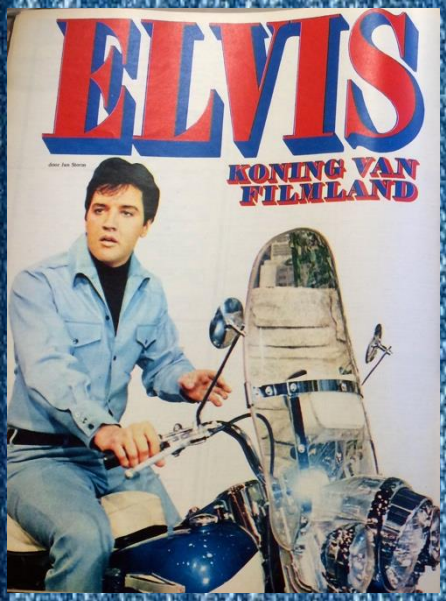
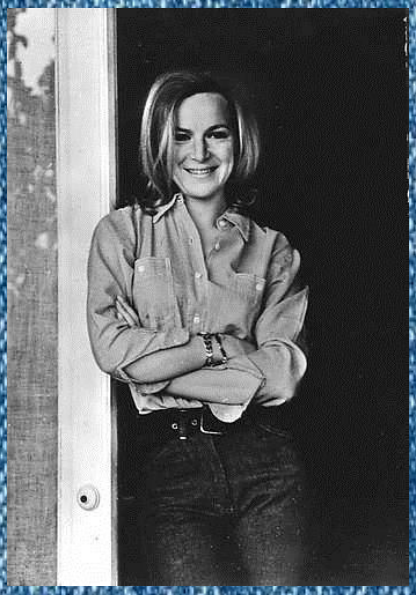
From Blue Jeans to Royal Blue

How denim jeans became acceptable to wear in the Netherlands during the 1960s





Elvis, Princess Irene, longhaired youngsters

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Introduction

Figure 1: Fotocollectie Anefo: wearing denim on Dam square in Amsterdam, 09-08-1973

Amsterdam hosted the fourth Amsterdam Denim Days last April. The event encompasses the Kingpins trade fair, the Blueprints festival and several events in the city centre of Amsterdam. It is no coincidence that such a large denim event takes place in Amsterdam. The city is considered a leader in denim consumerism and design according to the Dutch newspaper, *De Telegraaf*. The paper named denim jeans "blue gold" on 7 May 2017. Among denim enthusiasts and designers, Amsterdam is also known to be a so-called denim hub. Miles Johnson, head of design at Patagonia and a jeans guru, stayed in Amsterdam to design his Levi's vintage denim line XX. According to Johnson, Amsterdam's fashion industry specializes in denim. Denim designer Jason Denham, the man behind Denham jeans, also chose Amsterdam as the place to set up his brand, mostly because the Dutch are both great denim consumers and there are also enthusiastic about the fabric. There are many artists in Amsterdam, and the Dutch wear the fabric often.[1]

A Dutch person buys on average 1.82 jeans a year. In comparison to the Italians, who buy 0.6 denim jeans per person, this is quite a lot.[2] Denim jeans are the ideal piece of clothing for the sober Dutch, whose motto in life and fashion is 'be normal; that is crazy enough' (*doe maar normaal, dan doe je al gek genoeg*). According to Dr Maaike Feitsma, the Dutch fashion mentality is aimed at sobriety, functionality, moderation, and the rejection of vanity. Surprisingly, the exact same characteristics symbolise the American connotation of jeans in the United States.[3]

Though almost everyone now owns a pair of denim jeans, only fifty years ago it was not that common to wear them. The newspaper, *De Telegraaf*, which now praises denim jeans and sees them as part of the Dutch fashion identity, condemned wearing jeans during the early 1960s. Jeans were considered inappropriate and too casual to wear. They had a negative image and were seen as the uniform of rebellious young subcultures. According to historian Kitty de Leeuw, denim jeans became acceptable in the Netherlands around 1970. They were

[1] "Het blauwe goud: Amsterdam organiseert denimfestival" *De Telegraaf*, May 7, 2017, 13.
[2] Milou van Rossum ''Nederland Spijkerbroekenland: Blue Jeans in het Centraal Museum''. *NRC*, December 6, 2012. Accessed January 03, 2016.
[3] Maaike Feitsma, *Nederlandse mode? Een verkenning van mythevorming en betekenissen* (Nijmegen: Radboud Universiteit 2014), 149.

not acceptable to wear on all occasions, but many people from the middle and upper classes began to wear jeans as leisure wear in their spare time.[4] Apparently, something changed during these years. How did a piece of clothing seen as rebellious and negative become acceptable?

This thesis explores the process of the appropriation of denim jeans by the middle and upper classes in the Netherlands during the 1960s. So far, little academic research has been done on denim jeans in the Netherlands, even though it is such a common piece of clothing and there was such a controversy. Most research focuses on the American history of the fabric. An example is the non-academic book: *Denim: From Cowboys to Catwalks: A History of the World's Most Legendary Fabric*, by Graham Marsh and Paul Trynka. Or *Jeans: A Cultural History of an American Icon*, by James Sullivan. Dutch authors such as Jansen and de Leeuw mention that denim jeans became popular in the Netherlands during the 1960s but do not analyse how they became popular. Thus, the main research question is as follows: How and why did denim become more acceptable in the Netherlands during the 1960s?

This thesis begins by discussing the recent history of denim jeans. Central here is the question, how did denim jeans evolve in the public sphere, and what meanings are given to them? Second, the ways in which Dutch society changed during the 1960s are discussed. Central here is the question, what are the push-and-pull factors that made denim jeans become more acceptable in the Netherlands during the 1960s? Third, the manner in which denim jeans appeared in the two main youth magazines in the Netherlands is analysed. How did *Muziek Expres* and *Hitweek* discuss denim jeans during the 1960s? Fourth, the discussion of denim jeans in the two main newspapers is discussed. How did *Het Vrije Volk* and *De Telegraaf* discuss denim jeans during the 1960s? The results from the magazines and the newspapers will provide insight into how denim became more acceptable to wear during the 1960s for different age groups and classes.

Method

To find out why and how denim jeans became acceptable, public opinion during the 1960s is studied in the main media. Magazines and newspapers cannot simply be seen as 'mirrors' of their times; they are never neutral. But data from this type of media reflects the political and social views of the editors. This media is influential within the public sphere and has an active

[4] Kitty de Leeuw, "Van spijkerbroek tot cocktailjurk: de invloed van Amerika op het kleedgedrag in Nederland, 1944-1969,'' in *Jaarboek Nederlands Openluchtmuseum volume 6*, ed. K.P.C. De Leeuw et al. (Arnhem: Nederlands Openluchtmuseum, 2000), 105.

role in influencing culture.[5] The media decides what topics to discuss and what is important (e.g., what values, norms). However, it must respond to the public's desires and needs. There is thus interplay between both the senders (the newspapers) and the receivers (the readers).[6]

This thesis works from a qualitative approach by using research on two newspapers and two youth magazines to examine public opinion during the 1960s. The two newspapers studied are *Het Vrije Volk* and *De Telegraaf*. *Het Vrije Volk* was the most popular paper in the Netherlands during the first half of the 1960s. The 1950s saw the heyday for the paper, as it was the most read paper of the Netherlands. This changed in the second half of the 1960s as the paper's readers declined in number. In 1961, the NIPO conducted a study on the readership of *Het Vrije Volk.* Its readers were mostly working class and did not have a very high income.[7] *Het Vrije Volk* belonged to what they called 'the red family', by which they meant the social-democratic pillar. In addition to the paper, the labour political party (PvdA), the broadcasting organisation VARA, the labourers press and other small institutions were also connected to the social-democratic pillar. These institutions aimed to educate the workers and to give them power.[8] During the 1960s, the paper focussed on societal issues and concerns from a social-democratic point of view.[9] The number of editions slowly decreased in the second half of the 1960s.[10] No longer was *Het Vrije Volk* the most read newspaper of the country. *De Telegraaf* took its place as the most popular newspaper of the Netherlands after 1966.[11]

De Telegraaf was connected to the conservative liberal pillar. In 1961, the NIPO also conducted a study of the readership of *De Telegraaf*. The readers were mostly middle (62%) and upper class (29%).[12] *De Telegraaf* grew to become the largest paper during 1966, which proved to be a chaotic year for the paper.[13] The paper's building was raided by construction workers and protesters during the 'construction workers uproar' in Amsterdam. *De Telegraaf* had incorrectly reported the death of one of the construction workers at an earlier protest and

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[5] Remieg Aerts. "Het tijdschrift als culturele factor en als historische bron," *Groniek* 33 (1996): 178.
[6] Ibid, 181.
[7] *Het Vrije Volk: lezerskringonderzoek februari 1961* ('s-Gravenhage: Nederlandse Stichting voor Statistiek, 1961).
[8] Gerard Mulder, Hugo Arlman, and Ursula den Tex, *De val van de rode burcht: opkomst en ondergang van een krantenbedrijf* (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers 1980) 17.
[9] Ibid, 99.
[10] Ibid, 124.
[11] Mariëtte Wolf, *Het geheim van De Telegraaf: geschiedenis van een krant*. (Amsterdam: Boom 2009), 412.
[12] *De Telegraaf: Lezerskringonderzoek Februari,* ('s-Gravenhage: Nederlandse Stichting voor Statistiek 1961), 7.
[13] Wolf, *Het geheim van De Telegraaf,* 412.

events escalated. The construction workers went to the editorial office of *De Telegraaf* to protest and other rebellious students and Provos joined them. The protesters went into the editorial building of *De Telegraaf* and ransacked it before the police finally arrived. When they did, the place was in shambles. Elsewhere in the city, protesters and Provos would continue their protest and the city would remain restless all day. Still, *De Telegraaf* grew in popularity after this incident.[14] *Het Vrije Volk* and *De Telegraaf* maintained a different readership and differed in their views. Thus, they together provide an interesting insight into public opinion at the time.

As previously stated, young adults were the first to embrace denim jeans as part of their fashion; thus, it is interesting to study their stance towards denim. The two youth magazines studied here are *Muziek Expres* and *Hitweek*. *Muziek Expres* became the largest youth magazine during the 1960s. They sold a quarter million editions monthly in 1966.[15] The magazine drove the spread of youth culture in the Netherlands, according to historian Hans Righart. It could be seen as the main medium for teenagers at the time. During the 1960s, it contained many advertisements aimed at teenage consumers for consumer products such as records, beauty products and, of course, jeans.[16] Although the magazine was aimed at a teenage audience, the journalists were not young and most of them were also working for national newspapers.[17] According to a research done by the NIPO institute in 1970, *Muziek Expres* readers mostly came from middle-class (57%) or slightly below middle-class families. Their parents mainly read *De Telegraaf*. Only nine percent of the readers questioned had parents who read *Het Vrije Volk*. The readers were between the age of 15 to 18, and the majority were (high school) students. Only 37 percent of the readers had started working; thus, the majority of *Hitweek* readers did not earn their own money. Most of their pocket money was spent on clothes. 75 percent of the boys and 93 percent of the girls were said to be interested in fashion. Most of the readers had the final say on what they wanted to wear, even on leisurewear (and denim jeans). Only underwear was subject to parental decisions about what their young children were supposed to wear.[18] *Muziek Expres* is thus an interesting source of information about how middle-class youth was influenced in wearing denim jeans.

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[14] Hans Righart, *De eindloze jaren zestig: geschiedenis van een generatieconflict*, (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1995), 227.
[15] *Young Love: Resultaten Van Een Kwalitatief Media-Onderzoek Onder Tieners En Twens* (Den Haag: Muziek Expres, 1973) 5.
[16] Righart, *De Eindeloze Jaren Zestig*, 183.
[17] Henk van Gelder, Hester Carvalho and Lutgard Mutsaers, *Gouden Tijden: vijftig jaar Nederlandse popbladen* (Amsterdam: Stichting Popmuziek Nederland, 1994), 21.
[18] *De Lezerskring Van Muziek Expres*. (Den Haag: NIPO, 1970).

Hitweek was against the commercialised teenager culture in *Muziek Expres* and distrusted the influence of record companies on the magazine. Founded in 1965, it contained articles written by young people. Figure 2 shows the most read periodicals of 1967. As can be seen in Figure 2, *Muziek Expres* was not as popular in 1967 as it was before. *Hitweek* was not read as often by girls, but it was quite popular among boys. It was seen as a rebellious magazine, and many youngsters were not allowed to read it. According to Righart, the magazine was not really rebelling against the political order. It rebelled against the older generations; the magazine's main goal was to create a generational coherence. According to historian Kitty de Leeuw, *Hitweek* was the magazine fashionable young people read in the Netherlands.[19] Due both to its fashionable and rebellious image, *Hitweek* is an interesting source for information about how the more rebellious anti-establishment youth discussed denim jeans.

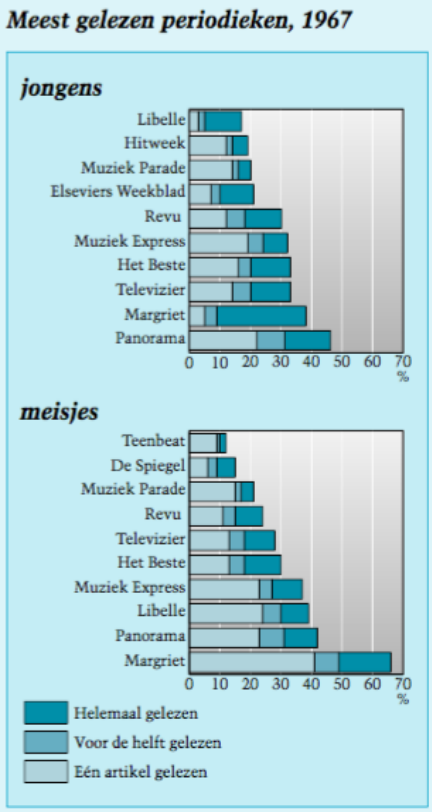

Figure 2: Popular magazines in the Netherlands in 1967 in: Lawaaiige twieners, CBS

Both newspapers were studied with help from the digital database, Delpher. A search was conducted using the keyword *denim jeans* (*spijkerbroek* in Dutch) in both newspapers between 1960 and 1969. This search yielded both advertisements for denim jeans and articles that mention denim jeans. Both magazines were researched in multiple archives. All the editions of *Hitweek* were researched from the years: 1966, 1967, 1968 and 1969. *Muziek Expres* editions were researched from 1960 (only the last edition, no60), 1961, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1968 and 1970. Unfortunately, *Hitweek* was founded in the fall of 1965; thus, the research on this magazine is less extensive. This is a limitation in my study, because it makes it harder to compare the two magazines.

The articles that contained a reference to denim jeans in these publications were both studied and counted. How do these articles discuss denim jeans and what meanings do they give to them? Do these discussions and meanings change over time, and how do they relate to how denim jeans are discussed in the other media? The advertisements in the media are mainly studied to see differences in promoting jeans throughout the years. Are jeans promoted mainly for children or also for adults, and why? Are jeans mainly to be worn in one's spare

[19] K.P.C de Leeuw, K.P.C and Nora Schadee, *Jong! Jongerencultuur en stijl in Nederland 1950-2000*. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 31.

time, as De Leeuw claimed?[20] Or were they also considered to be fashionable? And which stores promoted jeans? Was it typical middle or upper-class stores such a V&D or Bijenkorf, or smaller boutiques?

The results provide a general view; individual points of view are not considered. At times, readers' letters in newsletters and magazines give a nuanced point of view of the general opinion. *Hitweek* readers did not always agree and sent in letters discussing what was appropriate to wear.

Theoretical framework

Due to the war, family planning was postponed. Therefore, at the end of the war, there was the so-called baby boom. In 1937, 170,000 babies were born yearly. In the years after the war, the yearly birth-rate increased. In 1947, the number of babies born peaked at 267.000. However, during the 1960s, the birth-rate returned to levels before the war.[21] Thus, a large group of young adults and teenagers were growing up during the 1960s.

This baby-boom generation born between 1940 and 1955 created a generational coherence due to the events they were experiencing at the same time and in the same place. Generational coherence depends upon historical circumstances and on how receptive and accessible communication is among those in the same generational position. Today, therefore, when global communication is instantaneous and we see the globalisation of mass culture, there is more potential for generational coherence than for generations that grew up, for instance, in the 1930s. Luykx and Righart state that, due to its scale and international reach, the generation grew up during the 1960s in the western world was the first generation with generational coherence. Generational coherence is passive in the way it is shaped by the generation. The coherence is the homogenising label.[22] The generational coherence of the 1960s was shaped by the changes within society, such as economic growth, the expansion of consumer opportunities, the spread of the television as a mass medium, the creation of a transnational teenage culture and the international atmosphere at the end of the cold war (United States against the Russians). The generational coherence of the 1960s was international, but it was led by the United States.[23]

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[20] De Leeuw, "Van spijkerbroek tot cocktailjurk", 105.
[21] Piet de Rooy, "Vetkuifje Waarheen? Jongeren in Nederland in De Jaren Vijftig En Zestig." *BMGN: Low Countries Historical Review* 101 (1986): 78.
[22] Hans Righart and Paul Luykx, *Generatiemix: Leeftijdsgroepen En Cultuur* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1998), 212-214.
[23] Ibid, 216.

Youth subcultures

The baby boom created a larger group within society, and the growth in welfare and leisure time led to a need to have one's own identity within the mass. [24] As a result, during the second half of the 1950s, youth subcultures appeared in the Netherlands within the generational coherence. The national historical context brought them together. Consider, for example, the Dutch student movements. These subcultures are not passive but actively challenge the dominant culture with their own worldviews.

Sociologist Dick Hebdige studies the subcultures which emerged in the UK during the post-war years. The youth subcultures were the consequence of the historical context from which they arose. According to Hebdige, the ways in which class was experienced changed during the years after the war, especially during the 1960s. Some post-war changes in society polarised and fragmented the working-class community. Examples of these changes can be found in mass media, family life, school and shifts in the relative status of work and leisure. According to Hebdige, the development of youth culture was part of the polarisation of the working-class community. Due to changes in the educational system, the growth in spending power of working-class youth and the consumer market created a generational consciousness among the youth, which was expressed in non-traditional ways through subcultures.[25]

Subcultures are, according to Hebdige, a way of expressing a tension between those in power and those 'condemned to subordinate positions and second-class lives.' Sub-cultural style is the result of this tension.[26] Subcultures differentiate between other sub-cultural groups and try to differentiate themselves from the dominant culture.[27] Subcultures call attention to issues in society by creating a spectacle of the issues and themselves, as goths and skaters do, for instance. They oppose to the dominant culture by dressing differently.[28]

Spectacular subcultures, as Hebdige calls them, pass through many stages as they interact with mainstream media. First, they are noticed by the mainstream media for their unorthodox styles, which provides shock value. Second, the style is linked to social deviance. This creates panic and discussion in the mainstream media, as it is seen as a threat to the dominant culture. Third, there is a process of ideological re-appropriation. However, the panic and shock have faded by then. There are two forms of this: the commodity form and the ideological form. In

[24] De Leeuw and Schadee, *Jong,* 10.
[25] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture, The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen, 1979) 74.
[26] Ibid, 132.
[27] Ibid, 75.
[28] Ibid, 91.

the commodity form, the sub-cultural signs such as dress and music are reformed into mass-produced objects. They lose their meanings in this process. In the ideological form, the deviant behaviour of the subcultures is redefined and nuanced by the dominant culture (in the media, for instance).[29] Finally, the ideological re-appropriation and commodification of the subculture weakens its ideology and makes the once-deviant behaviour safe.[30] These transformations make the sub-cultural style elements fit for public consumption. According to historian Piet de Rooy, fashion appropriation also worked from a bottom up direction among younger people. Working-class youth were the first to adopt different styles during the mid-1950s, followed by high-school teenagers and students who copied these styles during the 1960s.[31] This account contradicts the leading theory on fashion appropriation by Georg Simmel.

Fashion theory:

According to historian Frans Jansen, the young people and lower classes in society influenced how the middle and upper classes began to dress after the Second World War. The youth, influenced by the United States, caused dress in the Netherlands to become more informal, according to Jansen.[32] Historian Kitty de Leeuw agrees with Jansen on the influence of the youth (and the influence of the United States on the youth) with respect to the process of denim appropriation by the middle and upper classes in the Netherlands.[33] This contradicts the leading fashion theory of Georg Simmel.

German sociologist Georg Simmel wrote as early as 1904 about fashion in society. In his article, 'Fashion', Simmel argues that fashion unites certain classes horizontally but divides them vertically. Through fashion, the individual is able to pursue desires for group identity and individual expression. Thus, one can express personal value while following the norms of a certain group. Social interaction is important in Simmel's theory.[34] According to Simmel, two social tendencies are crucial for the success of fashion in society: Individuals need to feel part of a union while maintaining freedom from the collective, i.e., the need to be in society and to be free from its demands. Simmel argues that if one of the two needs is

[29] Ibid, 93-94.
[30] Ibid, 98-99.
[31] De Rooy, "Vetkuifje Waarheen?'', 77.
[32] Frans Jansen, "Van Knickerbocker tot Legging: Vrijetijdskleding in Nederland 1850-1995'' In: *Van Ontspanning En Inspanning: Aspecten Van De Geschiedenis Van De Vrije Tijd*. Ed. K.P.C De Leeuw, et al. (Tilburg: Gianotten, 1995) 332.
[33] De Leeuw, "Van spijkerbroek tot cocktailjurk", 121.
[34] Georg Simmel, "Fashion" *American Journal of Sociology* 62 (1957) 556.

absent, it is not possible to have fashion in that type of society. These conflicting needs are central in most of Simmel's theories on society. Clothing is a way to negotiate these desires.[35] Therefore, in Western capitalist societies, individuals use clothing to show that they belong to a certain social group and to display individual identity.[36] Thus, the aforementioned groups during the 1960s wore denim not only to differentiate themselves, but also to show that they were part of the collective, the youth culture.

Clothing can be either fashion or anti-fashion depending on its context. Anti-fashion clothing challenges mainstream fashion. A garment could be considered fashionable in one context, and as anti-fashion in another context. Consider, for example how the miniskirt was worn during the 1960s. Worn as a piece of anti-fashion, it represented a challenge to existing gender roles about how women should dress and behave. Nowadays, a miniskirt is considered normal and does not have this anti-fashion connotation. Thus, context is crucial in determining whether a piece of clothing, outfit or garment, is considered a fashion or an anti-fashion statement.[37]

Another point that Simmel makes is that the upper classes decide what is fashionable. According to Simmel, fashion is only relevant to the upper classes. The lower classes copy the styles of the upper classes and, as a result, style ceases to be fashion. Once a style has been copied by the lower classes, the upper classes create newer fashions to differentiate themselves from the lower classes.[38] Fashion therefore develops very well in modern cities as it, 'intensifies a multiplicity of social relations, increases the rate of social mobility and permits individuals from lower strata to become conscious of the styles and fashions of upper classes.'[39] This was not the case with denim, however. Denim jeans were a piece of working-class fashion which were worn as anti-fashion by the youth. The process of the appropriation of denim jeans by the middle class meant that denim had a bottom-up evolution from the youth and working class.

[35] Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*. (London: Routledge, 2002) 24.
[36] Ibid, 26.
[37] Ibid, 32.
[38] Ibid, 141.
[39] Ashley, David and David Michael Orenstein. 2001. *Sociological Theory: Classical Statements*. 5th ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 320.

1.American dreams in denim jeans: The meaning of blue denim jeans during the 1960s

There is hardly any piece of clothing that is considered as typically American as denim jeans. Why is this? The inventor of the blue jean, Levi-Strauss, was a German immigrant. And the clothing was invented as worker's wear. Denim jeans are according to Malcolm Barnard a first example of the middle-class adopting working-class style.[40] How has this clothing item been appropriated by different groups, and what meanings are attached to it? This chapter explores the origin of the fabric, the meanings attached to jeans and how denim jeans were used by many different groups. This will give insight into the possible push-and-pull factors for appropriating denim jeans by the middle and upper-class.

The beginning of blue jeans

Blue denim jeans were designed for miners during the gold rush by tailor Jacob Davis and Levi Strauss.[41] The mine workers needed a pair of strong pants, because regular pants kept ripping apart. The origin of the fabric has been the cause of debate for centuries. The legend says that the denim used in the first Levi's jeans is from the French city, Nîmes. This is because of the fabric called serge de Nîmes.[42] According to another story, the term *jeans* was first used for the clothing of sailors from Genoa. However, their clothing was not made from denim but from a blend of cotton and wool or linen.[43] Thus the truth is more complicated.

According to Pascale Gorguet-Ballesteros, curator at the Paris Musée de la Mode et de Costume, the denim we use know today is not from France, but from 1700s England. The main centres of production of serge de Nîmes were in England and the Eastern United States.[44] Gorguet-Ballestros claims that the French fabric called Serge de Nîmes was a mixture of wool and silk. The fabric made in England and the United States was an evolution of the fabric made entirely from cotton. Thus, this can be seen as the predecessor of denim as we know it today. There was an all-cotton fabric in France for the working-class, but because the word for this fabric did not exist, Gorguet-Ballestros, believes that it is not the predecessor of the blue jean we now know.[45]

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[40] Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*. 145.
[41] Graham Marsh and Paul Trynka, *Denim: From Cowboys to Catwalks: A History of the World's Most Legendary Fabric*. (London: Aurum Press, 2005) 8.
[42] Rachel Snyder, *Fugitive Denim: A Moving Story of People and Pants in the Borderless World* (New York: W.W. Norton 2009) 139.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Bill Marshall. *France and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History: A Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO 2005), 361.
[45] Snyder, *Fugitive Denim,* 139.

Tailor Jacob Davis developed the idea to strengthen overalls for mineworkers with rivets, which made them stronger than regular pants. The native of Bavaria Germany, Levi Strauss was his fabric supplier at the time, and when Davis saw a growing demand in riveted jeans, he asked Strauss to help him secure a patent. Strauss funded the patent in return for half of the share in the invention. This was the beginning of the Levi Strauss company in 1873. Denim jeans thus began as workers wear for miners, and soon cowboys and farmers were wearing them as well.[46]

Around the 1920s, the Wild West started to disappear. This led to a nostalgic feeling about the colonization of North America and the lives of the pioneers and cowboys. The Wild West became romanticised. Country music and western literature became popular, as did western films from Hollywood.[47] This nostalgic view of the Wild West considered life in the countryside to be superior to city life. The cowboy mythology centralised the lives of the cowboys in the wild west. The cowboy became an American legend; he appeared often in advertising and films—e.g., in advertisements for cigarettes and jeans.[48]

Surfin' USA: making an American icon

According to sociologist Sandra Curtis Comstock, denim jeans became an American icon in the 1930s during the Great Depression.[49] Their position was quite fragile at first and there was not a high demand. Consumer desires began to become important due to the disruption of commerce during the depression. Due to the decline in consumption, companies such as Levi-Strauss and Twenty Century Fox tried to extend the appeal of their products so they could sell them to many social groups. Popular culture and film were critical to the establishment of certain symbols in clothing, according to Comstock.[50] Jeans were also considered working-class apparel before the depression. A series of events spurred this.

There are both consumerist and production reasons for the growing popularity of denim jeans. On the consumerist side, there were shifts in the habits of middle-class Americans which led to a need for casual clothes. Examples include an increase in the amount of regulated leisure time and women's entry into paid work. Inspired by celebrities in popular culture, women adopted denim jeans. On the production-centred side is the fact that, during

[46] Sandra Curtis Comstock, ''The Making of an American Icon: The Transformation of Blue Jeans during the Great Depression'' In *Global Denim*. Ed. Daniel Miller et al. (Oxford: Berg, 2011) 42.
[47] Ibid, 48.
[48] Ibid, 42.
[49] Daniel Miller and Sophie Woodward, *Global Denim* (Oxford: Berg, 2011) 9.
[50] Ibid, 11.

the first few decades of the twentieth century, denim jeans were marketed in a new and different way. Thus, Hollywood's way of using denim and the leisure activities of the middle class are seen as preconditions to the rise of denim jeans. In both approaches, there are conditions (shifts in habits) and mechanisms (advertising) which explain the transformation of the working-class blue jean into the American icon it now is.[51]

Between the 1930s and the 1960s, the Californian fashion industry established itself as the global centre for men's fashion with Los Angeles as its fashion capital, according to historian William Scott.[52] During this period, the trade organization, the Men's Apparel Guild In California (MAGIC), positioned a certain style through a marketing campaign: California casual style . Key attributes of this lifestyle were youth, celebrity, leisure and heterosexuality. California casual style as they called it was marketed nationally through an organisational and editorial infrastructure. Leisurewear from California became synonymous in the post-war period with American style and became a national trend.[53] This was due to a change in focus from production to consumer desires.[54] Thus, California casual involved more than just clothes; it was a lifestyle.

Federal laws enforced the forty-hour work week in 1938. This expanded the leisure time for the middle class and resulted in a growing demand for leisurewear. California casual appealed to middle-class men from the suburbs. These 'white collared' family men fantasised about the Californian lifestyle. The clothes were merchandised as masculine leisure: an outdoors lifestyle with the body on display, according to Scott. Mass media promoted California as the land of limitless opportunity and the 'hub for commercialised leisure, and this stimulated a nationwide interest.[55] The Second World War played a crucial role in making California casual a nation-wide phenomenon. Many army troops were sent off from the West Coast. Most of LA's clothing firms profited from wartime sportswear production, and they subsequently expanded this to civilian clothes.[56] By the late 1950s, LA became the world's second largest fashion capital after New York, according to Scott. LA emerged in front of Paris, London and Chicago.[57]

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[51] Curtis Comstock, "The Making of an American Icon", 24.
[52] William Scott, "California casual: Lifestyle Marketing and Men's Leisurewear, 1940-1960'' in: *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers*. Ed. Regina Lee Blaszczyk, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) 172.
[53] Ibid, 170.
[54] Ibid, 182.
[55] Ibid, 186.
[56] Ibid, 172.
[57] Ibid, 169.

California casual was defined by a number of factors. First, it was styled and made in California. Second, it was casual and easy fitting, which referenced the casual and easy life in California. Third, it highlighted 'broad shoulders', which signified being able to deal with unpleasant situations. Next, tradition was somewhat sacrificed for comfort; thus, the three-piece suit had to make way for more comfortable clothes. All clothes in California casual style used unusual colours and colour combinations. Finally, details and motifs referring to the old west were often used.[58] The style was a hybrid of three styles. According to Scott, it 'integrated the style of Hollywood and the resort wear worn in Palm Springs with the toughness of the western frontier and the informality of the suburbs'. It referred paradoxically both to life on an American ranch and the life on the French Riviera. California casual lifestyle can still be seen in brands such as Abercrombie and Fitch. Most importantly for this research, denim jeans played a major role in California casual.

Rebels without a cause:

During the 1950s, stylists in Hollywood began to dress rebels in denim. Wild icons such as Marlon Brando and James Dean regularly wore denim in their films.[59] Therefore, the non-academic writer Iain Finlayson argues that the film-and-music industry created the rebellious symbolism of jeans.[60] Young people began wearing denim to rebel against their parents. It symbolised their protest against American standards of behaviour, conformism and consumerism.[61] In this way, they refused to conform to a certain fashion trends and the identities produced by fashion.[62] Thus, from the 1950s on, three ideas were linked to jeans: heavy labour and poverty, the romanticised wild west of the cowboys and the rebellious youth culture which opposed American lifestyle and politics.[63]

The way some youth cultures dressed was a personal statement of their vision for society. They opposed the people who wore expensive clothes and focused mainly on economic success. The youth rejected the symbols of economic achievement. They saw jeans and work shirts as an indication of egalitarianism, which was a rejection of hierarchy,

[58] Ibid, 175.

[59] Feitsma, *Nederlandse mode,* 139.
[60] Iain Finlayson, *Denim, An American Legend*. (New York: Fireside, 1990) 21.
[61] Ibid, 18.
[62] Barnard, *Fashion as Communication,* 153.
[63] Feitsma, *Nederlandse mode*, 147.

privilege, and injustice.[64] Historian Robert Ross states that the main clothing code in these years was a celebration of what was seen as freedom and liberation from the old-fashioned aspects of middle-class life.[65]

Jeans originally represented democratic values. According to Malcolm Barnard, jeans were an attempt to refuse all class identification. Barnard states that jeans deconstructed class distinctions and challenged class identities. By wearing denim jeans, young people rejected the identity of the middle class. With work wear, they aimed to make a political statement and to distinguish themselves from other classes and groups.[66] Denim could thus be seen as a symbol of democracy. Denim jeans are egalitarian.[67]

Political denim:

During the 1960s, people in different parts of the world began to wear denim as a political symbol of anti-fashion while protesting the Vietnam war. They protested American foreign policy in garments that had become typically American: jeans and t-shirts. The rebels and protesters opposed the established elite and everything they stood for. Around 1965, activists from the New Left and Hippies began wearing jeans. Jeans became the symbol of egalitarianism in the 1960s. The Hippies used jeans not only to oppose the established elite but also to display their ideal of a classless society and new gender relations.[68]

The groups that wore denim during the 1960s had one issue in common: They opposed the dominant conservative and consumer-oriented middle class. To wear jeans was a way of to express that sentiment. Almost at the same time, however, denim jeans became part of the system they were against, as the middle class began to wear denim as well. This is what Barnard calls the process of appropriation or incorporation. The dominant system incorporates the values represented by the rebels and makes them its own. In the late 1950s, few members of the middle class were seen wearing denim in the United States. But by the late 1960s, the entire middle class had appropriated denim.[69] Ross states that it was the 'charisma of rebellion' that helped routinize jeans. Jeans became an off-duty apparel and choice for many different social groups.[70] Jeans were the first example of dressing below one's class. Wearing jeans

[64] Ruth Rubinstein, *Dress Codes: Meanings and Messages in American Culture*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995) 258.
[65] Robert Ross, *Clothing: A Global History*. (Cambridge: Polity, 2008) 147.
[66] Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*. 145.
[67] James Sullivan, *Jeans: A Cultural History of an American Icon* (New York: Turnaround, 2007) 5.
[68] Finlayson, *Denim, an American Legend*, 25.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ross, *Clothing: A Global History*, 149.

constituted a challenge to the values of a society in which distinctions of wealth and status were important. Jeans were also the first garment that became fashionable from the bottom up: from the working class to the middle class.[71] This contradicts the leading theory on fashion by Georg Simmel.

Denim jeans and their meanings

To understand the attraction to denim jeans, Sociologist Ruth Rubinstein emphasises that people communicate through the garments they wear. Clothing links individuals to a certain social order; thus, a designer dress links someone to a higher class. Denim jeans originally had a working-class connotation, but they were marketed as a way to represent a casual life through California casual style. According to Rubinstein, changes in clothing are signs of changes in the sphere of social life and the definition of the individual. Rubinstein sees clothing as a source of information about the patterns of interaction within a society. Denim jeans have these messages in them as well. Denim jeans showed power relations in society; thus, they showed the influence the United States had on Europe.

Sociologist John Fiske understood that denim jeans have contradictory meanings in them. He sees jeans as part of popular culture, which allows them to have different meanings attached to them. According to Fiske, popular culture is, 'the culture of the subordinated and disempowered and thus always bears within it signs of power relations, traces of the forces of domination and subordination that are central to our social system and therefore to our social experience.' Popular culture is contradictory. It shows signs of resisting the forces of domination but also contains an element of subordination. According to Fiske, this explains why jeans could be seen as typically American but also as a rejection of what it is to be American. The dichotomy makes it possible for denim jeans to have contradictory meanings. In this way, a Russian official could wear denim jeans to show a link to the Western world while his daughter wears denim jeans to rebel against her parents.[72] The meanings connected to denim jeans are those that make them popular.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided insight into the different meanings that were attached to denim jeans during the twentieth century. The origin of denim is quite difficult to determine. The

[71] Ibid, 149-150.
[72] John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*. (London: Routledge, 1990) 5.

fact is that both denim and the denim jeans designed by German immigrant Levi Strauss have European roots. The meanings attached to them, however, are predominantly American. More specifically, one might even say that they are Californian. Jeans were being used during the 1960s by subcultures as an anti-fashion statement. The reasons are quite diverse: from middle-class culture to American foreign policy. Jeans challenged the dominant order. However, they soon became part of the dominant order.

2.The Times They Are A-Changin': Push-and-pull factors for denim in the Netherlands during the 1960s

In 1969, an article on denim jeans appeared in *De Telegraaf:*

> Normally fashion only concerns the upper classes who decide what is acceptable. With jeans, this seems to be the other way around. Denim jeans were made for the working class but they are now in the closets of bank managers, ministers, civil servants and in the royal closet. Princess Irene and Anne of England are often seen in one of those blue things.

The article even mentioned that, 'Denim jeans are common among the teenagers at school, the working class, artists and an increasing amount of people enjoying their leisure'.[73] Denim jeans appeared acceptable to wear in this article from *De Telegraaf.* An article in the same newspaper in 1960 shows a different opinion: 'Girls going to school in denim jeans shows indifference towards the teachers and is considered disrespectful.' The article published readers' letters about whether wearing jeans was considered appropriate for teenagers. Generally speaking it was not appropriate, especially not for girls.[74] Apparently, much changed during these years in how denim jeans were viewed. What are the push-and-pull factors which made denim jeans become more acceptable in the Netherlands during the 1960s?

This chapter elaborates on changes within Dutch society which were influential with respect to how people dressed during the 1960s. It discusses the baby-boom generation growing up in a society focussed on the United States: the liberator of the European continent. It presents the friction between the younger generation and the older generations and shows that both generations were influenced by the United States. It discusses the influence the United States and its popular culture had on changes in how people dressed in the Netherlands. It also demonstrates that, though there was a need for leisure wear, denim jeans were not necessarily a welcomed change.

A changing society

During the 1950s, Dutch society recovered from the devastating impact of the Second World War. The pillarised society (*verzuiling* in Dutch) was recovered: a societal system in the Netherlands in which religions and ideologies within society were segmented into their own 'pillars'. Each pillar had its own church, newspaper, school, political party, sports club and so

[73] ''De Spijkerbroek in 100 jaar Niets Veranderd'' *De Telegraaf* 08-11-1969 retrieved from Delpher.
[74] Brigitte and Bob. ''De schoolmode kent vele lijnen'' *De Telegraaf* 09-09-1960 retrieved from Delpher.

on. Historian Hans Righart wrongly sees the 1950s as sober years without much change. According to historian Hans Righart, the 1960s were years of turbulence and social change. A growing economy, social economic tension, depillarisation, political reform, the decline of religion, and increased sexual freedom all led to changes within Dutch society.[75] Historian Niek van Sas disagrees with the statement that the 1950s did not witness much change and proves that this vision is a myth enforced by baby-boomers such as Righart. They wrongly see the 1960s as an era of radical change and thereby miss the change already noticeable during the 1950s.[76]

Van Sas mentions that the 1950s were, however, characterised by people working hard and being quite frugal.[77] After 1963, wages increased in the Netherlands. The overall welfare also increased during the 1960s. Due to the economic growth, more money could be spent on new consumer products such as televisions and cars. In 1967, 80 percent of the households in the Netherlands owned a television, 45 percent owned a car and 55 owned a refrigerator. This was a rapid increase from 1957, when only four percent owned a television, eight percent a car and three percent a refrigerator.[78] Dutch politicians were sceptical about television and afraid of the influence it would have on Dutch culture and society in general. They were afraid that the television would not be sufficiently intellectual and, therefore, delayed in approving it.[79]

A driver behind economic growth in the Netherlands was the increased amount of leisure time during the 1960s. People had more time to spend their money on consumer products. Earlier, during the 1940s and 1950s, the Netherlands was characterised by the longest workweeks in Europe, though it had no legal holiday entitlements until 1963.[80] The amount of leisure time began to change during the second half of the 1950s. The amount of leisure time had increase by 10 percent in 1963, and, in that same year, the Dutch government enforced a law ensuring a statutory holiday entitlement.[81] This increased amount of leisure time would be reflected in the way people dressed during the 1960s, as adults began to dress

[75] Righart, *De Eindeloze Jaren Zestig*, 13.
[76] Niek van Sas, *De metamorfose van Nederland: van oude orde naar moderniteit, 1750-1900* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004) 605.
[77] Ibid.
[78] James Kennedy and Simone Kennedy-Doornbos, *Nieuw Babylon in Aanbouw: Nederland in De Jaren Zestig* (Amsterdam: Boom, 1995) 46.
[79] Wijfjes, Huub. 2004. *Journalistiek in Nederland, 1850-2000: Beroep, Cultuur En Organisatie*. Amsterdam: Boom, 319-320.
[80] Righart, *De Eindeloze Jaren Zestig*, 64.
[81] Ibid, 68.

more casually.[82] According to *De Telegraaf*, leisurewear increased between 1962 and 1968. This led to an increase in the total consumption of leisure wear from 131 million guilders in 1962 to 248 million guilders in 1967.[83] During the 1960s, Dutch department stores such as C&A would often advertise their leisurewear in the newspapers, as can be seen in Figure 3. Thus, denim jeans seemed to be ideal for the time. They were strong pants, perfect for leisure time. The functionality of denim jeans is a precondition of their popularity, but it does not explain their popularity.[84]

Historian Hans Righart disagrees with historian James Kennedy concerning the drivers behind change within Dutch society during the 1960s. Kennedy sees the traditionally tolerant Dutch political elite as a decisive factor for change.[85] During the 1960s, foreign competition led to a modernization of the Dutch confection industry. The industry followed American models and techniques.[86] Modernisation was copied from the United States. The Netherlands was open to American influences in the post war years. In the context of Marshall Aid, the United States organised 'productivity missions' in which the Dutch could learn how to be as productive as the United States.[87] According to historian James Kennedy, growing internationalism in Dutch society led to a decrease in Dutch nationalistic sentiments, which were low during the 1960s.[88] This decrease in nationalistic sentiment happened, according to Kennedy, for three reasons. First, the war had created resentment towards nationalism in many European countries. Second, the loss of New Guinea and Indonesia led to a feeling of inferiority. The Netherlands was no longer an important power. Third, the Dutch political and intellectual elite believed that they had to have an international view, as they were relatively small and dependent upon other countries. Therefore, English became part of the high-school curriculum in addition to French and German.[89]

Righart claims that the generational conflict was the driver behind change. Righart addresses many of the changes within Dutch society that involved the younger generations and subcultures.[90]

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[82] Jansen, ''Van Knickerbocker Tot Legging'', 327.
[83] ''De Spijkerbroek in 100 jaar Niets Veranderd'' *De Telegraaf* 08-11-1969 retrieved from Delpher.
[84] Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 1.
[85] Kennedy and Kennedy-Doornbos, *Nieuw Babylon in Aanbouw*,14.
[86] De Leeuw, ''Van spijkerbroek tot Cocktailjurk'', 107.
[87] Frank Inklaar, Frank "The Marshall Plan And The Modernization Of Dutch Society'' In: *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations 1609-2009*. Ed. Hans Krabbendam et al. (Amsterdam: Boom, 2009) 768.
[88] Kennedy and Kennedy-Doornbos, *Nieuw Babylon in Aanbouw*, 64.
[89] Ibid, 63.
[90] Righart, *De Eindeloze Jaren Zestig*, 64.

The Dutch youth

During the years after the Second World War, a baby-boom generation emerged within the Western world, as many had postponed having children until after the war. The number of working teenagers (14-19 years old) decreased to between 1947 and 1960. In 1947, this was 66 percent; in 1960, it had decreased to 55 percent. An increasing number of young people were able to go to high school and study during the 1960s.[91] In 1950, only 27 percent of 12-25 year olds were participating in higher education; the young adults started to work at an early age. In 1960, this increased to 41 percent, and it would continue to grow. Thus, there were more young people, and they studied for longer periods of time. This made the school environment the predominant environment for many young people. Those from different social classes but within the same age group interacted daily during their study years. As young people spent most of their youth at school, differences among social groups decreased, which led to a more uniform group of teenagers and young adults. The opportunities for young people from the working class improved and the differences between young people from the city and the countryside became less distinctive. Fewer social differences and a homogenization of the youth might have also have created the climate in which denim jeans could become appropriated by the upper classes.

Although there was more interaction among young people, the majority of the youth began working at a young age. However, the financial position of young people changed. Because wages began to grow from 1963, young people who were already working had more money to spend because they did not have many financial obligations. Thus, they became a targeted consumerist group.[92] The baby-boomer generation gained much influence in their teens and twenties. In the Netherlands, they were often referred to as teenagers or 'twens'. *Twens* was the nickname for young people in their twenties. Statistics show that the baby-boom generation had much more money to spend than their parents. They spent their money on consumer products such as records, clothes, make-up and motorcycles. According to the Centre for Statistics in the Netherlands (CBS), youth spent the largest amount of money on clothes and shoes in 1967.[93] Teenagers and young adults had thus become their own group of consumers. The position of youth in Dutch society changed due to an increase in their

[91] Righart, *De Eindeloze Jaren Zestig*, 151.
[92] De Rooy, "Vetkuifje Waarheen?'', 79-80.
[93] *Vroeger En Nu: Lawaaiige Twieners*. (Centraal Bureau Statistiek: 2001).

education, better changes on the labour market, less hierarchical families and growing consumerist targeting of the youth. These factors dramatically altered their position within society.[94]

Because of the expansion of high school and higher education, the transition from childhood to adulthood became longer. The generation born after the war (baby boom) clashed with the generation(s) who had been born before the war and had experienced the war, as in many other western societies. Both generations had different formative experiences, which led to friction and to a clash during the 1960s. This friction had a catalysing effect on changes within Dutch society.[95] According to Righart and Luykx, the young generation played an important role in cultural revolution during the 1960s. They changed society regarding issues such as the emancipation of the youth, women and homosexuals, and they influenced politicians with their protests against nuclear arms and for the environment.[96]

Young (lower-class) people were one of the first groups in Europe to embrace American popular culture and its consumer products. According to historian Rob Kroes, European youth could be seen as a 'Trojan horse for America's mass-culture invasion'.[97] In the Netherlands, the youth were also the first group to begin wearing denim jeans from the mid-1950s. They used jeans to express their vision for society, according to historian Piet de Rooy.[98] Denim jeans had been workers' garment until then, but the youth wore them as an anti-fashion statement against the older generations. The youth distinguished themselves from the establishment by wearing jeans. According to Jansen, jeans became the symbol of freedom for the youth.[99] It was, however, not easy to obtain a pair of denim jeans. One had to go to places such as the Waterlooplein in Amsterdam, for instance, to purchase a pair of second-hand jeans from sailors or soldiers. From 1952, jeans copied from American brands were produced by local clothing companies. They were, however, not considered to be as stylish as the authentic American ones. Around 1960, authentic American jeans were imported for the first time. The first brand to be imported was Wrangler, followed by Lee, then by Levis in 1962.[100] Young people were quite influential in Western societies. They

[94] De Rooy, "Vetkuifje Waarheen?'' 77.
[95] Righart, *De Eindeloze Jaren Zestig, 17.*
[96] Righart and Luykx, *Generatiemix,* 216.
[97] Rob Kroes, ''Dutch Impressions of America'' In: *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations 1609-2009*. Ed. Hans Krabbendam (Amsterdam: Boom, 2009) 953.
[98] De Rooy, "Vetkuifje Waarheen?'' 77.
[99] Jansen, ''Van Knickerbocker Tot Legging'', 326.
[100] De Leeuw, "Van spijkerbroek tot cocktailjurk", 107.

influenced the established global fashion industry with their ways of differentiating themselves from the older generations.

According to Mutsaers, youth subcultures and popular music were closely intertwined. From the 1950s onward, pop music had certain styles associated with it.[101] These included the longhaired Beatles fans and the protest generation with leading man Bob Dylan. American popular culture was quite influential. American popular music could, according to Mutsaers, be seen as the agent of profound change in Dutch society. With help from mass media such as radio and film, American music spread rapidly. It was seen as modern and urban and represented vitality.[102] Kroes emphasizes that European youth mainly embraced aspects of American mass culture because it was different from the established bourgeois culture.[103] Reinhold Wagnleitner also explains that American popular culture during the years after the war was so attractive to young people because it had elements of rebellion in it—e.g., against politicians, parents or teachers.[104]

Dutch subcultures

To differentiate, subcultures emerged within the generational coherence of the baby-boomer generation. During the 1960s, there were approximately six youth subcultures in the Netherlands: the Artists, the Kuiven and the Indorockers, the Kikkers and Beat subculture. The Provo's and the Hippies appeared in the second half of the 1960s.[105] The Kuiven and the Artists were the first subcultures; they appeared during the 1950s. All subcultures borrowed from the United States in the formation of their identity.

The Kuiven and Artists took much from their American predecessors: the Beatniks and the Hells Angels. The Kuiven were differentiated into two groups: the native Dutch (for instance the Nozems); and the Indorockers, who repatriated from Indonesia after Indonesia became independent in 1949.[106] The teenagers in the Dutch East Indies had been as familiar with popular music from America as Philippines teenagers were when it was an American

[101] Lutgard Mutsaers. "Rhythm Is Gonna Get You. Popmuziek en haar verhouding tot generaties.'' In: *Generatiemix: Leeftijdsgroepen En Cultuur*. Ed. Hans Righart et al. (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1998) 159.
[102] Lutgard Mutsaers, "American Popular Music In The Netherlands'' In: *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations 1609-2009*. Ed. Hans Krabbendam et al. (Amsterdam: Boom, 2009) 1049.
[103] Kroes, ''Dutch Impressions of America'', 951.
[104] Reinhold Wagnleitner, 2001. ""No Commodity Is Quite So Strange As This Thing Called Cultural Exchange'': The Foreign Politics of American Pop Culture Hegemony." *Amerikastudien* 46 (2001): 447.
[105] De Leeuw and Schadee, *Jong*, 18.
[106] Ibid, 22.

colony and they could listen to American radio stations. 'Indorock' was the first kind of rock that came from the Netherlands, with bands such as the Black Dynamites and the Tielman Brothers.[107] Kuiven desired to emulate cowboy, gangster and detective films. They enjoyed musical films such as *Rock around the Clock* and Elvis' *Jailhouse Rock*. They imitated American rock 'n' roll stars and rebellious young men, such as James Dean and Marlon Brando. Rock 'n' roll films inspired them to make their own music and imitate their style. Clothing was also taken from the films, including the long coats and tight pants, Elvis' denim suit, pointy shoes, coloured socks and narrow ties.[108] Inspired by Dean and Brando, many Kuiven wore jeans, t-shirts, and leather jackets. They adopted checked shirts, jeans and cowboy ankle boots from western films. They even imitated the activities of stars by meeting on the streets, beaches or cafeterias. They drove mopeds, which resembled the cars and motorcycles in the films. They were also organised in groups and gangs with one leader; they controlled their own territory and fought one another and other subcultures. Kuiven girls did wear denim but were more inspired by feminine women like Marilyn Monroe. They preferred petticoats, tight skirts or a shirt showing cleavage. They also wore a lot of makeup and styled their hair high.[109]

The Nozems were mostly uneducated working-class boys between the ages of 16 and 18. Most of them came from the lower social and economic classes and had a good relationship with their parents. Rock 'n' roll and American movies gave them a way to vent their desires. The style of the Nozems contained elements of traditional working-class culture: informal relationships, being bound to a territory and masculine and feminine bodily display. They got their style elements from American movies.[110] Differentiation united them horizontally and divided them vertically. Nozems often clashed with other subcultures like the Pleiners.

The Artists included Pleiners and Modernists. They mostly descended from the higher, educated working class, and they found American culture vulgar.[111] The Artists, however, listened to Jazz and went to the cinema, especially to see French Nouvelle Vague films. They, borrowed the style of the actors, both French and American, and were influenced by the looks of the Beatniks and the Parisian existentialists. Beatnik culture was well described in Jack

[107] Mutsaers, "American Popular Music In The Netherlands'', 1050-1052.
[108] De Leeuw, "Van spijkerbroek tot Cocktailjurk'', 113.
[109] Ibid, 114.
[110] Mel van Elteren, ''Amerika' In De Belevingswereld Van West-Europese Jongeren.'' In: *Beeld En Verbeelding Van Amerika*. Edited by Eugène Erven et al. (Utrecht: Bureau Studium Generale, 1992) 91.
[111] Ibid, 90.

Kerouac's book. A true Beatnik had to wear jeans which looked old, t-shirts and army coats. Jeans and t-shirts were considered a sort of uniform for the Artists.[112] Girls in the Artists subculture, for instance, wore jeans or cropped 'pirate' pants with ballerina shoes designed by American designer Claire McCardell in 1944. The boyish look of Audrey Hepburn in Roman Holiday is a good example of the couture version of the Parisian Artists sub-cultural dress.[113] The Pleiners were opposed to the mass consumerism which attracted the Nozems. The Pleiners were, however, still influenced by American popular culture. They watched many Hollywood movies on Beatnik culture. The ways of living and the style of the Nozems, despite the large social gap, were copied by the Pleiners. The Nozems were, however, not happy about this. There remained a clash between the two subcultures.[114] That the Pleiners appropriated parts of the Nozem style shows a bottom-up direction of fashion appropriation. The Pleiners were middle-class; the Nozems descended from the lower class. Both the Pleiners and Nozems were seen as deviants in mainstream media. Both groups' behaviour clashed with that of the dominant culture.

The Kikkers and the more mainstream Beat subculture appeared third in Dutch society. They appeared during the 1960s. These subcultures were influenced by youth cultures from Great Britain and the United States. They wore fashion from boutiques, inspired by the fashion from Carnaby Street in London: e.g., miniskirts. They imitated 1961's *West Side Story* and had their own leader and territory. Like Kuiven, they were also often found on the street, on the beach and riding mopeds. Fights would often break out between the different subcultures. They wore jeans and t-shirts, American woodcutter shirts and army parkas.[115] This international beat culture became mainstream youth culture around 1964. [116]

Between 1965 and 1967, the Provos were a fourth youth subculture with mixed feelings about the United States. Provos enjoyed clothes and music from the United States, as it was seen to evince liberation, but they detested the materialism and foreign policy of the country, especially the war in Vietnam. The Provos were also critical of the arms race and atomic bombs, and they began to protest these issues. However, they wore jeans and t-shirts, which would grow to become the symbol of those critical of society. Bob Dylan was an important figure in this respect, with his denim and corduroy clothing. In 1967, Hippie subculture appeared, which came from the United States. The Hippies' main points of critique

[112] De Leeuw, "Van spijkerbroek tot cocktailjurk'', 112.
[113] Ibid, 113.
[114] Van Elteren. ''Amerika' In De Belevingswereld Van West-Europese Jongeren", 93.
[115] De Leeuw, "Van spijkerbroek tot cocktailjurk'', 114.
[116] De Leeuw and Schadee, *Jong*, 33.

were similar to those of the Provos; therefore, the transition went quite smoothly. The Hippies were less aggressive nonetheless. Hippies wore jeans and jackets of either denim or corduroy, preferably distressed or well-worn and decorated with patches.[117]

The subcultures used denim in different ways to distinguish themselves from other subcultures, but they also used them to distinguish themselves from the older generations. It can be said that they used denim as anti-fashion. The youth used fashion to establish their own identity and status. According to de Leeuw, American style (clothing, hair and makeup) was of great influence for the Dutch—especially for the youth. They became familiar with the American teenage culture through films. The teenage consumer market was already established in the United States at the end of the 1940s. This was not the case in Europe, where products for teenagers were rare, including teenage fashion. Through film, music and fashion, mass culture was spread. [118] The appropriation of Nozem style by the middle classes shows a bottom-up direction of fashion appropriation.

Fashion industry in crisis

According to one article in the fashion section of *Het Vrije Volk* in 1966, fashion for adult men was influenced by the youth. Figure 3 shows the drawing that accompanied this article. The fashion editor mentioned that the fashion of that year was tighter and that suits fitted more narrowly. She wrote that this fashion was a result of parents taking their teenage sons shopping for suits for formal occasions. The sons would only want tight-fitting suits, which was the trend. The parents were, according to fashion editor Carla, pleased that their children were not wearing denim jeans but wore their tightly fitted suits instead. [119]

Figure 3: Drawing accompanying an article on men's fashion being influenced by teenagers in: Het Vrije Volk 28-10-1966

Although young people desired their own fashion, most stores still had only children's clothes or clothes for adults. In the Netherlands, young people could go to the C&A department store for something slightly fashionable. In Great Britain, boutiques such as Biba and Mary Quant began to emerge, which targeted a younger audience. Boutiques were a new and unprecedented phenomenon. Mary Quant, twenty-one at the time, opened her first

[117] De Leeuw, "Van spijkerbroek tot cocktailjurk'', 115.
[118] Ibid, 108.
[119] Carla ''Enge kant op in de mannenmode'' *Het Vrije Volk* 28-10-1966 retrieved from Delpher.nl.

boutique in 1955 to make clothes for her own generation. This was the start of what sociologist Benjamin Maso called the 'fashion-renaissance'. From this moment, individual boutiques would influence the Paris-based fashion industry.

In the Netherlands, the first boutique opened in May of 1966, which was quite late. The boutiques contained clothing designed by people outside of the established fashion industry, but they had the same type of close contact the Parisian designers had with their customers. They designed for the needs and wishes of their own audience: the youth. The boutiques presented their clothes differently; they had background music (mostly pop music), which presented the clothing as part of a lifestyle.[120] This was seen as a different approach; however, the way the Parisian fashion designers designed for their clientele was just as much part of a lifestyle for elites; it was affordable only for a lucky few. The boutiques' fashion for youth culture became part of the attack on the establishment, which was, in this sense, the established fashion designers.[121]

The Parisian fashion elite attempted to imitate the trend of the boutiques by playing music in certain areas in their stores and hiring younger sales assistants. But the style of the clothing was not considered fashionable; nor was it affordable. It could not keep up with the rapidly changing handmade boutique fashion.[122] Fashion could be different every season, as it was supposed to be; thus, it was difficult to plan ahead and design on a large scale. The Parisian fashion elite began to lose their position within the fashion industry and had to reinvent themselves to regain influence in the global fashion market. They did so by focussing on young adults around twenty years old. This was difficult at the beginning, as the Parisian fashion elite were not as familiar with the needs and wishes of the youth as the boutiques were. Also, young adults were not willing to pay as much for their clothes. The designer Yves Saint Laurent was the first to change this by opening a boutique, the Yves Saint Laurent Rive Gauche, which offered its own ready-to-wear collection. Yves Saint Laurent even claimed that he was 'in a love affair with the street'.[123] In 1969, he was the first couturier in Paris to use denim in his fashion lines for skirts jackets and suits.[124] More designers began to follow

[120] Benjamin Maso, ''Jeugdcultuur en de ontwikkeling van de mode'' *Jeugd en Samenleving* 17 (1987): 320-321.
[121] Ibid, 322.
[122] Ibid, 325.
[123] Ibid, 327-328.
[124] Feitsma, *Nederlandse mode,* 137.

his lead. The system changed as the number of *haute couturiers* shrunk and had to make way for more ready-to-wear designer labels.[125]

The influence of young people's boutiques on the established fashion industry shows that Simmel is wrong to state that the elite decides what is fashion and what is not. Youth trends started to be monitored by fashion designers. The youth culture of the 1960s had a formative role in the development of fashion. The established fashion industry did not have a clear understanding of how to market to the youth. They were in crisis and had to transform the system, which resulted in the loss of its monolithic character. Due to the differentiation of the clothing companies and the variation in offer, they regained influence in the development of fashion. This is because they considered all the segments of the market, including the youth.[126] Considering all this shows that youngsters were quite influential in the Netherlands during the 1960s, as Righart claims. How about Kennedy's claim that the elite was tolerant and open to change?

Kennedy states that the intellectuals, politicians and clergy agreed with the young adults and teenagers that there was something wrong with the dominant culture. It was too materialistic and too narrow-minded. Kennedy states that it is hard to make a distinction between counterculture and dominant culture in the Netherlands. Many of the journalists who opposed the dominant culture in youth magazines were over thirty years old. Thus, the argument that it was only rebelling young adults made the change is invalid. Older people also wanted change within Dutch society. This is why the Netherlands (and especially Amsterdam) became such an important place for counterculture, according to Kennedy.[127] This is what makes the cultural revolutions and changes in the Netherlands differ from the cultural revolutions elsewhere. Dutch authorities did not like conflicts and violence and they thought that it was better to steer the inevitable modernising developments within society than be against them.[128]

Dress like Jackie Kennedy

According to historian Kitty de Leeuw, fashion in the Netherlands was influenced by the way Americans dressed. Not only young teenagers imitated the appearance and fashion of important American public figures. Adults imitated, for instance, Jackie Kennedy's suits and

[125] Maso, ''Jeugdcultuur en de ontwikkeling van de mode'', 330.
[126] Ibid, 334-335.
[127] Ibid, 121.
[128] Kennedy and Kennedy-Doornbos, *Nieuw Babylon in Aanbouw*, 21.

hats. People in Europe did not really know how the average American dressed, so they imitated the actors and musicians they saw in the newspapers and magazines. The Dutch department store de Bijenkorf sometimes hosted an 'America week' with American products, but American designers were not very influential during these years. Designers such as Calvin Klein and Ralph Lauren would not become influential until near the end of the 1970s. During the post-war years, American clothes could only be purchased in army surplus stores. American goods were not imported until the mid-1950s, and in the Netherlands, the main fashion magazines were focussed on Parisian fashion.[129] This makes the claim that the Dutch were influenced by the way the Americans dressed even more controversial. Apparently, popular culture provided images the Dutch wanted to copy. Apart from making clothing more informal and casual, the United States and Hollywood made a sexy and frivolous style seem acceptable.[130]

During the years after the Second World War, the United States had a strong global position militarily, economically and culturally. It also had a strong influence on other countries.[131] The 1950s and the 1960s could be seen as the height of the global cultural influence of the United States. The United States had won the Second World War and become a superpower. American popular culture had spread across the globe.[132] Historian James Kennedy states that, from the 1950s until the 1970s, America's cultural influence was strongest in Europe. However, after the 1970s, the United States became less attractive, as more and more people began to criticise American foreign policy and its war in Vietnam.[133]

American popular culture had traditionally been seen as vulgar and superficial by the European elites, but the lower classes embraced it. According to van Elteren, the elite could not fully oppose the influence of the United States on the lower classes because the United States was such a strong ally after the war. It was the new military economic and technological hegemon, and it gave the elite support and protection In between 1955-1965, there was both technocratic and authoritarian Americanism from above—as the elite was

[129] De Leeuw, "Van spijkerbroek tot cocktailjurk'', 105.
[130] Ibid, 106.
[131] Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*. (London: Micheal Joseph, 1995) 258.
[132] Righart, *De Eindeloze Jaren Zestig, 17*.
[133] James Kennedy, ''Cultural Developments in the Dutch-American Relationship since 1945.'' In: *Four Centuries of Dutch-American Relations 1609-2009*. Ed. Hans Krabbendam et al. (Amsterdam: Boom, 2009) 934.

influenced by the United States—and Americanization from below, through the working-class youth.[134]

American popular culture was spread through films during the years after the Second World War. The French had dominated the global film market in the early 1900s. However, due to the two wars on the European continent, the French, German and Italian film industries were disrupted. This was beneficial for the United States film industry in Hollywood.[135] Hollywood produced films in which the movie stars pioneered the American way of life, which was full of personal freedom and consumerism. Importing the films from the United States also helped to repay the debts of the European countries after the First World War.[136] By the time the Second World War was over, the European audience demanded Hollywood films. Local producers, who were still rebuilding after the war, were unable to compete with the United States.

The films were one way the Europeans came to learn about the American way of life. Another was through contact with American soldiers on the European continent during and after the wars. The United States was no longer an unknown continent far away. The continent had music, jazz, films and cars. The soldiers brought consumer products which had been scarce on the European continent due to the war reparations and debts. The United States seemed like a utopia for the Europeans. They had indoor toilets, stoves, fancy cars and tractors—all uncommon in Europe at the time. American products were seen as modern and high quality.[137]

The influence of the United States on Dutch fashion could, according to historian Kitty de Leeuw, be described as making fashion more comfortable. The Americans on the West Coast dressed less formally than they did in Europe. During the 1960s, people began to copy the American way of dressing in their leisure time. They kept wearing formal clothes to work, but they began to dress more casually during the weekends.[138] Apart from introducing daily leisurewear into Dutch fashion, the Americans made eveningwear more comfortable as well. The cocktail dress, for instance, is an American concept that made eveningwear more

[134] Van Elteren. ‘‘Amerika’ In De Belevingswereld Van West-Europese Jongeren.’’ 90.
[135] William Marling, *How "American" is Globalization?* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006) 19.
[136] Ibid, 20-21.
[137] Ibid, 23.
[138] Jansen, Frans. ‘’Van knickerbocker tot legging’’, 326-327.

casual.[139] The images copied from American popular culture came mostly from Hollywood. It is thus not a coincidence that American casual leisurewear was marketed from California.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed various (social) changes within Dutch society during the 1950s and 1960s and how they might have influenced the appropriation of denim jeans by the middle class. Several conditions allowed jeans to become popular in the Netherlands during the 1960s. There was economic growth, which led people to have more money to spend on consumer products. There was more leisure time during the 1960s; thus, there was an increase in demand for leisurewear. During the 1960s, the baby-boomer generation also had more money to spend than their parents did, due to the previous economic growth and to relatively few financial obligations. However, these factors are simply conditions for the success of jeans, but they do not explain why jeans became so popular. The meanings given to denim jeans made them popular. They almost always had a trace of American culture in them.

Young people in Dutch society were the first to embrace American popular culture. They borrowed much from American teenage-culture in the formation of their own identity. Moreover, many subcultures appropriated denim during the 1960s. The fabric was, however, still seen as working class and was worn as anti-fashion. The fact that the youth were the first ones to wear denim—while even royals were seen wearing it at the end of the 1960s—proves that denim jeans became fashionable from the bottom up. However, research shows that the middle class was quite receptive of American fashion as well. This proves a top-down direction of fashion appropriation with the United States being the elite due to its hegemonic position and the Europeans being lower class.

[139] De Leeuw, "Van spijkerbroek tot cocktailjurk'', 5.

3. Talkin' 'bout my generation: Denim in Dutch youth magazines during the 1960s

During the years after the Second World War, young people were the first in Europe to embrace American popular culture and denim jeans.[140] Magazines which targeted a young audience appeared. They covered music, films, fashion and lifestyle from the United States. The magazine *Muziek Expres* is an example of one of these magazines. Figure 4 shows an article in *Muziek Expres* about how to dance the Madison: a dance that was popular in the United States.[141]

Figure 4: How to dance the Madison in: Muziek Expres No 86 1963

Muziek Expres was one of the most popular youth magazines in the Netherlands during the 1960s. It was read mainly by middle-class youth between the ages of 15 and 18.[142] Later, *Hitweek* emerged in 1965 as *Muziek Expres'* rival. *Hitweek* contained articles written by the youth and was considered to be more radical. The magazine often contained a critique of Dutch society, the older generations' materialism and the foreign policy of the United States. It was thus considered countercultural. During this time, the European youth were the first to start appropriating denim jeans as part of their style. *Muziek Expres* began to promote denim as a response to the internationally emerging youth culture. *Hitweek* promoted denim as a piece of anti-fashion that could be used to differentiate from the older generations. According to Simmel, certain fashion styles bind social classes. This chapter shows that denim jeans were a democratic fabric in this way; they show the bottom-up appropriation of denim jeans. At the same time, they unite a large group of young people in western societies and thus enhance international generational coherence.

Muziek Expres during the first half of the 1960s

Muziek Expres was founded in 1956 by Paul Acket. The magazine was named after the British *Musical Express*. The first edition was published on 15 December, 1955, with the subtitle: '*Amusement, Dance Music, Light Music, Jazz Music, Film, Show-Business, Radio and Televisio*n'.[143] It was launched as a newspaper, but during the 1960s, the newspaper

[140] Rob Kroes, *If You've Seen One, You've Seen The Mall: Europeans And American Mass Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996) 173.
[141] ''Heus, de Madison is niet moeilijk!'' Muziek Expres n86 1963, IISG.
[142] *De Lezerskring Van Muziek Expres*. (Den Haag: NIPO, 1970).
[143] Van Gelder, Carvalho and Mutsaers, *Gouden Tijden*, 23-25.

became a magazine. Acket was well known in the music industry. He worked for music magazines such as *Luister*, *Tuney Tunes* and *Rhythm*. In 1952, Acket began his own booking agency. During the 1950s, he managed to attract American jazz musicians to the Netherlands.[144] Acket thus had an extensive network in the music industry. In an interview in *Hitweek* in 1969, Acket looked back at the 1960s as his most successful years. He claims in this interview that his agency was the first to bring all the popular musicians to the Netherlands. Acket desired to be the best in the industry. He even claimed that he was the one who made the longhaired Beatles fashionable in the Netherlands. Acket mentions in this interview that he was not driven commercially but solely by his instincts.[145]

His dual role as an impresario and music-magazine owner is worth noting. During the 1960s, Acket arranged most of the concerts for the musicians published in *Muziek Expres*: e.g., the concerts of the Beach Boys and the Rolling Stones. It was thus important that *Muziek Expres* published about the music Acket promoted. The fashion and beauty editor, Lillian Sluijter-Staugaard, had a somewhat dual role as well. Sluijter-Staugaard worked both for *Muziek Expres* and organised so-called 'beat fashion shows' for the youth. What would be promoted in her fashion shows was also showcased in *Muziek Expres*.[146] Acket also enjoyed the way young people dressed during the 1960s. He praised young people who came to his concerts and dressed up like the singer Ramses Shaffy for the occasion. The singer was known for his extravagant style.[147] Thus, Acket seemed quite modern and progressive in the way he saw fashion for young people.

Muziek Expres focussed on Dutch society during the 1950s. It discussed the news and latest gossip about Dutch celebrities. The magazine critiqued the dull Dutch radio shows which would not broadcast American music. One had to listen to Radio Luxemburg to listen to the latest American tunes.[148] *Muziek Expres* published an article, for instance, critiquing the Dutch media elite who had banned music from the Amsterdam neighbourhood, the Jordaan, which was very popular in 1956 among the working class. For artistic reasons, the broadcasting channel VARA had decided not to play Johnny Jordaan, a popular Dutch singer from the working-class neighbourhood in Amsterdam. The article claimed that Johnny

[144] Karin Acket, *Paul Acket: Musicus Zonder Instrument = Musician without Instrument*. (Den Haag: Karin Acket, 1994) 8.
[145] ''Paul Acket: Ik ben een fietswiel dat een beetje aanloopt'' *Hitweek* no 21 (4) February 1969. University of Amsterdam book depot (IWO).
[146] Acket, *Paul Acket: Musicus Zonder Instrument*, 60.
[147] ''Paul Acket: Ik ben een fietswiel dat een beetje aanloopt'' *Hitweek* no 21 (4) February 1969. University of Amsterdam book depot (IWO).
[148] Righart, *De Eindeloze Jaren Zestig*, 163.

Jordaan was just as much part of our culture as other forms of high culture. At the end of the 1950s, however, the magazine had still not become popular, and its focus had to change.[149] By 1959, Paul Acket realised that teenagers were gaining influence and listened to their own kind of music from the United States. The April issue of 1960 mentioned that 'teenagers were influential and that music had changed over the past few years. Music had more rhythm and power and this was exactly what teenagers wanted.' Acket decided to change the focus of the magazine to what the teenage audience desired: American music. Acket began to publish more pictures and background stories on popular musicians and to discuss the latest American films of, for example, Elvis Presley, Paul Anka and so on. As a result, *Muziek Expres* grew in popularity within a year.[150]

Between 1962 and 1963, the music magazines became glossier and contained more full-colour pictures. The magazine grew in popularity.[151] The stories in *Muziek Expres* were bought from the British freelance journalists George Tremlett and Andy Gray (also the editor-in-chief of the British Musical Express). Most of *Muziek Expres'* income was spent on expensive lyrics and pictures. They were always the first to have the latest press pictures due to the pressure Acket put on the press agencies. Acket wanted to be the first to publish the pictures and the lyrics.[152] Once *Muziek Expres* became a popular magazine, it began to include poster inserts of American celebrities during the first half of the 1960s. The posters were quite an important reason to buy the magazine, as young people could decorate their rooms with their favourite celebrities. This made their rooms an expression of their identity and also distinguished their style from that of their parents. Figure 5 shows a poster of Elvis in a denim suit in 1964.

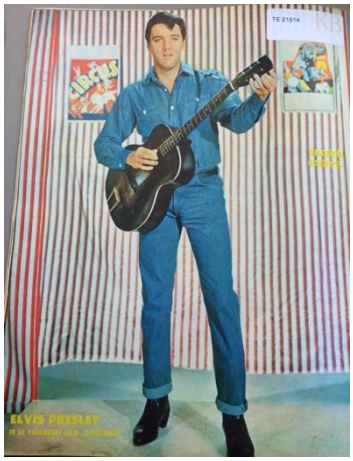


Figure 5: Elvis in an all denim outfit, poster in: Muziek Expres n104 1964

[149] Van Gelder, Carvalho and Mutsaers, *Gouden Tijden*, 22-23.
[150]Ibid, 23-25.
[151] Wilfred Dolfsma, "Radio and Magazines: Valuing Pop Music in the Netherlands (1955-1965)" *Media History* 10 (2004): 31.
[152] Acket. *Paul Acket: Musicus Zonder Instrument*, 37.

During the first half of the 1960s, *Muziek Expres* had a strong focus on the United States. The magazine often published articles on the lives of American pop and films stars and music from the United States. In each edition, the latest hits from the United States would be discussed in the section entitled 'Hitmakers USA'. The magazine contained reports from Hollywood reporter Jan Storm on American celebrities and the American way of life. *Muziek Expres* contained advertisements by American record companies, which claimed that their musicians had recorded the latest hits. In *Muziek Expres*, there was an emphasis on either Cliff Richard or Elvis during the first half of the 1960s. Musicians from other western countries were included, but American musicians and movie stars received more attention. The Dutch singer Willeke Alberti was the exception. She was often interviewed in the magazine, and it published many pictures of her. Alberti, however, would not wear denim in those pictures.

Figure 6: Cliff Richard in denim jeans in Muziek Expres n104 1964

American dreams: cowboys and rebels

During the first few years of the 1960s, only Americans would be seen wearing denim. Subcultures were not discussed in the magazine. The magazine tried not to make distinctions between subcultures. It discussed style elements of a youth culture which united the young people in the Netherlands into one subculture.[153] The lower class 'Nozem' subculture was already wearing denim at this time, but this was not discussed in the magazine. Denim jeans were not seen as anti-fashion but were seen to have the connotation of 'Americanness'.

Denim jeans and jackets were often worn by the American singers and celebrities discussed in *Muziek Expres*. Cliff Richard, for instance, wore denim jeans, as can be seen in Figure 6, in which he is dancing with Liza Minelli. Elvis Presley was more often seen in denim, especially in his films

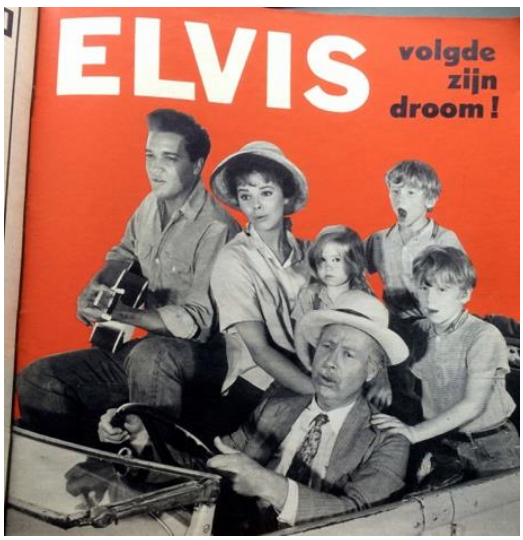


Figure 7: Elvis in denim jeans in Muziek Expres n85 1963

[153] Van Elteren, ''Amerika' In De Belevingswereld Van West-Europese Jongeren.'' 94.

(figures 5 and 7). Elvis wore jeans in a way that made them seem like a common garment that could be worn daily. There is no connotation of working-class apparel or rebelliousness in the way Elvis wore jeans.

Muziek Expres contained many articles on the latest American films. The magazine would also post pictures of different scenes of movies and provide a synopsis. The films discussed during these years were mostly American, and they were often about the Wild West. In those films, cowboys wore denim jeans. Movies about the Wild West seemed popular among the readers of *Muziek Expres*. Thus, *Muziek Expres* would often publish pictures and articles about what the actors wore on set. When the American television show *Bonanza* was to begin airing on Dutch television in 1963, *Muziek Expres* wrote extensive articles about the show in multiple editions.[154] Thus, denim jeans had a rebellious and adventurous connotation in these articles.

Figure 8: Ricky Nelson wearing denim in Muziek Expres no 63 1961

During these years, denim was also portrayed as adventurous in *Muziek Expres* in the way in which it was juxtaposed with a leather jacket and a motor bike. This rebellious look was often worn by 'teenage rebels' such as Ricky Nelson and Rex Gildo. Ricky Nelson, in Figure 8, wears a pair of denim jeans and a leather jacket on his motor bike. *Muziek Expres* mentions in this article that the girls were lining up for him.[155] Motor bikes were often advertised during the 1960s in *Muziek Expres*. They were seen as a way to make boys popular with girls. The motorbike brand Tomos, for instance, would advertise regularly about how their new moped would make girls want to go out with you.[156]

Figure 9: Wrangler advertisement in Muziek Expres n96 1963

[154] E.g., in: ''Bonanza, nu ook in Nederland op het beeldscherm'' *Muziek Expres* no 95 1963, IISG.
[155] ''Meisjes gooiden zich voor de motorfiets van Ricky Nelson'' *Muziek Expres* no 63 1961, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.
[156] E.g., in: ''Tomos is toch wel even wat anders'' Muziek Expres no 148 1968, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

People wearing denim in *Muziek Expres* were portrayed as adventurous, independent and brave. They were people to admire. *Muziek Expres* contained denim-jeans advertisements with a story to tell. The jeans company Wrangler promoted the fun and adventurous image of denim. Figure 9 shows an advertisement published in *Muziek Expres* in 1963. Wrangler, originally the jeans for rodeo riders, was supposed to be ideal for 'sporty adults and active teenagers'. Figure 10 also shows a denim advertisement by Levi's in *Muziek Expres*.

Figure 10: Levi's advertisement in Muziek Expres no 149 1968.

The people wearing denim jeans seem to be having fun in this advertisement. The text accompanying the picture says that Levi's jeans are for people who are modern and fashionable. In a pair of Levi's jeans, one would truly get the feeling of being 'free', according to the advertisement.[157]

[157] ''Lang Leve Levi's'' *Muziek Expres* no 149 1968, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

Note the great number of advertisements from the United States that were published in *Muziek Expres*. Advertisements in the magazine were rarely from Dutch companies. Clearasil, a cosmetic brand from the United States which specialised in teenage skin, had a common advertisement which stated that it was already a success in the United States.[158] Other American brands began to advertise in the magazine, such as Coca Cola, 7up and Gillette. Chewing gum also emerged rapidly. Though chewing gum was an American invention, the company used the popular Dutch singer Rob de Nijs to promote it. [159] It is interesting to note that the denim advertisements were solely brands from the United States; there were no advertisements from local producers of denim, such as the Dutch department stores C&A or V&D. This is because denim jeans from those stores were not considered fashionable, according to historian Kitty de Leeuw.[160] Advertisements had more exposure in *Muziek Expres*, and readers felt more strongly connected to *Muziek Expres* than to other magazines, according to a study conducted by the NIPO institute.[161] The magazines usually contained advertisements for jeans from the United States with American celebrities wearing them. This may have influenced young peoples' preference for the American brands over the cheaper Dutch brands.

Figure 11: Wrangler advertisement in Muziek Expres no 149 1968

Figure 12: Wrangler advertisement in Muziek Expres no 148 1968

Women wore denim jeans surprisingly often in the advertisements and articles on denim jeans. Wrangler advertisements, like those depicted in figures 11 and 12, often stated that denim jeans are for men and for girls (thus, not for women). Women were often portrayed wearing denim in American popular culture. Women were often seen in denim in cowboy films. In 1961, actress Debbie Reynolds played a widow in the movie *Second Time Around*,

158 ''Clearasil'' *Muziek Expres* no 118 1965, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.
159 ''Voor Toppers en Topps ben ik altijd in, zegt Rob de Nijs'' *Muziek Expres* no 104 1965, Koninklijke Bibliotheek.
160 De Leeuw, "Van spijkerbroek tot cocktailjurk'', 107.
161 *Young Love: Resultaten Van Een Kwalitatief Media-Onderzoek Onder Tieners En Twens* (Den Haag: Muziek Expres, 1973) 15.

which took place in Arizona. *Muziek Expres* discussed the film's content thoroughly and displayed pictures of several scenes. In the film, Reynolds worked on a farm despite the fact that, as a widow, she was not supposed to work on a farm. Eventually, her feisty attitude got her elected as the new sheriff. Reynolds wore denim jeans in almost all the pictures published. This emphasized the connotation of denim jeans as a garment for individual, strong and hardworking women. Apart from the cowboy films, denim was also considered acceptable for American women in music. In 1964, the singer Dusty Springfield was on the cover of *Muziek Expres* in an all-denim outfit, as can be seen in Figure 13.

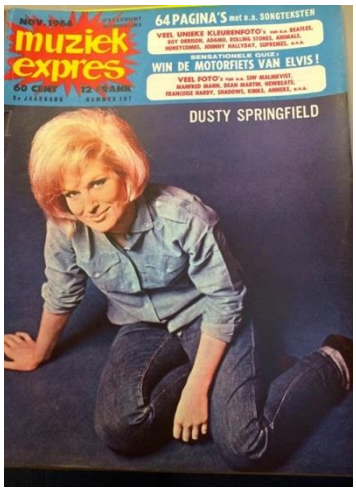


Figure 11: Dusty Springfield on the cover of Muziek Expres n107 1964

Muziek Expres tried to find a middle road between the rebellious youth and the dominant and traditional culture. *Muziek Expres* thus often discussed the musicians and celebrities wearing denim jeans in a positive way. They tried to reframe different ways of dressing as less deviant and less rebellious. The American sex symbol Jayne Mansfield was presented as a good mother. *Muziek Expres* mentioned that she 'indeed causes many scandals, but the real Jayne Mansfield was different and a good mother.' Brigitte Bardot was discussed in the same way. She was not a vamp, but was in fact a caring, sweet girl in real life.[162] By giving different, more positive meanings to these stars, *Muziek Expres* blurred the negative connotations of their rebellious, deviant way of dressing. They were in this way less of a threat to establishment; they made them more human. Women who wore denim were often portrayed as good mothers and wives, but also as rebellious, individual and brave. Even though the widow in the movie *Second Time Around* worked in untraditional sectors, she was portrayed as a good and hard-working woman who would do anything for her children.

The fashion in *Muziek Expres* was often discussed in the context of what a musician or film star was wearing. Thus, during the first few years of the 1960s, denim appeared often in the image of the cowboy or in the context of rebellion. Denim was almost always blue and was portrayed as adventurous. According to media scholar John Fiske, denim jeans had many meanings attached to them. Denim jeans represented being young, free, hardworking, American and active.[163] These meaning could be found in *Muziek Expres* as well. Denim was not seen or discussed as anti-fashion in *Muziek Expres* during these years. Moreover, the magazine showed acceptance of the fabric. Denim jeans were seen as American and as a

[162] Righart, *De Eindeloze Jaren Zestig*, 186.
[163] Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 2-3.

fabric for adventurous and brave people. This made them lose their rebellious lower-class connotation. The United States was a super power around this time, and it spread its soft power through popular culture. Through popular culture, the United States and mostly the West Coast (Hollywood) influenced how young people dressed in the Netherlands through the showcase of its celebrities. This demonstrates the top-down direction of fashion appropriation.

By giving denim jeans an American connotation instead of a lower-class, sub-cultural connotation, *Muziek Expres* made them acceptable for public consumption. As Hebdige discusses, subcultures pass stages in their interaction with the mainstream media. In this stage, denim jeans were redefined and nuanced. The ideological re-appropriation of the sub-cultural elements weakens its ideology and makes the once-deviant style safe.[164] Nevertheless, denim lost its mainly American connotation; it came to symbolise an international youth culture around 1965.

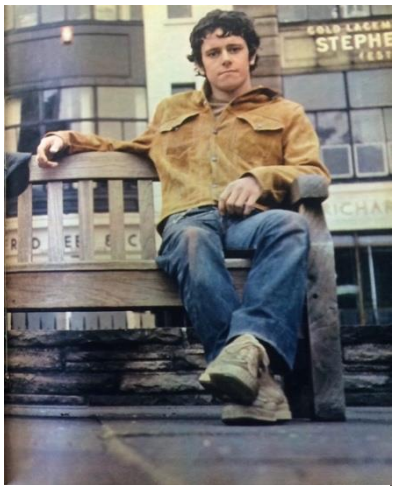


Figure 12: Poster of Donovan in denim in Muziek Expres n118 1965

Denim jeans as anti-fashion around 1965

Around 1965, the UK began to gain attention in *Muziek Expres* due the popularity of the Beatles. Initially, *Muziek Expres* was quite sceptical about the group and their appearance. The way the Beatles wore their hair and their clothes were seen as odd.[165] In March of 1964, the group was on the cover of *Muziek Expres*, as in April, July, and December.[166] As the Beatles grew in popularity, so did *Muziek Expres*. Founder Paul Acket stated that between 10,000 and 20,000 extra editions were sold every month due to the Beatles. Their order size had grown to 365,000 prints while other magazines did not reach higher than 130,000 prints.[167] The Beatles inspired the emergence of an international mainstream youth culture around 1964. This 'Beat' culture followed the style and appearance of the Beatles.[168] With the appearance of the Beatles, other bands began to dress more like them and wore their hair long. Denim jeans were important in this. Denim jeans and long hair became the symbol of young people during these years. Neither denim jeans nor long hair were considered acceptable during the 1960s; thus, this was an anti-fashion statement.

[164] Hebdige, *Subculture, the Meaning of Style*, 98-99.
[165] Righart, *De Eindeloze Jaren Zestig*, 186.
[166] Van Gelder, Carvalho and Mutsaers, *Gouden Tijden*, 32.
[167] Ibid, 34.
[168] De Leeuw and Schadee, *Jong*, 33.

The growing popularity of the Beatles was closely linked to a change in the focus of *Muziek Expres* around 1965. It became mainly focussed on this commercial mainstream youth culture. No longer was the United States the main focus; *Muziek Expres* became mainly about music and no longer included the latest American films. There were more and more articles on British bands and musicians who were often longhaired and wore denim jeans. The long hair was likely inspired by the Beatles, by the British folk singer Donovan (Figure 14) and by the American band, the Byrds. They all started to dress alike. In a way, this Anglo-American popular culture was still strongly influenced by the United States. Most artists claimed to have been influenced by American rock 'n' roll.

Figure 13: The Walker Brothers in denim jeans in Muziek Expres 1965 n117

Figure 14: The Byrds in denim jeans in Muziek Expres 1965 n117

Muziek Expres often discussed musicians who wanted to keep their hair long even though their parents and the older generations did not approve. They wore it as an anti-fashion statement.[169] Figures 15 and 16 show pictures from the article on the British group the Byrds, who borrowed the style from the American group, the Walker Brothers. The two groups appear to be almost indistinguishable. The style of long hair and denim jeans was often discussed in the fashion section of *Muziek Expres*. Here, the process of an increasing homogenization in Western World is distinguishable.[170] At the same time, denim jeans were considered to be anti-fashion. They were worn both to show identity with a collective (the international commercial youth culture) and to differentiate as an individual from the older generations. This is quite contradictory, but is what Simmel describes as fashion imitation's

[169] ''Things blijven langharig'' *Muziek expres* no 117 1965, IISG.
[170] Ross, *Clothing: A Global History*, 170.

ability to unite a group while at the same time differentiating that group from other (social) groups.[171]

Hi-ha-Hitweek 1965-1969

Figure 15: Beat fashion in Hitweek no 18 1966

In the fall of 1965, two men, Peter Muller and Willem de Ridder invented the magazine *Hitweek*, which aimed to provide young people with a platform. Whereas *Muziek Expres* was written by older generations, *Hitweek* was filled with articles written by young people. *Hitweek* critiqued *Muziek Expre*s and saw the magazine as a representation of a magazine for the youth strictly guided by older generations.[172] *Hitweek* distrusted how teen music was promoted. De Ridder believed the record labels and television producers had struck a deal to advertise certain popular music.[173] *Hitweek* represented many young people in the Netherlands—mostly those who were anti-establishment. As a result, *Hitweek* was not considered an acceptable magazine by the older generations.

Figure 16: Denim jackets on the cover of the Vetkuiven edition of Hitweek no 31 1966

Pop music was the main topic of *Hitweek*, but it also contained fashion and discussed social topics. *Hitweek* was a magazine for teenagers written by young adults. They no longer accepted their contemporary society and no longer listened to radio presenters, record producers and music journalists who attempted to influence them. They would decide amongst themselves what to wear, how long to wear their hair and what type of music they should listen to. The magazine contained much critique of Dutch society. The protester group, the Provos, was often discussed, both in a negative and a positive light. Some readers thought they were too extreme; others found that their efforts were necessary. In addition, the paper had a section devoted to letters from readers. This section was always full of criticism about the older generations prohibiting the youth to wear their hair long and about the lack of

[171] Simmel, "Fashion", 563.
[172] Van Gelder, Carvalho, and Mutsaers, *Gouden Tijden,* 47.
[173] Ibid, 52.

Anglo-American popular music on the radio and television. The royal family was often critiqued as well.

Hitweek often contained articles critiquing the United States and its militarism. It was critical of the Vietnam war and the materialism the United States exported. At the same time, it was almost obsessed with United States musicians. These included protesters like Bob Dylan, but also Elvis. The readers still consumed American popular culture, listening to the music from the United States, wearing clothes from the United States and watching its films. At the same time, they were also against the grip that the United States had on the world. *Hitweek* spent much of the magazine's editorial space on articles about Kennedy and on how the presidents were destructive for the world. Meanwhile, musicians like Bob Dylan, and protesters like the Provos or the Kuiven were seen wearing denim in the magazine while protesting the establishment.

Sub-cultural style was often discussed in *Hitweek*. Figure 18 shows an edition devoted to the lower class Kuiven subculture. They often discussed their style and music. The paper tried to represent and unite all the subcultures, but the readers' letters would often show clashes between the different subcultures. Many letters were filled with complaints about the behaviour and style of other subcultures.


TERREUR LERAREN & OUDERS
ANGST OP DE SCHOOL

Figure 19 Girl in denim jeans expelled from school in: Hitweek no2 1968

Protesting the world in denim

The articles in *Hitweek* had a mainly rebellious tone: They were about rebelling against one's parents or the older generation/establishment. Fashion was often used to make a rebellious statement. Figure 19 shows a picture of a girl in denim jeans. The girl was expelled from her school because she posed topless with just her denim jeans in the school paper KIS: a radical school paper that was already banned from many schools. This photograph caused an uproar in Utrecht. *Hitweek* posted an article on how teachers and parents were 'terrorizing the schools with their rules'.[174] The fact that the girl chose only a pair of old denim jeans to wear on this picture shows that they were a symbol of anti-fashion and a way to differentiate oneself from the older generations. Jeans were used to rebel against parents. They were the symbol of a generation of young people who wanted change.

[174] ''Angst op de school'' *Hitweek* no 2 (4) 27-09-1968, UvA IWO.

Figure 17: Protesters from Leeuwarden in denim in: Hitweek no 39 1966

When *Hitweek* posted pictures of protesters, they were often wearing denim jeans. One of the main Provos who showcased them was Bernhard de Vries. He was known for his white denim suit. He was even married in this suit. Many older people spoke about this with disgrace. One teenager from Leeuwarden, Willem de Vries, wrote an article in *Hitweek* on the protesting youth in Leeuwarden. He and his 'Nozem' friends had a 'youth gang', as he called it. They continued 'to find new ways to protest the world'. They protested race discrimination and atomic wars and were not worried if they were put in prison as a result. In the picture accompanied with the article in Figure 20, the boys are all wearing denim jeans. They hang out on the street, as young subcultures and rebels did in the United States as well. And the picture shows the centrality of a car, which is seen in American movies such as *Rebels without a Cause*.

The article also showed Anglo-American influences, because it contained many English words such as *gang* and *happy*.[175] The young people writing to *Hitweek* were protesting the world while wearing jeans, which symbolized a global, international youth culture. They appropriated elements from American pop culture to protest the established order. During the second half of the 1960s, an international focus is noticeable in *Hitweek*. For example, it contained tests for how 'Yippee' one was. *Yippee* referred to members of the International Youth Party.[176]

Figure 21: Denim jeans dyed pink in Muziek Expres no 117 1965

<u>Denim jeans as teenage fashion</u>

From mid-1960s, *Muziek Expres* was also internationally focussed. It discussed denim jeans not as a way to rebel against the establishment, but as a way to become part of the international youth culture. Around 1965, the magazine began to occasionally contain a fashion section with the latest fashion from 'Paris, London, Chelsea and New York.' The girls often wore dresses and skirts in these articles; the boys wore denim jeans. Figure 21 shows an example of one of these fashion

[175] De Vries, Willem. ''Wat is er aan de hand in Leeuwarden?'' *Hitweek* no 39 (1) June 1966 UvA IWO.
[176] ''Ben jij ook een Yippee?'' *Hitweek* no 8 (4) November 1968, UvA IWO.

articles. In this picture, a boy wears a pair of denim jeans dyed pink.[177] This fashion would be described in *Hitweek* as 'Beat' fashion, inspired by the London Carnaby street. It was also sometimes referred to as 'Carnaby fashion'. The musicians in *Muziek Expres* appeared more fashionable around 1965 than they did previously. They had a more differentiating style without the solely American connotation.

Hitweek went for the middle road when it came to teenage style as well. *Hitweek* initially contained the same fashion styles as *Muziek Expres*: The longhaired Beatles-inspired fashion. As stated previously, *Hitweek* discussed fashion more often than *Muziek Expres*, but denim jeans were not discussed in their articles. The quality of the pictures in *Hitweek* was not the same as in *Muziek Expres*. At times, the black-and-white pictures were not very clear; therefore, it was hard to distinguish denim from other fabrics. As time went, fashion changed quickly in *Hitweek*. What was in fashion was often determined by the way the British youth dressed. One year the skirts were short, followed by the next when skirts were long again (Patty Boyd was often seen as an example of this). It was expensive to buy new clothes every time style evolved. In one article, *Hitweek* stated that it was always possible to shorten the longer skirts instead of just buying new ones.[178] At times, readers would send letters saying that they did not appreciate the fast-changing trends and preferred a classic pair of blue jeans: a garment that would not need to be replaced often.[179] *Hitweek* thus often appeared to oppose fast-changing fashion trends as well. This differs from the way *Muziek Expres* discussed denim jeans: i.e., as part of commercial teenage culture.

Figure 22: How to dress like a beat singer in: Hitweek n31 1966

Hitweek attempted to unite all the young people into one mainstream youth culture: 'Beat'. One article mentioned that Beat should not be seen as opposed to the time of rock and roll represented by Elvis Presley and Cliff Richards. Beat was meant to unite all youth cultures, especially the Provos, Nozems and Kikkers. According to the author: 'Beat is like a religion, beat is the opium for the youth… it is universal, commercial, controversial,

[177] ''Fashion Expres'' *Muziek Expres* no 117 1965, IISG.
[178] ''De rok moet korter'' *Hitweek* no 17 (1) January 1966. UvA IWO.
[179] ''Ouwe Dingen'' *Hitweek* no 46 (1) July 1966. UvA IWO.

sentimental, sensual, irrational and it lives by the grace of renewal.'[180] Beat was a mix of the many subcultures, as could be seen in Figure 22. The long hair, denim jeans, and suede jackets were central to many other sub-cultural styles. Beat was shaped both by fashion and by music taste. It was meant to act as a differentiation between youth and the older generations and aimed to create generational coherence. It is thus not surprising that denim jeans were central in the 'Beat' youth culture propagated by *Hitweek*.

Around 1965, there was a noticeable turning point in which denim transitioned from being American to becoming a symbol of anti-fashion for youth. Denim jeans would often be seen in *Hitweek* as an anti-fashion statement. Around 1965, the manner in which denim jeans were presented in *Muziek Expres* had changed. Denim jeans were no longer seen as solely American; they had become fashion statements linking people who wore denim jeans to an international youth culture. Denim jeans were styled differently in this 'Beat' fashion, e.g., in Britain.

Denim jeans played an important part in the generational coherence. This was noticeable in both *Hitweek* and *Muziek Expres*, where pictures of denim jeans were depicted during the 1960s but not explicitly discussed. *Hitweek* discussed fashion more as a way to create generational coherence among the youth against the older generations. A certain way of dressing was also a way for people to express their role as a modern member of international society. This led to a homogenisation of dressing in western society. This refers to individuals feeling the need to be part of the collective but aiming to pursue individual desires.[181] Denim lost the association of being an American product and began to represent juvenility and being part of an international community. The subculture of the Provos dissolved in 1967, as the romantic, flower-power Hippie culture from San Francisco was already emerging. This was noticeable in both magazines.[182]

End of the 1960s: flower power

Near the end of the 1960s, the clothing worn on pictures in both *Hitweek* and *Muziek Expres* looked more colourful. Both magazines had changed their focus from Great Britain towards San Francisco: to the Hippie subculture. According to *Hitweek*, the so-called Carnaby look (named after the shopping street, Carnaby Street) was no longer in fashion. More colourful and frivolous clothes were in style. The Beatles, for instance, were often seen in these clothes.

[180] De Ruyter, Hans ''Beat'' *Hitweek* no 18 (1) January 1966. UvA IWO.
[181] Simmel, "Fashion" 541.
[182] Righart, *De Eindeloze Jaren Zestig* 247.

As a result, *Muziek Expres* looked more colourful in 1968 than it did in 1965. In the pictures, denim jeans were still worn, however; they were in different colours or combined with colourful jackets. Jeans became the symbol of egalitarianism in the 1960s. The Hippies used jeans not only to oppose the established elite but also to display their ideal of a classless society and new gender relations.[183] They took elements from subcultures like the Artists, Kikkers and Beat for their style. Around 1970, they became the mainstream youth culture and their revolutionary connotation dissolved.[184]

Hitweek continued to be critical of the United States and the Vietnam war until 1969, when it stopped publishing. In the fall of 1968, it published an article on a demonstration by the protest group, 'Aktie Precedent', who tried to influence the American presidential elections by collecting opinions from Dutch citizens. The cards mentioned that the Dutch should also have a voice in the presidential elections. They mentioned what individuals thought about NATO, Cuba, Vietnam, China and race relations. The protest group sent approximately 10,000 of these individual cards to the leading American paper: the *New York Times*.[185] In this article, the United States is portrayed as an empire intervening in other spheres. The writer of the article was concerned about the growing influence of the United States on the global economy and on global politics. On 20 September, another reader complained about older generations being too American focussed. The reader supported the Russians in the cold war, and he complained that the older generation demanded that young people be more thankful to the Americans, to whom they owe their freedom. The older generation wanted the 'long-haired youth' to protest the Russians instead of only the Americans. He believed the older generation was too commercial, superficial and gullible. He mentioned that the younger generation was the only generation which was truly concerned about politics.[186]

At the same time, the magazine focussed on the Hippie subculture, which was controversial, as the style was from the United States: from San Francisco. Besides fashion, *Hitweek* focussed on music from the West Coast as well. Groups such as The Doors and Jefferson Airplane were brought to Amsterdam by Paul Acket.[187] It was quite controversial that the magazine criticised American foreign policy despite being influenced by American popular culture. —

[183] Finlayson. *Denim, an American Legend*, 25.
[184] De Leeuw and Schadee, *Jong*, 38.
[185] ''Zou je van Nixon een tweedehandsauto kopen?'' *Hitweek* no 6 (4) October 1968. UvA IWO.
[186] Seunke, Wim. ''Generatie'' *Hitweek* no 1 (4) September 1968. UvA IWO.
[187] ''Paul Acket'' *Hitweek* no 3 (4) September 1968. UvA IWO.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the two main, Dutch youth magazines presented denim during the 1960s. The youth magazines published denim jeans often and showed its acceptance. *Muziek Expres* began by focussing on American films—especially cowboy films. Later, in the early 1960s, *Muziek Expres* contained pictures of movie stars and musicians wearing denim. Denim was mostly worn in a cowboy context or by rebels during these years, which reflected the youth subculture of the Kuiven and Nozems. These two groups were strongly influenced by popular culture from the United States. Then there was 'Beat fashion' inspired by Great Britain, which styled and appropriated denim more fashionably. Denim jeans gained a connotation of being international and a symbol for the youth. The Carnaby look often included denim jeans, which demonstrated a top-down influence of fashion; the United States and Britain were the 'elite', and the youth in Europe were lower class. *Muziek Expres* was also a magazine read by middle-class youth. This also shows a bottom-up direction of fashion appropriation from lower-class youth to the middle-class youth.

In *Hitweek*, generational coherence and the role of the mainstream youth culture (Beat) in fashion was noticeable. Denim jeans were a democratic piece of clothing for youth who promoted egalitarianism. Near the end of the 1960s, denim jeans became more colourful in both magazines with the emergence of the Hippies from San Francisco. This again shows the influence of the United States as a superpower in influencing the youth in Europe. During the 1960s, many different subcultures appropriated denim in the formation of their style. They were styled differently, but all chose denim. Its versatility extended from classic blue denim to white denim suits, and then to Hippies in coloured denim jackets and pants—in other words, from rock and roll to the more universal youth culture (beat), and then to Hippie. Denim jeans created a generational coherence among the youth to oppose the older generations. The older generations discussed denim jeans in their own media as well, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

4. Denim jeans in *Het Vrije Volk* and *De Telegraaf*

The previous chapter shows that denim jeans were worn by young people as anti-fashion to distinguish themselves from the older generations. The results from the research on *Hitweek*, show that denim jeans were not considered acceptable for teenagers, especially not for school. The two most popular newspapers during the 1960s were *Het Vrije Volk* and *De Telegraaf*. According to an article in *De Telegraaf* in 1969, the number of denim jeans sold in the Netherlands grew during the 1960s. Between 1962 and 1967, the number of denim jeans sold increased 100 percent. In 1962, 400,000 pairs of denim jeans were sold. In 1967, 800,000 pairs were sold. Girls also started to wear denim more frequently. The number of denim jeans sold to girls grew from 580,000 in 1962 to 1,400,000 in 1967.[188] Denim jeans thus grew in popularity during these years.

Both newspapers discussed denim often during the 1960s. In the search engine Delpher, the Dutch word for denim jeans appeared in both newspapers more during the 1960s (578 instances) than it did during the 1950s (238 instances). *Het Vrije Volk* was linked to the social-democratic pillar, and the *De Telegraaf* was linked to the liberal pillar. Both newspapers had different readers from opposing classes. In what way did the newspapers *Het Vrije Volk* and *De Telegraaf* discuss denim jeans during the 1960s? This chapter is divided with respect to the first and second half of the 1960s. There is a turning point around 1965 in how denim jeans were discussed in both papers.

First half of the 1960s: Different newspapers, different opinions

Both newspapers and their readership were studied in 1961by the NIPO institute. *De Telegraaf* was mostly read by members of the middle class and upper classes. 29 percent of the readers came from the upper class, while only four percent of the readers of *De Telegraaf* came from the lower working class. The paper was mainly read by entrepreneurs and managers. Many readers acquired luxury products.[189] *Het Vrije Volk* was mainly read by the lower working class. Most of its readers worked in factories and had few luxury products: e.g., only seven percent owned a refrigerator. The number of mopeds among the readers of *Het Vrije Volk* was significantly higher than those among *De Telegraaf* readers. Mopeds were a symbol of the lower class. 35 percent of the readers of *Het Vrije Volk* owned one, compared

[188] ‘’Meneer de uil overheerst de vakbeurs’’ *De Telegraaf* 19-03-1969 retrieved from Delpher.
[189] *De Telegraaf: Lezerskringonderzoek Februari.* 's-Gravenhage: Nederlandse Stichting voor Statistiek, 1961.

to only 16 percent of *De Telegraaf* readers. Many readers from *De Telegraaf* also owned a car (31 percent). Only 10 percent of *Het Vrije Volk* readers owned one.[190] This shows the difference in the availability of luxury products and the difference in class. The 1950s saw the height of popularity for *Het Vrije Volk*. It was the most read paper of the country during those years. However, their readership declined during the 1960s. *De Telegraaf* took over the newspapers' place in 1966.[191]


zich af:

HOE ZAL DE SCHOOLMODE 1960 ZIJN?

door BRIGITTE en BOB

AMSTERDAM, vrijdag

TIEN-KAMPS Bob en Brigitte leven vandaag met tienduizenden tieners mee, die vanmorgen vroeger zijn opgestaan dan de voorgaande weken. De scholen beginnen weer. Er is een einde gekomen aan de dagen zonder zorgen. De nu nog onbeschreven schoolagenda's zullen weldra vele uren huiswerk bevatten. Sterkte vrienden en vriendinnen. En om in de stemming te blijven — we zullen omstreeks negen uur aan jullie denken — werpen wij vandaag een probleem op, dat alles met deze eerste schooldag te maken heeft. Het gaat over de schoolmode. Want die bestaat werkelijk.

Figure 23: Fashion for school in De Telegraaf 02-09-1960

In an article on 9 April, 1960, *Het Vrije Volk* discussed what young people were wearing. The article was based on letters from readers. The boys wore denim jeans and a sweater on weekdays. On Sundays, they would wear a jacket and a tie. The girls liked petticoats and 'rock and roll' tights, and they wore denim jeans or other skinny pants after school. In addition, all the young people wanted to have a suede jacket.[192]

De Telegraaf approached denim jeans in a very different way during that same year. On the 2 September, 1960, the teenage section of *De Telegraaf* discussed the latest fashion for teenagers. This can be seen in Figure 23. One eighteen-year-old reader did not know what to wear to school. She had three pairs of denim jeans, high heels and some tight skirts, all of which were prohibited. She inquired what Brigitte and Bob, the teenage columnists, thought of her predicament. Brigitte admitted that she had worn a pair of denim jeans to school because they were easy. She, however, did not wear them often. They discovered that many schools did not allow make up, open shoes, denim jeans or tight skirts for girls.[193] These two articles were written in the same year and highlight the difference in opinion concerning how acceptable denim jeans were in the Netherlands in the early 1960s.

During the first few years of the 1960s, both newspapers discussed denim regularly. The articles in *De Telegraaf* wrote in a relatively negative way about denim jeans during these years. The papers had a different readership; thus, it is not surprising that the working-class paper *Het Vrije Volk* discussed denim jeans in a more positive way. *De Telegraaf* was a

[190] *Het Vrije Volk: lezerskringonderzoek februari*. 's-Gravenhage: Nederlandse Stichting voor Statistiek, 1961.
[191] Mulder, Arlman and Den Tex, *De val van de rode burcht,* 124.
[192] ''Mag ik ondergoed met kantjes moeder?'' *Het Vrije Volk* 09-04-1960 retrieved from Delpher.
[193] Brigitte and Bob, ''Hoe zal de schoolmode 1960 zijn?'' *De Telegraaf* 02-09-1960 retrieved from Delpher.

more conservative paper; thus, it was more critical of denim jeans. *De Telegraaf* discussed the emerging trend of wearing oversized sweaters and denim jeans among the young with disapproval. The journalists from *Het Vrije Volk*, however, were often neutral to rather positive. In an article on teenage fashion on 6 July, 1962, denim jeans were said to be the symbol of the modern youth. The editor advised young people to wear their jeans loosely, because it made them look different and unique. This shows how *Het Vrije Volk* accepted the clothing. Denim jeans were seen as a fashion item for the youth, and the editors discussed thoroughly how jeans had to be worn that season. They wrote that they copied the style from the film *West Side Story* and the American navy.[194] The focus of the lower classes on the United States is thus visible here. There were often discussions in *Het Vrije Volk* about whether denim jeans were acceptable for youth to wear.

In 1962, the same year that *Het Vrije Volk* said that denim jeans were the symbol of the modern youth, *De Telegraaf* also wrote an article on denim jeans as the symbol of the modern youth. In this article, however, denim jeans were discussed more negatively. The article discussed the arrival of the evacuated population of the island Tristan da Cunha in Britain. The small population of this island had to evacuate the island due to the eruption of the volcano, Queen Mary's Peak. The article discussed how the older generations were not adapting to Britain in the same way as the younger generations did. The large number of young people was surpassing the older generations in 'adapting modern ways', according to *De Telegraaf*. According to the paper, they 'learned to dance the twist and wore denim jeans and petticoats'. This was seen as modern, but also as a threat to the dominant culture of the older generations.[195] Even though *De Telegraaf* reacted in a rather conservative way to denim jeans, they represented modernity and part of western global culture. They were seen as a modern international symbol for the youth.


KLEINE MENSEN HEBBEN EIGEN MODE

door Erna van den Berg

AMSTERDAM, zaterdag

Kinderen zijn kwetsbaar op kledinggebied

Kleuterschool

Figure 24: Fashion for children 'the American way' in: De Telegraaf 20-07-1963

[194] ''Niet dat benauwde'' *Het Vrije Volk* 06-07-1962 retrieved from Delpher.
[195] ''Zij zeggen dank u, maar gelukkig zijn ze niet'' *De Telegraaf* 12-02-1962 retrieved from Delpher.

1960-1965: Jeans for boys and girls

Denim jeans were often seen in both papers as the ideal piece of clothing for children to wear after school. Denim jeans were more durable than regular pants. Therefore, they were considered perfect for children, especially for young boys. They could wear them when they were playing outside after school. Children could wear them when they were playing outside, but only after school. Although *De Telegraaf* was negative about teenagers wearing denim jeans, jeans were considered acceptable for children. In one article, parents were supposed to dress their children in denim jeans, much like the children in the United States. Striped sweaters and denim jeans were supposed to be the latest fashion for children in the United States. For more formal occasions, the children had to wear dresses and suits from Spanish and French designers.[196] Denim jeans were almost always related to the United States when they were discussed. They were seen as American fashion in *De Telegraaf*. Throughout the 1960s, there were several articles in both newspapers on Levi Strauss and how the Americans wore denim jeans and checked shirts.[197] This was how the youth from Texas dressed.[198] Thus, it was considered fashionable.

Figure 25: Denim jeans C&A advertisement in: Het Vrije Volk 28-05-1963

In the early years of the 1960s, denim was also advertised by shops importing American goods. The price for a pair of jeans was significantly higher than the jeans from the Dutch department stores, but they were authentic. From about 1963, American companies began to advertise as well, but not as often or as dominantly as the cheaper Dutch department stores. Roy Rogers often advertised its denim jeans by referring to them as typically American.[199] Large department stores such as the Bijenkorf or the C&A often advertised their denim jeans for children. An example of this is seen in Figure 25. Thus, denim was seen as something that could be worn as a child, particularly when playing outside. For more formal occasions, denim seemed inappropriate. The fact that department stores such as the Bijenkorf and the C&A sold denim jeans (even if only for children) proves that they were fairly

[196] ''Kleine mensen hebben eigen mode'' *De Telegraaf*, 20-07-1963, retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[197] *De Telegraaf*, 08-11-1969 and *het Vrije Volk*, 13-05-1969, retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[198] Terheijden, Rosalie. ''Texas het land van de brede glimlach'' *De Telegraaf* 23-02-1965 retrieved from Delpher.
[199] E.g., in: *De Telegraaf*, 03-05-1966 and 12-05-1966 and 27-05-1966 retrieved from Delpher.nl.

accepted. Although many articles in *De Telegraaf* condemned denim jeans, they were seen as fashionable and acceptable in the context of the United States.

Rebels without a cause

Young people who wore denim were sometimes referred to as 'Nozems' or 'Mods' in both *Het Vrije Volk* and *De Telegraaf.* These subcultures were considered a 'plague'. Their behaviour was considered problematic, as they would loiter on the streets or on the beach (seen in Figure 26).[200] *De Telegraaf* in particular discussed the behaviour and dress of the subcultures as deviant.


„Bullen" en „Kikkers" plaag van het strand

Figure 26: Bullen en Kikkers the plague of the beach. In: De Telegraaf 13-06-1964

During the 1960s, youth wearing denim jeans were also often seen in descriptions of rebellions or criminals. Neither newspaper understood the behaviour of the Nozems and would often discuss how they should cease loitering on the street and focus instead on productive activities. Both *De Telegraaf* and *Het Vrije Volk* would point out whether a robber or a suspect of a crime was wearing denim jeans. In many instances, the description of the criminals contained denim jeans combined with a leather jacket.[201] A group of young boys who committed a murder were discussed thoroughly in *De Telegraaf.* They all wore denim jeans to court, and part of a pair of their blue jeans was evidence in the case. According to *De Telegraaf,* these young boys had been obsessed with adventure. There is an emphasis in the article on blue jeans and their adventurous connotation. *De Telegraaf* sees blue jeans as a symbol of rebellious and adventurous youth.[202]

Oversized sweaters and denim jeans

While denim jeans were seen as a symbol of rebellious youth, they were also seen as too casual to wear. During the first half of the 1960s, many articles appeared stating that they were not acceptable for teenagers and young adults. The teenage fashion trend of wearing an oversized sweater and denim jeans was discussed continuously in both newspapers. On 22 September, 1961, the fashion editor wrote in the teenage section of *De Telegraaf* about her

[200] ''Bullen en kikkers plaag van het strand'' *De Telegraaf* 13-06-1964 retrieved from Delpher.
[201] *Het Vrije Volk,* 15-05-1964, 18-02-1965 and 04-11-1965 retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[202] *De Telegraaf* 28-03-1963, 29-03-1963 and 30-03-1963 retrieved from Delpher.nl

visit to the 'Jazz and Dress' fashion show for teenagers. The teenage audience, apparently, was all dressed in denim jeans and oversized sweaters. The editor was distressed that young people had no interest in dressing more appropriately and probably merely came to see the bands playing.[203]

De Telegraaf did not appreciate the fact that the youth were dressing this casually. Therefore, to set an example, it published articles about countries where the youth were not so slovenly dressed.[204] In 1963, the fashion editors discussed fashion for the youth. They mentioned that there was no fashion for youth, only children's clothes and adult woman's clothes. Therefore, the 'Jeunessecollection' was created to bridge this gap. This collection was inspired by the mode of dress in the United States and included dresses from denim fabric, which the fashion editors mentioned was of good quality but with a nicer colour than that being used on blue jeans. The article was also against (young) women wearing denim jeans.[205]

Het Vrije Volk, however, responded differently to teenage fashion. One article in the paper on 15 September, 1962, discussed upcoming teenage fashion. The article was written for young Dutch men older than 18 who were wearing denim jeans leather jackets and oversized sweaters. These items were in danger. Designers aiming at a young audience were going to take away these pieces of clothing and replace them with a fashionable garment. These designers, according to the writer, knew that young people do not want to wear confection. They, however, aim at the need for the youth to distinguish themselves from the older generations through appearance. These designers did not discuss their fashion as 'Nozem fashion', but they claimed that the younger generation wanted to dress up. They did so to distinguish themselves from the older generations, which were dressed too casually. The designers used this sentiment to make the younger generation want to dress up to distinguish themselves from their parents. The writer of the article did not believe the younger generation felt the need to dress up. However, he wished that his readers would write their opinion to the paper. The best response would be rewarded with 25 guilders.[206] In this article, denim jeans were seen as a way to distinguish oneself in style from the older generations. It was part of youth style. This way of dressing was not seen as deviant in *Het Vrije Volk*.

Denim jeans were also seen as a way to oppose a commercial, consumer society in *Het Vrije Volk*. It depicted dressing up and spending money on clothes in a negative way. The subculture which listened to jazz was mocked for spending too much money on their jazz and

[203] ''Jazz and dress'' *de Telegraaf* 22-09-1961 retrieved from Delpher.
[204] ''Athene'' *De Telegraaf* 28-10-1961, retrieved from Delpher.
[205] ''Pittige collectie op Amerika geïnspireerd'' *De Telegraaf,* 23-02-1963, retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[206] Levie, Willy. ''Moet je horen'' *De Telegraaf* 15-09-1962 retrieved from Delpher.

concerts in an article in the teenage section in 1963. The jazz-loving youth (the Artist/Pleiner subculture) were seen snobs in this article because they would not tolerate young people liking Elvis Presley and Cliff Richard (the Nozems).[207] *Het Vrije Volk* thus preferred the youth subculture of the Nozems. This was not surprising considering the lower-class readership of the newspaper.

In the teenage section of *De Telegraaf*, the editor Tienkamp mentioned in January 1965, that teenagers were not actually materialistic. Young people preferred denim jeans over expensive dresses and low-key parties over galas.[208] In an interview with fashion model Mary Knopka, Tienkamp also mentioned not desiring luxurious clothes. She felt more herself in a pair of denim jeans.[209] Denim jeans were seen as an acceptable way to distinguish oneself from the older generations in *Het Vrije Volk*. But they were also discussed as a way to oppose the upper classes. It did not unite merely the younger generations, but the lower-class younger generations. It was a working-class paper, and the Nozems wearing denim jeans during these years were mostly working class. The positive stance taken towards denim jeans by *Het Vrije Volk* is thus not surprising.

Denim jeans as anti-fashion for women and girls

Both newspapers often wrote about how denim jeans were not acceptable for (teenage) girls. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, a reader in *De Telegraaf* complained about being unable to wear her denim jeans and tight skirts to school, as these restrictions were mainly for girls. According to one teacher, girls had to learn early how to 'move and dress'.[210] Days later, a follow-up article was posted in *De Telegraaf*. Apparently, the previous article had led to an uproar among many (mainly female) students. Brigitte and Bob were surprised that many girls who wore denim jeans admitted that they knew they were too casual for school but that they were comfortable and easy to wear. Brigitte and Bob advised them not to wear them too often and not make a habit of wearing denim jeans. They agreed that being prohibited from wearing makeup to school was archaic.[211] Thus, even the teenage section in *De Telegraaf* was quite negative about denim jeans. One could have them, but one should be discerning about when to wear them.

[207] ''Jazz Snobs'' *Het Vrije Volk* 03-01-1963 retrieved from Delpher.
[208] Brigitte. ''Zijn we echt zo materialistisch?'' *De Telegraaf* 23-01-1965 retrieved from Delpher.
[209] ''Mooi zijn heeft niets met kleren te maken' *De Telegraaf* 18-10-1967 retrieved from Delpher.
[210] Brigitte and Bob. ''Hoe zal de schoolmode 1960 zijn?'' *De Telegraaf* 02-09-1960 retrieved from Delpher.
[211] Brigitte and Bob, ''De schoolmode kent vele lijnen''*De Telegraaf* 09-09-1967 retrieved from Delpher.

Both newspapers also often believed that jeans made it more difficult to distinguish girls from boys. One article in *Het Vrije Volk*, for instance, stated that girls in the United States wore earrings now to distinguish themselves from boys.[212] They also criticised girls with short haircuts and casual clothes. Denim jeans were, moreover, not considered suitable for women typists or other more formal professionals.[213] However, white jeans as opposed to blue jeans became acceptable over time. In *De Telegraaf* on 28 March, 1964, an article in the (adult) fashion section of the paper stated that, for Easter celebration with the family, a pair of white jeans seemed suitable for one's teenage daughter.[214] Figure 27 shows the outfit that seemed acceptable. Teenage girls were required to appear feminine, but the amount of teenage clothing was scarce. The supermarket Albert Heijn advertised their jeans as typically American, but they advertised it as a piece of clothing mostly for boys and men.

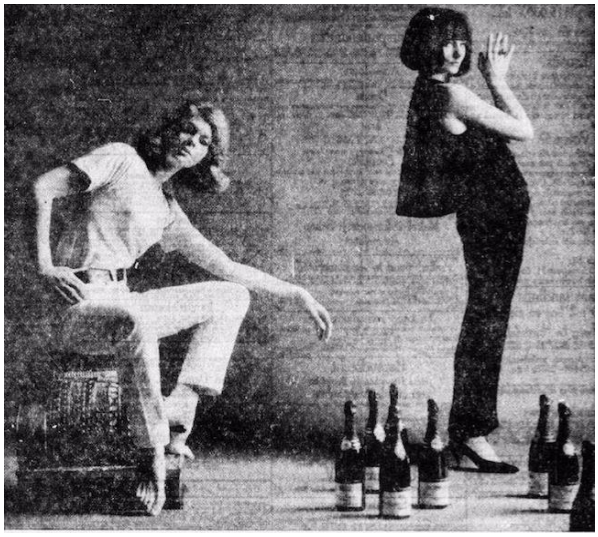


Figure 27: White denim jeans to wear on Easter in De Telegraaf 28-03-1964

An article on 28 August, 1965, in *Het Vrije Volk* mentioned the new fashion lines for teenagers and young adults. Though earlier articles in this paper discussed fashion lines for teenage boys in a negative way, this article discussed fashion lines for girls in a positive way. The new fashion lines were a reason for the girls to no longer wear oversized sweaters and denim jeans.[215] *Het Vrije Volk* thus had a different point of view when it concerned women wearing denim jeans than it did for boys and men wearing jeans.

However, the articles did not merely critique young women. Women who wore pants were discussed with general disapproval in an article in *De Telegraaf* in 1960.[216] A 1963 article in *De Telegraaf* discussed the appropriation of manly clothes by (young) women (Figure 30). 'Wives and fiancés' began wearing 'typical man clothes', such as jeans and shirts they found in stores similar to those in the 'USA' and 'the Society shop'. The article was negative about the growing influence of women, and women wearing men's' clothing proved to be another area in which women's independence was emerging. 'Soon there will be nothing left of what a man could call his own'.[217] In this article, women who wore men's'

[212]''Nieuwe tienerrage in Amerika: oorbellen in opmars'' *Het Vrije Volk* 15-10-1965 retrieved from Delpher.
[213] ''Het werk stelt eisen'' *De Telegraaf* 03-10-1964 retrieved from Delpher.
[214] *De Telegraaf,* 28-03-1964 and 25-09-1964 retrieved from Delpher.nl
[215] ''Flashing Fashion'' *Het Vrije Volk* 28-08-1965 retrieved from Delpher.

clothes were seen to be making an anti-fashion statement. Women challenged gender identities, if not also class identities, by wearing denim.

Thus, during the first half of the 1960s, denim jeans were considered acceptable to wear in *Het Vrije Volk*. *De Telegraaf* discussed them as acceptable for children because they were seen as American. In *De Telegraaf* (and at times in *Het Vrije Volk*) denim jeans were linked to rebellious, deviant behaviour by young people. They were also seen as too casual to wear to school. *De Telegraaf* more often opposed denim jeans, but at the same time, the paper often linked denim jeans to American fashion.


Wij waarschuwen u, Adam, sluit de kast af, want...
Mannenkleren maken de Vrouw

Fi
20-07-1963 De Telegraaf

How does this compare to the results of the research on *Muziek Expres* during these years? During the first half of the 1960s, *Muziek Expre*s also had a strong focus on the United States. According to research done by the NIPO institute, the parents of most *Muziek Expres* readers read *De Telegraaf*.[218] It is interesting to see that the magazine read by most of the children of *De Telegraaf* readers contained so many depictions of denim jeans while they were condemned in the newspaper.

1965: Royal blue denim

Though both newspapers were rather negative about denim jeans worn by youth and especially women during the first half the 1960s, the royal family began to wear denim around 1965. In May of 1965, an article appeared in *De Telegraaf* discussing Princess Beatrix wearing pair of denim jeans while she was sailing. According to *De Telegraaf*, she had a sporty look in her jeans and blue pullover, as can be seen in Figure 31.[219] Beatrix's sister Irene would be spotted a few years later in denim jeans as well in an exclusive interview with the women's magazine *Libelle*. *De Telegraaf* wrote an article on this interview entitled "Princess in Denim Jeans". The article


ZEILEN OP IJSELMEER
Weer of geen weer, Prinses voer uit

Figure 29 Princess Beatrix sailing in denim jeans in: de Telegraaf 10-05-1965

[216] ''Mannenkleren maken de vrouw'' *De Telegraaf* 20-07-1963 retrieved from Delpher.
[217] Ibid.
[218] *De Lezerskring Van Muziek Expres*. (Den Haag: NIPO, 1970).
[219] ''Weer of geen weer, Prinses voer uit'' *De Telegraaf,* 10-05-1965 retrieved from Delpher.nl

opened with the statement that Princess Irene preferred to wear her 'rejuvenating blue jeans'.[220] Referring to the same interview, *Het Vrije Volk* mentioned that the Princess preferred to wear blue jeans and a shirt while working in the garden.[221]

During the second half of the 1960s, other royals like Princess Anne of England were also discussed wearing denim in their leisure time while also wearing more formal clothes at formal occasions. Figure 23 shows Princess Anne of the UK in formal and informal outfits. This picture accompanied an article in *Het Vrije Volk* praising Anne for being able to dress both formally as a princess and informally as a teenager.[222]

Neither newspaper discussed the royals wearing denim in a negative way. The royals, when seen wearing denim, were in an informal setting. The newspapers, however, still maintained a strong opinion about how royalty should dress when in a formal setting. The fact that the royals began to wear denim proves the bottom-up influence of denim jeans in the Netherlands. The royal family is seen as the elite while, at the same time, denim jeans were working man's apparel. Denim jeans were not even considered acceptable wear for teenagers, according to *De Telegraaf*. During the first half of the 1960s, there was a relatively negative stance towards denim jeans in both newspapers. They were acceptable only for children and were seen as too casual for anyone else. Women who wore denim jeans were also often criticised, as it posed a challenge to existing gender relations. Around 1965, perceptions began to change. The royal family was seen wearing denim, including Princes Beatrix, among other royals. How were denim jeans discussed during the second half of the 1960s? Were denim jeans more acceptable to wear now that the royal family had also embraced them?

Protesting in denim jeans

During the 1960s, many countries in the Western world experienced unrest around 1968. In the Netherlands, this occurred in 1966. It was the most chaotic year of the 1960s, and for Amsterdam in particular.[223] The wedding of Princess Beatrix and Claus led to unrest in the city. Both newspapers discussed the protests that took place near the wedding of Beatrix and Claus with disapproval.[224] The construction workers' uproar and the raid of the editorial building of *De Telegraaf* by protesters and construction workers led to more critique regarding the rebellious youth in *De Telegraaf.* Distressed blue jeans were discussed as a

[220] ''De Prinses in Spijkerbroek'' *De Telegraaf,* 03-08-1967 retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[221] ''Prinses in Spijkerbroek'' *Het Vrije Volk,* 03-08-1967 retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[222] ''Twee versies van een prinses'' *Het Vrije Volk* 25-04-1967 retrieved from Delpher.
[223] Righart, *Eindeloze Jaren Zestig,* 211.
[224] Wolf, *Het geheim van De Telegraaf,* 400.

symbol of the protesting youth and often mocked during the last few years of the 1960s.[225] Denim jeans were seen as a symbol of protesting youth, but they were often discussed as being distressed and old. This made normal jeans more acceptable and distressed jeans the symbol of the protesting youth.

Rebellious youth were often described as having long hair and wearing old denim jeans. The 'longhaired youth' were presented in a negative light by both *De Telegraaf* and *Het Vrije Volk*. Men wearing their hair long made it difficult to distinguish men from women, according to one article in *De Telegraaf*.[226] Figure 32 shows an article on youth who were protesting President Johnson and American foreign policy in *De Telegraaf*. They arrived at the court in their denim jeans, which were seen as a symbol for irresponsible youth.


GROTE BELANGSTELLING IN UTRECHT

Anti-Johnson studenten horen f 25 boete eisen

Van onze rechtbankverslaggever ERIC G. KOCH

UTRECHT, woensdag

TIJDENS een zeer druk bezochte, maar in volkomen rust verlopen zitting eiste de officier van justitie in Utrecht, mr. W. H. OVERBEEK, tegen vier studenten ieder een boete van *f* 25 wegens belediging van een bevriend staatshoofd, t.w. president JOHNSON.

De vier studenten (drie sociologie, een psychologie), 20 tot 21 jaar oud, hadden voor het raam van hun kamers in een studentenflat met grote letters de woorden: „Johnson, oorlogsmisdadiger". aangebracht. De

OFFICIER:

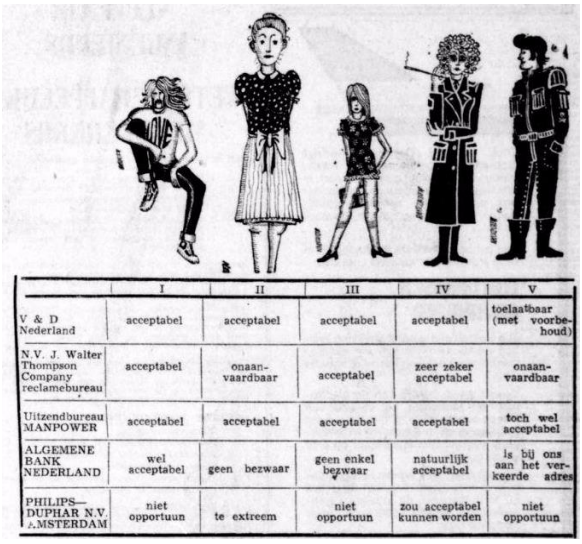
Benaming „oorlogsmisdadiger" aantasting van eer

Figure 30: Protesters wore denim jeans to court where they got fined for their anti-Johnson protest in De Telegraaf 13-03-1968

The discussion about whether denim jeans were acceptable to wear to school was a recurring theme in both newspapers. *Het Vrije Volk* contained many articles after 1965 which discussed whether wearing an old pair of jeans to school was acceptable.[227] It often was quite positive about denim jeans. On the fifth of November, 1966, an article appeared in *Het Vrije Volk* about the absurdity of the youth not being allowed to wear denim jeans to school.[228] Earlier that year, it was mentioned that youth were allowed to wear more casual clothes, but not to the theatre. However, the writer was undecided as to whether long hair on boys and very short hair on girls should be allowed in the theatres.[229] An article in *Het Vrije Volk* from January of 1966 attempted to make Nozems look more human and less rebellious. The article considered whether Nozems were really so bad. It mentioned that many teenagers may look like they are rebelling but are not so bad once you meet them. 'Yes they wear denim jeans, yes they carry their transistor radio with them everywhere, but why should they not be allowed to have these things?'[230] The article tries to make denim jeans look less rebellious and more like a symbol of young people. This shows the attempt by *Het Vrije Volk* to redefine the sub-cultural style of

[225] *De Telegraaf,* 24-09-1966, 23-08-1966, 31-12-1966 retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[226] ''Boetiekjes'' *De Telegraaf* 05-01-1967 retrieved from Delpher.
[227] Brigitte ''Vind jij je ouders ook zo veeleisend?'' *De Telegraaf,* 02-10-1965 retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[228] ''Meest krankzinnige school van Europa'' *Het Vrije Volk,* 05-11-1966 retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[229] ''Langharigen uit en in het schort'' *Het Vrije Volk* 22-07-1966 retrieved from Delpher.
[230] Liber, Jan. ''Nozems? Het valt wel mee!'' *Het Vrije Volk* 07-01-1966 retrieved from Delpher.

the Nozems. By making it less of a threat to the dominant culture, sub-cultural style loses its ideology. The deviant behaviour of the subcultures is redefined and nuanced.[231]



	I	II	III	IV	V
V & D Nederland	acceptabel	acceptabel	acceptabel	acceptabel	toelaatbaar (met voorbehoud)
N.V. J. Walter Thompson Company reclamebureau	acceptabel	onaanvaardbaar	acceptabel	zeer zeker acceptabel	onaanvaardbaar
Uitzendbureau MANPOWER	acceptabel	acceptabel	acceptabel	acceptabel	toch wel acceptabel
ALGEMENE BANK NEDERLAND	wel acceptabel	geen bezwaar	geen enkel bezwaar	natuurlijk acceptabel	is bij ons aan het verkeerde adres
PHILIPS—DUPHAR N.V. AMSTERDAM	niet opportuun	te extreem	niet opportuun	zou acceptabel kunnen worden	niet opportuun

Figure 31: What is acceptable to wear to a job interview? In De Telegraaf 18-10-1967

Towards acceptance

In the last few years of the 1960s, *De Telegraaf* referred to denim jeans in a different way than solely as a garment for rebellious youth. The newspaper discussed jeans as an ideal piece of clothing to wear when not at work. In April of 1967, there was an article that envisioned the future of leisure time in the eighties. In the eighties, everyone would wear denim jeans after work.[232] Princess Beatrix even stated in an interview she gave to *De Telegraaf* in 1969 that her sons were allowed to wear denim and have long hair. In her opinion, boys just had to be boys. As long as they did not do anything bad or illegal, it was fine to have long hair and wear denim jeans.[233] In an article a year later, *De Telegraaf* reported quite positively on a prison that gave the prisoners a little more freedom. The prison tried to make life in prison similar to life on the outside and gave the inmates a pair of jeans to wear on Sunday. *De Telegraaf* did not condemn this. On the contrary, it was positive about inmates being able to wear jeans.[234] The teenage section in February of 1967 also stated that everyone who considered themselves fashionable had a pair of old jeans to wear at home or around the house. The editor Brigitte questioned, however, whether jeans were still fashionable and not like other fashionable clothes: ready to be replaced.[235] Denim jeans seemed to have become normal.

On 15 September, 1967, an article in *Het Vrije Volk* expresses pleasure that the singer Manfred Mann still looked the same as he did three years ago when he appeared in the television show *Moef Ga Ga*. In his white denim jeans and turtleneck, he looked stylish, according to the article. Dave Berry also made an appearance on the show. He wore an outfit which appeared similar to pyjamas with sandals. The article considered Dave Berry's 'fashionable' outfit too odd and preferred Manfred Mann's classic outfit instead.[236]

[231] Hebdige, *Subculture, the meaning of style*, 98-99.
[232] ''Toekomst Weekend'' *De Telegraaf*, 01-04-1967 retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[233] ''Beatrix, moeder van drie zonen'' *De Telegraaf*, 27-10-1969 retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[234] ''Hoe leven jeugdigen in de gevangenis?'' *De Telegraaf*,
[235] ''Sherlock Holmes herleeft ook in mode'' *De Telegraaf*,
[236] ''Moef'' *Het Vrije Volk* 15-08-1967 retrieved from Delph

In an article published in *De Telegraaf* in October of 1967, the influence of clothes on a job interview was discussed. Two of the 'stereotypes' wore denim, as can be seen in Figure 31: the man on the left and the one on the right. The man on the left was a longhaired Hippie. The man on the right looked like what could be described as a Nozem. Someone dressed as a Hippie could be hired at most companies, even a bank.[237] A man wearing denim jeans to a job interview could be hired at some of these large companies. This shows the relative acceptance of the piece of clothing.

Hippie subculture seemed slightly more accepted in both newspapers. *Het Vrije Volk* mentioned that they considered the way the Hippies wore their jeans to be better than how the Nozems and Provos wore them. They said they were inspired by the Hippies.[238] In 1968, the fashion sections discussed denim jeans regularly. When discussing French fashion, the fashion editors stated that American denim jeans were considered fashionable in France much like they were in Amsterdam.[239] Denim jeans started to become a symbol of internationalism in both papers, but they also had a strong American connotation. Jackie Kennedy was often said to wear denim jeans in her leisure time. One article noted that Kennedy wore a pair of white denim jeans while she was shopping.[240] Levi's was often discussed in both papers as the man who invented denim jeans. One article in *Het Vrije Volk* discussed what the next fashion would be following Levi's as an example. Their fashion lines indicated that red denim was in fashion next summer besides the already existing blue, white and beige jeans.[241] One article in *De Telegraaf* of 27 May, 1968, discussed the emergence of the Beat youth culture. The article claimed that Beat was in fact not British but copied from the United States. The fact that the Beat youth wore denim shows this, because the ships importing American goods would arrive in Liverpool first, which is the centre of the Beat youth culture.[242]

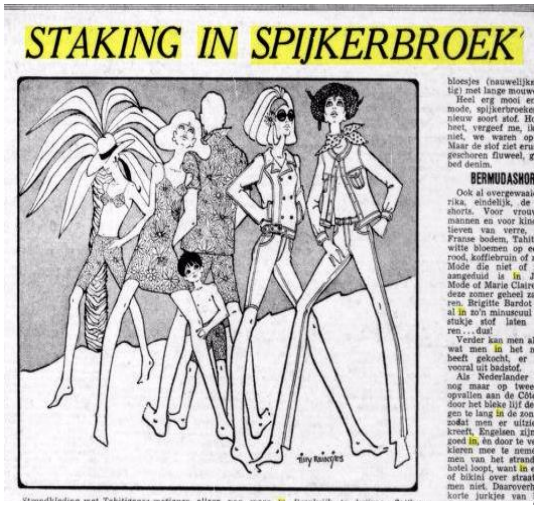

STAKING IN SPIJKERBROEK

Figure 32: 'Strike in denim jeans' in France in: De Telegraaf 13-07-1968

[237] ''Kleren maken de sollicitant'' *De Telegraaf* 18-10-1967 retrieved from Delpher.
[238] Vergouwe, Herma. ''Haar'' *Het Vrije Volk*, 09-07-1969 retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[239] ''Staking in Spijkerbroek'' *De Telegraaf,* 13-07-1968 retrieved from Delpher.nl.
[240] ''Zorgeloze Jackie' *De Telegraaf* 17-09-1969 retrieved from Delpher.nl
[241] ''Rode spijkerbroek'' *Het Vrije Volk* 06-05-1969 retrieved from Delpher.
[242] ''To Beat or not to Beat'' *De Telegraaf* 27-03-1968 retrieved from Delpher.

Denim jeans were slowly being stripped off their negative deviant and sub-cultural connotations when discussed as an American fabric. They were seen to represent modernity, Americanness, and hard work. Thus, it is not surprising that an article mentioning an increase in people wearing denim jeans in the Netherlands also discussed denim jeans as an American icon.[243] An article in *De Telegraaf* in October of 1969 discussed young men wearing denim jeans as modern and fashionable. Girls had to wear miniskirts.[244] This shows quite a shift in the approach of denim jeans by *De Telegraaf.*

How does this compare to the results from the youth magazines? It is interesting to see that, during the second half of the 1960s, the youth magazine *Hitweek* still considered denim jeans to be anti-fashion and a symbol of rebelling against one's parents. Meanwhile, in *De Telegraaf* and *Het Vrije Volk*, denim jeans were discussed in a more and more positive way. If the queen is wearing denim jeans, how rebellious can they be?

Conclusion

To conclude, consider the manner in which denim was viewed by both *De Telegraaf* and *Het Vrije Volk* evolved during the 1960s. *Het Vrije Volk* was a working-class newspaper; *De Telegraaf* was mostly read by the middle and upper classes. Denim was seen as a piece of fabric solely for the youth in the early years. As an exception, one could wear it while working in or around the house. During the first few years, *Het Vrije Volk* thus showed sympathy for the lower-class Nozem youth subculture. Denim jeans were seen as opposing materialism expressed by other young people. The articles in *Het Vrije Volk* showed acceptance of the fact that young people used denim jeans to distinguish themselves from the older generations. *De Telegraaf* was more negative of young people appropriating denim as their way to rebel against their parents. They saw them as too casual and unfit for school. *De Telegraaf* detested the 'oversized sweaters and denim jeans' so many teenagers and young adults wore. Both papers were critical of youth and adult women appropriating denim jeans as part of their style. Jeans were not acceptable for women to wear. The royal family, however, started to appropriate denim jeans as leisure wear. Though both papers were quite negative about women wearing denim jeans, they responded quite positively to Princess Beatrix wearing them. This probably made them more acceptable for older generations to wear. The readers from *De Telegraaf Het Vrije Volk* began to accept the more casual outfit as time progressed.

[243] ''De Spijkerbroek in 100 jaar Niets Veranderd'' *De Telegraaf* 08-11-1969 retrieved from Delpher.
[244] ''Het moderne paar'' De Telegraaf 25-10-1969 retrieved from Delpher.nl.

During the second half of the 1960s, denim jeans were often seen as a symbol of young rebels. It was, however, mostly distressed jeans that were so regarded. Other jeans, such as coloured jeans or Hippie jeans, were considered to be more acceptable. At the end of the 1960s, denim jeans in certain looks were still not considered appropriate for a job interview, but they became more acceptable.

Slowly but readily, denim jeans started to become more acceptable to wear in leisure time. This acceptance shows the bottom-up direction of the appropriation of denim jeans, first, because lower-class Nozems were the first to embrace denim jeans as their style. Denim jeans were also seen as American and their growing acceptance demonstrated a bottom-up appropriation by the middle and upper classes. This is especially due to the fact that, by the end of the 1960s, *De Telegraaf* began to slowly accept them as well. They also saw them as American. This also indicates a top-down influence as the United States was considered a superpower.

The royal family started to appropriate denim jeans, and this shows the bottom-up process of fashion appropriation. But the fact that *De Telegraaf* started to view denim more positively and with American connotation after the royals stared to wear denim also shows a top-down direction of denim jeans' appropriation.

Conclusion

This thesis has discussed the appropriation of denim by the middle and upper classes in the Netherlands during the 1960s. This was accomplished by analysing how denim was discussed in two youth magazines and two major newspapers. The first chapter discussed push-and-pull factors within Dutch society which caused a change in how people dressed. The second chapter dealt with how the main youth magazines in the Netherlands discussed denim during the 1960s. Finally, the third chapter analysed the way denim was discussed in the two main newspapers in the Netherlands during this same period.

The first chapter focussed on denim in the Netherlands during the 1960s. First, the preconditions were discussed. There was an increase in the amount of regulated leisure time people were afforded. Economic growth led to (mass) consumerism and an increase in overall welfare. This led to new kinds of activities and a need for leisurewear. After the war, the baby-boomer generation emerged. They did not have many financial obligations, as they did not have families yet; thus, the baby-boomer youth became an interesting consumer group due to its scale and spending power. Baby-boomer youth also influenced the Parisian fashion elite, as boutiques were influential for the global fashion industry during these years.

In the formation of their identity, the Parisian fashion elite borrowed many trends from the United States, which was home to the leading culture at the time. The United States was seen as modern and as the most progressive nation on the globe by many youngsters in the Netherlands during the 1960s. They had several consumer products which were scarce in Europe. Cultural elements which were seen as typically American, however, were actually from the West Coast of the continent. Internally in the United States, the West Coast became dominant in making leisurewear a national symbol with LA as its fashion capital. Later on, leisurewear was considered typically American.

The lower-class subcultures were the first to appropriate elements from the United States. Middle class subcultures such as the Pleiners started to copy style elements from the United States. Both groups wore denim jeans, for instance. This shows the bottom-up direction of fashion appropriation if it is looked at from a class perspective. The rise of the baby-boomer generation, economic growth, and the increase of leisure time are the main factors that contributed to the rising popularity of denim jeans in the Netherlands; but these factors do not explain their appeal. Their popularity lies in the meanings given to denim jeans, as discussed in the second and third chapters. Signs in clothing link individuals to a social

order. Changes in the clothing are signs of change in the sphere of social life and define the individual.[245]

The second chapter analyzed how denim jeans were discussed in youth magazines. During the 1960s, both *Muziek Expres* and *Hitweek* were influenced by the emerging international generational coherence led by the United States. *Muziek Expres* was quite commercial and was mainly read by middle-class youth. The magazine was influenced by commercial and international teenage youth culture. *Hitweek* was more anti-establishment, but it was also influenced by the internationally emerging teenage youth culture from the United States. Denim jeans often appeared in both *Muziek Expres* and *Hitweek*. Denim jeans appeared during the first few years in *Muziek Expres*, and they were worn by American musicians and celebrities: e.g., Elvis Presley and Cliff Richard. They often played a role in films about cowboys and rebels. Both magazines focussed on the United States, and denim jeans were given an adventurous connotation.

Hitweek, founded in 1965, was written by the youth and thus had a more rebellious tone. *Hitweek* often discussed denim jeans as a way to oppose commercialised teenage youth culture, which was quite controversial, considering that denim jeans were part of it. Denim jeans were often seen in *Hitweek* as a way to rebel; they were worn to differentiate oneself from the older generations: the parents and teachers. They were used as an anti-fashion statement to challenge the dominant culture. This influenced a generational coherence among young people. The subcultures discussed in *Hitweek* used style to differentiate within the generational coherence between other sub-cultural groups. *Hitweek* opposed commercialised teenage youth culture, but it was attracted by that same youth culture.

Around 1965, denim jeans were discussed in a more international and fashionable setting in *Muziek Expres* and *Hitweek*. Bands like The Beatles and the subcultures emerging around them supported this development. Denim jeans became part of an international youth style instead of just an American icon. The 'Beat style', as they called it, was characterised by denim jeans and long hair: a trend that was not generally accepted at the time. The style was a way to distinguish oneself from the older generations and other young people. Denim jeans lost their American connotation in this process and they were transformed into a garment representing an international, commercialised youth culture. Both magazines viewed fashion as a way to show membership in the international (Beat) youth culture. Denim lost the association of being a typically American product and began to represent juvenility and being

[245] Rubinstein. *Dress Codes*, 261

part of an international community. In this way, wearing denim became a way for young people to express their role as a member of a modern international society. This led to a homogenisation of dress in western society.[246] In Simmel's theory, this would refer to individuals feeling the need to be part of the collective but aiming to continue to pursue individual desires.[247]

Both magazines also showcased American and British musicians, which demonstrates a top-down influence of fashion from the United States on European youth. American and British celebrities can be seen as the new elite. They influenced the young and thus the lower classes. They determined the style for the youth. As Simmel stated: 'fashion is a form of imitation and so of social equalization … it unites those of a social class and segregates them from others. The elite initiates a fashion and the mass imitates it.'[248] Fashion is a form of imitating others (West Coast Californian fashion) and of uniting social classes (the youth).

The third chapter analysed how denim jeans were discussed in the two main Dutch newspapers. The conservative and right-wing newspaper, *De Telegraaf*, was overall more critical of denim jeans during the 1960s. *Het Vrije Volk*, a working-class and social-democratic newspaper, presented a relative acceptance of denim jeans during the first few years of the 1960s. In *De Telegraaf*, denim jeans were seen as too casual for young people to wear. The style of 'oversized sweaters and denim jeans' was often criticised in the paper. They viewed this style as too casual and complained of young people who refused to dress up for special occasions. *Het Vrije Volk* was more positive about denim jeans during the 1960s. They often discussed them as a way for youth to differentiate themselves from the older generations. The lower-class Nozem subculture was discussed in *Het Vrije Volk* in a rather positive and neutral way. Clothing signs are an effective source of information regarding the patterns of interaction within a society. There could be a misunderstanding about a certain message that a piece of clothing is conveying, however, which could lead to conflict.[249] This conflict is central to how denim jeans were discussed in *De Telegraaf*. *De Telegraaf* saw wearing denim jeans an act of rebellion against the existing social order and discussed the style of oversized sweaters with disapproval.

During the 1960s, Dutch department stores such as de Bijenkorf, C&A and V&D began to advertise their denim jeans, which were copied from United States models, in the newspapers. They were mainly advertised for boys in the early years, but jeans for adults

[246] Ross, *Clothing: A Global History*, 170.
[247] Simmel, "Fashion", 541.
[248] Ibid, 541.
[249] Rubinstein, *Dress Codes*, 261

followed. Both *Het Vrije Volk* and *De Telegraaf* were critical of the appropriation of denim jeans by women. It was seen as anti-fashion and as a challenge to existing gender roles. In particular, *Het Vrije Volk*'s stance was surprising because it was rather positive about denim jeans for men.

Although both newspapers were rather negative about women wearing denim jeans, the royal family started to wear them in 1965. The royal family began to appropriate denim jeans during these years as their leisurewear when they were not at formal events. Princess Beatrix was often seen in a pair of denim jeans, which demonstrates the bottom-up direction of fashion appropriation. Beatrix and other royals would often be seen wearing denim jeans during the second half of the 1960s. Both newspapers responded to this quite positively, which is rather odd.

During the second half of the 1960s, both newspapers more often discussed whether denim jeans were acceptable to wear to school. At the end of the 1960s, denim jeans seemed more acceptable to wear as leisurewear. The fact that the royal family began to appropriate denim jeans allowed for a bottom-up influence on fashion. However, the fact that both newspapers (and especially *De Telegraaf*) viewed denim more positively after the royals wore it also shows a top-down influence. The elite, in *De Telegraaf*'s view, still had to take the lead in deciding what is fashionable and what is not. Denim was a piece of clothing that distinguished the working classes from the middle and upper classes, but the royal families in the Western world also began wearing them, at least in their spare time.[250]

All in all, denim became more acceptable during the 1960s in both of the newspapers and magazines that have been researched. The research on these four publications provided insight into how denim jeans were appropriated by the middle class during the 1960s. The process of fashion appropriation is quite complex and thus cannot be explained solely on the basis of these four publications. However, different ways of discussing denim emerged in these four different types of publications, which finally led to denim being discussed as less of an anti-fashion item, as it was incorporated by the very fashion system it had once been a statement against. The appropriation of denim by the middle and upper classes is more complex than a simple bottom-up or top-down process. The influence that popular culture from the United States (and Britain) had on youth culture in the Netherlands (both lower and middle classes) suggests a top-down direction of fashion appropriation, as Simmel states. The celebrities and musicians from these countries can been seen as a new kind of elite. However,

[250]''De Spijkerbroek in 100 jaar Niets Veranderd'' *De Telegraaf* 08-11-1969 retrieved from Delpher.

the appropriation of denim jeans by the middle-class youth from the lower-class Nozem subculture, and the appropriation of denim by the royal family, demonstrates a bottom-up direction of fashion appropriation as well. If the lower-class youth influenced the middle and upper classes in appropriating denim for their leisurewear, this can clearly be described as a bottom-up effect. However, it might also be that the royal family influenced the middle and upper classes in appropriating denim jeans, which would then be a top-down effect. Thus, Simmel's argument for either a top-down or bottom-up influence on fashion is too simplistic.

The newspaper research on *De Telegraaf* demonstrates that, during the 1960s, denim jeans became appropriated by Dutch middle-class women. Denim jeans were seen as anti-fashion in the newspaper, and wearing denim jeans challenged existing gender roles. For further research, it would be interesting to study how denim jeans were discussed in Dutch women's magazine like *Margriet*, which was quite influential at the time. More extensive research on the role of denim jeans during the 1950s could also give better insight into the appropriation of denim jeans in the Netherlands in general.

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