed that their parents taught them the ideals and values of the counterculture pose a challenge to Glass' theory about the transmission of social status (Glass, Jennifer, Bengtson, and Dunham 1986:686). While Glass suggested that intergeneration continuity can be attributed to the transmission of social status, like education, marriage, and careers, this suggests that the transmission of the counterculture may be more direct and intentional, based off of participants belief in the values that it represents and its positive influences.

My results suggest that the counterculture has impacted and shaped participants' lives. Participants reported that their careers were shaped by their counterculture identity. Whereas Glass suggests that life events like having a career may shape an individual's values, contributing to similarities between generations, my results suggest that participants' careers were shaped by their values, reaffirming the depth of their counterculture identity. This could be a way in which the transmission of counterculture

differs from the transmission of more mainstream values and may have an influence on maintaining a progressive movement in the United States. Participants lead lives that embodied the values that they believed in; thus, the transmission of these values may come from a different place than values that manifest through the life experiences that Glass highlights in his research. Also, participants reported that their identification with the counterculture influenced their social groups. This could be a factor in the earlier identification of younger generations. This cannot be determined from this set of research, but it is possible that the two trends could be related. Additionally, my overarching question as to whether participants deviance is a positive influence on the world was answered affirmatively. Participants reported that their counterculture identities influenced their political activism and advocacy.

In terms of the Oregon Country Fair, participants agreed that OCF is part of the counterculture, and that the Oregon Country Fair encourages behavior that deviates from mainstream society. Nine participants agreed that their counterculture identity is more apparent when they're at the Oregon Country Fair. This suggests that OCF encourages deviant behaviors, or compounds counterculture expression. These participants' responses highlight a potential effect of the institutionalization of the counterculture that is represented at the Oregon Country Fair. According to institutional isomorphism (Kondra and Hurst 2009), which in part addresses that institutions create an internal culture, the counterculture that is represented at the Oregon Country Fair may be partially unique to the Fair. This could be seen in the extreme self-expression that is encouraged at the Oregon Country Fair. The six participants who disagreed that their counterculture identity is more apparent when they are at the Oregon Country Fair

suggests that OCF may be more representative of the counterculture, despite the institutionalization it has gone through. For the most part participants agreed that OCF encourages self-expression, and political activism more than the American norm. Because the Oregon Country Fair has adopted some classic aspects of institutions, like a hierarchy and more structured organization, this could lead to a more active counterculture community, and thus an important source of progressive influence in the United States.

Participants agreed that staff are a positive influence on the world (Figure 2.11) and that they carry the values of OCF to the outside world (Figure 2.12). This is another form of cultural transmission, and the persistence of the counterculture. When participants were asked if the Oregon Country Fair has caused problems for themselves or for their family and friends, they mostly disagreed, reinforcing the fairs positive influence (Figure 2.14). However, there were two participants that agreed, indicating that the Fair has caused problems for their families. When asked if the counterculture has caused problems for their family and friends, the number of participants who agreed doubles to four (Figure 2.18). This difference between the negative effect of OCF and the negatives effect of the counterculture could be attributed to the institutionalization of the Oregon Country Fair, and its transformation into a more structed event. Perhaps the rules that the Fair has adopted, and its institutional structure has helped lessen the negative effects that the external counterculture had on the friends of families of those who were a part of it.

Most participants agreed that the counterculture has as much potential to influence society today as it did in the 1960s. However, agreement to the statement that

"The social and political atmosphere of the 1960s made the counterculture more meaningful than it is today" poses a contradiction. The participants who agreed with this statement were over the age of 40. This indicated a potential disconnect between younger and older participants, in regard to the goals and importance of the counterculture, and the state of society. These results can be examined along Jennings (Jennings et al. 2009) work, which illuminates the influence of social contexts in intergenerational continuity. Jennings observed more similarities between generations that were facing similar social issues. It is possible that participants who disagreed that the atmosphere of the 1960s made the counterculture more meaningful see issues that were at the forefront of the 1960s as still prevalent today; these participants also indicate that some people may think that the counterculture is affective at combating new issues that have arisen. The participants agreed indicate a population that may believe that the counterculture is ineffective either because the issues have changes, or because the counterculture has changed.

Overall, participants agreed that the counterculture is a positive influence on their own lives, and on their family and friends. They disagreed that it negatively influences their ability to achieve their life goals, again showing a certain degree of ambition that was complimented by their counterculture identity. Participants whose parents taught them the values of the counterculture did not think that the counterculture negatively influenced their family and friends show an important trend in terms of counterculture transmission. Perhaps, through the process of intentional transmission, some of the negative qualities of the counterculture were mitigated. Additionally, the correlation between agreement that a participant would/have encourage younger

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generations to take on aspects of the counterculture and agreement that the counterculture positively influences a participant's family and friends, suggests that the more positive counterculture aspects and the ones getting predominantly transmitted. This would contribute to the persistence of the counterculture, since its hazardous aspects may be less likely to be transmitted than the positive ones.

It is possible this risk mitigation that occurs when the counterculture in transmitted could be, in part, due to a process similar to what Acock and Bengston (Acock and Bengtson 1980) refer to as misrepresentation. They suggest that parents' misrepresent themselves to their children, which contributes to difference between generations. Perhaps counterculture parents selectively promote certain aspects of the counterculture to their children, while sweeping other aspects under the rug. It is also possible that parents are honest about all of the counterculture experiences, so their children are able to learn from their mistakes. Acock and Bengston (1980) suggest that a lack of communication between generations contributes to the misattribution of values. Because the counterculture is atypical, requiring more communication in the face of mainstream influences, as Boehnke et al. (Boehnke et al. 2007) explains, I think that it is likely that parents are honest about their experiences, and this results in the risk mitigation seen in these results and a continuation of the radical and liberal thought celebrated by the counterculture

The correlation between agreement that a participant would/have encouraged younger generations to take on aspects of the counterculture with agreement that the counterculture has shaped a participants career, their social groups, and their politics highlights some aspects of the counterculture that influence individuals to want to

transmit it to younger generations (correlation analysis). These correlations suggest that perhaps the most admirable aspects of the counterculture its ability to touch all aspects of a participant's life. Participants who agreed that their lives were influenced by the counterculture were more likely to encourage younger generations to identify with the counterculture as well. This again is similar to Boehkne's theory that atypical families have stronger correlations between generations. However, this shows that rather than just discussing their values more, counterculture participants reaffirm their difference through living the counterculture in these areas of their lives.

While participants generally agreed that they would/have encouraged younger generations to take on aspects of the counterculture, fewer participants agreed that "they want" younger generations or "think that younger generations should" identify with the counterculture (Figure 2.29). Participants were less likely to assert their values this strongly onto generations. While "encouraging younger generations to take on aspects of the counterculture" leaves room for difference between generations, and less pressure, the words "should" and "want" to come off as stronger and more forceful. Participants were warier to agree to these stronger worded statements. Thompson et al uses the term generativity to refer to the values and self-worth that an older generation finds in minimizing differences between themselves and their children. Thompson states that similarity between generations is a result of successful parental socialization. This is thought to inhibit social progress. However, the results to these questions could be pointing to a different trend. Because the counterculture is rooted in social progress, difference, and rejection of all things mainstream (Prozanski 25), participants may have been less likely to put this type of pressure on younger generations. The bar for

successful parental socialization might differ from mainstream families in regard to value and belief transmission. Rather than encouraging their children to have a same views and ideals as themselves, these participants most strongly reported that they would/have encouraged participants to take on aspects of the counterculture. This suggests that they want to leave room for the younger generation to take the values and apply them as they see fit. While Thompsons does not claim that parents strive for exact transmission, the general perception of transmission as a conservative process suggests to a lesser degree, dynamic communication about values. This highlights a potential difference in the transmission of counterculture values and the process of transmission in mainstream families.

Conclusion

These results show that intergenerational transmission of counterculture values does occur, and participants agree that that would/have encouraged younger generations to identify with the counterculture as well, suggesting its persistence in the future. Participants with and without counterculture parents indicated that older mentors influenced their counterculture identity. While participants agreed that the counterculture has positives influences, there was also evidence that points to the dark sides of the counterculture. However, these risks appear to decrease through an adaptive form of progressive intergenerational transmission. Participants indicate that their jobs, politics, recreational pursuits, and communities reflect their counterculture values, suggesting that the transmission of social status plays less of a role in counterculture transmission (Glass, Jennifer et al. 1986). This multifaceted living and encompassing of

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the counterculture was correlated with responses that indicate transmission, giving insight into why participants may want to pass on the values of the counterculture.

Because of the limited response options possible in a survey, further research needs to be done to understand if familial counterculture value transmission is intentional, and specifically what motivates parents to transmit to their children. Also, the process through which negative characteristics of the counterculture are mitigated needs to be clarified, specifically to see whether misrepresentation plays a role in this process (Acock and Bengtson 1980). I want to consult younger generations about how they have seen the counterculture in older generations, and how they have modified it to their own lives. Additionally, I would like to further understand how families have dealt with the deviant label of the counterculture specifically, and how it has remained a progressive movement.

Table 2.1.

Table showing overarching questions (bold) with their corresponding likert scale statements. The overarching questions were removed from the survey version that was distributed to participants, and the likert scale statements were mixed up. The individual letter and number pairs identify which statement I refer to throughout my thesis.

A. Do you consider yourself a deviant?
A1. I am a part of the persisting 1960s counterculture.
A2. My identity as a member of the counterculture influences my actions and beliefs
A3. The Oregon Country Fair is part of the counterculture
A4. I am a part of the OCF family
B. How has your identity as a member of the counterculture shaped your life?
B1. My experience with the values and ideals of the counterculture has shaped my career
B2. My experience with the values and ideals of the counterculture shapes my values
B3. My experience with the values and ideals of the counterculture has shaped who I choose as my friends
B4. My identity as a member of the counterculture has influenced how I like to have fun or spend my free time
C. Does your deviance serve as a benefit to society?
C2. My politics reflect my experience with the values and ideals of the counterculture
C3. The ideals of the counterculture have shaped my politics
C4. I actively seek positive social change
C5. My experience with the counterculture has influenced my advocacy
C6.a. I regularly advocate for Social Change
C6.b. I regularly advocate for Prison Reform,
C6.c. I regularly advocate for Drug Reform
C6.d. I regularly advocate for Racial Equality
C6.e. I regularly advocate for Gender Equality
C6.f. I regularly advocate for the Economic Equality
C6.g. I regularly advocate for The Environment
C6.h. I regularly advocate for Healthcare
C6.i. I regularly advocate for Abortion
C6.j. I regularly advocate for Gun Control
D. Does your deviance serve as a benefit to you and your family?
D1. My experience with the values and ideals the counterculture has positively influenced my life
D2. My involvement with the counterculture has positively influenced my family and friends
D3. My involvement with the counterculture has negatively influenced my ability to achieve my life goals
D4. My involvement with the counterculture has caused problems for my family
E. Is the counterculture as relevant and important today as it was in the 60's?
E1. The counterculture has as much potential to positively influence society today as it did in the 60's
E2. The political and social atmosphere in the 60s made the counterculture more meaningful than it is today

E3. Social issues that the counterculture was addressing and protesting are still present today

F. What societal standards does OCF deviate from?

F1. The Oregon Country Fair encourages self expression more than the American norm

F2. The Oregon Country Fair encourages political activism more than the American norm

G. Does OCF's deviance serve as a benefit to society?

G1. The Oregon Country Fair encourages behaviors that are a positive influence in the world

G2. Most Oregon Country Fair family members are a positive influence in the world

H. Does OCF's deviance serve as a benefit to you and your family?

H1. Being a member of the Oregon Country Fair community has positively influenced my life

H2. Being a member of the Oregon Country Fair community has positively influenced my family and friends

H3. Being a member of the Oregon Country Fair community has negatively influenced my ability to achieve my life goals

H4. Being a member of the Oregon Country Fair community has caused problems for my family

I. How does your deviant-identity differ when you are at OCF versus during your everyday life?

I1. I behave differently at the Oregon Country Fair than I do the rest of the year

I2. My counterculture identity is more apparent when I am at the Oregon Country Fair

J. How do the values of the Oregon Country fair translate into the bigger worlds

J1. I actively try to spread the values of the Oregon Country Fair to the outside community

J2. Most Oregon Country Fair staff carry the values of the Oregon Country Fair community into the outside world

K. Do you want to influence your children to self-identify as deviants and to live a deviant lifestyle?

K1. I would encourage/have encouraged my children to adopt aspects of the counterculture

K2. I want my children to identify with the counterculture

L. Do you want to influence other members of the next generation to self-identify as deviants and to live a deviant lifestyle?

L1. I would encourage/have encouraged younger people who I influence to take on aspects of the counterculture to become positive influences on the world

L2. I think that younger generations should identify with the counterculture

M. Were your parents deviants and if so did they influence your choice to self-identify as a deviant and to live a deviant lifestyle?

M1. My parents were part of the counterculture

M2. My parents or guardians influenced me to identify as part of the counterculture

M3. My parents or guardians taught me the values of the counterculture

N. Did you have deviant mentors from the generation before yours and did they influence your choice to self-identify as a deviant and to live a deviant lifestyle?

N1. I had older mentors (aside from parents and guardians) who were part of the counterculture
N2. My older mentors (aside from parents and guardians) influenced me during my adolescence to identify as part of the counterculture
N3. My older mentors (aside from parents and guardians) influenced me during my adolescence to make a positive impact on the world as a part of the counterculture

O. Did you have deviant peers and did they influence your choice to self-identify as a deviant and to live a deviant lifestyle?

O1. Growing up I had peers who were part of the counterculture

O2. Growing up my peers influenced me to identify as part of the counterculture

P. Were you influenced to self-identify as a deviant and to live a deviant lifestyle by a celebrity?

P1. I was influenced to self-identify as part of the counterculture by a celebrity

Table 2.2.

Correlation analysis of all the questions asked in the survey. Correlations >0.75 are red;
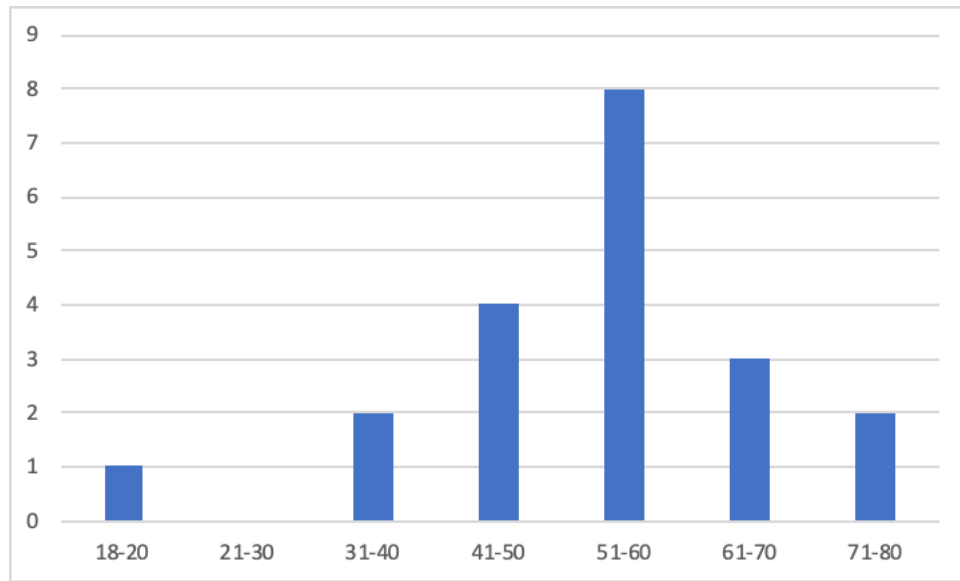correlations >0.5 are orange; correlations >0.24 are green.

Figure 2.1.

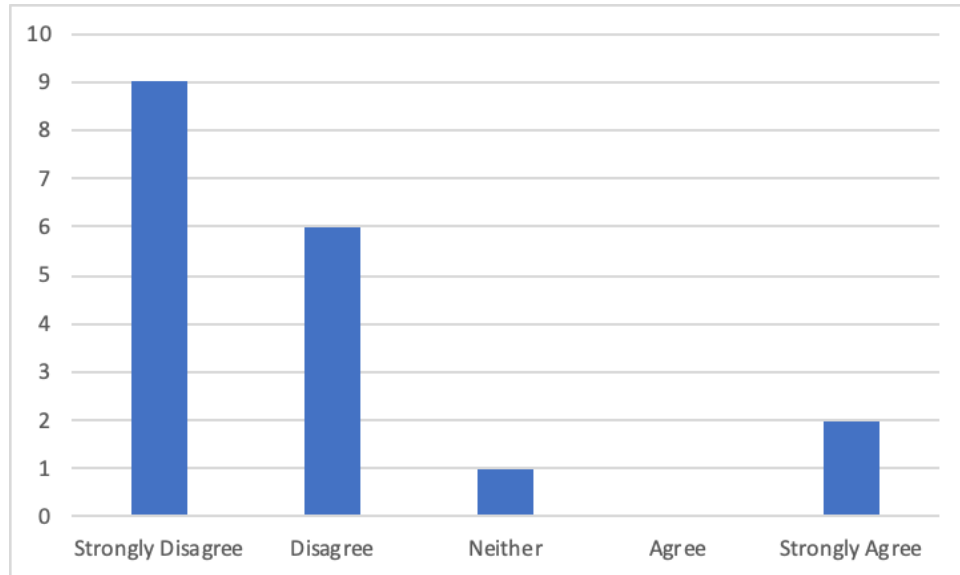Histogram showing distribution of ages within sample. (n=20)

Figure 2.2.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to the statement "M1- My parents were part of the counterculture." (N=18).
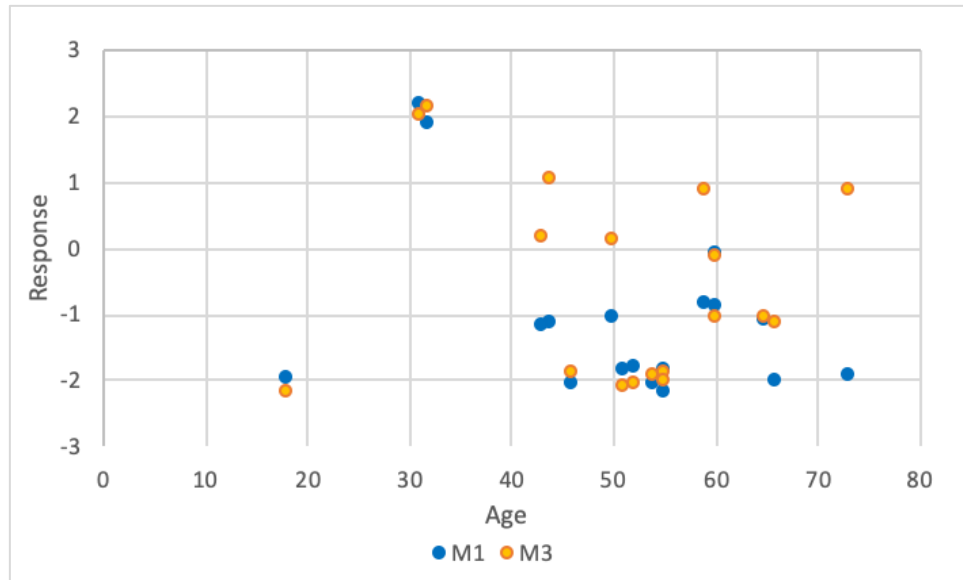
Figure 2.3.

Scatter plot showing Age versus response to two statements addressing overarching question "M-Were your parents deviants and if so did they influence your choice to self-identify as a deviant and to live a deviant lifestyle?" The statements included "M1-My parents were part of the counterculture" and "M3- My parents or guardians taught me the values of the counterculture." Response values: 2= Strongly Agree, 1= Agree, 0 = Neither, -1 = Disagree, -2 = Strongly Disagree. (N=18).
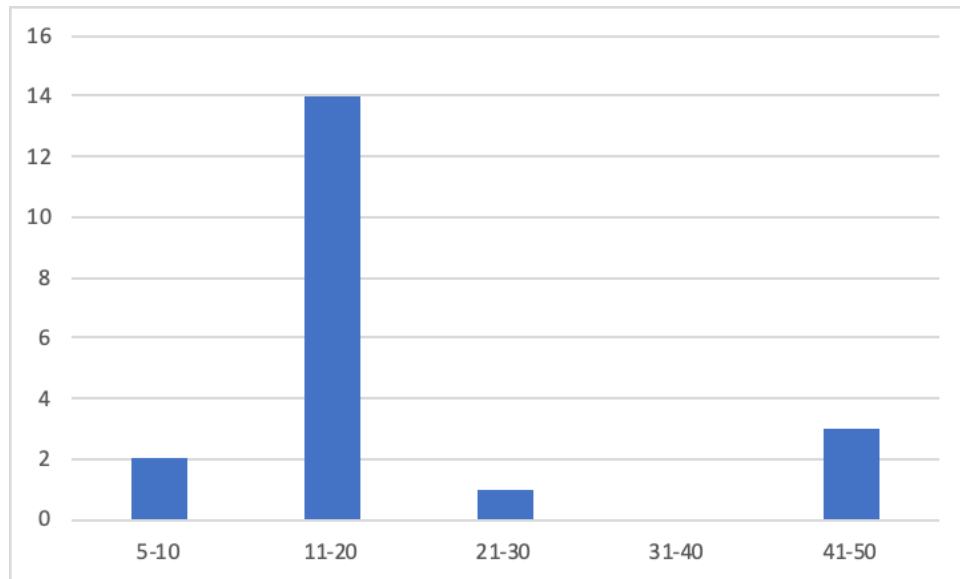
Figure 2.4.

Histogram showing age distribution based on answers to the question "How old were you when you began to identify with/become a part of the counterculture?" (n=20).
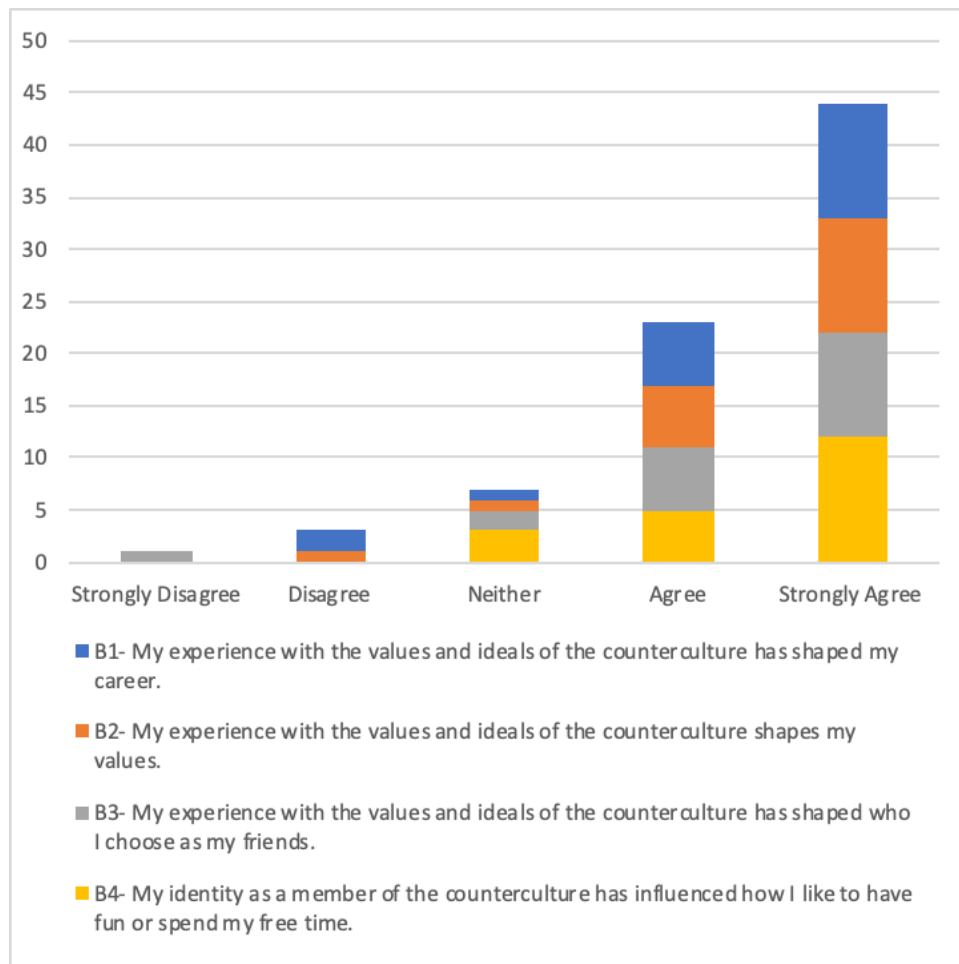
Figure 2.5.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to four statements addressing overarching question "B- How has your identity as a member of the counterculture shaped your life?" (N-20).
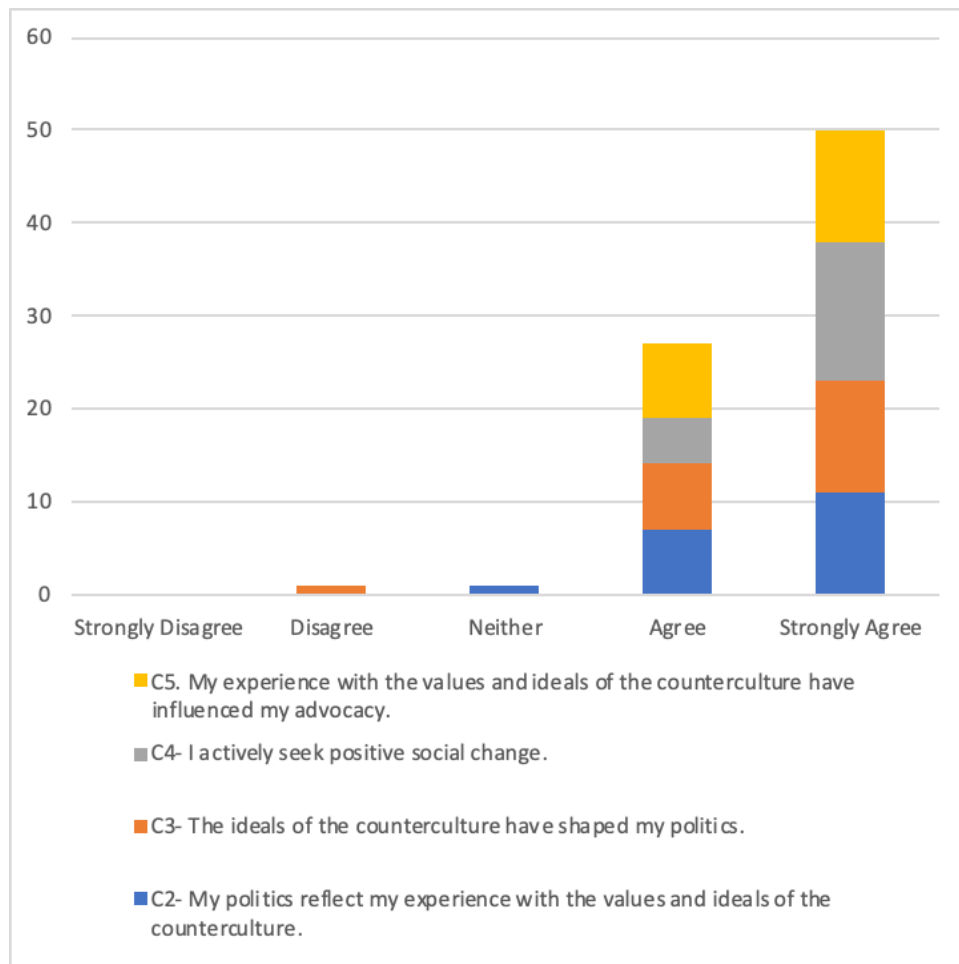
Figure 2.6.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to four statements addressing the overarching question "C- Does your deviance serve as a benefit to society?" (N-20).

Figure 2.7.

Histogram showing distribution to responses to 10 statements addressing the overarching question "C- Does your deviance serve as a benefit to society?" The Statements included: "I regularly advocate for social change," "I regulary advocate for drug reform," "I regularly advocate for racial equality," "I regularly advocate for gender equality," "I regularly advocate for economic equality," "I regularly advocate for the environment," "I regularly advocate for healthcare," "I regularly advocate for abortion," "I regularly advocate for gun control. (N-20)
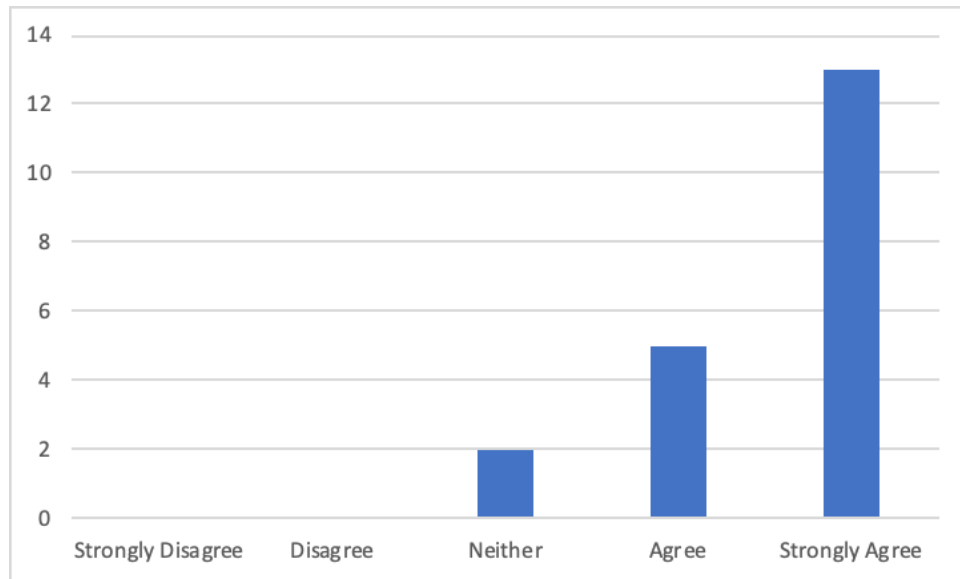
Figure 2.8.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to the statement "A3- The Oregon Country Fair is part of the counterculture." (N-20).

Figure 2.9.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to two statements addressing the overarching question "How does your deviant-identity differ when you are at OCF versus during your everyday life?" (N-16).

Figure 2.10.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to two statements addressing overarching question "F- What societal standards does OCF deviate from?" (N-20).

Figure 2.11.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to two statements addressing overarching question "G- Does OCF's deviance serve as a benefit to society?" (N-20).

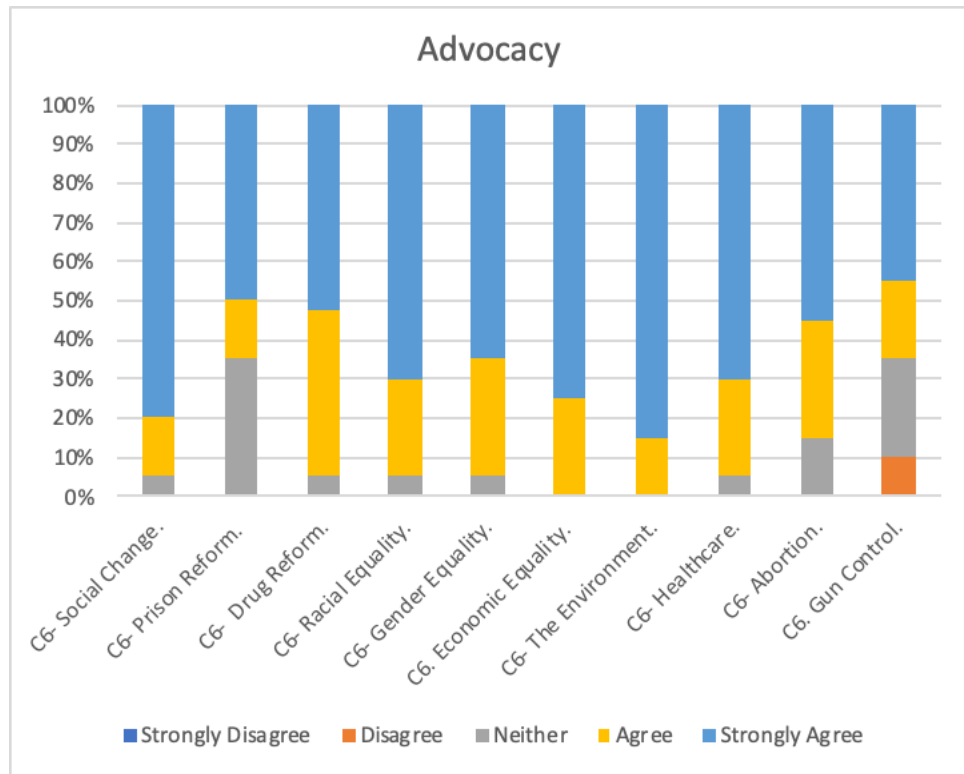Figure 2.12.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to two statements addressing the overarching question "J- How do the values of the Oregon Country fair translate into the bigger worlds?" (N=18)
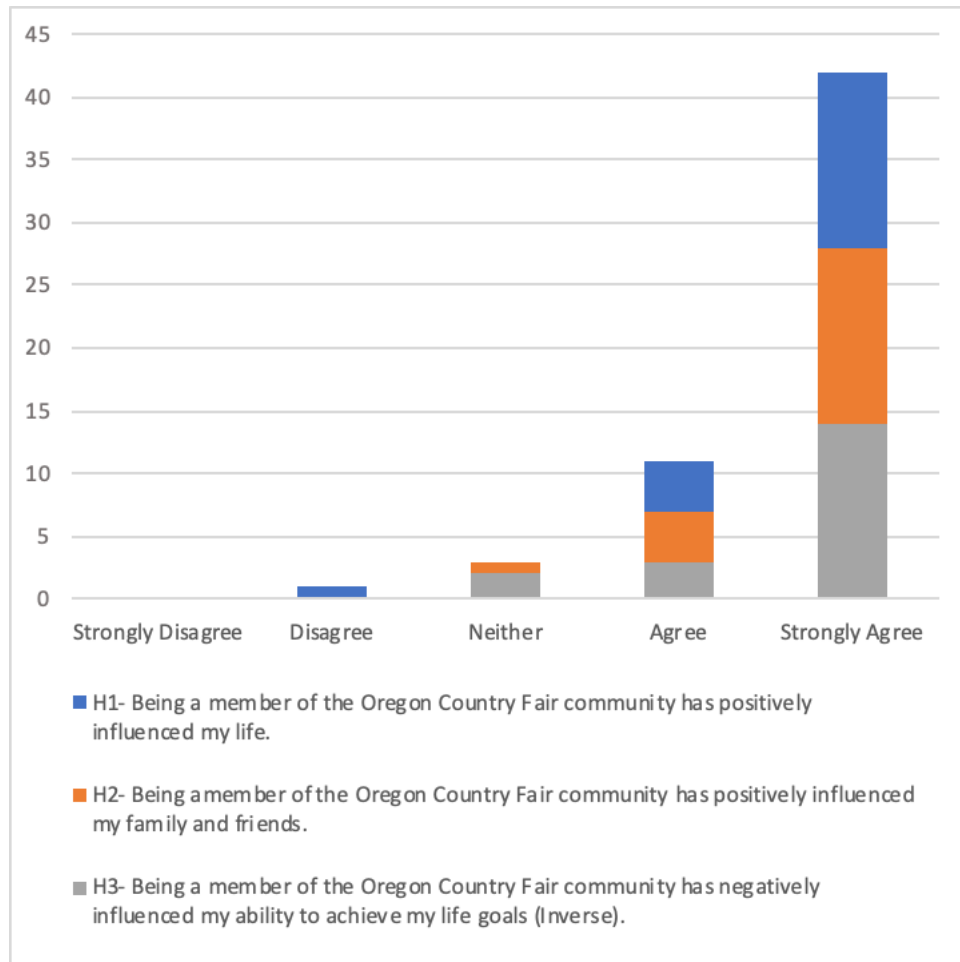
Figure 2.13.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to three statements addressing the overarching question "H1- Does OCF's deviance serve as a benefit to you and your family?" (N=19).
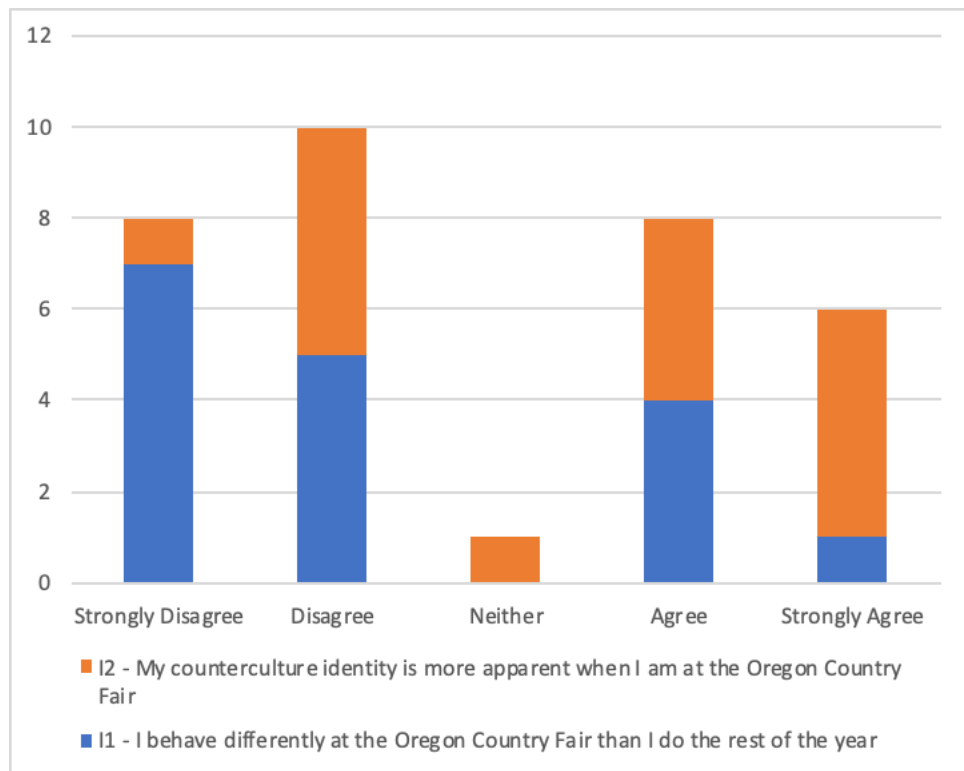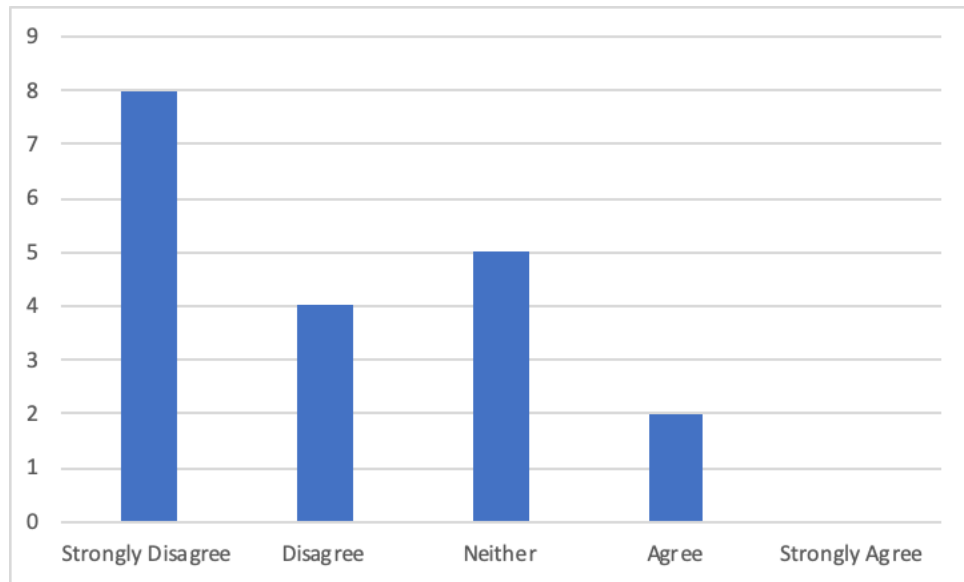
Figure 2.14.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to the statement "H4- Being a member of the Oregon Country Fair community has caused problems for my family." (N=19)

Figure 2.15.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to three statements addressing overarching question " E- Is the counterculture as relevant and important today as it was in the 60's?" (N=20)
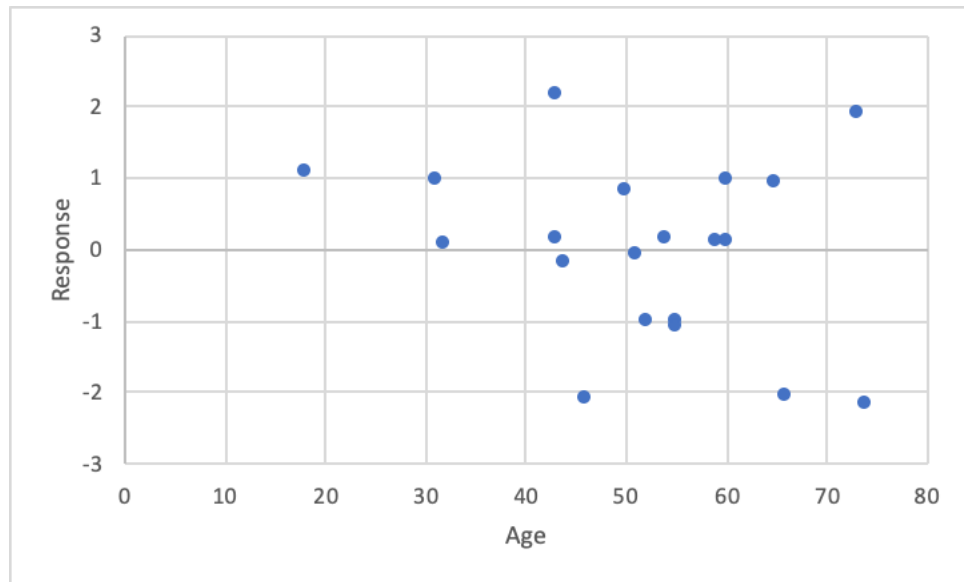
Figure 2.16.

 Scatter plot showing Age versus response to the statement "E2- The political and social atmosphere in the 60s made the counterculture more meaningful than it is today." Response values: 2= Strongly Agree, 1= Agree, 0 = Neither, -1 = Disagree, -2 = Strongly Disagree. (N=20).

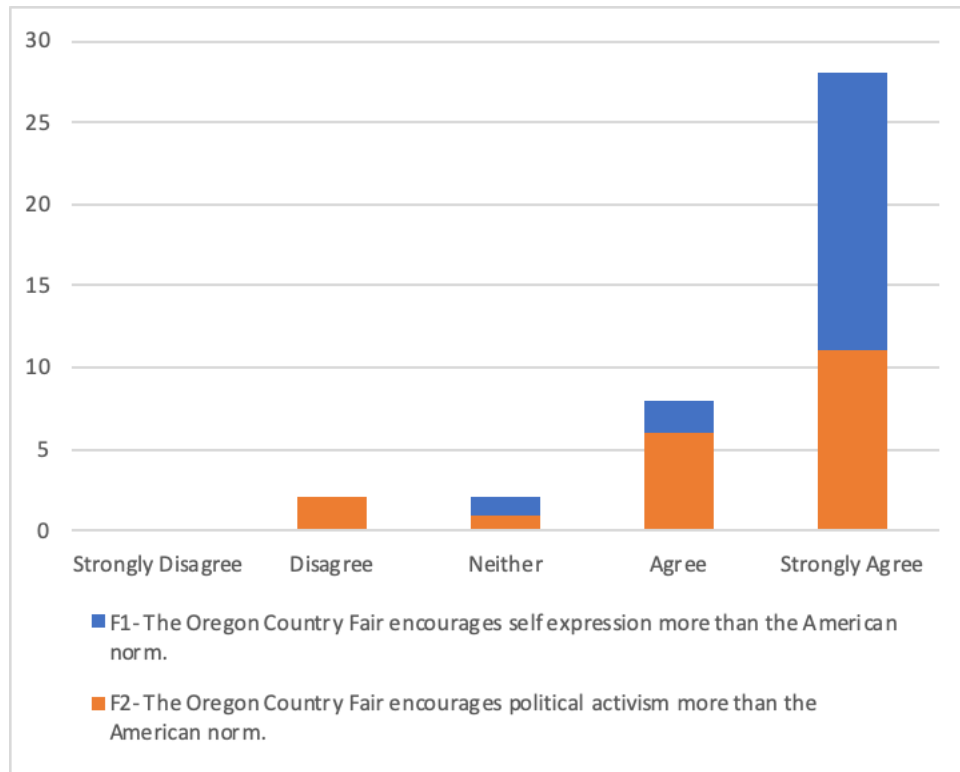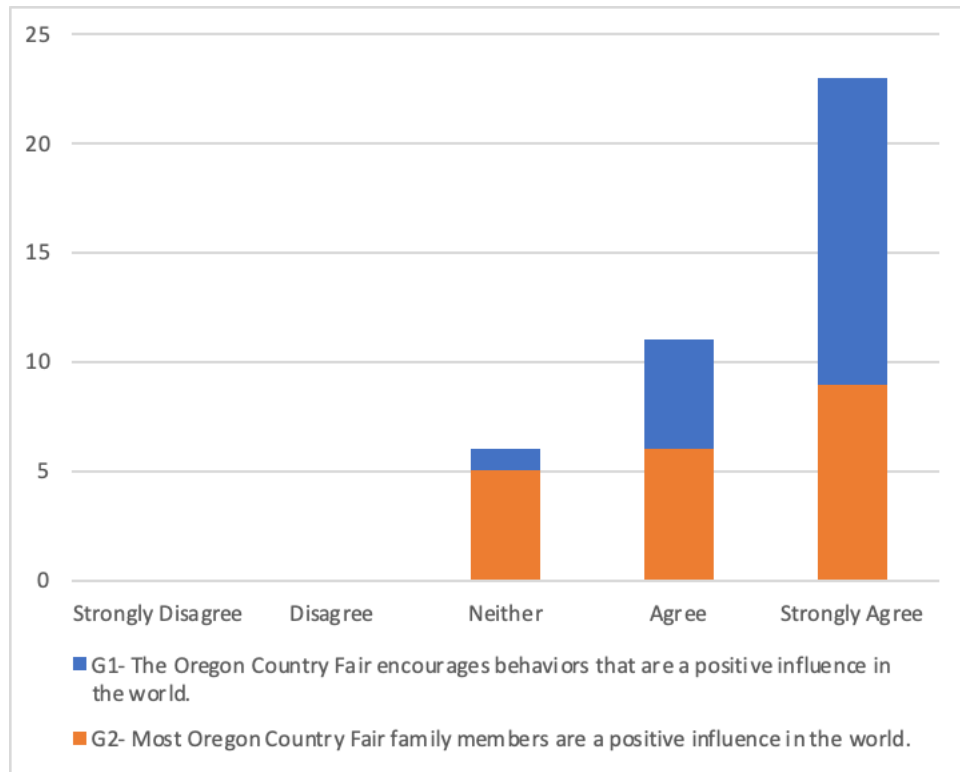Figure 2.17.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to three statements addressing overarching question " D- Does your deviance serve as a benefit to you and your family?" (N=20)
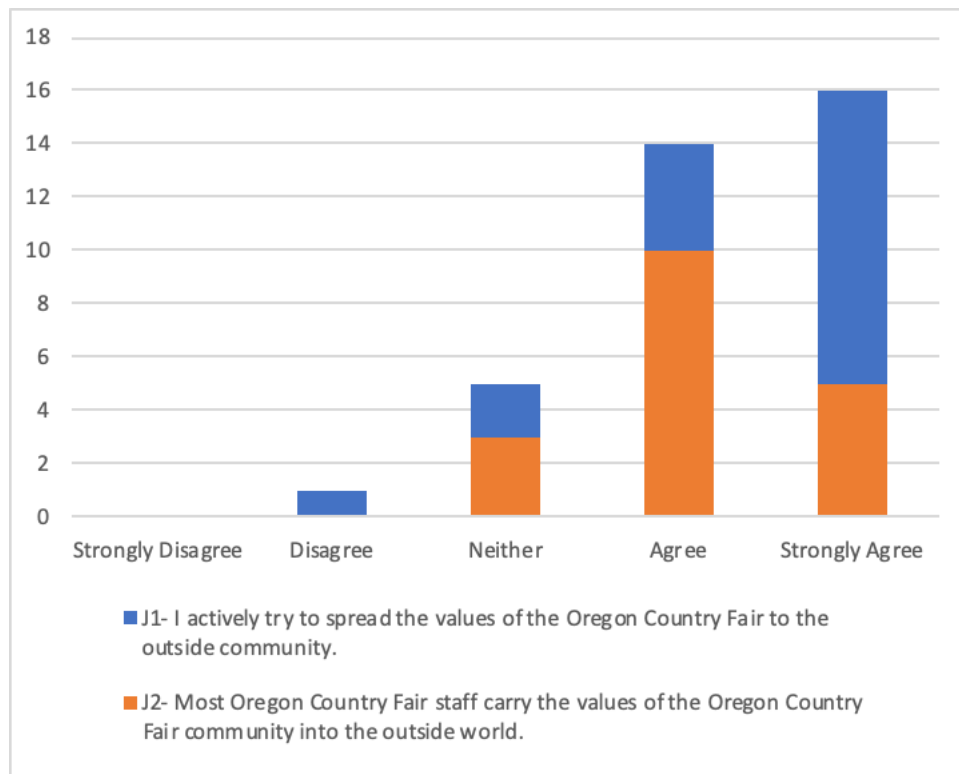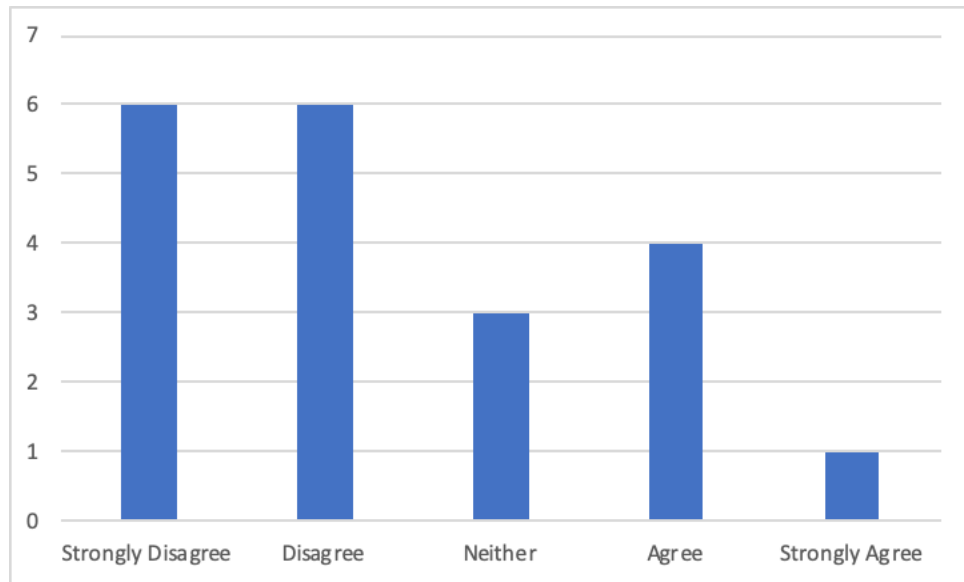
Figure 2.18.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to the statement "D4- My involvement with the counterculture has caused problems for my families" (N=20)

Figure 2.19.

Scatter plot showing response to the statement "M3- My parents or guardians taught me the values of the counterculture" versus the statement "D4- My involvement with the counterculture has caused problems for my family. Response values: 2= Strongly Agree, 1= Agree, 0 = Neither, -1 = Disagree, -2 = Strongly Disagree. (N=18).

Kindness Common Curtesy
Social Justice
Do Not Judge
Heaven Is When You Have Them Hell Is When You Don't
Republicans See The World As It Is Democrats See The World As It Could Be

Anti-Establishment
Being Fair For The Big And The Small
Freedom Do One To Others
Less Is More
Freedom
Food
Compassion
Do No Harm
Creativity
Acceptance
Empathy
Inclusion
Personal Freedom
Color
Love
Peace
Racial Equality
Care For The Planet
Respect
Equality
Sexuality
Social Equality
Community Building
Capitalism
Freedom Of Expression
Honestly
Sharing
Economic Equality
Education
Community
Pease
Awareness
Environmentalism
The Sanctity Of The Space Between Your Ears Is Paramount
Non-Violence
Being Inclusive
Back To Basics

Figure 2.20.

Word Cloud showing participants responses to open ended question: "What are the ideals and values of the counterculture?"

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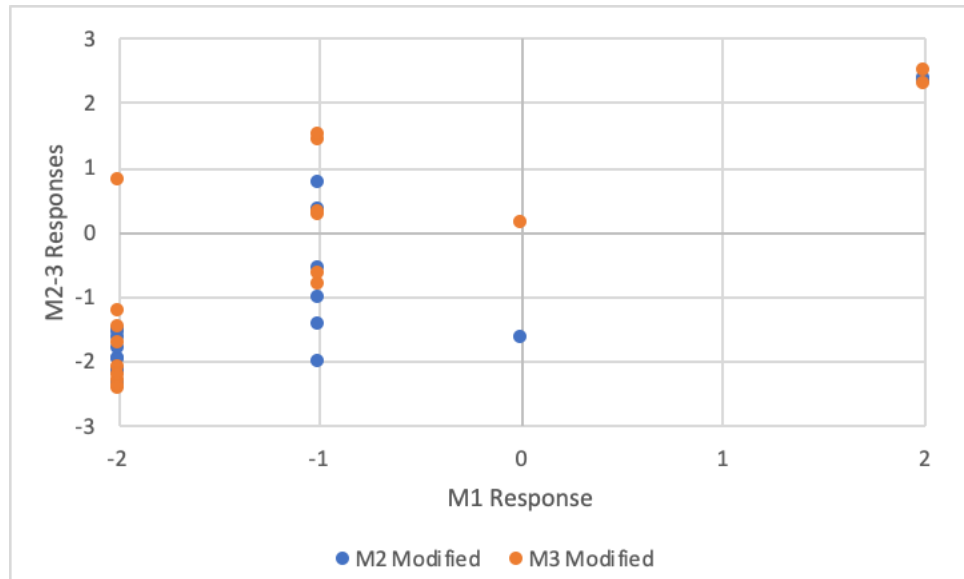
 Figure 2.21.

Scatter plot showing response to the statement "M1- My parents were part of the counterculture" versus statements "M2 - My parents or guardians influenced me to identify as part of the counterculture, " and "M3 -My parents or guardians taught me the values of the counterculture." Response values: 2 = Strongly Agree, 1 = Agree, 0 = Neither, -1 = Disagree, -2 = Strongly Disagree. (N=18).
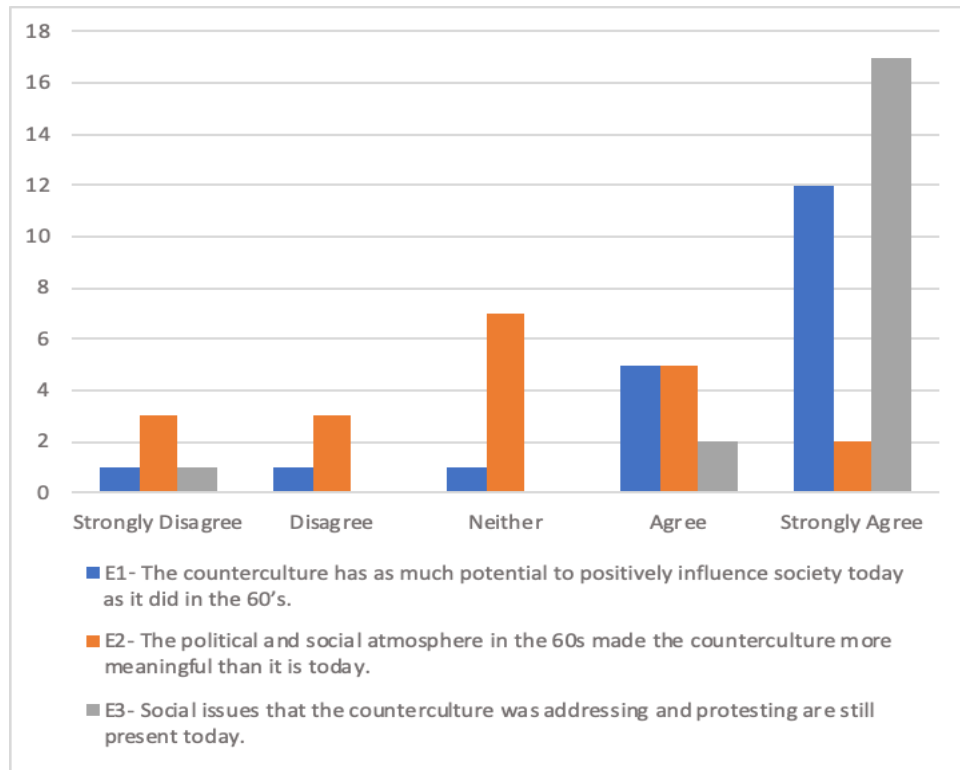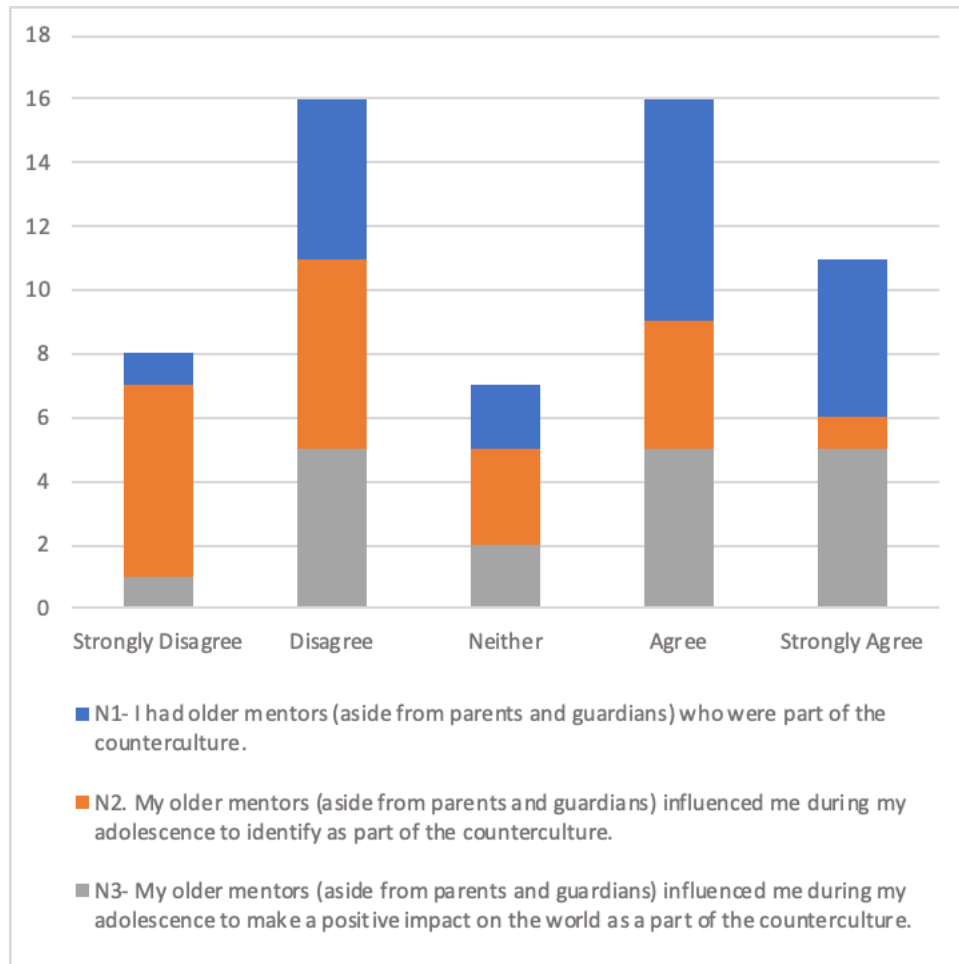
Figure 2.22.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to three statements addressing overarching
question "N. Did you have deviant mentors from the generation before yours and did
they influence your choice to self-identify as a deviant and to live a deviant lifestyle?"
(N=20).
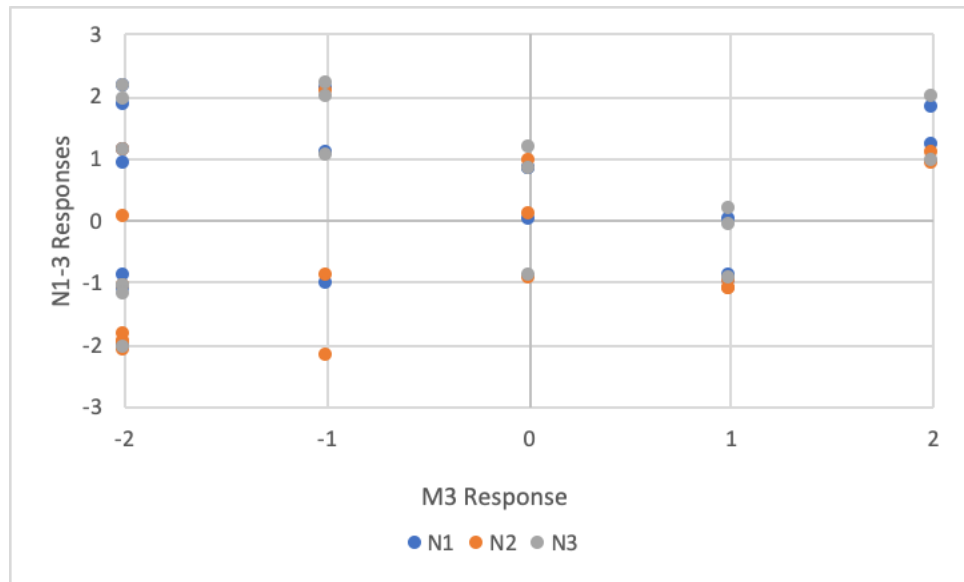
Figure 2.23.

Scatter plot showing response to the statement "M3 -My parents or guardians taught me the values of the counterculture." versus statements "N1 I had older mentors (aside from parents and guardians) who were part of the counterculture," "N2 My older mentors (aside from parents and guardians) influenced me during my adolescence to identify as part of the counterculture," and "N3- My older mentors (aside from parents and guardians) influenced me during my adolescence to make a positive impact on the world as a part of the counterculture." Response values: 2= Strongly Agree, 1= Agree, 0 = Neither, -1 = Disagree, -2 = Strongly Disagree. (N=18).
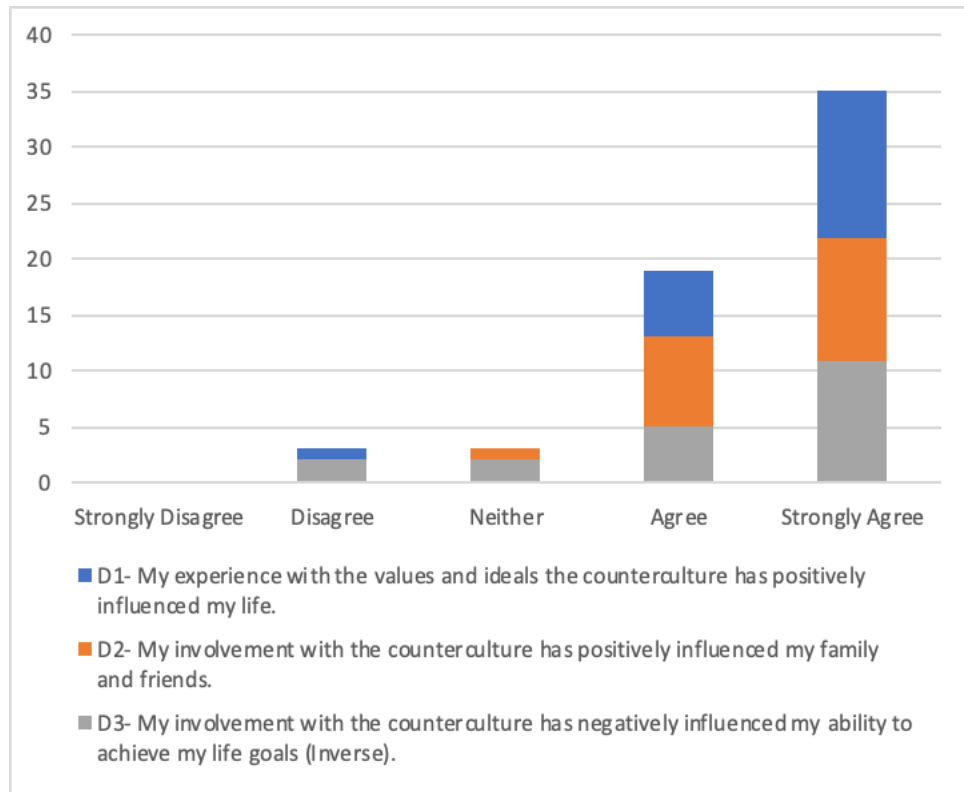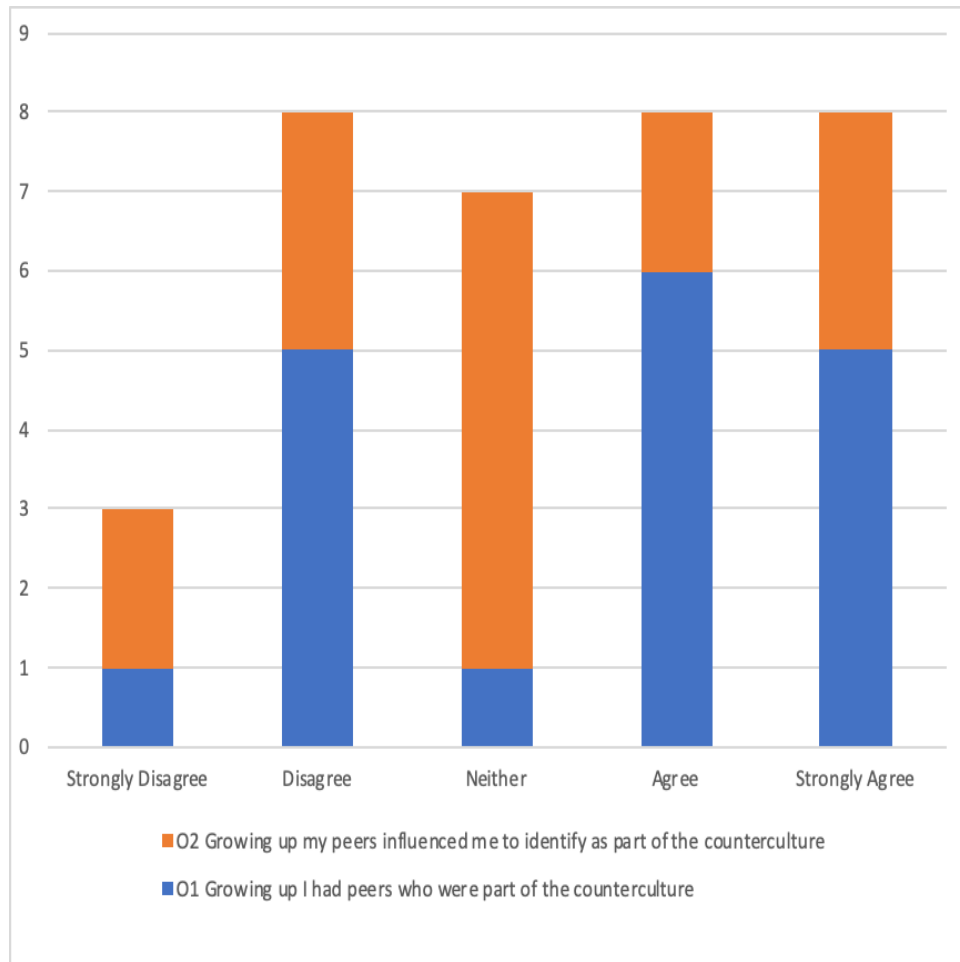
Figure 2.24.

Histogram showing distribution of responses to three statements addressing overarching question "O- Did you have deviant peers and did they influence your choice to self-identify as a deviant and to live a deviant lifestyle?" (N=20).
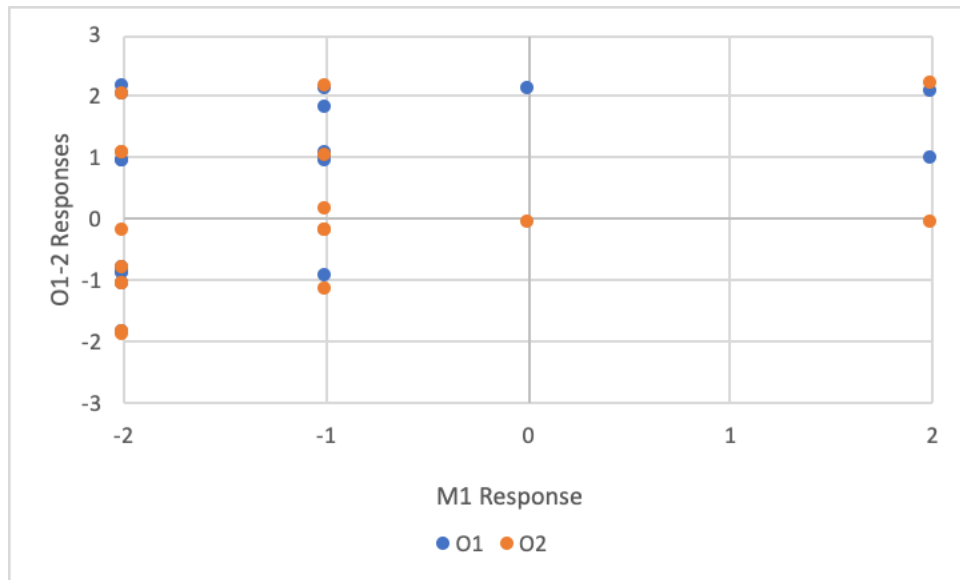
Figure 2.25.

 Scatter plot showing response to the statement ""M1- My parents were part of the counterculture" versus statements "O1- Growing up I had peers who were part of the counterculture," and "O2- Growing up my peers influenced me to identify as part of the counterculture." Response values: 2= Strongly Agree, 1= Agree, 0 = Neither, -1 = Disagree, -2 = Strongly Disagree. (N=18).
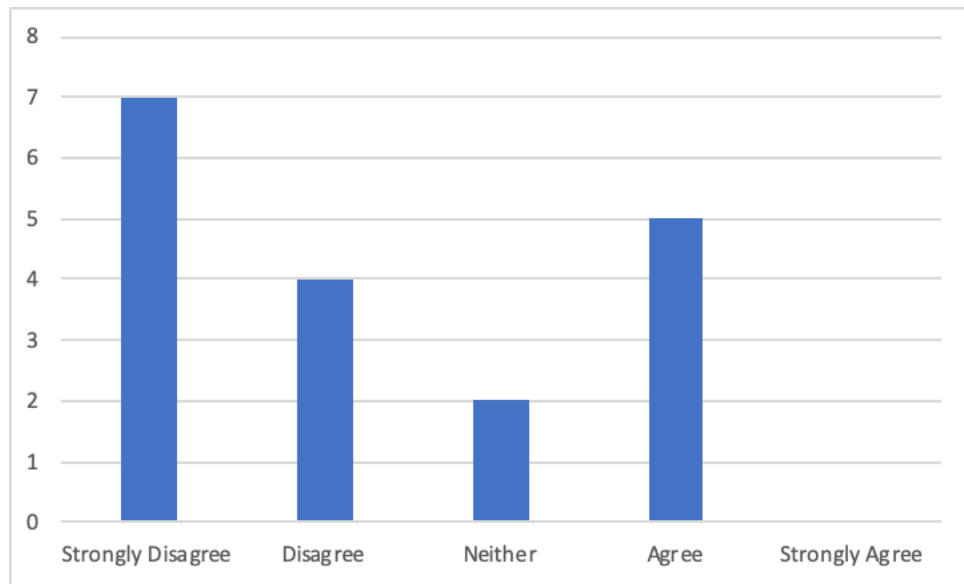
Figure 2.26.

Histrogram showing distribution of responses to question "P1- I was influenced to self-identify as part of the counterculture by a celebrity." (N=20).
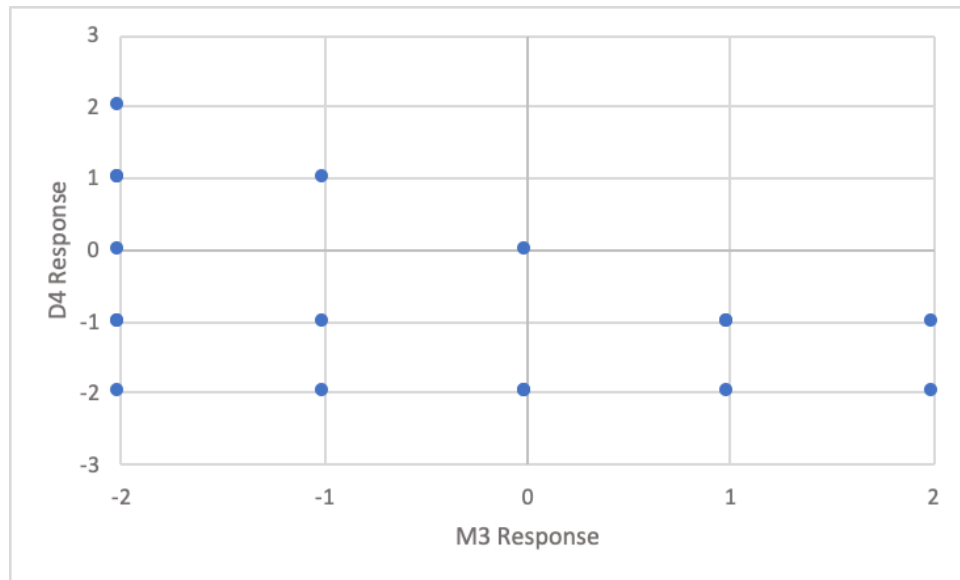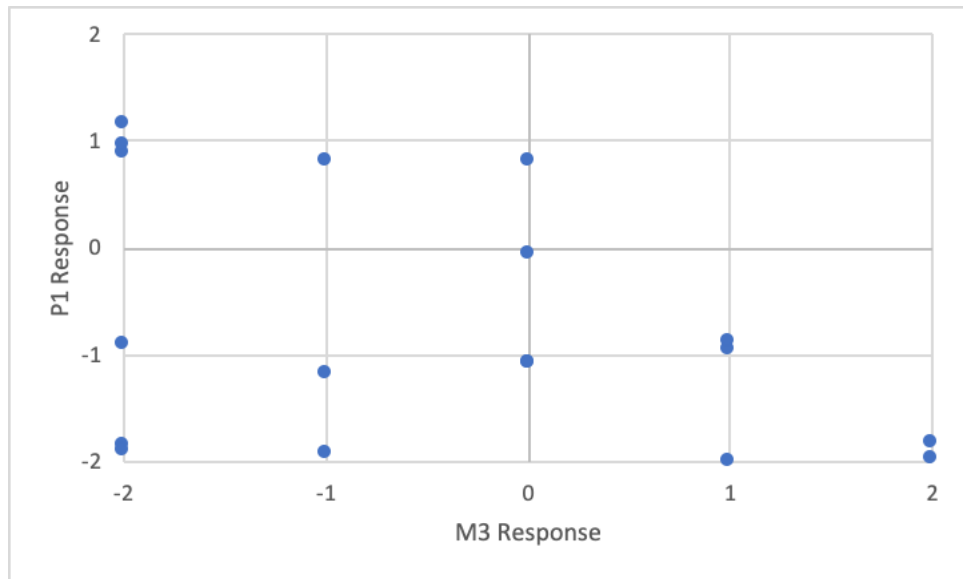
Figure 2.27.

Scatter plot showing response to the statement "M3- My parents or guardians taught me the values of the counterculture" versus the statement "P1- I was influenced to self-identify as part of the counterculture by a celebrity." Response values: 2= Strongly Agree, 1= Agree, 0 = Neither, -1 = Disagree, -2 = Strongly Disagree. M3 v P1 (N=18)

Steward Brand
New Riders of the Purple Sage
Rachel Carson
Raelf Nader
Rafael Anton Wilson
Abby Hoffman
Pete Seeger My self
Grateful Dead
John Lennon
Brother
Teachers
Woodstock
All those who told me what it was about
Older sister **Friends**
John Trudelc
My mind
Ken Kesey
Bernie Snaders
Joan Bias **Ram Dass**
Zappa
Leon Russel Ken kesey **Aunt** Parents
Mom
Sister **Timothy Leary**
Bob Dylan Wayne Kramer
Quick Sliver Messanger Service *The Beatles* Friends who are now family
Jerry Garcia
I sought it out, there were not specific individuals who influenced me

Figure 2.28.

Word cloud showing participants' responses to the open-ended question: "Who influenced you to identify with the counterculture?"

Figure 2.29.

Histogram showing distribution of responses 4 statements addressing overarching questions "K. Do you want to influence your children to self-identify as deviants and to live a deviant lifestyle?" and "L- Do you want to influence other members of the next generation to self-identify as deviants and to live a deviant lifestyle?" (N=18).
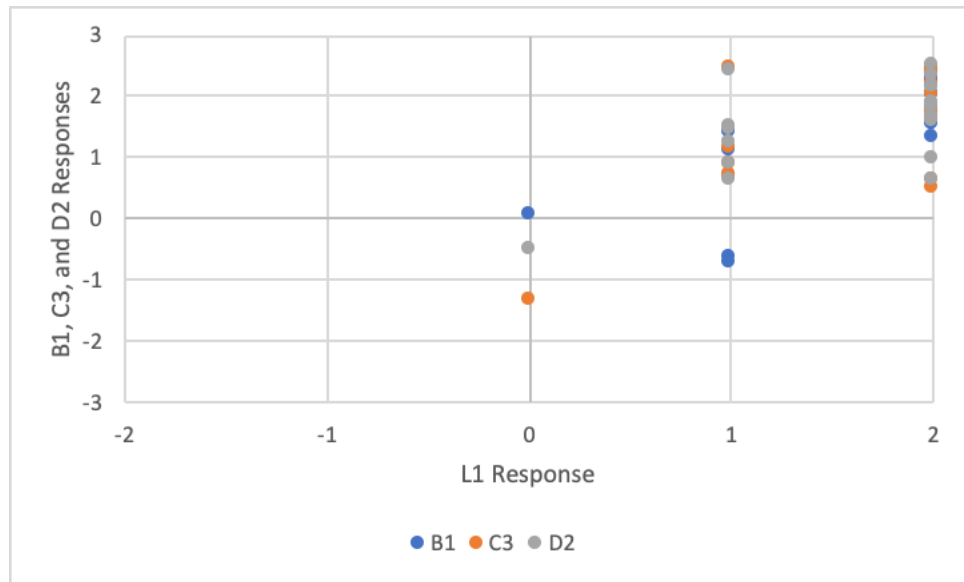
Figure 2.30.

Scatter plot showing response to the statement "L1 I would encourage/have encouraged younger people who I influence to take on aspects of the counterculture to become positive influences on the world." versus statements "B1. My experience with the values and ideals of the counterculture has shaped my career," "C3. The ideals of the counterculture have shaped my politics," and "D2 My involvement with the counterculture has positively influenced my family and friends." Response values: 2= Strongly Agree, 1= Agree, 0 = Neither, -1 = Disagree, -2 = Strongly Disagree (N=20)

Chapter Three: Counterculture Families, Communities, and Institutions—A Novel Model of Progressive Values Transmission

Introduction

This chapter covers the second phase of my research, which consists of a secondary survey tied to multi-generational family focus groups. These two components attempt to confirm patterns that were illuminated in Chapter Two, explore remaining ambiguities, and further examine the process of and motivations behind the intergenerational transmission of counterculture values within individual families. In Chapter Two I present evidence that intergenerational transmission occurs in counterculture families, and that individuals' self-identity as members of the counterculture has shaped their careers, politics, social groups, and recreational activities. I designed this new survey and focus group structure to further understand how individuals have incorporated their counterculture identities into these multiple areas of their lives, and how this has been influenced by intergenerational transmission. The focus groups discussed here are designed to test and expand on broad findings that resulted from my survey.

The focus groups explore motivations behind parents' transmission of counterculture values and lifestyles to their children, and to what degree this transmission was intentional or passive. This approach is intended to shine light on how parents go about transmitting the counterculture, and also how parents may have avoided transmitting certain aspects of their counterculture experience.

Results from Chapter Two provide evidence that second generation participants were less likely than first generation participants to report that their involvement with the counterculture has caused problems for them and their families. Here, I further explore the concept of mitigation by asking whether the process of transmission used, intentionally or unintentionally, has helped second generation participants avoid some of the negative consequences that their parent experienced as members of the counterculture.

It is possible that parents have avoided transmitting the negative aspects of the counterculture through misrepresentation of their own values and lifestyles (Acock and Bengtson 1980). Alternatively, this could be the result from a different process, since the counterculture is atypical from mainstream norms and thus families may make a stronger effort to transparently communicate their values to their children (Boehnke et al. 2007).

Because my sample in Chapter Two was skewed towards older first generation participants, here I focus more on how second and even third generation counterculture family members have received the counterculture. I ask when they became aware that they were raised as a part of the counterculture; if, when, and how they took on the counter culture as a self-identity; and how the deviant label has affected them. I ask if there were aspects of the counterculture that were present in older generations that they have rejected, and I ask about flaws that they saw in the older generation that they may have avoided. I also explore how the counterculture has changed between generations and within the context of ever-changing socio-political contexts.

My Chapter Two results about the counterculture's potential to influence society today were less clear. Older participants were more likely to agree that the counterculture still had potential. Here, I use the focus group to further examine this topic.

Finally, I seek to understand the role of institutional isomorphism (Kondra and Hurst 2009) in the Oregon Country Fair (OCF). The focus groups discuss participants' opinions about OCF, how is represents the counterculture, and how it affects the process of transmission. Results from this second research phase offer an opportunity to speak with participants in a more intimate setting and learn about individual and familial experiences to gain more nuanced perspectives about counterculture transmission.

Methodology

Design:

For this second phase of research I designed a brief survey and then I convened focus groups that included multiple generations of the same family. The goal of these focus groups was to provide more insight and qualitative data to build on the quantitative results of the first survey. The focus groups allowed me to talk to multiple generations of a family at once, letting me observe multiple generations discussing their opinions together. The family dynamic created a familiar and inviting environment, helping individuals feel comfortable opening up to me about their experiences.

I designed a set of brief preliminary survey questions for participants to answer independently before the focus groups. I had an individual survey for first generation

participants (Table 3.1) and second generation participants (Table 3.2), plus a unique

interview for middle generation participants who had counterculture parents and were

counterculture parents themselves (Table 3.3). Each survey asked opened ended

questions that related to the topics we would discuss during the focus groups.

Participants were asked to fill out these surveys independently, without talking to their

family members. They answered each question in one or two sentences. These

preliminary surveys allowed participants to provide answers to my questions without

being influenced by the responses of their family members. They also introduced

participants to the topics and themes of my research, so by the time their focus group

convened they had been thinking about the topic and their experiences with the

counterculture.

The focus groups were constructed similarly to the survey. If participants

returned their completed surveys to me in advance, I was able to ask questions that were

more specific to the answers they had already provided. I asked about each participant

experience with the counterculture and how they became involved with it. I also asked

about aspects of their counterculture identity experience that had been positive for them

and if there were any negative aspects. I asked parents if they intentionally transmitted

the counterculture, and if so, how they did this. I also asked if and how they avoided

transmitting certain aspects of the counterculture. I asked second the third generation

participants about their experiences growing up in a counterculture family. I asked

about what age they began to identify with the counterculture or became aware of the

label and otherness that differentiated their family from mainstream society. I asked

them about the aspects of the counterculture that they adopted from their parents, if they

had any other influential figures or experiences that shaped their counterculture identities, and if there were aspects of the counterculture that they saw in older generations that they did not want to adopt. I also asked second and third generation participants if and how their identification with the counterculture is different from what they thought their parents experiences were. I asked all participants about whether or not the counterculture is relevant today and if it has the potential to positively influence individuals and the world. I also asked about the Oregon Country Fair, how it represents the counterculture, and if it's a good tool for transmission.

During the focus groups, I would introduce theories from other research or from Chapter Two when I saw fit. I explained Boehnke's findings that families who differed from the mainstream culture showed more value continuity (Boehnke et al. 2007), the theory about how the transmission of social status influences value similarity between generations (Glass, Jennifer et al. 1986), and the process of misrepresentation to avoid transmitting negative aspects (Acock and Bengtson 1980). Participants would relate these theories to their own experience as a family, highlighting the ways in which they held true or differed in light of the counterculture.

Each of the focus groups was unique, since each family had very different experiences with the counterculture. I would ask different families slightly different questions based on their interests and the information they had already provided. This helped me maintain an authentic and natural conversation with each family and allowed their opinions and experiences to guide the conversation. This strategy also allowed me to hear new ideas about the counterculture, introducing emerging themes and ideas that I had not thought of previously. It gave each family a strong voice, and an opportunity

to talk about their experiences and what was meaningful to them, expanding my understanding and ideas about the counterculture.

To conduct the focus group, I met with each family either in person, over Google Video Chat, or a combination of the two. Before the focus group began, we would get to know each other and talk about general experiences and the Oregon Country Fair. I recorded each focus group so that I could listen back to our conversations and transcribe the data at a later time. I did not take notes because I wanted the conversations to feel very casual and natural and my recording was capturing the data.

Sample

To recruit and select families to participate in focus groups, I used a snowball sampling method. Because of my experience growing up at the Oregon Country Fair, and my family connections to the counterculture community, I asked friends and family if they had suggestions of other counterculture families who would be interested in participating in focus groups. I acquired the contact information of potential participants to whom I reached out to explain my project. I sent an email to a member of each potential family that explained who I am, my project, and what participating would entail. I asked these family representatives to reach out to their other family members and see if they too would be willing to participate. Once these family's members expressed interest, I sent them a new email with the information about myself and my research. I ensured that I had at least two generations represented in each focus group, and that all of my participants were over 18 to comply with the IRB. We scheduled a time and place to meet. I then sent each participant a generation-specific survey. I also

asked the participants if they had any suggestions of other families who would want to participate in my project.

Analysis

To analyze the data, I downloaded each focus group recording onto my computer. I listened to each from start to finish and transcribed the majority of the conversation verbatim. Then, I went back through the data and eliminated anything was irrelevant, and I paraphrased certain sections of the recording when I deemed fit. I reread the cut back transcription and color-coded responses that fell under certain questions and themes. I also took notes about key points, reoccurring themes from different families, and intra- and inter-family differences in their responses about their experiences with the counterculture and their approaches to transmitting the ideals and values.

To discuss the results, I have chosen to keep participants anonymous. I refer to each family through a number, corresponding with the order in which I interviewed them. I identify each member of the family in two ways. I explain the family arrangement, identifying grandparents, fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters. I also use the terms generation and cohort to discuss each family members' relationship to the counterculture. Generation refers to a participant's identification with the counterculture in relation to their family. Someone who is of the first generation to identify with the counterculture means that that did not have parents who were a part of the counterculture. Cohort refers to the age range that participants falls into, and their placement in society outside of their family. I have split my data into three cohorts: older adults (60-80), middle-aged adults (30-59), and young adults (20-29). This helps

me to organize the explained the data from different families and compare and contrast the focus groups with one another.

Results and Discussion

I conducted four focus groups, each with a different family. Two of the focus groups were conducted in person, one was conducted over Google video chat, and one was a conducted with one family member in person, and the other two over video chat. The families I talked to had various backgrounds and each focus group included a different arrangement of family members based on who was available and interested in participating. The total number of participants was ten.

Here, I first present a profile of each family by describing the results from the focus groups. This section focuses on the participants, their experiences with the counterculture, and a broader overview of the process of value transmission in each family. Then, in the following section, I discuss the results from these focus groups in regard to theories about intergenerational value transmission, the transmission of positive and negative values, the ways in which younger generations have differed in their counterculture identity and changed the meaning of the counterculture for their cohort. I also discuss participants opinions about the role of the Oregon Country Fair as a counterculture institution.

Family Profiles

Family 1 consisted of three generations of males. I interviewed the grandfather of the family, who is of the first generation to identify with the 1960s counterculture and is of the older adult cohort. I met with the grandfather at his home in Eugene,

Oregon. We called in his son, a second-generation counterculture identifier and middle-aged adult cohort member; and we also called his grandson, who is the third generation of his family to identify with the counterculture, and part of the young adult cohort. All three of these participants are involved with the Oregon Country Fair.

The grandfather recognized the tradition of counterculture that runs in his family even before the emergence of the 1960s counterculture. He explained that his parents deviated from mainstream society "in that they were political rebels of the 1930s" and had been blacklisted during McCarthyism of the 1950s; his brother was an anti-war activist and wrote the weatherman manifesto. He explained that he was motivated to identify with the 1960s counterculture because he felt a lack of social acceptance from mainstream American culture. He explains,

> I never felt like I was part of anything for my first 18 years, I didn't feel like I had any friends or people—alienated. I was a single parent in the 70's. There wasn't much room or experience or model of being a single father with a baby in this time. The mainstream treated it very weird. But in the hippy culture it was easily and normally excepted. The contradictions between having a kid and making a living were not as profound as they were in mainstream culture.

The grandfather raised his son, the second generation present in the interview, in Deadwood, Oregon. His son explained how growing up he had a combative identity with the counterculture and rejected the hippie label when he was younger, even getting into fights when he would be called a hippie. However, as he grew older, and to this day, he has come to identify very positively with being a hippie.

The grandson, who was also the second generation participant's son, represented a the third generation in this focus group. He explained that he was raised in Eugene, Oregon, where "counterculture was almost the mainstream." It wasn't until later when

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he realized the uniqueness and value of his upbringing. He explains, "it was not something I had to grapple with and confront like my Dad had to and my grandfather chose to; it was very natural. But it wasn't until later that I became motivated to identify with it." This participant explains that he rebelled by being less countercultural, as he wanted a different approach to life. While his counterculture identity is different from his father and grandfather, he recognized how his counterculture base has positively influenced his life and discusses how it has shaped who he is today by giving him a higher self-awareness. He said, "I am a product of this counterculture and I do not take this for granted. The vibe is so much better than it would have been for me."

Both the grandfather and the father in Family 1 expressed that community has been a very important positive value of the counterculture and their personal journey towards self-awareness. The grandfather reported that he intentionally transmitted what he thought of as the positive aspects of the counterculture, which have to do with putting community and human relationships ahead of material acquisition and consumerism. He has done so by making a point of staying in touch with rural, land-based hippie communities.

The father said that while his father influenced him, the older mentors and community members he grew up around also played a role in his counterculture identity. He said, "older people who were articulating a revolutionary ethos was by far the most interesting compelling aspect of the universe to me as a kid and as an adult." For these two participants, the values of being a good parent and the values of the counterculture are intrinsically connected. The father, who was the middle generation present, stated that his father was the most altruistic being. He explained that his father

very much thinks a certain thing is right, it's a moral emotionalism,
which I know is like a feminine characteristic, and I was raised by a
nurturing father. It's all related to the politics and the revolutionary
spirituality of being a whole person. My father is actually a feminist man
and he brought that forward, he was a together dad for me in the 70s.
Other people did not have a lot of examples of that in our society and
within that there is a holism that was falling off a log-- be a good dad to
[my son]. That is the story of values transmission for us. It is a feminist
political revolutionary movement where my dad's revolution was being a
good dad.

The grandfather followed this up by explaining that for him, it was a matter of doing the

right thing. It was honesty, love, and consistency—what is naturally human. He

explained that "people who are other than that is because they got side tracked

somehow, by consumerism or alcoholism maybe; the natural thing is to be a good

parent like the natural thing is to keep inhaling and exhaling and breathing." It is clear

that good parent values are, for this family, a part of the counterculture that has been

transmitted.

The grandson, the third generation of this family that participated, reiterated this

point and drew a parallel between political awareness, counterculture awareness, and

parenting. Speaking to his grandfather he said,

Even before your generation, your dad stuck to his commie roots despite
the red scare. He's questioning the political realities of the time, thus
opening your eyes and giving you this perspective where you aren't
trusting everything around you, your questioning, and your finding your
own path and in that path you are realizing that there is in fact a moral
high ground compared to what the monolithic standard cultural
approaches to parenting and politics and everything are. And yes, they're
connected. That's what I have seen and that's what I have been exposed
to. We put the importance on morality over some level of assimilation.

The grandson spoke to moral-awareness and questioning, illuminating it as one of the

positive aspects of the counterculture he grew up in. He explains that through feeling a

little bit different, atypical from the mainstream, he was provided with "more tools in

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the toolbox to confront realities that come up in the real world." For him, being raised with this difference and the label of counterculture deviance was both a challenge and a gift in the sense that he was exposed to more than most children, and he had to reconcile his differences at the younger age. Through this, he acquired a higher sense of self-awareness at a younger age.

Family 2 consists of a father and his son, who I interviewed on the University of Oregon Campus. The father is of the first generation of his family to identify with the 1960s counterculture, and of the middle-aged adult cohort. The son represents the second generation and is of the young adult cohort. The father explained that his sister influenced him to identify with the counterculture, "she would hand off her 60s and early 70s music, Carlos Castaneda, Electric Cool Aid Acid Test and all of that stuff; [he] inherited a lot of it from her." In addition, his parents experimented with aspects of the counterculture and would take him to rallies, but they were mostly part of the mainstream culture. This participant also explained a similar lack of acceptance that the grandfather in generation one cited. He said, "another thing this that I was a little bit fat and effeminate, and mainstream Texas macho culture was a really bad fit for me and so I was looking for any other thing any other measures of validation." He found this validation in the counterculture.

The father of Family 2 explained that he intentionally transmitted aspects of the counterculture through sharing the things he loved with his children, and the values that he accepted. Among these values he stated that he intentionally transmitted environmentalism, tolerance, and "skepticism towards militarism, organized religion and materialism."

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Family 2 spent awhile living in the Lost Valley Commune in Oregon. The son, who spent ages 5 to 10 in this community, explained how this influenced his experience with the counterculture. He explains that counterculture was the norm in Lost Valley. He said,

> In Lost Valley everyone was counterculture; it would have been weird to not be counterculture. I didn't have any role models of what mainstream society would be like until later. For at least the first 10 years of my life most of my experience was counterculture in one way or another. I thought that was the norm, and then at a certain point I came to a realization that 'oh no most people live in houses on streets, most people don't live in the middle of the woods and eat communal meals with 50 other people.'

He also discussed how his counterculture identity has become less apparent as he has grown up, but he still holds the underlying values and certain aspects of the counterculture. He has inherited his father's minimal attachment to material possessions, and his non-appreciation of meat products.

For both the father and the son in this focus group, academia and education has been an important influence and a way of expressing their counterculture identity. The father explains,

> Even when I was on dead tour and shit like that there was a way in which higher education was counterculture for me. It was like the refuge. I wanted to get away from everyone else and I would go find some college library to hang out in because that was a world of ideas, it was anti-materialistic, you could find anything, all the ideas ever were in there no matter how radical or anything else.

Today, the father works as a professor, reflecting his counterculture identity and involvement. While there were many aspects of the counterculture that his son rejected, he explained that he studied education policy because he thinks that society can provide a better education system for youth. Speaking to this he said,

> And maybe that is counterculture values, maybe I didn't like the idea of everyone having to go sit in classrooms and learn the same material that may or may not be interesting, and that's why I went and studied education policy. I want kids to learn in ways that they appreciate, let kids have more freedom of expression in what they do and that probably comes from my childhood. Living on the hippie commune and then going to public school.

He goes on to explain how he is a proponent of higher taxes, which he sees as anti-counterculture. However, this is one way in which he thinks the education system can be improved. For this family, aspects and the potential of education represent traits of the counterculture. While the son explains ways in which he does not identify with the counterculture, his views about education, among other things, represent his counterculture upbringing and the values that he has maintained as a result. Both father and son participate in the Oregon Country Fair every year and recognize it as an important event that brings their entire family together.

Family 3 consists of a mother and her daughter. This focus group was conducted by video chat. The mother is of the first generation of her family to identify with the counterculture and is a part of the middle-aged adult cohort. The daughter is the second generation of her family to identify with the counterculture and is of the young adult cohort.

The mother explains that she was motivated to become a part of the counterculture because she loved the music, the people, and the feeling of acceptance. She moved to the US when she was five years old and moved to Utah. She wasn't American, wasn't Mormon, and explained how she felt like she did not fit in anywhere. She said, "I was super different. We didn't even speak English for a long time. And so, I got introduced when I was 15 years old to the Grateful Dead and the whole hippie

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scene; I felt like I was accepted and a part of something and it was so awesome." This reflects the appeal of acceptance that the counterculture offers.

The mother from Family 3 expressed that she did not transmit the counterculture intentionally to her daughter, as it was "just her way of life". However, she did choose to take her to music festivals and events, and the Oregon Country Fair, which played a big role in the open communication that she practiced with her daughter.

Her daughter is similar to the other young-adult cohort participants in that the counterculture was a community and culture that she was raised in, and thus was less of a matter of self-identification. She explains that while she does consider the counterculture a formative part of her upbringing, it is not a huge part of how she identifies today. She said,

> My experience with the counterculture was really foundational for who I
> am and I know that it informs a lot of my adult personality, the decisions
> I make, and my values; but I wouldn't say that it is something that I
> actively strongly identify with. I would say it's a key part of myself but
> there are other identities and other communities that I have found that
> feel much more empowering for me.

While her daughter does not cite the counterculture and her strongest identity, she reported that she carries positive aspects of the counterculture that she learned growing up, such as a strong environmental ethic, a deep connection to music, art, self-expression, and the prioritization of fun-- all aspects that she adopted from her mother.

She explained that it took her awhile to realize that a lot of the people she was interacting with didn't have the same counterculture experience. She felt like there was a disconnect between her and her peers. She assumed that her peers were also raised by a lot of different people and had many adults that they could turn to and trust. She says,

I was raised in a really communal way and had experiences like growing up at OCF and going to blessing ways instead of baby showers. It took me years and I feel like I am still seeing those differences and trying to figure how they inform the way that I look at the world but really when I was in early middle school was when those differences seemed really prominent.

Both the mother and daughter in this focus group explained how the counterculture was a way of life for them. It was less intentional-- it was just what they were doing and how they were living their lives. While the daughter has grown away from her counterculture roots in some ways, and it has taken a backseat to other identities that she has chosen to take on, she still holds core counterculture values that she adopted from her parents.

Family 4 consists of a mother and both her son and daughter. I interviewed this family at the daughters' home during their weekly family dinner. The mother was of the first generation in her family to identify with the counterculture and falls in the middle-aged adult cohort. Her two children are second generation identifiers and fall into the young-adult cohort.

The mother explains how she grew up in Southern California, where girls her age drove Porches and had plastic surgery. Her parents were part of the mainstream culture, but they were alternative in that marijuana was incorporated into their life style, and they would party and let loose on the weekends between weeks of working their mainstream jobs – "they were not counterculture, but they were partiers." The mother explains that psychedelic experiences were a large influence in her choice to identify with the counterculture. Through this, she was able to see an alternative way of living. When she was a teenager, she went to her first Grateful Dead show with a friend. She said,

we get out [of the car] and it was a mysterious world and there was a woman dancing in a drum circle and she was hairy, and I was mesmerized because everyone where I came from was always primped and manicured. I was like 'whoa she doesn't shave,' and my friend was like, 'you don't have to!' And at that moment I was like 'your right, you can do whatever you want.' My mind set changed in that moment. I just became a hippy.

The mother explains how she did not want her kids to be raised in a culture where things are valued over people, and she wanted them to experience the same acceptance and community that she was able to find for herself through the Grateful Dead and the counterculture. She reported that she had intentionally transmitted the values of the counterculture to her children "from the very beginning". She explained how she started with a home birth, and from her pregnancy onward she chose alternative health care, alternative education, she exposed them to festivals, rainbow gatherings, arts and culture, and traveling. She said that she wanted them to be raised in a culture where people were valued over material things.

Both of her children identify with the counterculture. While the daughter reported that she adopted all of her counterculture values from her parents, the son was more specific and stated that his parents taught him to question the government, appreciate an alternative lifestyle, eat healthy food, and work hard.

The daughter explains that while the counterculture is a strong part of her life, it is not really counterculture but more of a reality and all that they have known. Both of her children express that growing up around a free-thinking, counterculture community has influenced their counterculture identities today.

The son explains that he was placed in alternative education programs, including a Waldorf school and a Charter school; however, as the youngest child who was

exposed to a lot by his younger siblings and very energetic, these systems did not work

for him. When he was placed in public school, and he became involved in Football, he

temporarily drifted away from his counterculture roots. He said,

> I had super long hair that went down to by butt and I braided it and stuff,
> and then I cut it and wanted to be a jock and hang out with the cool kids.
> But I was always nervous to have them over. Looking back in retrospect
> we had a super nice house. I was just hesitant because my dad had a lot
> going on and there were always freaky people. As I got older, I began to
> come back to my roots.

The daughter explained that she had a different experience with her counterculture

identity, speculating that this might be because of the social differences between young

girls and young boys. Speaking to when she became aware of her family's

counterculture identity she said,

> I became aware of it in middle school. I was always aware of it, but
> that's when it became a thing. In the circle we grew up in I had a group
> of girls and all of their parents are my parents' best friends so there was
> no difference cause all our parents were doing the same stuff. But when I
> got to middle school and began to branch out and meet new people, I
> was aware of it. But I liked it. Because it was at the age when other kids
> started to be like 'ohh rock and roll and weed and I was like wait…
> that's me!' I liked it; I didn't want to rebel against it.

The son agreed, following his sisters' statement by adding that they were very lucky to

have a big counterculture community and other kids their age from counterculture

families that they grew up with. They also recognized the importance of mentors they

had in their counterculture community. The son said, "As the youngest, I had a lot of

really cool people to look up to that were doing a lot of cool things. Older mentors

definitely had an influence on me."

The daughter also explained the influence of older mentors, and the positive

aspect of growing up around men who did not fit in with mainstream society. She said,

> We were around these artistic men that were maybe a little softer than the average mainstream dude. And that's a thing to grow up around men who are not dicks. And then the women, all of our moms, we have like a group of moms that raised all the kids together. And most of them are midwives, super gentle and nurturing. We had a community to look up to, and if there was a place where one parent was lacking another parent would step up and be able to do that.

This shows how the community that this the mother chose to raise her children in provided them with peers and mentors who contributed to the counterculture values and identities they have inherited. Family 4 showed strong intergenerational continuity, and both children attributed their counterculture values to the influence of their parents and the communities they were raised in.

Family Profile Summary. While each of these families have different backgrounds and experiences with the counterculture, there are some recognizable patterns within their stories. All of the participants from the first generations of their family to identify with the counterculture express that they felt a disconnect from mainstream American society; the acceptance and community that they found in the counterculture motivated them to become a part of it and transmit it to their children. The grandfather from Family 1, who was of the older adult cohort, and the three parents from the other families, who were all of the middle-aged adult cohort, expressed these feelings. This shows how the counterculture attracts people who deviate and do not feel like they are a part of mainstream society. It demonstrates that the counterculture offered the values of acceptance, community, and diversity. My conversations with these participants lead me to believe that the counterculture is formed of individuals who were labeled as deviants. The counterculture created an opportunity for them to come together to create an intentional community where difference is accepted.

The young adults in my focus groups also explained similar experiences in being born into the counterculture, and this has made their relationship with the counterculture less of a matter of self-identification. They explained how it was just the way of life that they knew, and it was not until they were a little bit older that it became something that they had to reconcile with and explore as an identity based on what they saw in the mainstream. Also, the son from Family 2 and the daughter from Family 3 explain that while the counterculture has shaped and informed who they are today, it is not their primary identity. They maintain many of its values, but they have found their own methods to apply these values to their lives in ways that they do not categorize as counterculture.

The grandson from Family 1 expressed a similar experience in that he has chosen to live his life differently than his father, but he also claims that the counterculture is a part of his identity, and more so as he gets older. Both the son and daughter from Family 4 express that the counterculture is a strong part of their identity. The variety shown in the identities of the participants who were born into counterculture families suggests a modification to the patterns of generativity observed in other research on the transmission of values (Thompson et al. 1986:915). These experiences suggest that counterculture is passed on in a more adaptive way, as the results from Chapter 2 indicated as well. Counterculture children have been able to apply their counterculture upbringing in different ways and to different extents, but they have all maintained the values transmitted to them through their parents.

A Community Maintaining Positive Values

As is apparent in the family profiles, parents raised their children in

counterculture communities, which were focused on elevating positive counterculture

values. Such values include community, honestly, love, respect for people, anti-

materialism, non-appreciation of meat products, enjoyment of music, environmentalism,

celebration of life, questioning of the government, military, and mainstream culture,

hard work, spirituality, and self-awareness. While the children growing up in these

communities eventually recognized that their communities were deviant, their

communities and the values that they transmitted were normalized and celebrated.

Focus group results show that most parents intentionally transmitted the

counterculture to their children, and children attribute their counterculture values and

identities to the influence of their parents. This confirms my findings from Chapter two,

which indicated that participants with counterculture parents were influenced by their

parents to identify with the counterculture. Parents did this by modeling counterculture

values and life style choices, sharing the things they love with their kids, and including

their children in their counterculture celebration by taking them to events that celebrate

and illuminate these values. Also, parents intentionally transmitted their counterculture

values through raising their children in counterculture communities. Thus, the areas of

their that participants reported were influenced by their counterculture identity (career,

values, social groups, recreation) also served as tools of transmission between

generations. In Chapter 2, there was a correlation between transmitting to younger

generations, and agreement that the counterculture impacted these areas of a

participant's life. This shows that this correlation goes beyond agreement, as the impact

on the counterculture on participants lives actually encourages transmission. This all
compliments the theory that atypical families show a strong sense of value continuity
because of their active and intentional discussion and practice of the values they believe
in (Boehnke et al. 2007). These families, who express a strong commitment to their
values, have shown a significant level of intergenerational similarty, mimicking
research that show more, suggesting continuity in highly politicized families (Jennings
et al. 2009).

Community emerged as a strong factor of the process of transmission. Even the
participant who expressed that she did not transmit the counterculture intentionally
because she saw it as merely a way of life did take her daughter events which attracted
counterculture community, highlighting and transmitting values. As reviewed in
Chapter 1, researchers focus on the transmission of values based on familial
relationships (Thompson et al. 1986, Glass et al. 1986, Jennings et al. 2009). This strong
and consistent emphasis on community adds a new element in the scope of my research
and its place in the preexisting body of research on intergenerational value transmission.

The communities these families raised their children in provided them access to
older counterculture mentors, whom four of the participants claimed served as role
models and influenced their counterculture values. The participants reported that these
communities modeled and justified the value of questioning, and deviance itself.
Through a community and older mentors who did not fit into the status quo of
mainstream culture, younger generations of the counterculture were made aware that
questioning society is a value and differing from the rigid categories in which
mainstream society places people can be positive "tool in your toolbox". This is seen in

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participant reports about a higher sense of self-awareness, questioning social norms and mainstream culture, and having older role models who were not typically mainstream like softer, artistic and more nurturing male figures.

These results suggest the importance of community, both for first generation counterculture members, and those of the following generations. It shows how the counterculture has created an environment that has an intergeneration positive influence on individuals. It suggests that the deviant label helps form a community that benefits its members. Also, these experiences show how families have transmitted the counterculture, or some of the values it holds, through maintaining tight communities that demonstrate these values, even while their children face mainstream values through school and their non-counterculture peers. The chidlren of these families maintained various values of the counterculture, and claimed that their parents and communites were factors of transmission

Negative Counterculture Values and Risk Mitigation

I spoke with families about the negative aspects of the counterculture, and how they have dealt with these in the process of intergenerational transmission. These negative aspects include excessive drug use, excessive hedonism, self-indulgence, paranoia, and lack of job opportunity, and extreme anti-materialism that leads to dangers like homelessness. One participant reported that one negative aspects of the counterculture was that it permitted him to avoid "learning the basic codes and behaviors through which most of the society communicate with one another." Older generations explained how they dealt with the presence of these negatives in the process of transmission. Previous research presents the theory of misrepresentation, where

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parents present themselves as more conservative so their children will not be influences

by dangerous cultural aspects (Acock and Bengtson 1980). The result of these focus

groups displays alternatives to misrepresentation that counterculture parents have

practiced. These alternatives include honest transmission, moderation of certain aspects,

delayed honesty, and providing room for experimentation. The results suggest that these

changes have taught children to navigate the risks of the counterculture.

Participants reported that honestly and openness was a key part of how they

avoided transmitting the negative aspects of the counterculture intergenerationally. One

participant stated,

> I have seen it in other people, some of my son's high school
> contemporary were from families where lying about what drugs and
> drinking they did was culturally normal. If the parents lied to their
> children and hid their pot smoking, then the children would lie when
> they became teenagers. For parents who were honest, their kids would
> continue to communicate. Open communicating is a more positive
> upbringing. Also, consistency is important.

His offspring added that,

> That has a lot to do with benefitting from that world. You could be from
> that world and not be exposed but having that open line of
> communication is what allows for someone to benefit from it.

This shows that misrepresentation, a pattern observed in other research (Acock and

Bengtson 1980), does not apply to this family because the counterculture environment

and the risks it presents required more honesty.

Participants also spoke to the importance of moderating some of the

counterculture values in order to survive in mainstream culture:

> The whole poverty thing, the living on the road and the street and [my
> children] may think I encouraged that, but really compared to how I
> lived it before that was mellow. I felt like I did discourage it, I don't

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think it talked about it or told them, but I think we tried to model that a little bit more, just because I was worried about them, I didn't want my kids to live on the road and get killed. I saw too many of my friends doing that and that was part of why I gave them the education and some of the basic middle-class stuff was so that they could and would know that enough to recreate it when they needed it.

Another participant's response indicates that this negative aspect of the counterculture was not transmitted.

My dad's generation of the counterculture was not into financial stability. I never want to have to worry about money, I want to always feel safe and financially secure, and that's one aspect that I have whole heartedly rejected.

Through modeling and encouraging more moderated values, parents were able to avoid transmitting some negative aspects of the counterculture that affected older generations. While this is similar to the process of misrepresentation (Acock and Bengtson 1980), it differs in that parents are not pretending to be something they are not. Instead, participants provided their children with the tools to avoid negative aspects.

Parents reported that they would try and minimize exposure to some aspects of the counterculture with their children when they were very young. They discussed the importance of letting children be naïve and being careful not to teach their children that these negative qualities are OK when they are too young to understand the nuances and fine lines.

For one parent this came from a desire that her child would make her own choices. Referring to the psychedelic culture of the Oregon Country Fair, she said,

I didn't immerse her in it. I really believed and wanted [my daughter] to make her own choices about substance abuse and partying and things like that when she was older, so I moved camps, we camped on our own, I quit partying, or if I did I did it when she was with her dad. It was early middle school or even later when I think I started being more open with her and opening to her seeing what had been going on around her a lot

> more. Once she was old enough it was all out on the table, door of open
> disclosure.

This suggests that the mother delayed, exposed, or concealed what was going on while

her daughter was very young. However, once she was a little older the mother

represented some of the negatives of the counterculture honestly and allowed her

daughter to make her own choices.

The younger generations reported that these methods helped them navigate and

avoid the risks that a counterculture lifestyle can present. One participant responded,

> In a lot of ways, I feel like that was very helpful for me. I got a lot, most,
> of my hard partying out at a really young age. I didn't feel like the need
> when I got to college to go really hard and do all these crazy things
> because I already knew my limits and I saw a lot of peers who didn't
> grow up in these open environment have really harsh consequences
> because they didn't know what they're limits were, or how to experiment
> safely with substances.

While this respondent experimented when she was young, she has not been negatively

impacted by the drug use that has been problematic and dangerous for older

generations. The open communication practiced has helped younger generations

experiment safely.

Honest communication, modeling more positive behavior, delayed exposure,

and room for experimentation regarding some of the negative aspects of the

counterculture are some alternatives to misrepresentation that these counterculture

families have practiced. These techniques have taught younger generation how to

navigate the negative and dangerous aspects in a healthy and progressive way. These

processes provide insight into my conclusion from Chapter Two that the risks of the

counterculture are mitigated in younger generations, as younger generations were less

likely to agree that they counterculture caused problems for their families and friends, and for themselves.

The Future of the Counterculture

In some of my focus groups we discussed the future of the counterculture, its relevance today, and ways in which the younger generation may carry it forward. Younger generation participants identified shortcomings of the counterculture, such as misogyny and a lack of intersectionality, discussing how counterculture goals and values can be improved. They also discussed how they struggled to learn how to integrate their counterculture identities with their existense in mainstream culture. This process, and their ability to walk the line, demonstrates progressive transmission and a mechanism for keeping the counterculture and its values alive, positive, and relevant.

One young-adult participant reported that she noticed cultural appropriation and a lack of intersectionality in the counterculture she was raised in. She explains,

> One thing I saw a lot when I was younger that does not sit well with me now is a lot of cultural appropriation and privilege with no context and conversation about it. All the white people with dreadlocks, women with bindis, burning of sage, so many things I was into as a teenager but I didn't have any cultural context for. This is something I have had a hard time grappling with as an adult.

She explains that while she plans to pass along parts of her upbringing to her children, she would encourage younger generations to develop an awareness of intersectionality and privilege: "just like ecosystems we are stronger and more resilient when we have a wide range of diversity—I feel like that's a big step that my/future generations have to bring to the picture." Interesting, her mother reported that she has learned to be more aware of cultural appropriation through conversations with her daughter, reflected a

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reciprocity in value transmission (Glass, Jennifer et al. 1986:686). Similarly, the Father from Family two admitted that he has learned a lot about sexuality, contraception, and consent from the younger generation, which is another example of reciprocity.

Another participant called out misogyny in older male counterculture members, which is something that he hopes the younger generations will be able to avoid. He also discussed new and overwhelming research suggesting that being vegetarian and vegan is one of the biggest things individuals can do to help save the planet. He said, "I think it's nice to see those studies come out regularly and a lot of those ideas are a part of the counterculture, and they are starting to get incorporated into the mainstream. I like to think that our generation and social media is helping." These short fallings and the room for improvement that younger generations cited shows how they have made the values counterculture relevant to today, speaking to the ambiguity from Chapter 2 regarding the relevance and potential of the counterculture to positively influence the world. While equality was cited as an important value in the Chapter 2 survey, these responses show that younger generations of counterculture families are looking to apply this to other groups and issues that may have been left out in the past.

Another factor that came up in all of my focus groups is the ability that younger generations have to reconcile their counterculture lifestyle and values with the mainstream world. All participants of the young adult cohort reported that they struggled going back and forth between mainstream society and their counterculture roots. One older participant explained,

> I always taught you guys to walk the line. Even though we believe and
> live and certain way, not everywhere we go or the people we interact
> with will understand it. I always taught them when we go into someone's

home, or are guests at their table, we respect. I want them to be able to navigate the world in a respectful way. It's a two-way street. I wanted them to function in the 'real world;' what if they weren't hippies! Just being able to integrate and have a solid foundation of who they are but also be able to live in this world, because it is not alternative the way these guys have been raised. I wanted them to be able to get jobs, function, know how to show up for an interview.

Counterculture parents wanted their children to make their own decisions and succeed in mainstream society. This reflects and confirms my theory of progressive transmission, and the results that parents did not agree that their children "should" be a part of the counterculture as readily as they wanted to encourage them to adopt the ideals and values. While other research has reported that parents may fear that their children will be seduced by radical or liberal thought (Acock and Bengston 1980:512), counterculture parents are supportive of, and even encourage, their children to modify their values as they see fit. This shows the potential to maintain the counterculture in future generations despite ever changing social contexts. Younger generation participants reported that through this process they have developed a sense of self-awareness and the ability to maintain their counterculture identities and values while being successful in the mainstream culture. This is something that they hope to pass onto younger generations.

Older participants in every focus group discussed the importance of the Grateful Dead in the formation of their counterculture identity and values. This reiterates Chapter 2 results that older generations agreed that they were more likely influenced by celebrities to identify with the counterculture than younger generations. Younger generations in the focus groups explained that they have had to reconcile with the fact that they do not have the Grateful Dead as a unifying central aspect of the

counterculture. One young adult participant explained that in order to keep the counterculture alive, "we have to create it within ourselves and our own friends and what we make of it." Another participant said, "we don't have that thing, the central thing, so we're all trying to find it. For me, traveling the world is the best I can do, I don't have the Dead to follow around. I am searching for my people." Participants spoke about their efforts to explore and experience the counterculture, making it meaningful for them in their own ways. Another participant explained that hip-hop has been important to him in, similar to how the Grateful Dead was important to his father. Each participant of the young adult cohort has had to negotiate their counterculture identity with mainstream culture, find their place in both of these worlds they exist in, and seek out a unifying way to express the counterculture and connect with like-minded people.

The Counterculture and Careers

Many focus group participants have reported that the counterculture has shaped their careers, showing one way that individuals carry the values of the counterculture into the world. This theme adds to the results from Chapter 2 that most participants agreed that the counterculture is a positive influence on the world. The careers that families in these focus groups discussed show how counterculture values radiate into larger society through various fields of work. The role of academia in Family 2 is one example. Another participant reported that growing up around amazing healers and strong women in different modalities has "completely informed [her] interest and pursuit of herbalism." The mother in Family 3 explained how her career as a midwife was inspired by the counterculture; in turn her daughter reported that she has always

wanted to be a writer, so now she has a wonderful career as a writer in the weed industry. The father in Family 1 is a musician, which was his way of surviving the dangers and paranoia that the counterculture catalyzed for him.

The ways in which the counterculture has informed these participants careers confirms a modification to the theory of the transmission of social status presented in research by Glass et al. (1986). Rather than careers shaping an individual's values, and contributing to continuity between values of various generations, these results show how the values transmitted by parents inform participants careers, which reflect these values. These careers, influenced by the counterculture show how older and younger generations have learned to adapt their counterculture values in a way that they can still practice them, but can also function in mainstream society, and make a living for themselves. This shows counterculture progression, and integration. By reconciling the counterculture with mainstream society through their careers, these participants have been able to spread and share their counterculture values with the larger culture they are living in.

Oregon Country Fair: Institutionalized Counterculture and Transmission

The Oregon Country Fair as an institution of the counterculture is a controversial topic and warrants many different opinions. Older generations, who have watched the Fair grow from a small gathering to a huge event that attracts tens of thousands of people each year have had to watch as the small knit, intentional community has grappled with this expansion. Younger generations, who have navigated growing up in the counterculture environment are coming to the age where they will take over the Oregon Country Fair, and carry on the legacy that the elders have created.

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This creates tension and is a very emotional and loaded topic to individuals who have

dedicated a so much time and energy to maintain this event they deeply believe in,

either now or during past parts of their life.

One participant, who is an elder at the Oregon Country Fair, explained this

process, the contradictions of the Fair, and how he sees its future. He said,

> "institutionalized hippiedom is a contradiction in terms to many people
> and it is how the Country Fair is described by many people today in that
> this little counterculture outside our alienated crafts fair has now become
> a booming big business of 50 years old, a huge land owner in the Veneta
> community, a huge financial engine and mover of money in that
> community, and a huge transmission of some cultural values in the world
> around Eugene and Oregon. Like anything that changes over 50 years,
> some is positive and some in less so. There are contradictions built in
> contradiction. OCF is now going through huge transition from my
> generation, its founding generation, to what it is going to become. If you
> were a hippie in the 60s and 70s you are phasing out. There are others
> who are more reluctant to let go of power and control. In most human
> endeavors people don't gracefully let go of power and control. So we,
> the Fair hippiedom, are not any particular exception in that regard. We
> will see what the next generations do. To those who do the work go the
> power. I would like to see the Fair maintain the values that make us
> hippies in the first place, and I think at the core the next generations have
> that. In how it is manifested in practice there are some intense
> contradiction. The verdict isn't in yet."

While this participant recognizes the contradictions, he holds hope for the future

generations of the Oregon Country Fair. He explains how OCF politics, which are only

a piece of the event, sometime mimic and reflect the politics of dominant culture in their

lack of civil public discourse. He claims that some of this has "trickled down from the

fools in the federal government." However, he recognizes that the core values of the

counterculture are continuing in the Fair community. He says,

> One of the main reason OCF has been a success is the thought of people
> putting in thousands of hours of volunteer work, and the reason they did
> this was because they wanted to feel like they were contributing to

something bigger to themselves, something other than themselves, that was going to have a positive influence in the world. That's why they did it and that's why the Fair will continue to be successful.

Other participants also recognized the flaws of the counterculture, and the ways that it mimics mainstream politics: "in any community you still have politics, but a microcosm of what we're trying to avoid is still happening. They (The Fair Leaders) have different ways of handling disharmony and different issues. They try and be more inclusive and respectful of all of those involved." Another participant added "I think it is a beautiful thing, but it also has flaws like anything other culture."

One family expressed more disappointment in the Oregon Country Fair. Having watched friends struggle being on the board of the event, this participant has decided to not partake in the event this year. Her daughter also explained that Fair has lost the enchantment it held for her as a child. She said,

My needs and wants as a young person were not necessarily in line with what the festival in providing. And also I was really craving that small community connection, that was the part I really loved. I loved the art and performance, but really I just wanted to see the people that I loved and make real connection with them and as I got older it just seemed… I don't know… there were just so many people there and it got really draining. I would so much rather be in a more intimate environment with those folks. I want to be in there in a container where everyone is there really intentionally, and I can trust everyone there and I don't think that is possible with such a big festival where people are only there for one day with no accountability.

This shows how the institutionalization of the country fair has carried the event too far away from the counterculture values of true community for some participants. These opinions that the Oregon Country Fair mimics mainstream politics, and has grown too far from its roots, reflect the process of institutional isomorphism, as individual's

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counterculture values have perhaps been compromised through OCF's

institutionalization (Kondra and Hurst 2009) (DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

While recognizing the flaws of the institutionalization of the Oregon Country

Fair, participants were also able to see other lights through the potential that this has

brought to spread the values to a larger community. One participant explained how in

many ways the counterculture builds a wall around its self. Counterculture community

gather in certain spots to celebrate their values and their music, but they are hiding from

the rest of society. Remembers how the initial goals of the counterculture were to

change the mainstream culture, he sees ways in which the community has forgotten this.

However, the Oregon Country Fair is different in that it works hard at maintaining the

ideals and aesthetic of the counterculture and it is bringing tens of thousands of people

into its living room to share it and see the best of it. He said,

> It's not just purely the policy and material stuff, part of it is the
> spirituality or psychology at the fair or in the counterculture. It's a
> psychological freedom that hopefully can be transmitted from one person
> to another, and the drugs are a part of that. Some people do it without
> them, but the drugs make it more possible for a lot of us. I don't know, I
> think the counterculture holds open those doorways; they grow the
> mushrooms, they do the labs, they have all kinds of other activities. In a
> town like Eugene there are like 50 different versions of that and they are
> working for some people-- their version of church. And ideally that's
> what church is supposed to do. It's supposed to open up your heart, open
> up your spirit like that, and I guess even in formal organized religion it
> works that way sometimes. But I think counterculture does help by
> maintaining some of these counterculture institutions which maintain
> that incubator that people can dip back into and dip back into and then
> they go out and in weird intangible ways they share that with everybody
> else. Partly because Country Fair is only this thing that happens for three
> days, but there are lots of people, I know I am not along, not just the
> ones on crew and booth, but a lot of people come and the day dream
> about it the rest of the year. And that is this alternative reality and
> informs and protects them during the rest of their life. In that sense I
> think it has an outsized influence.

He explains how the Oregon Country Fair works against the barriers that other versions of counterculture have put up, and its growth has allowed people to experience the values and think about their experience throughout the rest of the year, hopefully affecting their decision and values on a larger scale. This perspective is consistent with the participants from Chapter 2 who agreed that OCF was a positive influence on the world, and reflected the counterculture.

Participants also explained that the commitment of the volunteers, even as the fair has grown, reflects the best of the counterculture. People put in so much time just because they believe in this event, and that is beautiful. Also, OCF continues to encourage anti-materialism. While some people do go to fair to buy things, other go because they feel like they are a part of creating something, an intentional community and exists without many of the material possessions we cherish in everyday life. One participant explained,

> I like to think it helps because the people who are camping out there are going and choosing to go hang out in the woods with a bunch of strangers for a few days and have very few material possessions, and I think it is really cool that people like to do that, and I like to think that the rest of the year people think 'maybe I don't need all this stuff cause one of the best weekends of my life was just spent in the woods with a sleeping bag, and pad, and maybe some drugs and some friends, and I don't need everything else.' People get to be reminded of that every year.

This shows how for some participants, especially of the younger generations; the Oregon Country Fair maintains the counterculture and represents some of its positive values. Recognizing the importance of OCF as a platform that provides people with a way to express themselves, one participant articulated that

> The most important thing is the platform, for music and speech and community and the Fair provides those things by existing. As long as

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that platform is there, whatever iteration comes out of it, it's not going to be exactly what everyone involved with it sees as the right direction, but as long as it is there is it going to be a beautiful thing. That is ultimately the output there, and I think it is going to be a positive. The fact that my grandfather's generation was able to establish this platform for free and open speech, to speak on the issues of the day, to listen to revolutionary music, to provide self-sustaining economy for three days, and obviously the OCF is much beyond that and I think that is incredible, the fact that people can go in use the platform as a space to comfortably share their thought and ideas is the ultimate legacy of the fair.

While the Oregon Country Fair has it flaws, three of the four families I spoke to believe it holds the core values of the counterculture. Two of these families also think that the Oregon Country Fair serves as a tool of transmission through its function as a platform, its encouragement of anti-materialism, and its ability to attract members of the outside community.

Conclusion

Like the Father from Family 1 said, "the idea [of the counterculture] originally is nothing short of the whole world turning on and us making it all OK." These families suggest that OCF, and the counterculture at large, still has the ability to do this, especially through the emerging process of progressive transmission. The community and acceptance that the counterculture provided for multiple generations speaks to its power and ability to maintain the goal of inclusion. These focus groups demonstrate the counterculture's effort to build a community that works together and do away with boundaries that have been used to divide and turn people against each other. Additionally, this community provides younger generations with peers and older mentors who also serve an important role in value transmission and survival, reiterating and validating the values it represents. While counterculture parents still serve as strong

predictors of their children's values (Glass, Jennifer et al. 1986), mentors and communities emerged as a critical aspect of value transmission. If the human species is going to survive and flourish, then people need to get past those boundaries and work together towards this common goal of acceptance. The counterculture was ahead of mainstream America, and still is, in wanting to put forth values of inclusion and equality and wanting to relate to humans on their human characteristics.

Through the process of transmission, parents have been able to be honest with their children and negate some of the negative aspects of the counterculture that wounded their generation. As opposed to misrepresenting, parents described alternative methods of educating and preparing their children for the negative qualities of the culture that they were presented with. Acock and Bengston (1980:512) suggest that parent misrepresentation leads to differences between generations; however, in these families, parents discussed alternatives to misrepresentation. They practiced honest communication, delayed exposure, room for experimentation, and modeling of more positive behaviors. Through education and honestly, younger generation have been able to navigate the risks of the counterculture, and the counterculture has been transmitted progressively. Considering the continuity shown between generations of these families, parents' avoidance of misrepresentation furthered intergenerational value transmission through parents' honest representation of their values.

The strong community and clarity of values that these focus groups demonstrate fit into Boehnk's et al. (2007) theory that non-mainstream families show value continuity, and more complex communication process. When parents teach their children to be aware of the dangers of the counterculture, this shows a more clear and

nuanced process of communication, furthering value continuity. However, these families seem to willingly also give their children room to make their own decisions and possibly adopt alternative values, which is not addressed in Boehnk's research.

In this process of transmission, some of the young-adults have felt the freedom to apply and adapt the counterculture in ways that work for them, demonstrating adaptive generativity. They have had to reconcile the counterculture with mainstream culture, which they have done through the formation of their careers, and the development of a sense of awareness. The way in which the counterculture has shaped participants careers shows a process contrary to the theory of transmission of social status (Glass, Jennifer et al. 1986). For counterculture participants, their values shape their careers rather than their values developing as a result of their careers and other life events. While there is no data suggesting that participants do not adopt more values as they move through various phases of life, it is clear that their counterculture values are maintained.

The two families whose older generations discussing how their children have shown and taught them new ways of looking at the counterculture and applying its values, modeled Glass's et al. (1998) theory of reciprocity. Children's abilities to adapt counterculture values to issues of today, like those of intersectionality, consent, and contraception, show how the progressive transmission of values also helps older generations of the counterculture become aware and present in current social issues that may have not been addressed in their adolescence. As younger generations step into more authoritative rolls in the Oregon Country Fair, they may be able to apply these

new ideas and values to the Fair's representation of the counterculture, helping OCF and the counterculture positively impact the world.

While some may see the idea of progressive transmission as a loss of counterculture, it can also be seen as a way to keep the counterculture alive and relevant, potentially allowing the rest of society to see the values that it carries. While some of the younger adult cohort reported that they feel less of a connection to the counterculture as a form of identity, they were able to explain how the counterculture can be modified and improved by our generation, showing that it still has the ability to positively impact the world. Perhaps their more distant identification is a survival strategy for the counterculture, as it allows it to maintain relevance and the values can be shifted and modified to positively impact the world in a way that younger generation see fit. It also opens the doors to a less combative counterculture where mainstream and non-mainstream processes can meet to help achieve some counterculture goals. This shows how deviance and a deviant label, when embraced in the right way, can be the catalyst for individual and cultural growth and realization.

Jennings et al (2009) suggests that the youth of the 1960s were a particularly cohort-centric group, and preceding and succeeding generations would display different patterns of relationships and less rebellion from older generations. This research maintains a part of this observation and presents a new angle. In these focus groups, the children of counterculture parents reported that they were born into the counterculture, whereas their parents reported that they broke away from their family's traditions to join the counterculture. This shows a difference in relationships, as the young-adults in my focus groups were not rebelling from their parents by being a part of the

counterculture. However, this process does not invalidate or result in a loss of the goals

and values of the counterculture. My research suggests that families with counterculture

roots do maintain the values of the counterculture, but they have learned to adapt them

to mainstream society to facilitate successful and less combative lives. This has allowed

the counterculture to persist and adapt to new contexts so that it can remain true to its

original values, even those encouraging continual social progress.

All of the participants in this section of my research expressed gratitude for the

community they were raised in the values they were taught by the counterculture and

their families. They all show a level of value continuity between generations, and a

familial bond that is expressed through their willingness and ability to sit down together

and talk about their culture and family experience in a positive light.

Table 3.1.

Table showing the survey questions given to the first-generation participants of each focus group.

Were you the first generation in your family to become a part of, or self-identify with, the counterculture?
What motivated you to become a part of, or self-identify with, the counterculture?
What have been the positive aspects of the counterculture for you?
Have there been negative aspects of the counterculture for you? If so, what were they?
Did you intentionally transmit the counterculture to your children? In other words, did you intentionally influence them to self-identify with the counterculture?
If so, what motivated you to transmit the counterculture to your children?
What aspects of the counterculture did you intentionally transmit to your children?
How did you intentionally transmit aspects of the counterculture to your children?
Where their aspects of the counterculture that you did not want to transmit to your children?
Were you able to avoid transmitting these negative aspects? How did you do this?
Looking back, are there any aspects that you wish you had transmitted to you children that you did not, or any aspects that you did not transmit to you children that you wish you had?

Table 3.2.

Table showing the survey questions give to the second generation of each focus group.
This survey was also given to the third generation of Family 1.

Were you the second generation in your family to become a part of, or self-identify with, the counterculture?
What motivated you to become a part of, or self-identify with, the counterculture?
What have been the positive aspects of the counterculture for you?
Have there been negative aspects of the counterculture for you? If so, what were they?
What aspects of the counterculture did you adopted from your parent(s)?
Where there any aspects of the counterculture that you saw in the older generation that you did not want to adopt?
How is your identification with the counterculture different from your parent(s) identification with the counterculture?
How has your identification with the counterculture positively influenced your life
How has your identification with the counterculture negatively influenced your life?
Would you continue to transmit the counterculture to younger generations?
Would you encourage younger generations to change aspects of their identification with the counterculture? If so, how?
What factors, other than your parents, influenced your counterculture identity?

Table 3.3.

Table showing the survey questions given to the middle generation focus group participants. This survey was given to participants whose parents and children were also present.

Were you the second generation in your family to become a part of, or self-identify with, the counterculture?
What motivated you to become a part of, or self-identify with, the counterculture?
What have been the positive aspects of the counterculture for you?
Have there been negative aspects of the counterculture for you? If so, what were they?
What aspects of the counterculture did you adopted from your parent(s)?
Where there any aspects of the counterculture that you saw in the older generation that you did not want to adopt?
How is your identification with the counterculture different from your parents' identification with the counterculture?
What factors, other than your parents, influenced your counterculture identity?
Did you intentionally transmit the counterculture to your children? In other words, did you intentionally influence them to self-identify with the counterculture?
If so, what motivated you to transmit the counterculture to your children?
What aspects of the counterculture did you intentionally transmit to your children?
How did you intentionally transmit aspects of the counterculture to your children?
Were there aspects of the counterculture that you did not want to transmit to your children?
Were you able to avoid transmitting these negative aspects? If so, how did you do this?
Looking back, are there any aspects that you wish you had transmitted to you children that you did not, or any aspects that you did not transmit to you children that you wish you had?

Chapter Four: Conclusion

Introduction

My Honors College thesis examines the intergenerational transmission of values within counterculture communities and families. I positioned my study design and results within a larger body of research about patterns of intergenerational value transmission, and related theories. By focusing on the 1960s counterculture, a persisting movement that was founded in a search for social change, self-awareness, and a more alternative communal way of living, this thesis provides a unique perspective on intergenerational transmission. As the counterculture grew and was labeled a deviant culture by mainstream society, it molded into a strong community with a commitment to individual and communal betterment. The values of the 1960s counterculture have been passed on by its pioneers to younger generations who have maintained its spirit and adaptively shaped it to the social and political contexts of today, and other identities they carry. While my research focuses on Oregon Country Fair and Eugene, and Oregon communities, it demonstrates how families who deviate from mainstream culture have transmitted and kept alive the values of the 1960s counterculture that inspired them. Part of this inspiration is based a deep motivation to seek positive social change.

In this final section I tie together the findings from Chapter Two and Chapter Three and discuss how they fall within and deviate from theories about the intergenerational transmission of values. These results are a strong validation of using a mixed methods approach in social science research. My initial survey provided a tremendous description of, and emergent themes relating to, the broader context of the

intergenerational transmission of counterculture values. However, new questions

emerged from the survey results. To further explore the themes and questions that

emerged from the initial survey, I conducted more in-depth focus group interviews. This

approach provided a deeper level of insight into these questions and themes, and more

details regarding intergenerational transmission.

I also consider my results based on a conversation I had with Suzi Prozanski, an

author who is part of, and has written about, Oregon Country Fair community. Suzi has

been going to the Oregon Country Fair since 1984 and she has dedicated a large part of

her life to recounting the history of the Fair's development through speaking with Fair

Family. Her understanding about the Oregon Country Fair and the counterculture give

her the ability to knowledgeably comment on the accuracy and meaning of the findings

I have presented.

On May 2nd, two weeks before I met with Prozanki, she wrote an article for the

Eugene Weekly discussing the past 50 years of the Orogen Country Fair and how,

despite its expansion, has "…remained true to its countercultural roots" (Prozanski

2019). Prozanski's book *The Fruit of the Sixties: The Founding of the Oregon Country

Fair* inspired and informed much of my research. During our meeting, I discussed my

findings with Suzi, which she spoke to and validated through her own observations and

research about the Oregon Country Fair and its development from 1969 to its upcoming

50th year anniversary in 2019.

The Transmission of Counterculture Values

My results about the process of transmission in counterculture families varied

from the findings of previous research that focuses on the transmission of values in

mainstream families. The counterculture's dedication to social change, open-mindedness, freedom, and community, as well as the deviant label that was placed on the counterculture and its participants have both influenced the way that it has persisted over the past six decades.

The data and results presented in Chapter Two demonstrate the investment that individuals make to the counterculture values they believe in and how their counterculture identities inform many areas of their lives, including their careers, politics, social groups, and recreational activities. My focus group results presented in Chapter Three expanded on this theme. Participants of older and younger generations discussed how the counterculture has been a way of life for them. It has constructed their communities, careers, and ways of seeing the world. This confirms a high level of involvement and commitment to the values of the counterculture. These impacts of the counterculture have motivated older generations to transmit counterculture values to younger generations.

Similar to other findings that more politicized families have more intergenerational resemblances (Jennings et al. 2009:786), this shows that a well-rounded incorporation and a true living of the values that participants believe in contributes to their motivation to transmit these values. There was no evident ambiguity between generations regarding their values, as younger generations perceptions of their parents seemed to line up accurately with the values and lifestyles that their parents' practice. The incorporation of counterculture values in participants lives serves as a tool for transmission, and a way to avoid misperceptions between generations.

Similarly, previous research has posed that atypical families show more value continuity due to their heightened effort to communicate their values and demonstrate them to their children. This helps values persist as it provides children with knowledge and confidence to counter the mainstream values they are faced with in various social situations (Boehnke et al. 2007). Counterculture families who incorporate their counterculture values and identity into many facets of their lives show a similar strategy of value and culture persistence. This level of incorporation could have to do with the fact that counterculture families feel distant from mainstream society, and thus find ways to stay close with their own values and communities throughout all areas of their lives, reinforcing the values and aiding cultural persistence. However, because first generation participants chose the counterculture for themselves, and second-generation participants were born into it, the way that different generations identify with the counterculture seem to be different. Some second-generation participants did not agree that the counterculture was their strongest identity, but all of them did agree that the values have informed how they see themselves as young adults and give them a unique sense of self-awareness. Thus, while first generation participants' adoption of the counterculture can be seen as an act of rebellion, second and third generation participants maintained the values that their parents held, both in an effort to seek positive social and individual awareness.

Additionally, participants' multi-faceted commitment to the counterculture, specifically reports that their involvement with it has shaped their career, suggests a process of transmission that differs from theory of transmission of social status (Glass, Jennifer et al. 1986). It was clear that participants' values informed their careers,

whereas there was no patterns suggesting that their careers informed their values, as Glass sugggests. Thus, parents and mentors were stronger influencers for younger generations, contributing to intergenerational similarities more than life events.

Research on the intergenerational transmission of attitudes has shown that parents' attitudes, especially those of the mothers, are significant positive predictors of children's attitudes in adulthood (Glass et al. 1986:685). While participants in Chapter Two reported that their parents influenced them to identify with the counterculture, and participants from Chapter Three spoke to the importance of their parents in informing their identities and values, community and mentorship emerged as another important factor in counterculture value transmission. Participants from Chapter Two, which reflected on older primarily first-generation counterculture sample, reported that older mentors influenced them to become a part of the counterculture, highlighting a communal aspect of the transmission of counterculture values. All of the participants in my Chapter Three focus groups spoke to the importance of community as well. Older generations, who felt like they did not fit into mainstream society, found community and validation in the counterculture. Younger generations, who were born into the counterculture, spoke to the importance of their parents' friends and the counterculture community as role models who were influential in their upbringing and identity development. The difference that exists between mainstream society, and these participants, suggests that this deviance encourages the persistence of the counterculture, as families tend to live very community oriented lives within the counterculture, and this influences younger generations to maintain the values.

This reflects the community focused content of the counterculture, and how this value permits the counterculture's persistence. These results suggest that future research on the intergenerational transmission of values should focus on the impact of community. According to the data here, strong community ties promote values and lifestyles to younger generations, and a community focus lifestyle could help positive counterculture values reach more people.

The pattern of risk mitigation that Chapter Two suggested was confirmed and expanded on in Chapter Three. Younger generations of counterculture families were less likely to report that the counterculture caused problems for their families and friends, and this was supported by the Focus Groups. Families discussed that open and honest communication about the counterculture, as well as modeling positive behavior, and consistency helped them avoid the transmission of negative and dangerous aspects of the counterculture, like drug addiction, homelessness, and lack of job opportunities, and the inability to thrive in mainstream society. While parents may have hid some things from their children when they were too young to understand, misrepresentation (Acock and Bengtson 1980) was not a strong factor in this process. Misrepresentation invovles parents intentionally misrepresenting themselves to their children to avoid the transmission of certain traits. Instead, these families practice patterns of delayed representation, where they would hide aspects of the counterculture until their children were old enough to have converesations about them, honesty communication, modeleing positive behavior, consistency, and giving their children room and tools to experiment and make their own choises. Thus, the values of the counterculture were

accuratly represented by older generations, but younger generations were also aware

that the negatives exist and could be dangerous.

Children reported that this honest and transparent type of parenting was positive

for them as well. It helped them to avoid the mistakes that older generations had made

and navitgate their counterculture identities in relation to the mainstream world they had

to funcion in, despite the deviant label that had been placed on them. This pattern

allows counterculture families to put the risks of the counterculture out in the open,

allowing their children to know the dangers and learn how to confront them. This aids

the process of transmission as the risks get mitigated through this process of honesty

and learning, and younger generations maintain the values while being aware of the

dangers.

While some of the young adult participants in the focus groups suggested that

they do not identify as fully with the counterculture as their parents do, they did confirm

that they have adopted many of the values that the counterculture upholds. The

adaptation of the counterculture values to different careers and lifestyles, as well as the

ideas that younger generations posed regarding how the counterculture can be improved

and expanded, demonstrate a process of progressive transmission. This is novel when

considered within the context of the literature about transmission theory. For example,

theories that highlight the monolithic and conservative typification of value

transmission suggests that successful parenting is marked by teaching children to follow

boundaries and social order (Glass, Jennifer et al. 1986). In Chapter Two my results

suggest that older generations are more likely to agree that they "would encourage"

younger generations to take on aspects of the counterculture, rather than saying that

younger generations "should" take on aspects of the counterculture. The generational stake for counterculture families appears to be different than what other research on generational stake suggests (Thompson et al. 1986). Parents, who deviate from mainstream society seem to be more supportive of their children deviating from society as well as from older counterculture generations.

Younger generations were encouraged to adapt the counterculture to their social contexts in order to navigate their identities that are informed by their counterculture roots and the mainstream society that they are a part of. This is reflected in the integration of counterculture values with other part of their identities that have been informed by various factors, and their ability to walk to the line and fit into the counterculture community while functioning in mainstream society. Thus, these younger generations represent progressive deviants who are at the leading edge of the curve, helping the counterculture's adaptation into the future. They negotiate their deviance in a way that allows for a social evolution within the counterculture. This adaption also allowed younger generations to teach older generations about new values and social movement, like the call for more recognition of intersectionality in social movement, and the importance of consent. In this way, younger generations are adapting the values of the counterculture in both direction—making it more relevant for older generations and those yet to come. This progressive transmission is key to an adaptive persistence of the counterculture, and the integration and negotiation of deviance within mainstream culture. This also demonstrates the motivation to have a positive impact on the world through progressing counterculture values.

The context of the counterculture has helped its persistence by allowing for more variance between generations in terms of counterculture expression. This has allowed for generations to adapt the counterculture to their own lives, and reconcile with mainstream society, keeping the counterculture alive and relevant. Whereas some research has shown that generational stake in youth is manifested through their search for emancipation and a way to define themselves as different from their predecessors (Thompson et al. 1986:913), my research suggests otherwise. Because the generativity in older generations of counterculture communities is less rigid, and parents want their children to lead their own lives and feel free to be who they are and find their own self-awareness, continuity remains strong between generations. Younger generations are grateful for their counterculture upbringing, see how it has informed who they are, and feel free to adapt the values to their own paths. Thus, the values of the counterculture live on, and both older and younger generations feel fulfilled in terms of generational stake.

The Oregon Country Fair as a Tool for Progressive Transmission: The Future of the Counterculture

While participants from Chapter Two reported that the Oregon Country Fair (OCF) has a positive influence on the world, as do the Fair Family that participate in it, the focus groups illuminate some of the controversies of the Oregon Country Fair, its maintenance of the counterculture, and its role as a countercultural institution of transmission. The institutionalization of Oregon Country Fair does not sit well with some people, as its politics in some ways mimic the politics of mainstream America, which the counterculture is and has been trying to avoid since its emergence. This is a

sign of institutional isomorphism (Konra and Hurst 2009) (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). However, as older Fair Family transition out of authoritative roles and younger generations start to take on more leadership, there is an air of positivity and a belief that the values of the counterculture live on in the younger generations and will continue to be reflected through OCF.

Suzi Prozanski and the Future of the Oregon Country Fair

During our discussion Suzi Prozanski radiated positivity regarding the future of the Fair and the counterculture, speaking to the inevitability of conflict in any community. She emphasized, "just because we do not always get along doesn't mean that we don't hold the same values." As she has traced in her historical recount of the Oregon Country Fair, almost all figures that represent authority within OCF have received push back, because authority is oppositional to the core of the counterculture. However, she maintained that the effort, debate, and negotiation that goes on in Fair politics is a part of the process to finding our best selves. When the Fair rolls around each year, everyone is able to put aside their difference to celebrate and spread counterculture values.

Speaking to transmission, Prozanski discussed how each year there are always the attendees that go to the event for the first time to "party and look at topless women." However, the next year they come back with their hair a little bit longer; the year after that they dance a little bit more freely; and during the following year they may start asking around about how to join a crew and get involved with the event. This shows the process of transmission that the Oregon Country Fair encourages, and its ability to spread the values to mainstream society, changing a little bit of the world at a time. She

said, "If you're willing to work hard you can get into Fair; it takes hard work, but that makes it the intentional community that it is." Prozanki explained that almost anyone can become a part of the Oregon Country Fair; it just takes effort and commitment. She also added that bigoted people may be the only ones who would not feel welcome in the Fair Family, because you cannot create an inclusive environment with people whose intention is to exclude and judge.

Speaking to the youth of the OCF and the counterculture, Prozanski confirmed my observation of honest communication between families, explaining that she has seen mainstream parents often pretend to be something they are not, whereas honesty is a key counterculture family value. She explained her amazement that children who she has watched grow up at Fair come back each year, bringing their own kids. Even in the children she has seen grow up at Fair who eventually drift away from the event and their counterculture roots, rejecting the hippie trappings, she sees the values of the counterculture shine through in the work that they are doing. In this process, the values are further spreading and radiating out into different areas of the world, encouraging people to think critically about morality and what it means to be a good person. This re-affirms the process of progressive transmission and adaptive generativity, and the role that they play in the persistence of the counterculture The freedom, rooted in the core of the counterculture, for people to change the world through deviating has allowed for youth to maintain counterculture values no matter what they choose to do, and spread these values into society at large.

Suzi expressed her belief that the younger generations will carry on the spirit of the counterculture through OCF, and in the outside world; she also proclaimed that as

long as we have the values, we should direct and take the Oregon Country Fair in whatever direction we see fit, because it will continue to be positive. This comment reflects a less rigid generational stake, and the process of progressive transmission. It also demonstrates how younger generations, with the ability to adapt the counterculture and its values to present issues and contexts, can further progress counterculture transmission.

Final Thoughts

My results along with my discussion with Suzi Prozanski confirms my theory of the progressive nature of counterculture transmission. The content of the counterculture, rooted in social change, progressive thought, and freedom to be, inform the counterculture's persistence in younger generations. While maintaining the values, younger generations have the ability to keep the counterculture alive by negotiation its deviance through their integration into various social contexts, allowing the values of the counterculture to shape careers, mitigating the risks and navigating the dangers that the counterculture has presented for individuals and the community, and continuing to progressively transmit these values to older generations, their children, and generations to come. I conclude that the intergenerational transmission of counterculture values has occurred through a novel model of progressive value transmission, contributing to the persistence and the positive adaption of counterculture values. This progressive transmission has been motivating by an intention of having a positive influence on the world and shaped by the counterculture's persistent and multi-generational celebration of deviance, alternative lifestyles, experimentation, community, equality, and self-awareness.

Appendix B:

Survey given to participants at the Oregon Country Fair. These are the same

questions presented in Table 2.1., but here they are randomly scattered.

Oregon Country Fair Survey and Interview Questions

Before we begin, it is important to understand the following term:

Counter Culture-- a way of life and set of attitudes opposed to or at variance with the prevailing social norms. When I refer to counterculture during this survey, I am specifically referring to the counterculture that arose in the 1960s.

A1. I am a part of the persisting 1960s counterculture.
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

A3. The Oregon Country Fair is part of the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

E1. The counterculture has as much potential to positively influence society today as it did in the 60's
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

A4. I am part of the Oregon Country Fair Family
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

H2. Being a member of the Oregon Country Fair community has positively influenced my family and friends
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

N1. I had older mentors (aside from parents and guardians) who were part of the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

B1. My experience with the values and ideals of the counterculture has shaped my career
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

L2. I think that younger generations should identify with the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

D3. My experience with the values and ideals of the counterculture has negatively influenced my ability to achieve my life goals
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

O1. Growing up I had peers who were part of the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

D2. My experience with the values and ideals of the counterculture has positively influenced my family and friends
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

C2. My politics reflect my experience with the values and ideals of the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

K1. I would encourage/have encouraged my children to adopt aspects of the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

M3. My parents or guardians taught me the values of the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

C5. My experience with the counterculture has influenced my advocacy.
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

If "yes" than:

C6. I regularly advocate for
Social Change
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree
Prison reform
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree
Drug reform
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree
Racial equality
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree
Gender equality
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree
Economic equality
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree
The environment
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree
Healthcare
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree
Abortion
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree
Gun control
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree
Other
_____

A2. My identity as a member of the counterculture influences my actions and beliefs
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

I2. My counterculture identity is more apparent when I am at the Oregon Country Fair
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

D1. My experience with the values and ideals of the counterculture has positively influenced my life
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

E2. The political and social atmosphere in the 60s made the counterculture more meaningful than it is today
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

N2. My older mentors (aside from parents and guardians) influenced me during my adolescence
to identify as part of the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

J1. I actively try to spread the values of the Oregon Country Fair to the outside community
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

E3. Social issues that the counterculture was addressing and protesting are still present today
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

F1. The Oregon Country Fair encourages more self-expression than the American norm
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

C3. The ideals of the counterculture have shaped my politics
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

F2. The Oregon Country Fair encourages political activism more than the American norm
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

G1. The Oregon Country Fair encourages behaviors that are a positive influence in the world
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

D4. My experience with the counterculture has caused problems for my family
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

G2. Most Oregon Country Fair family members are a positive influence in the world
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

C4. I actively seek positive social change
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

B4. My identity as a member of the counterculture has influenced how I like to have fun
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

H4. Being a member of the Oregon Country Fair community has caused problems for my family
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

I1. I behave differently at the Oregon Country Fair than I do the rest of the year
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

J2. Most Oregon Country Fair staff carry the values of the Oregon Country Fair community into the outside world
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

B2. My experience with the counterculture shapes my values
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

O2. Growing up my peers influenced me to identify as part of the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

K2. I want my children to identify with the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

L1. I would encourage/have encouraged younger people who I influence to take on aspects of the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

M1. My parents were part of the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

H3. Being a member of the Oregon Country Fair community has negatively influenced my ability to achieve my life goals
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

M2. My parents or guardians influenced me to identify as part of the counterculture
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

H1. Being a member of the Oregon Country Fair community has positively influenced my life
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

N3. My older mentors (aside from parents and guardians) influenced me during my adolescence to make a positive impact on the world as a part of the counterculture.
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

B3. My experience with the values and ideals of the counterculture has shaped who I choose as my friends
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

P1. I was influenced to self-identify as part of the counterculture by a celebrity
Strongly Agree   Agree   Neither Agree or Disagree   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

Who influenced you most to self-identify as part of the counterculture? (Choose 3 people)

What are the ideals and values of the counterculture?

What ideals and values of the counterculture are important to you?

What ideals and values of the counterculture are important to the world?

What ideals and values of the counterculture are most prominent at the OCF?

Demographics
- Current city and state?

- City and state of origin?

- Age?

- How old were you when you began to identify with/become a part of the counterculture?

- OCF generation?

- How many years have you been to OCF?

- When was your 1st OCF?

- How much time do you spend on OCF each year?

- What do you do as a part of the OCF?

- How do you support yourself financially?

Appendix C:

Recruitment speech used to recruit participants for the survey conducted at the

Oregon Country Fair

Recruitment Speech:
Hi, my name is Natalie Alexander and I am looking for voluntary participants to complete a 15-20 minute survey for my Senior thesis at the University of Oregon Clark Honors College. I am looking to survey people who identify with the values and ideals of the 1960's counterculture and/or consider themselves a part of the 1960's counterculture. I want to interview people from different generations.
My study involves research about the 1960's hippie counterculture, its persistence today, and its impact on society. For this research, I am using the Oregon Country Fair as a case study. It is my hope that this research will demonstrate the potential for good and positive social change that comes from subcultures that are negatively labeled by mainstream society, and highlight the possible risks of being part of such countercultures.
Would you be interested in participating in an anonymous survey?

Appendix D:

Consent script read to each participant before they participated in the survey at

the Oregon Country Fair.

Consent:
To follow University guidelines regarding social science research I need read a consent statement and ensure that you understand and consent to participate in this research. It is important to know that I will be analyzing this information for my senior thesis. Many of the questions are about self-identity and contributions to society, which may make some participants uncomfortable. However, no questions are criminalizing or present any foreseeable risks. Participation is voluntary; refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits. Also, you may discontinue participation at any time without any type of penalty.

This survey is anonymous, so it is important that you refrain from using your name. If it helps you can come up with a pseudonym to identify yourself by. The survey should take 10-15 minutes.

This survey will be used for my research pertaining to the 1960's hippie counterculture and its persistence and positive influence on American culture. I will share several statements and ask if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement. I will also allow you to elaborate on several of the statements if you would like to. I will ask the questions on the survey form and mark down your answers as we go. After this survey is complete, if you are interested in continuing, I may ask you to answer some additional questions as part of a casual, conversational interview. This additional interview could take 20 to 30 minutes. If you choose to participate in the interview portion, our conversation will be recorded. The interview will also be anonymous and will not ask any criminalizing information.

If you accidently provide any identifiable information during the survey or the interview, or any information that could be criminalizing or sensitive, I will exclude it from the data when I transcribe it. After my thesis is complete, I will destroy all paperwork and recording from the project.

If you would like, you may keep a copy of this consent statement.

Do you consent to participating in this survey?

If you have any questions in the future do not hesitate to contact me:

Principle Investigator: Natalie Alexander, Phone: (541) 292-7551, eMail: natalie@zeezle.net

Faculty Advisor: Matthew Norton, eMail: mnorton@uoregon.edu

Appendix E:

IRB approval to conduct human subject research for this project. To see the entire

document, and amendments, please contact the IRB using the protocol number below.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

DATE: July 06, 2018   **IRB Protocol Number: 06282018.037**

TO: Natalie Alexander, Principal Investigator
         Department of General Science Program

RE: Protocol entitled, "The Emergence, Persistence, and Influence of the Hippie Counterculture in our
         Society"

Notice of Review and Exempt Determination

The above protocol has been reviewed and determined to qualify for exemption as per the Common Rule
regulations found at Title 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2). The research is approved to be conducted as described in
the attached materials.

Any change to this research will need to be assessed to ensure the study continues to qualify for exemption,
therefore an amendment will need to be submitted for verification prior to initiating proposed changes.

Approval period: July 06, 2018 - July 05, 2023

If you anticipate the research will continue beyond the approval period, you must submit a Progress Report
at least 45-days in advance of the study expiration. **Without continued approval, the protocol will expire
on July 05, 2023 and human subject research activities must cease.** A closure report must be submitted
once human subject research activities are complete. Failure to maintain current approval or properly close
the protocol constitutes non-compliance.

You are responsible for the conduct of this research and adhering to the Investigator Agreement as
reiterated below. You must maintain oversight of all research personnel to ensure compliance with the
approved protocol.

The University of Oregon and Research Compliance Services appreciate your commitment to the ethical
and responsible conduct of research with human subjects.

Sincerely,

Christina Spicer, J.D., C.I.P.

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An equal-opportunity, affirmative-action institution committed to cultural diversity and compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act

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