

**Tie-dyed Fashion Appeared in the
American Women's Costume of the Late 1960's
- Using a content analysis method -
1960년대 말 미국여성복식에 나타난 홀치기염 패션
-내용분석법을 이용하여-**

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Abstract

1960년대 말의 미국문화는 전통적인 가치관에 반발하는 청년문화운동의 확산으로 특징지을 수 있는데 이러한 사회적인 변화는 복식에 새롭고 혁신적인 스타일을 가져오게 되는 요인이 되었다. 특히 이 시기의 미국의 청년층에 의해 일어난 반문화적인 현상으로 인식되어온 동양문화의 도입은 미국의 여성복식에 tie-dyeing(홀치기염) 패션의 출현으로 복식에 반영되었다. 이에, 본 연구는 지금까지 복식학자들에 의한 단편적인 추론으로만 설명되어왔던 1960년대 말 미국여성복식에 나타난 홀치기염 패션의 특성에 관하여 문화적인 배경에 관한 고찰과 함께 이 시기에 출판된 정기간행물을 연구의 일차자료로 이용하여 실증적으로 분석하는 데 그 목적이 있다. 연구방법으로는 1965년부터 1975년 사이에 출판된 *Vogue*와 *Mademoiselle* 잡지에 실린 홀치기염 패션 사진자료를 내용분석법을 이용하여 수집하여 의류품목, 소재, 기법, 디자이너 및 제조업체에 관한 내용으로 나누어 분석하였다. 연구 결과, 두 종류의 잡지 모두에서 다양한 소재로 만들어진 여러 의류품목에 각종 기법으로 적용되었던 홀치기염 패션이 이 시기에 나타나, 청년층에서 시작되었던 이 패션이 미국의 대중 및 상류층의 복식에도 확산되었음이 밝혀졌다. 나아가 홀치기염 패션스타일이 가장 많이 보여졌던 1969년에서 1971년 사이의 기간은 청년층의 반문화적 현상이 절정을 이루었던 시기와 일치하고 있어서 이러한 급진적인 사회 현상이 그대로 패션에도 반영되고 있음을 알 수 있었다.

Key words: tie-dyeing, American fashion, 1960's, counterculture; 홀치기염, 미국복식, 1960년대, 반문화

I. Introduction

Clothing is related to the commonly-shared

ideas and values of different cultures and periods. Hence, the prevailing clothing styles, fashion, often reflect social change and individual lifestyle. As Rogers(1971, p. 1) stated in his book, social change can be explained as a process by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of social system. Change in society influences the

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emergence of new fashions by encouraging their development or evolution. Dress styles have evolved in a continuous progression of innovation and changes influenced by shifts in the social environment and lifestyles of a society (Sproles, 1979, p. 55). According to Zaltman, et al. (1972, p. 1), American society in the latter half of the twentieth century has been described as the "temporary" society which is adaptive, rapidly changing, imaginative and innovative.

Social change in the sixties of the United States was characterized by youthful rebellion against traditional values and symbols of adult society as reflected in the great interest in the oriental culture. The fashions which reflect these social changes in the sixties include exotic styles, emphasis on youth fashion, and styles used as means of protest (Klapp, 1969, pp. 75-6). The American youth in the late sixties often created their own styles applying custom color-styling of garments by tie-dyeing. Sproles (1979, p. 135) discussed this fashion movement with a theory of youth subculture leadership that the fashion conscious young became leaders of these exotic fashion trends. As Field (1970, pp. 45-52) noted this with a term, "the status float phenomenon", the tie-dyed fashion has been diffused upward into mainstream and high culture and produced by high fashion designers and clothing manufacturers.

Tie-dye or bandhana fabric represents one of the oldest Indian techniques (Jayakar and Irwin, 1956, p. 29). It is made by folding fabric and tying at intervals, then immersing it in dye and unfolding to reveal irregular motifs. The name, 'bandhana', is derived from Hindu, 'bandhnu', meaning a method of tie-dyeing or knot dyeing. Nevertheless, the origin of tie-dyeing cannot be traced to one particular place according to the previous studies. The dyeing techniques were known to be existed in

China and Japan around the 6th and 7th centuries. Tie-dyeing was also existed for many centuries in Southeast Asia, Indonesia and India, in addition to parts of Africa. The adoption of this fashion styles was known to be originated from the oriental culture in the sixties and it had been discussed as a countercultural phenomenon by earlier writers. This countercultural use of orientalism in the sixties was considered to have originated in the "hippie" movement of the United States (Baines, 1981, p. 176). However, the previous studies on this subject were performed mostly by qualitative analysis using related literatures as primary research sources. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine the extent how tie-dyed clothing styles were appeared in the mainstream and high culture of the United States during the late sixties and early seventies, from 1965 to 1975. In order to study the development of tie-dyed fashion in the American society, a quantitative method was attempted by using a content analysis, and the cultural environment and its influence on fashion for this period were also examined.

II. American culture and its influence on fashion in the sixties

The nineteen sixties was often characterized as a decade of youth counterculture and this cultural change embraced everything new from clothing to politics (O'Neill, 1971, p. 233). Roszak (1969) claimed that a cultural transformation in the sixties had altered Western social structure by countercultural youth. Youth in this period was experimenting with alternatives in values and also in dress.

Counterculture was defined as "an alternative culture that differs from the predominant American culture, or from what is commonly

referred to as the establishment" by Judah(1974, p. 98). The term "counterculture" first appeared in 1969 in Roszak's book, "The Making of a Counterculture." In the early sixties, youth culture meant adolescents, mainly high school age, and their way of living. Later as college enrollments increased, college students became the more influential. As the post-World War II "baby boom" grew older, the median age of the population declined, beginning in 1950(Behling, 1985); and by the sixties young people became a large segment of the population. Youth counterculture in the United States dated from the early sixties and persisted for about a decade(Bash, 1982, p. 19) and more specifically from 1964 to 1974 by Leventman(1982, p. 3).

Some behavior of the young in the sixties were subcultural as they developed their own style in dress(Milson, 1972, p. 42). The counterculture encompassed a number of phenomena in the sixties including hippies, flower children, teeny boppers, Krishna People, drug culturalists..... (Bash, 1982, p. 22). Chafe(1986, p. 326) explained reasons of emergence of counterculture in the sixties that the disaffected young developed habits of dress, recreation, and a lifestyle as ways of expressing alternative values and attitudes.

O' Neill(1971) noted that counterculture's influence on fashion was as great as on rock music. The youth showed their rebellion against tradition in a manner in which they dressed. The style of dress worn by the youth symbolized both a rejection of the middle-class culture and assertion of a counterculture(Horn, 1975, p. 81). This hippie dress came out of America and marked the arrival of a new class, the youth, in power(Harris and Johnston, 1974, p. 221). They were often shown dressed in costumes borrowed from oriental culture such as tie-dyed clothing. Young people had an

interest in the culture and dress from the East. These fashions were used as symbols of peace, love, brotherhood, and anti-capitalism(O' Neill, 1971, p. 249). Many costume historians(Ewing, 1974, pp. 177-203; Dorner, 1974, pp. 96-7). According to Kemper(1977, p. 147), hippies expressed their rejection of society through creating their own fashions and had a considerable influence on the world of fashion by the end of the sixties. Contini(1979, p. 158) was of the opinion that the hippie movement is strange, mixed-up fashions, with all sorts of exotic garments such as Indian saris and tie-dyed clothing. Lurie(1981, p. 94) discussed that ethnic styles adapted from oriental cultures such as tie-dyeing were diffused to mainstream and high fashion temporarily during the late sixties and early seventies.

III. Content analysis for fashion study

Content analysis was applied as a formal methodology first in political science, journalism, social psychology, and communications research by using verbal communication data. Nevertheless, the use of content analysis method has been extended to non-verbal communications such as photographs(Wayne, 1956; Kim, 1998), fashion illustrations(Turnbaugh, 1979; Paoletti, 1980; Belleau, 1987), and actual artifacts(Anderson and Paoletti, 1985; Jung and Paoletti, 1987). In the field of fashion study, use of content analysis has been increased because of its objectivity and effectiveness in operating with a large amount of data.

Berelson(1952, p. 55) defined a content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication". The objectivity makes content analysis scientific and

distinguishes it from literary criticism. The explicitly formulated rules and procedures are necessary in order to avoid the analyst's subjective predispositions by using clearly defined categories and criteria for the unit analysis (Kassarjian, 1977, pp. 8–9).

The procedure is systematic in which inclusion and exclusion of content or categories are done according to consistently applied rules (Holsti, 1969, p. 4). The results must have theoretical relevance to show a trend or generalization (Holsti, 1969, p. 5). The content analysis method is often characterized as scientific because of quantification of data. Different levels of quantification have been used by many researchers, including frequency count (Lasswell, Leites, and Associates, 1949), assignment of numerical values (Kaplan and Goldsen, 1949), and statistical methods such as correlation test (Belleau, 1987) or contingency analysis using Chi-square distribution (Paoletti, 1980; Kim, 1998).

Content analysis is likely to be more appropriate for three general classes of research problems which may occur in essentially all disciplines and areas of inquiry. First, it may prove useful when data accessibility is a problem and the researcher's data are limited to documentary evidence such as historical records, advertisements or photographs. Second, some form of content analysis is needed when the subject's own language and mode of expression is crucial to the investigation. Finally, content analysis is helpful when systematic evaluation of materials is necessary and it is too numerous (Holsti, 1969, pp. 15–18).

The procedure of content analysis involves the following steps: (1) selection of a reasonably sized sample from the available population of documents, (2) determination of the unit of analysis, whether it be specific word, a theme, or

the existence or nonexistence of some trait or symbol, (3) development of categories according to predetermined rules, (4) creation of an instrument designed to measure relevant variables and systematic recording using the instrument, and (5) analysis of data using appropriate statistical procedure.

In empirical applications of content analysis, it is essential to establish reliability and validity of the study. Reliability is to satisfy the requirement of objectivity of measures and procedures. Reliability is a function of coder's skill, insight and experience, clarity of categories, and coding rules which guide their use and degree of ambiguity in the data (Holsti, 1969, p. 135). In this study, the degree of ambiguity in the data was minimal because the nature of data was manifest and easily observable. The data were obtained from illustrations such as photographs or drawings and advertisements with verbal information. Validity is the extent to which a content analysis instrument measures what it is aimed to measure (Kassarjian, 1977, p. 15). Validity of a content analysis instrument can be measured by comparing results of the same variables (Paoletti, 1980, p. 36), if such a measure exists.

IV. Research Method

Fashion illustrations including photographs and drawings and advertisements were used to examine tie-dyed fashion diffused in the American culture from 1965 to 1975. The data were collected from fashion magazines representing high and mainstream fashion. High fashion refers to those styles accepted by a small group of people of recognized taste and authority (Anspach, 1967, p. 28; Klapp, 1969, p. 75; Rosencrantz, 1972, p. 119; Troxell and Stone, 1981, p. 3). High fashion styles are generally introduced, produced, and sold in

small quantities and at relatively high prices. In contemporary society, high fashion styles are often adapted and made available readily to the rest of population, mainstream culture. Mainstream fashion refers to those styles accepted by majority of society. Mainstream fashion styles are produced and sold in large quantities at moderate to low prices.

Three criteria determined the selection of periodicals for mainstream and high fashion. First, the periodicals should contain a large amount of information covering the time period from 1965 to 1975. Second, each periodical should be among the most highly circulated for a specific social class. Finally, each periodical should be recognized as directed to a specific social class and sex. The "Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory" was consulted to find circulation and the target audience of periodicals. The fashion magazines which met these three criteria were chosen—"Vogue" for high fashion and "Mademoiselle" for mainstream fashion.

The frequency of appearance of tie-dyed clothes was counted with predetermined categories. The content analysis categories consisted of four groups- (1) clothing items, (2) materials, (3) tie-dyeing techniques and (4) designers and manufacturers.

The unit of analysis was a single costume style illustrated or described in an advertisement. All issues covering the time period from 1965 to 1975 were used to collect the data. An instrument was developed to gather and to record information using the content analysis categories. This instrument provided identification information about the illustration or advertisement, which periodical it was from, the name of the object, the name of clothing item, the materials it was made of, the tie-dyeing technique used, and the name of

designer or manufacturer. Total number of 113 illustration and advertisements(59 from *Mademoiselle* and 54 from *Vogue*) were obtained for this study.

Table 1. The year of tie-dyed fashion appearance

year	Vogue	Mademoiselle	total frequency(%)
1965	0	0	0
1966	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0
1969	31	6	37(32.7)
1970	11	44	55(48.7)
1971	12	9	21(18.6)
1972	0	0	0
1973	0	0	0
1974	0	0	0
1975	0	0	0
total	54	59	113(100)

Table 2. Appearance frequency of tie-dyed items

Item	Vogue	Mademoiselle	Total frequency(%)
scarf	20	8	28(24.8)
one-piece dress	6	10	16(14.2)
pants	7	8	15(13.3)
shirt/blouse	7	6	13(11.5)
t-shirt	6	4	10(8.8)
jacket	1	4	5(4.4)
overall	2	2	4(3.5)
skirt	1	2	3(2.7)
midriff top	3	0	3(2.7)
shorts	3	0	3(2.7)
swim wear	0	3	3(2.7)
shawl	1	1	2(1.8)
coat	0	2	2(1.8)
turban	0	2	2(1.8)
jumper	1	0	1(0.9)
cape	1	0	1(0.9)
muff	1	0	1(0.9)
vest	0	1	1(0.9)
Total	60	53	113(100)

V. Results and Discussion

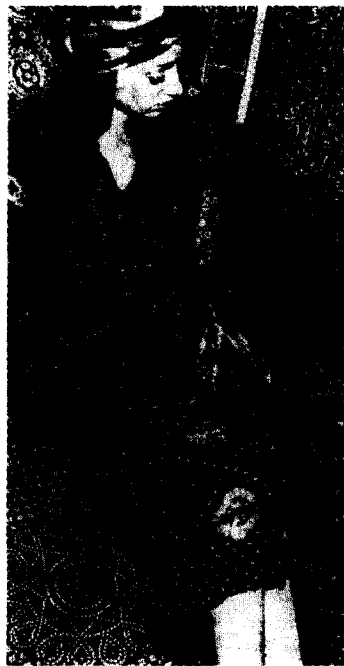
1. Tie-dyed clothing items and the year of their style

As shown in Table 1, tie-dyed styles were found in the American fashion between 1969 and 1971. The peak appearance of overall tie-dyed fashion was noted in 1970. There was a difference between fashion magazines targeting different group of people. The peak frequency of tie-dyed styles was shown in different time- it was in 1969 for the mainstream fashion and a year later in 1970 for the high fashion. This result supports the subcultural leadership theory that the tie-dyed fashion in the late sixties started by the countercultural youth in the United States was first diffused into the

mainstream fashion and then eventually picked up by the high fashion.

Total eighteen items were found in women's fashion among 113 objects as seen in Table 2. They include both formal and casual clothes and accessories (Fig. 1 and 2)- shirt, t-shirt, blouse, jacket, skirt, one-piece dress, pants, overall, jumper, coat, vest, midriff-top, scarf, turban, hose, shawl, cape, muff, and swim wear. A large variety of tie-dyed items were noted. The rank order of the five most frequent items were scarf, dress, pants, shirt/blouse, and t-shirt, and these items consisted about 73% of the total items.

Of the eighteen items that were shown in women's fashion, total 14 items were appeared in high fashion. In mainstream fashion, total 13 items were found. The items shown only in mainstream



a



b

Fig. 1. Tie-dyed fashion

(a: *Vogue*, May 1970, p. 257; b: *Mademoiselle*, Oct. 1969, p. 91)

fashion were swim wear, turban, coat, and vest and the items only shown in high fashion include midriff top, shorts, jumper, cape and muff. The items shown in both mainstream and high fashion were mainly everyday clothing items including scarf, one-piece dress, shirt/blouse, t-shirt, jacket, overall, skirt and shawl.

2. Materials used for tie-dyed fashion

Of the total 113 items found, the materials for 57 items(50%) were identified in the descriptions. Many different materials were used for tie-dyed fashion as shown in Table 3. About 70% of these items were found to be made of cellulosic materials including rayon(42%) and cotton(35%). The reasons for this result can be explained that the traditional materials were tie-dyed more frequently in the East and also they are easier to be dyed with relatively low expenses. The next frequent material was appeared to be silk(11%), another natural fabric, and this material was effective in giving a sophisticated look of tie-dyeing. Synthetic fabrics like nylon, suede, and acetate/rayon blend were also found, but the percentage was low, about 10%. The unusual material such as fur was also tie-dyed, which shows the wide practice of tie-dyeing technique in this particular period of time. The advertisements in 'Mademoiselle' (August 1971, p. 215) for commercial dye suggested that all

washable fabrics except polyesters, fiber glass, and metallics can be tie-dyed, including satin, rayon, velveteen, velvets, silks, and cottons as shown in this study.

3. Tie-dyeing techniques

Tie-dyeing is a method of tying fabric together to prevent absorption of the dye. As shown in Table 4, various kinds of tie-dyeing techniques were used for these tie-dyed clothing and they were often combined to give special visual effects. Total seven different techniques were found-tying, stitching, pleating, wrap-and-tie, decoloration, block application, and combination. The most frequent technique was a simple tying method producing a donut or rosette effect and about half(47%) of the total items used this technique.

The next frequently-used techniques were stitching or sewn technique(18%), decoloration (13%), and combination(14%). Broad-stitching techniques were used to give special effects producing a pattern of curved lines with little dots. Partly decolored fabrics, which was especially good on velvets, were shown usually for pants suits and one-piece dresses. The tie-dyed fashion with decoloration techniques gave a creative look of irregular patterns. In some cases, a few different techniques were combined and applied in one costume. These kinds of costume looked very similar to genuine Indian dresses. These techniques were applied mainly on silk or cotton as shown in ethnic costumes.

Pleating, wrap-and-tie, and block application techniques were used not as frequently as other techniques. Pleating was used to produce stripes of many different kinds. Various patterns are possible by using tools in different shapes such as blocks, balls, and cylinders. The tie-dyeing technique applying blocks was also noted. Wrap-and-tie

Table 3. Materials used for tie-dyed fashion

Material	Frequency(%)
rayon	24(42.1)
cotton	20(35.1)
silk	6(10.5)
nylon	3(5.3)
fur	2(3.5)
suede	1(1.8)
acetate/rayon	1(1.8)
Total	57(100)

Table 4. Tie-dyeing techniques

Technique	Frequency(%)
tying	50(47.2)
stitching	19(17.9)
combination	15(14.2)
decoloration	14(13.2)
wrap-and-tie	3(2.8)
block application	3(2.8)
pleating	2(1.9)
Total	106(100)

methods were used to produce marble effects, which can be done by screwing cloth into a ball and then binding it tightly with string.

4. Designers and manufacturers

Of total 113 items analyzed, the names of designers or manufacturers were found in the 104 items. As shown in Table 5, about 32% of the high fashion items were found to be designer items and the name of designers included Halston, Sera Shelbur, Gerge Kaplan, Frank Adams, Carol Horn, and Ron Talsky. The name of the manufacturers were given for the rest 68% items. This result showed that tie-dyeing was expanded into the high fashion in this period and some of the high fashion designers incorporated tie-dyeing style in their collection. In the mainstream fashion, less number of the designers were found, which was about 19%. About 81% of total items in the mainstream fashion were mass-produced by some manufacturers.

Table 5. Designers and manufacturers of tie-dyed fashion

Producer	Vogue frequency(%)	Mademoiselle frequency(%)
manufacturer	32(61.8)	44(81.5)
designer	15(31.9)	10(18.5)
Total	47(100)	54(100)

VI. Summary and Conclusion

The appearance of ethnic costumes in the 1960's was usually explained with a countercultural movement by youth in the earlier reports. Moreover, this countercultural use of orientalism in the sixties was known to be originated in the "hippie" movement. Fashion styles with tie-dyed patterns originated in the Orient were discussed as one way of expressing the youthful uprising. Previous studies on this subject have been performed mainly by using qualitative analysis on related literatures. Therefore, this study attempted to investigate the extent how this tie-dyed fashion style of the youth counterculture was also appeared in the mainstream and high fashion by using a content analysis method.

The results of the study indicated that many tie-dyed styles were found in the American fashion during the period between 1969 and 1971 and the peak appearance of overall tie-dyed fashion was noted in 1970. Though, the peak appearance of tie-dyed styles was shown in different times for the mainstream and high fashion- it was in 1969 for the mainstream fashion and 1970 for the high fashion. This result supported the subcultural leadership theory explaining that the tie-dyed fashion in the late sixties first started by the countercultural youth in the United States and diffused into the mainstream fashion and high fashion.

A variety of tie-dyed items, 18 different items, were noted. The rank order of the five most frequent items were scarf, one-piece dress, pants, shirt/blouse, and t-shirt and these items consisted about 73% of the total items. Many different materials were used for tie-dyed fashion and about 70% of these items were made of cellulosic materials including rayon(42%) and cotton(35%).

Silk and some synthetic fabrics like nylon, suede, and acetate/rayon blend were also found, but the percentage was low when comparing to cellulosic fibers. It was also unusual to find velveteen and velvet used for tie-dyed fashion. Seven different tie-dyeing techniques were found and they include tying, stitching, pleating, wrap-and-tie, decoloration, block application, and combination. Among them, the most frequent tie-dyeing technique used was a simple tying method which produced a pattern of circles in donut or rosette shape.

It was found that tie-dyed fashion was expanded into the high fashion in this period and some of the high fashion designers incorporated various tie-dyed styles in their collection. In the mainstream fashion, less number of the designers were found. About 81% of total items in the mainstream fashion was mass-produced by manufacturers.

The results of the study supported the idea that fashion change during this period accompanied a concurrent change in social environment. The time of strong influence of youth subculture and its interest in the oriental culture was concentrated in the United States during the late sixties and this corresponded to the time of popularity of tie-dyed fashion styles observed in the women's mainstream and high fashion. These new, unconventional tie-dyed styles reflected the social disturbance or confusion in the late sixties which altered the lifestyles of individuals across many social strata.

Finally, there is a limitation in using periodicals as research sources: costume objects found in periodicals might not be ones actually worn; rather, they are what was introduced and promoted for this particular time period. However, periodicals were chosen to be used in this study because they are the best documentary sources available and they contain relatively large amounts

of information. Therefore, the interpretation of results must bear this limitation in mind.

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