

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
1 Introduction	1
Ribbon culture	1
Scholarly accounts of ribbon wearing	4
Overview of the book	5
Structure of the book	7
2 Ribbon Wearing: Towards a Theoretical Framework	10
Symbolic behaviour	12
Identity	21
Charity and compassion	31
Conclusion	41
3 Flags and Poppies: Charity Tokens of the Early Twentieth Century	43
Flag days	43
The poppy	46
4 Ribbon Histories	51
The yellow ribbon: tradition and sentiment	52
The red AIDS-awareness ribbon: from AIDS activism to fashion accessory	57
The pink breast-cancer awareness ribbon: marketing breast cancer	63
Conclusion	70
5 Symbolic Uses of the Ribbon	73
The ribbon as a symbol of solidarity with homosexuals	74
The ribbon as a resource in community-action campaigns	77
The ribbon as a mourning symbol	81
The ribbon as a symbol of self-awareness	89
‘Showing awareness’ and its connection to other uses of the ribbon	90
The meaning of ‘showing awareness’	93

6	'Showing Awareness' and the 1960s Counter-culture: Breaking Rules and Finding the Self	100
	Breaking rules	102
	Finding the self	112
	Conclusion	121
7	Worry as a Manifestation of Awareness: The Implications of 'Thinking Pink'	123
	Worrying about breast cancer	126
	Femininity in the breast cancer awareness campaign	133
	Conclusion	135
8	The Commercialisation of Charity and the Commodification of Compassion	137
	Ribbon wearers' attitudes towards charity	137
	Feelings of compassion	141
	Conclusion	148
9	Conclusion	150
	<i>Appendix: Some Brief Notes on Methodology</i>	158
	<i>Notes</i>	164
	<i>References</i>	171
	<i>Index</i>	187

1

Introduction

Ribbon culture

Princess Diana wore one, Bill Clinton wore one, and Kramer, a character in the hit sit-com *Seinfeld*, got beaten up for not wearing one. Since its emergence in 1991, the awareness ribbon has achieved the kind of cultural status usually reserved for religious symbols and big-brand icons. Drawn onto people's hands to protest the Madrid bombings, emblazoned across wine bottles, t-shirts, and mugs, tied to tree branches, and (of course) worn on people's lapels, the ribbon symbol is one of the most visible and well-recognised symbols in the world. Even eBay, the online marketplace, makes use of the looped ribbon motif to identify charity auctions. In the USA, the birthplace of the awareness ribbon, the range of causes for which people 'show awareness' is staggering: people can wear a ribbon to 'show awareness' of the Oklahoma bombing, male violence, censorship, bullying, epilepsy, diabetes, brain cancer, myalgic encephalomyelitis (M.E.), autism, racial abuse, childhood disability, and mouth cancer, to name just a few.¹ In many instances, the US-based ribbon campaigns have provided the blueprint for those launched in the UK, where 'showing awareness' gained popularity a little later than in the USA. With the exception of the red ribbon and pink ribbon campaigns (launched in the UK in 1992 and 1993 respectively), most of the British awareness campaigns were launched in the late 1990s (for example, the blue ribbon for M.E., the white ribbon to 'show awareness' of violence against women,² the jigsaw autism ribbon, and the blue-and-pink ribbon for infant and prenatal deaths).

Whilst the ribbon has obtained considerable cultural currency, its meaningfulness as a symbol is recurrently debated by media commentators, cultural critics, and activists. The ribbon has been described variously as the new religious cross (Fleury, 1992), the new peace symbol (Garfield, 1995), schmaltzy (Seidner, 1993), and a 'support symbol' (Heilbronn, 1994). Whilst some might attribute this confusion to the ribbon's capacity to speak to and for all (Heilbronn, 1994; Tuleja, 1994), or its necessary dynamism as a 'living tradition' (Parsons, 1991, p. 11), it seems likely that the ribbon in fact inhabits a much more complex place in our culture than many have previously acknowledged. Indeed, to understand ribbon wearing we must first address and unpack several points of analytic complexity. The ribbon is, for example, both a kitsch fashion accessory, as well as an emblem that expresses empathy; it is a symbol that represents awareness, yet requires no knowledge of a cause; it appears to signal concern for others, but in fact prioritises self-expression.

It was just such seeming ambiguities that originally sparked my interest in ribbon wearing. Over time, my thinking came to be focussed on one question: what does it mean to 'show awareness'? At first glance, it appears to be a relatively straightforward social practice. Much of the literature produced by awareness-campaign organisers suggests that 'showing awareness' is simply a means of demonstrating one's compassion for a particular group of sufferers. This is clearly true up to a certain point. However, the more one examines 'showing awareness', the more puzzling this social practice becomes. What does it accomplish? It is certainly debatable that it increases the visibility of suffering and encourages understanding of a particular disease or syndrome. Clearly 'showing awareness' raises the profile of a number of notable and worthy causes, otherwise charities would not produce and market awareness ribbons. But as a social practice, it extends beyond a simple case of charitable publicity. In some instances, for curious reasons, 'showing awareness' is perceived by wearers to be a very personal gesture, an activity that is discrete and private. Yet the use of the ribbon to symbolise a *personal* emotional response to suffering is surely at odds with its *universal* application as a symbol of compassion and awareness, regardless of the nature of the cause, or the specific characteristics of the ribbon wearer's feelings. Not only this, but the idea that 'showing awareness' is a private practice seems rather contradictory. The Pink Ribbon line of underwear, for example,

launched by Estée Lauder, is sold on the premise that these pink-ribbon-motifed bras and knickers enable women to 'show awareness' of breast cancer. It is quite clear, however, that the extent to which one's underwear can 'show awareness' is limited to the frequency with which one shows one's undergarments to the man in the street!

Ribbons worn on people's outer garments – obviously the more common means of 'showing awareness' – tend to be similarly unrevealing. Bizarrely, certain colours stand for a range of causes. A blue ribbon can denote awareness of Internet censorship or of sufferers of M.E. or mouth cancer. A green ribbon might suggest awareness of tissue and organ donors, sufferers of ovarian cancer, or Tourette's syndrome. A purple ribbon can signal awareness of Alzheimer's sufferers, people with epilepsy, or the homeless.³ In this context, the ribbon is more likely to induce confusion than awareness.

Equally baffling is that ribbon wearing requires very little commitment to a given cause. Indeed, wearing a ribbon does not mean that one is an active or staunch supporter of a particular charity (when I asked one ribbon wearer whether she saw herself as a supporter of the cause for which she wore a ribbon she replied, 'I wouldn't go that far'). At the funeral of victims of the Oklahoma bombing, Bill Clinton wore a ribbon of purple, yellow and black to 'show awareness' of the dead, the missing, and the children.⁴ In so doing, he demonstrated how easy a gesture of awareness actually is, and how empty an expression of compassion can be.

The evident imprecision of the ribbon's meaning is connected to the vagueness of the term and practice of 'showing awareness'. Awareness consists of neither knowledge nor experience of a particular cause. It does not require any concerted action, nor any relationship with a sufferer. A central aim of this book is to develop a sociological conception of 'showing awareness' that might help us to gain a better understanding of this often-used, though ambiguous, term. It is sufficient to mention here, by way of introduction, that 'showing awareness' is primarily conceived of in this study as a means of *disclosing* the self. Bill Clinton's enthusiasm for ribbon wearing is surely deeply suggestive of his interest in appearing to be a genuine, emotionally mature human being, rather than engaging in serious contemplation of the suffering of each of the groups for which he wore a ribbon. It would seem that, in many instances, 'showing awareness' is more about the ribbon wearer than the sufferers of any given disease.

The affliction is tailor-made to suit the wearer. As the homepage for Pinmart, a US-based distributor of awareness ribbons, so tellingly declares, '[w]e are sure you'll find the right ribbon for you'.

Scholarly accounts of ribbon wearing

Considering the rich possibilities the phenomenon of ribbon wearing presents to sociology and other social science disciplines, it has received very little attention from academics. The yellow ribbon – the first to be widely used – is, by a large margin, the ribbon that features most regularly in the academic press. This ribbon was first used in the USA, during the Iranian hostage situation in 1979, and then later during the 1991 and 2003 conflicts in the Gulf. It is uncovering the yellow ribbon's status as an 'invented tradition' – a tradition that follows an historically contingent cultural dictum – that is often held to be the rightful analytic purpose of academic work on this subject matter. As such, most academic studies on yellow-ribbon tying aim to understand and elucidate the historical background out of which this social practice emerged (see, in particular, Heilbronn, 1994; Larsen, 1994). Whilst it is commonplace for such studies to trace the origins of this symbol, there are few in-depth discussions on *why* the yellow ribbon became so popular during the late 1970s (and again during the early 1990s). In his opening discussion on the invention of traditions, Eric Hobsbawm suggests that the practice of tracing the origin of traditions is useful, first and foremost because it enables us to understand a particular social and cultural context. Invented traditions are

important symptoms and therefore indicators of problems which might not otherwise be recognized, and developments which are otherwise difficult to identify and date ... *The study of invented traditions cannot be separated from the wider study of the history of society, nor can it expect to advance much beyond the mere discovery of such practices unless it is integrated into a wider study.*

(Hobsbawm, in Hobsbawm and Ranger [eds],
2001, p. 12. Italics added.)

Following on from this, I believe that it is ascertaining how the emergence of the yellow ribbon (and later ribbons) relates to and reflects

wider socio-historical developments that is of real interest. To this end, I not only examine the origin of the yellow, red, and pink ribbon campaigns (see Chapter 4), but I also trace the project of 'showing awareness' back to the countercultural period of the 1960s (Chapter 6).

In contrast to the yellow ribbon, later ribbon campaigns are often passed off as extraneous, kitsch, or meaningless fads; the notion that they may provide leverage for cultural or sociological analysis is not granted much serious consideration within academia (see Garfield, 1995; King, 2006, for exceptions to this). This presupposition reveals a bewildering lack of awareness (or even observation). Ribbon wearing has become an increasingly visible aspect of our social reality, a form of mass participation in a society that is otherwise experiencing a decline in other forms of such activity (voting, involvement in civil society etc.). Moreover, the ribbon campaigns of the 1990s – most notably the red AIDS-awareness ribbon and the pink breast-cancer awareness ribbon – are themselves indicative of wider social and cultural developments. The ribbon campaigns tell us much about the manner in which we conceive of victimhood and illness in contemporary society, and point to the development of a particular identity, rooted in emotion and self-expression.

In addition to this, academic focus on the yellow ribbon has precluded a consideration of the development of ribbon-wearing practices. This study suggests that there is an evident trajectory of ribbon wearing, from the use of the yellow ribbons during the Iranian hostage situation, through to the use of awareness ribbons in the 1990s. Among other things, studying the trajectory of ribbon wearing reveals to us how the relationship between supporter and victim has developed and enables us to chart the emergence and development of the project of 'showing awareness'.

Overview of the book

In very broad terms, this book explores the sociological implications of awareness ribbons, such as those worn for AIDS or breast cancer. To this end, I examine the origin of ribbon campaigns, trace the project of 'showing awareness', explore the meanings that ribbon wearers attach to the symbol, and consider how awareness manifests itself (as a certain emotion or identity, for example). My analysis is based on data collected from 20 in-depth interviews, 70 questionnaires, and

participant observation, as well as a wide range of secondary sources (see the Appendix for my methodology). The book includes discussions on, among other topics, the lived experience of risk, the nature of contemporary mourning practices, the sociology of compassion, the marketing discourses of charities, and the relationship between awareness and consumerism. These various points of discussion also work towards a more general assessment of contemporary society. In particular, my work shows up a two-way social trend in which a heightened interest in personal authenticity is coupled with a widespread distrust and repudiation of social forces (such as social institutions, state government, and social authorities).

Ribbon wearing is conceived of in this book as a social practice directed towards showing the self to be emotionally expressive and ingenuous. The ribbon is seen, first and foremost, as a symbol of self-awareness and empathy, one that suggests much about the meaning of compassion in today's society, the nature of self-identity, and our attitude towards illness. This conception of the ribbon partly arises out of the idea that compassion is afforded a particularly central place in today's culture. In this respect, the ribbon should be seen alongside the recent craze for empathy wristbands, the Red campaign launched by Bono, Live 8, the Make Poverty History campaign, companies' cause-related marketing, and charity telethons, to name but a few elements of the 'culture of compassion' that has grown up over the last 15 years.

What this book does *not* provide is a sustained account of ribbon campaigns as social movements, and it is necessary to justify this a little here. Firstly, it is worth pointing out that most ribbon campaigns have been launched by charities. Indeed, most of the ribbon wearers I interviewed for this project saw the ribbon as a charity symbol, and regularly compared it to stickers given away by charities and the Armistice Day Poppy. Moreover, and as I discuss in Chapter 4, whilst the red AIDS-awareness campaign and pink breast-cancer awareness campaign both have some connection to the gay-rights movement and Women's Health Movement respectively, these ribbon campaigns have been co-opted into the mainstream culture. Ribbon wearers do not, for the most part, belong to minority groups. In fact, the vast majority of ribbon wearers who took part in this research (and I have no reason to believe they are atypical) were young, white, middle-class women. Not only this, but the majority of ribbon wearers lack interest in any political objectives or organised social action (though the ribbon

is widely taken to constitute an expression of annoyance at social authorities). There are, of course, exceptions to this lack of interest in activism. In Chapter 5, I explore the use of the ribbon as a resource in community-action campaigns, where ribbon wearing becomes a much more politically oriented practice.

Nonetheless, on the whole, ribbon wearers aren't activists, and the ways in which they express annoyance at social authorities are all the more fascinating as a result. Ribbon wearers might be concerned about a lack of funding, or problems of cultural visibility for certain groups, but they rarely engage in discussions about sources of inequality, or the state and voluntary sector's respective roles in welfare provision. Whilst sociologists and politicians have long bemoaned the rising tide of political apathy in both the UK and the USA, it is curious to find such political disengagement amongst those ostensibly interested in social issues. Oxfam's recent Make Poverty History campaign is another illuminating example of this. One of the more politically oriented campaigns, Make Poverty History, launched a white wristband in 2005 to coincide with the G8 summit in Edinburgh. Interestingly, the campaign's website reveals that whilst eight million people bought a white wristband in 2005, only eight hundred thousand people contributed to the online campaign. This is not only deeply suggestive of white-wristband wearers' lack of interest in organisational or political objectives, it might also be seen as evidence of their wish to be seen to support a cause, regardless of the finer details of the campaign. As I argue throughout this book, ribbon wearing, like wristband wearing, has more to do with self-presentation than political engagement.

Structure of the book

Chapter 2 seeks to provide a theoretical framework for ribbon wearing. Here I explore selected sociological accounts of symbolic behaviour (particularly the work of Erving Goffman), sociological conceptions of identity (especially those provided by Giddens and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim), and selected literature on charity-giving and compassion. Particularly important points of discussion in this chapter are risk-consciousness, the cultural meaning of compassion, and the implicit rules of self-presentation. This chapter also introduces the idea that ribbon wearing inheres in a particular identity. This identity – based on emotional literacy, self-awareness, and a sense of imminent

illness – is particularly salient in late modern societies in which individuals are urged to be highly reflexive and compassionate. Indeed, emotional qualities have come to be seen as important facets of identity in contemporary society, and this chapter considers the rise of such ‘feeling-based identities’ (Furedi, 2004, p. 144).

The next two chapters are concerned with the historical background to ribbon-wearing practices. **Chapter 3** examines flag days of the first quarter of the 20th century, including the Armistice Day Poppy. **Chapter 4** looks at the emergence and development of the yellow, red and pink ribbon campaigns, the three most prominent campaigns in the USA and the UK. This chapter concludes with a consideration of the relationship between ribbon campaigns and earlier flag days and a discussion of the development of ribbon-wearing practices. This cultural–historical analysis is followed by a focussed discussion of ribbon wearers’ motivations for wearing the ribbon in **Chapter 5**. This part of my work explores the use of the ribbon as a symbol of solidarity with homosexuals, as a resource in community-action campaigns, as a mourning symbol, and as a symbol of self-awareness.

Exploring the origins of the contemporary interest in ‘showing awareness’ is the subject of the following chapter. **Chapter 6** traces the contemporary project of ‘showing awareness’ back to the countercultural turn that took place during the 1960s in the UK and the USA. It is suggested that the countercultural ethos of the 1960s – premised on self-expression and an anti-establishment attitude – remains salient in today’s society. A desire for self-awareness and distance from mainstream society are, for example, important features of the contemporary project of ‘showing awareness’. This chapter includes a rigorous analysis of the 1960s counter-culture, based upon, among other things, political speeches, fashions of the period, films, novels, newspaper and magazine articles, and art criticism. This analysis is followed by a discussion of the pertinence of countercultural values to an understanding of contemporary society, and ‘showing awareness’ in particular.

Chapter 7 suggests that awareness often manifests itself as worry about a particular disease, particularly for female pink-ribbon wearers. It combines a critical assessment of the fund-raising techniques employed by the breast cancer awareness campaign with an analysis of young female pink-ribbon wearers’ attitudes towards the illness. I also suggest that young women’s fear of breast cancer may speak of

a more general perception that our lives are fraught with inescapable dangers and hidden threats. Contributing to this social trend, the breast cancer awareness campaign frequently suggests that young women – the target group of its corporate sponsors, but by no means the group most affected by breast cancer – should be constantly aware that they are at significant risk of developing the illness. The chapter ends with a consideration of the campaign's promotion of a particular conception of femininity, one that represents women as sickly, body-conscious, beautiful, and buxom. The campaign thus stirs up, rather than allays, fears that breast cancer strips women of their femininity.

It is hardly surprising, given these women's worry about breast cancer, that they see charity as a fund from which they themselves will draw in the future. **Chapter 8** opens with the observation that many of the pink-ribbon wearers who took part in this research viewed their charitable donations as contributing to a fund that they would draw upon themselves at some point. This, I argue, is unsurprising considering their sense of worry about breast cancer. It also implies a certain attitude towards charity, one that sees personal investment and insurance, rather than state-provided welfare services, as the most efficient means of welfare provision. Though participants saw the charity sector, rather than the state, as the ideal provider of welfare, they were by no means acritical about charities. Indeed, research participants (both red- and pink-ribbon wearers) regularly compared charities to companies, often so as to highlight the unfavourable techniques employed by the former. The last part of this chapter examines compassion in contemporary society. Here I suggest that the discourse of compassion that accompanies the awareness ribbon, a rhetoric that has become so compelling as to make a refusal to accept its legitimacy tantamount to inhumanity, has transformed this emotion into a neat, marketable commodity.

Index

- advertising, 20, 58, 66–7, 96, 109,
120, 126–7, 129, 134, 138–9, 156
- AIDS
- acceptance of, 59–60
 - activism, 58–9, 74–5
 - aesthetisation of, 63
 - ‘degaying’ of, 59, 77
 - UN campaign, 146
- anxiety, 28, 124, 127, 128, 136
- Armistice Day Poppy, 6, 46–50, 150
- ASDA, 139
- Atlanta child murders, ribbon for, 51
- authenticity, 113, 115, 142, 148,
152, 157
- Avon, 40–1
- awareness
- as worry, 123, 126–133
 - meaning of, 2–4, 93–9, 120–1,
152–3
 - naturalisation of, 121–2, 154
 - ribbon-wearers’ difficulties in
defining, 93–6, 156, 120–1
 - showing, 2–4, 72, 89–99, 100,
110–112, 120–2, 123, 152–154
 - spreading, 89, 110, 120
 - standardisation of, 152, 156
- awareness ribbon (*see also* pink
ribbon, red AIDS awareness
ribbon, and yellow ribbon)
- and flag days, 70–1
 - as a brand, 1, 62, 127, 156
 - as an apolitical symbol, 69, 90–1,
111–2, 154
 - as part of work uniform, 144–5
 - black ribbon, 79–80, 87
 - blue ribbon, 3, 79–80
 - green ribbon, 3, 78
 - material properties of, 71–2
 - origin of, 51
 - range of causes, 1
 - uniformity of, 2, 72, 120, 156
- Babyloss
- awareness ribbon, 82–3
 - Wave of Light, 83–4
- Bacon, Kevin, 142
- Bauman, Zygmunt, 21, 27, 79,
88, 148
- Beck, Ulrich, 29, 131–2
- and Beck-Gernsheim, Elisabeth, 27
- Becker, Howard, 17–8
- Bell, Daniel, 108–9, 117–8, 154
- Benetton, advert, 59
- Blumer, Howard, 18
- Bono, 62
- Breakthrough Breast Cancer, 142
- breast cancer
- activism, 66, 69
 - and femininity, 134–5, 145
 - charity literature on, 131, 132,
134
 - feminist literature on, 67–8, 133
 - in the media, 125, 127, 130–1,
134
 - ribbon wearers’ knowledge about,
127, 132–3, 156
 - ribbon wearers’ worry about, 123,
126–3, 155
 - risk factors for, 125, 131
 - sufferers of, 68, 135, 136
 - survival rate for, 64, 126
- Breast Cancer Action, 66, 67
- breast cancer awareness campaign
- and aerobics, 120, 140–1, 160
 - and AIDS activism, 69
 - and femininity, 69–70, 125, 133–5
 - and feminism, 65–6, 69
 - and risk-consciousness, 131–3
 - charities involved in, 64, 126
 - companies involved in, 66–7
 - events, 70, 126, 140–1, 144–5
 - feminist literature on, 67–8
 - marketing of, 66–7, 127, 134

- products, 67, 126–7, 134, 141
 target group, 41, 132, 155
 Breast Cancer Care, 39, 68, 126,
 135, 140, 141
 breasts, 64, 124, 135
 Bush, Barbara, 60
 Butler, Judith, 24–5
- Campbell, Colin, 20, 28
 Cancer Research UK, 39, 126, 127,
 128, 129, 132
 Cannadine, David, 47, 48–9
Catch-22 (novel), 105–7
 cause related marketing, 40–1
 charity
 and gender, 34–35, 138, 145
 and religion, 33–4
 and the private sector, 38–41,
 66–7, 138–9, 141, 148, 155–6
 communal and exchange
 relationship, 33
 marketing, 37–9, 61, 70, 127,
 138–9, 141, 155, 156
 reasons for giving to, 32–3, 137–8,
 155
 ribbon wearers' criticism of, 139
 Clinton, Bill, 1, 3, 31
 commodification, 9, 19, 20, 41,
 56–7, 61–3, 71, 79, 111, 142,
 147, 149, 155–6
 compassion,
 and gender, 34–5, 145
 as a source of identity, 33, 41,
 142–4, 148–9, 153
 as a temperament, 36–7
 coerced, 144–7, 153
 commercialisation of, 37–8, 40–1,
 71, 111, 122, 143, 147, 149
 concept of, 31–2, 147
 culture of, 39–40, 141–7
 equated with emotion, 31
 fatigue, 36
 ribbon-wearers' expressions of, 2,
 92, 140, 142–4, 148, 156
 uniformity of, 2, 120, 149, 156
 consumerism, 11, 12, 20, 56–7, 61–3,
 66–7, 68–9, 70, 72, 111, 126–7
- counter-culture
 and authenticity, 113
 and conformity, 118–120
 and mainstream culture, 101–3
 and ribbon wearing, 110–2, 120–2
 anti-mainstream attitude, 107–8,
 154
 periodisation, 162
 shift within, 113–6
- death, 23, 48–9, 83, 92, 98–9,
 127, 159
 discourse analysis, 162–3
 Douglas, Mary, 19
 Durkheim, Emile, 16, 37
 Dylan, Bob, 102, 112, 113, 115
 Dyson, F.J., 114–5
- Ehrenreich, Barbara, 65, 134
 emotions, 12, 30–1, 34, 40, 55–7,
 72, 88–9, 94, 110, 118, 124,
 127–3, 142, 143–4, 151, 153,
 156–7
 empathy (*see* compassion)
 Erikson, Eric, 21–2, 23, 26
- fashion, 12, 16–7, 20, 67, 71,
 103, 142
 femininity, *see* gender
 flag days
 and national solidarity, 45–6, 50
 and the awareness ribbon, 70–1
 for Romania, 45
 for Russia, 44, 45
 Our Day, 45–6
 textual analysis, 161
 Foucault, Michel, 162–3
 Freud, Sigmund, 127, 157, 159
 Furedi, Frank, 8, 29, 30, 39–40,
 94, 153
- gay rights movement, 6, 59
 gender, 12, 16–7, 24–5, 34–5, 46, 53,
 69–70, 124, 125, 133–5, 138,
 145, 155
 Giddens, A., 28, 123, 124, 154
 gift relationship (*see* Mauss)

- Ginsberg, Allen, 105
 Goffman, Erving, 14–6, 78, 94,
 95, 152
 Gulf, conflict, 52, 54–7, 150
- Haley, Charlotte, 66
 health
 advice about, 124–5, 131
 and gender, 125, 155
 panics, 124–5, 155
 worry about, 92, 123, 126–133,
 138, 159
 Hospital Saturdays, 43–4
- identity
 as a narrative, 22–3
 as personal biography, 21, 26–7
 feelings-based, 8, 30–1, 42, 142–4,
 148–9, 153
 reflexive self-identity, 27–8
 social identity, 24–6
 in-depth interviews, 158–9
 individualisation, 12, 19, 27, 30, 37,
 152
 interviewees
 profile of, 158
 recruitment of, 158
 invented tradition, 4, 54
 Irons, Jeremy, 58
 irony, 109–110
- John, Elton, 60
 John Paul II, 88–9
- Keating, Ronan, 121
 Kennedy, President John F., 114,
 116
 Kerouac, Jack, 104
- Laingen, Penelope, 52, 54, 57, 85
 Laing, R.D., 107
 Lauder, Evelyn, 65
 Lennon, John, 112, 115, 118
 levi jeans, 20
 Lofland, Lynn, 18
 Lupton, Deborah, 30, 31
- Mad* (magazine), 114
 Madrid bombings, 1, 87
 Make Poverty History, 6, 7, 121
 Manchester Pride, 74, 160
 Mannheim, Karl, 161
 Maslow, Abraham, 117
 Mauss, Marcel, 145
 Memorial Day, 47
 Mercury, Freddie, 61, 74, 87
 Micheal, Moïna, 47–8
Middlemarch (novel), 34–5
 miniskirt, 103, 118
 modernity, 18–9, 26, 36–7, 42,
 108–9, 118
 mourning
 collective, 46–9, 87–9, 152
 personal displays of, 81–7, 152
- National Breast Cancer Coalition, 66
 Nixon, President Richard, 116–7
- One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*
 (novel), 105–7
- Parkin, Frank, 106, 113
 participant observation, 159–160
 peace symbol, 2, 111
 peach ribbon (*see* Haley)
 personal belief, 96–8, 113, 153
 personal protest, 80, 91, 152
Philadelphia (film), 60
 Phillips, Adam, 129
 pink ribbon
 and the red ribbon, 65
 and the 1960s counter-culture, 112
 as a fashion accessory, 67, 140
 celebration of femininity, 69–70,
 134–5, 155
 corporate use of, 66–7, 126–7
 lack of political objectives, 69, 155
 tattoo, 81, 85
 underwear, 2–3
 political disengagement, 7, 56–7,
 78, 90–1, 111–2, 121, 122, 153,
 154, 155
 Pollock, Jackson, 118

- questionnaire, 160–1
- Red, 62
- red AIDS awareness ribbon
 and AIDS activism, 58–9, 74–5
 and ‘coming out’, 76
 and the 1960s counter-culture,
 111, 120
 and the yellow ribbon, 57–8
 as a fashion accessory, 61, 140
 commercialisation of, 61–2, 111
 critics of, 63
 international campaigns, 60
 origin, 57–8
 refusal to wear, 146–7
 Tony awards, 58
- Red Ribbon International, 61
- reflexivity, 12, 28, 123, 154
- religion, 19, 33–4, 78, 82, 83, 96–7,
 152
- Ribbon Project, 58, 61
- ribbon wearing (*see also* awareness
 ribbon)
 and sufferers of illness, 144, 147,
 156–7
 as opposition to mainstream
 society, 90–1, 110–1, 153–4
 in comparison to ribbon-tying,
 71–2, 151
 mothers’ influence on, 23, 135,
 145, 146
 trajectory in, 71–2, 151
- Riesman, David, 119
- risk, 12, 29–30, 124–5, 126, 130–3,
 155
- ritual, 47, 49, 81, 83, 86
- secondary data, 161–3
- Seinfeld* (TV show), 1, 146–7
- Self* (magazine), 65
- self-expression, 112–3, 117, 118,
 119–120, 151, 152, 154, 156–7
- self-fulfilment, 116–8, 119
- self-help movement, 115–6, 118
- Sennett, Richard, 18, 22, 97, 119
- She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (film), 53
- Simmel, Georg, 10, 20–1, 147
- Sontag, Susan, 129
- telethons, charity, 6, 39
- Tie a Yellow Ribbon round the ole Oak
 Tree* (song), 53, 54
- tie signs, 13
- tie symbols, 14, 70, 151
- Titmuss, Richard, 33, 36
- Traffic Lights 4 Peace, 77, 80
- Tying the ribbon
 in comparison to wearing the
 ribbon, 71–2, 151
 in community-action campaigns,
 78, 80–1,
- underground press, 103, 113
- Visual AIDS, 58, 61
- welfare provision, 38, 90–1, 138,
 155
- white feathers, 17, 46
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 118
- women’s health movement, 6, 65–6,
 69, 133
- women’s magazines, 68–9, 130–1,
 134
- worry, 96, 99, 127–133, 154
- wristbands, 6, 7, 70–1, 95, 121, 140,
 143, 151, 155
- yellow ribbon
 American Civil War, 53–4, 150
 and flag days, 70, 150
 and gender, 53, 150
 and the red- and pink-ribbon,
 71–2, 150–1
 as a symbol of emotion, 55–6
 as a symbol of national identity,
 53, 54, 150
 commercialisation of, 56–7
 de-politicisation of, 56–7
 Iranian hostage situation, 4, 51,
 52, 53, 150
 Vietnam war, 53