Comparison of the fashion adopted by young women in the United States and South Korea in the 1970s

Eundeok Kim
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Comparison of the fashion adopted by young women in the United States and South Korea in the 1970s

by

Eundeok Kim

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Textiles and Clothing

Program of Study Committee:
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Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa
2002

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For the Major Program
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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Justification

By the 1970s, internationalism and liberalization strengthened many cultural ties between Western and Eastern nations. As Western influences spread throughout the world, the South Korean (Korean) lifestyles and social concepts underwent rapid changes and this was especially the case with women's fashion. The Korean public first adopted Western dress in the 1950s and over the next two decades traditional dress was gradually replaced by it. By the 1970s, young women in Korea no longer wore traditional dress on campus, at work or at home, and with the exception of rural areas, even older women adopted Western styles (Lim, 1975). Traditional dress only remained in use for special holidays such as seolnal (New Year's Day) and chuseok (Thanksgiving Day), or wedding ceremonies.

The 1970s were a relatively stable and affluent period in Korea. Throughout the decade the government primarily focused on modernization and social development following the success of economic development projects in the 1960s. Growing affluence coupled with international media and increasing travel opportunity enabled young people to rapidly learn about and adopt Western fashion.

Korea's adoption of Western ideas, behavior and goods constituted a drastic form of acculturation (Redfield et al., 1936). Naylor (1996) points out that in the process of acculturation, material items and technical processes are more readily borrowed than abstract concepts, so even though new fashion was widely adopted in Korea, Western ideas and behavior did not impact the culture as quickly. Western thought conflicted with deeply rooted Korean traditions. Even though change was gradually negotiated, it faced significant resistance.
Many researchers have established that values are the guiding principles that precede lifestyle decisions (Kaiser, 1990), and from an anthropological perspective, culture is synonymous with values (Connor, 1992). Each culture has its own value system that also affects fashion as a group behavior, and despite the adoption of Western fashion, Korean fashion did not completely shift to conformity to it. Instead, Western fashion was selectively adopted according to styles that fit into Korean culture, while styles that conflicted with cultural standards were resisted. The process of Korean acculturation to the West was a melding of traditional and newly adopted values. This melding is reflected in the clothing styles of the 1970s. It was my curiosity and enthusiasm for this interplay that inspired me to conduct this study.

Though there has been some historical research on traditional Korean dress by textiles and clothing scholars, as well as research comparing consumer behavior between Korea and other cultures, little research has been conducted that explores the historical and cultural aspects of the Westernization of Korean fashion. What research has been conducted on Westernized Korean fashion is written in Korean and has not circulated to textiles and clothing scholars in other countries due primarily to limited translation. In this study, I will compare the fashion adopted by young women in the United States and Korea in the 1970s, focusing on the historical and cultural as well as the socio-psychological aspects of dress. My Ph.D. coursework has focused on history and anthropology, which have provided me insight into this fashion phenomenon. Following a discussion of the fashion in each culture, I will conduct a qualitative analysis of the similarities and differences of the fashion in the two cultures and interpret these findings based on the concepts of cultural values and the Korean acculturation to the United States as the framework.
Most of the studies that related human values to clothing choices have used pen-and-paper instruments developing concepts or scales similar to those formulated by Allport, Vernon, and Lindzey (AVL scale) (Pelton, Yee & Caton, 1998). However, a number of researchers are skeptical of methods that use only a singular theoretical focus because they may fail to ask respondents what they actually think or feel about a stimulus (Gardner, 1993). The design of this study is based on a qualitative analysis of personal interviews where I will probe for information through open-ended and “why” questions, allowing respondents to express personal ideas, values and behavior. I examined the magazines prior to the interviews in order to compile a set of color copies of styles to use as stimuli during interviews. The stimuli were intended to refresh the respondents’ memory of the styles they actually wore. The magazines provided good access to the media style imagery of the times in each culture and also enabled me to become more familiar with the styles prior to conducting the interviews.

I limited my respondents to Korean and American women who were college students during the 1970s because younger and more highly educated women exhibited a greater level of adoption to Western fashion during that time (Anspach & Kwon, 1967). Kim (1978) also observed that fashion leaders tended to be young women and suggested that a woman's position throughout her life is significantly influenced by her attitude toward keeping up with fashion trends. According to Barringer (1969), Westernization and modernization were taking place in Korean society but were, for the most part, limited to middle and upper socioeconomic groups in urban areas. In fact, the 1970s saw greater economic and cultural discrepancies between urban and rural areas in Korea to a greater degree than in the United States. Therefore, my Korean respondents were limited to women who attended college in Seoul, where Western influences in
women's fashion were best reflected. In order to achieve better validity, I aimed for a parallel
diversity between respondents of both cultures in terms of their occupations and economic status.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is first, to describe the fashion adopted by young women within
two different cultures --the United States and Korea-- in the 1970s; second, to analyze
qualitatively the differences and similarities of the fashion in the two cultures, and third, interpret
the reasons for the similarities and differences in historical, cultural, and socio-psychological
contexts.

Research Questions

The following questions are investigated through this study:

1. How can the overall themes and trends of the fashion adopted by young women in each
culture --the United States and Korea-- in the 1970s be described?

2. What were the similarities and differences of the young women's fashion between the two
cultures in the 1970s?

3. What are possible explanations of the similarities and differences of the fashion between these
cultures?

Definitions

These are operational definitions of terms as I am using them for this specific study:

Fashion: "A style of consumer product or way of behaving that is temporarily adopted by a
discernable proportion of members of a social group because that chosen style or
behavior is perceived to be socially appropriate for the time and situation” (Sproles & Burns, 1994, p. 4).

**Dress**: An assemblage of body modifications and/or supplements to the body (Roach-Higgins & Eicher, 1992). Clothing and other additions or alterations to appearance, including hairstyle, cosmetics, jewelry, accessories, and shape altering undergarments (Kaiser, 1990).

**Appearance**: The overall visual look of an individual, including actual physical features and components of dress (Kaiser, 1990).

**Aesthetics**: Perception of clothing based on the visual sense of line, proportion, balance, emphasis, movement, and rhythm (Kaiser, 1990). A sense of beauty, involving emotion and sensations as opposed to intellectual evaluation (Webster, 1996). Selection and appreciation of formal, expressive or symbolic qualities, that result in pleasure or satisfaction (Fiore & Kimle, 1997).

**Culture**: A collective and integrated whole consisting of learned ideas, behaviors, and products, all related to the needs of human groups (Naylor, 1996). “A set of problem-solving solutions generated in response to the pressures of the environment” (Naylor, 1996, p. x). A society's whole way of life and the totality of interacting artistic, economic, social, political, ideological elements which composes its total lived experience and which defines it as this society and not as some other (Eagleton, 1967).

**Traditional**: Of or related to tradition; consisting of or derived from tradition (tradition: a cultural feature [as an attitude, belief, custom, institution]; preserved or evolved from the past usage or custom rooted in the past) (Webster, 1996).
Culture change: An addition, subtraction, alteration, or modification in belief, behavior or socio-cultural product (Naylor, 1996).

Acculturation: The culture change through the borrowing of ideas, behaviors, or other aspects when one culture undergoes a drastic alteration in the direction of conformity to another culture. It can even involve the loss of certain cultural traits as a result of such contact (Redfield et al., 1936).

Value: Something (as a principle, quality, or entity) intrinsically valuable or desirable (Webster, 1996).

Cultural Value: Something (as a principle, quality, or entity) intrinsically valuable or desirable (Webster, 1996) in a given culture.
CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter I will discuss the major social and cultural themes and the changes of people's consciousness and values in the United States and Korea during the 1970s as a historical background. This will be followed by a discussion of the conceptual framework within which I conducted my analysis. The framework consists of Korea's acculturation to the United States and Europe in dress and cultural values of individualism vs. collectivism and masculinity vs. femininity.

Historical Background

U.S. in the 1970s

While the 1950s and 1960s represented a period of unprecedented American wealth and optimism (Kennedy, 1994), the 1970s were a turbulent and contradictory period in American history (Wandersee, 1988). It was a period of rapid change and upheavals in social values, characterized by the Civil Rights movement, the feminist movement, the gay liberation movement, Watergate, the energy crisis, increasing unemployment and inflation, world recession, a growing concern about the environment, anti-nuclear concerns, the boom of sports and health clubs, and increasing interests in health food and diet (Herald, 1992). Among all of these issues, one prominent theme throughout the decade was the rise of the woman's movement. In the 1970s changes in sexual roles and family life, increasing educational and economic opportunities, and the changing image of women in the media affected the lives of most women. (Wandersee, 1988).
The impact of television revolutionized sports as a form of mass entertainment (Wandersee, 1988), and activities such as jogging became a common exercise for all age groups along with joining health clubs that offered swimming pools, saunas, yoga, exercise classes, and massage rooms. As general interests in health grew, magazine and book shops were flooded with literature on dieting, and due to the cholesterol debate, "low fat" foods appeared in the supermarkets. Anything "natural" was thought of as good; “Natural” became a key word in food and even cosmetics advertising (Herald, 1992).

Public opinion polls in the United States and several other developed countries suggested that interest in and concern for the environment peaked early in the 1970s. People were moving away from a perception that their quality of life was dependent on materialism, industrialism, and human domination of nature (Odell, 1980). The Greening of America (1970) by Yale University law professor Charles Reich, predicted that U.S. society would permanently change for the better because American youth would attach greater importance to conserving the beauty of their environment than to achieving social status and financial success.

Nostalgia and an interest in traditional cultures of the developing world were also key elements that ran through the decade. Retro styles were promoted by TV dramas and films (Herald, 1992). For example, the TV series “Happy Days” based on the popular film “American Graffiti” romanticized teenage culture in the 1950s, and “The Great Gatsby” (1974) displayed the glamour of the flappers during the jazz age of the 1920s (Herald, 1992).

Because of the post-World War II baby boom, the United States in the 1970s had a large number of people under the age of twenty-five, and they were obsessed with pop culture --fads, fashion and music. They enjoyed prepackaged rock and roll music coming out of FM radio and sported bellbottoms --the hallmark of hip fashion-- and recently developed synthetic fabrics
There was a revitalized interest in crafts such as jewelry, ceramics, hand knitting, embroidery and screen printing on textiles. New magazines and craft galleries promoted the fine art approach to textiles. Radical African-Americans, feminists, environmentalists and gays were finding their voices on the national scene as well as the young age group, and the voices of all of these groups were reflected in the way people dressed in the 1970s.

Korea in the 1970s

Before discussing the 1970s in Korea I would like to briefly discuss the major theme of the 1960s that was a bridge to the stability and prosperity in Korea in the following decade. It was a transitional period where fast economic development brought a change from traditional social values to a modern morality. In 1962, to promote modernization of the industrial structure, the government initiated a series of five-year plans called the "Saemaul (New Village) Undong (Movement)." Since the early 1960s, the Korean economy had sustained high growth, and as the country shifted from an agricultural to an industrialized society, more opportunities for employment were made available to both men and women (Park, 1979). The movement that originally started in the countryside and later spread to cities and factories began to affect the economic, social, cultural, educational, and even political spheres of Korean life (Park, 1979). And this rapid economic growth helped to accelerate progress in education (Korea Development Institute, 1975).

Despite international stagflation due in part to oil price shocks, the Korean economy steadily grew and the 1970s were a relatively affluent period. A foundation of stability and order
was laid out, and modernization and social development became the major concerns of the
government (Park, 1979).

The development of science and technology brought industrialization, urbanization,
popularization growth, and with this came the increase of mass media. The traditional composite
family system was replaced by the nuclear family system. The size of traditional markets and
stores were growing, and the advent of large department stores, supermarkets and underground
shopping arcades brought changes in the structure of consumerism (Kim, 1991). One historical
landmark in Korean fashion brought on by mass production and industrialism was the
appearance of ready-to-wear clothing.

The shift in the Korean public values during this period was remarkable. Individualism
and materialism now prevailed with money and success becoming the focus of most people's
lives (Lim, 1982). It was within this cultural climate that the social campaign, "Saemaum (New
Spirit) Undong (Movement)," began in 1979. Its motto was the rejection of extreme forms of
individualism and materialism, created by rapid economic development and urbanization.
Instead, people were encouraged to seek a more humane and compassionate society that
emphasized love and dedication to the improvement of the collective life (Park, 1979).

Under the Confucian concept\(^1\) of traditional Korea, the education and social activities of
women were restricted, their role and status seen as subordinate to men (Koh, 1987). With the

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\(^1\) Confucianism is a philosophy of social order. The corner stone is the role of social relations, which act according
to their station. The stations are defined by 5 relationships. First, the people must obey the ruler (king). Two, the
inferior person must obey the superior or senior person. Three, the son must obey the father. Fourth, wife must
obey the husband. Fifth, the younger brother must obey the older brother. Women obey three people during their
lives. In the first stage the woman obey the father. When they are married, they must obey the husband. After the
husband dies they must obey the son. The ideal situation is reciprocal. (Though the people obey the
ruler, the ruler has obligation to take care of the people. And, it is the same in all the 5 relationships.) The way we
develop a superior person in a Confusion model is through self development in education. A good person is
someone who through his own effort, becomes educated and role refined. The educated person can understand the
proper relation shape. They can rule fairly and will maintain social stability.
new structural changes in society women gradually took on more important roles in the work force. The average gap in education between males and females gradually narrowed, and these increasing opportunities changed people's perspectives of gender roles and the relationships between men and women (Hasan & Rao, 1979). Nevertheless, Confucian thought still remained (Pak, 1981), and Lee (1977) argued that inequality between the sexes still existed in Korea with highly conventionalized role differentiation.

Conceptual Framework

In order to analyze the data on young women's fashion in the United States and Korea, two concepts of cultural values and acculturation will be focused on in this study.

Cultural Values

As Kaiser (1990) has suggested, individuals' values in a culture are the guiding principles by which humans make choices and decisions; their clothing choices reflect cultural values. Each culture has different emphases within its own value system. From an anthropological perspective, culture is said to be synonymous with value (Connor, 1992).

Many dimensions of cultural values have been identified in some studies comparing different cultures. In The Seven Cultures of Capitalism (1993), Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars analyze the diversity of values in different countries. Among the various dimensions of values they discuss are individualism vs. communitarianism, analysis vs. integration, universalism vs. particularism, inner-direction vs. outer direction, equality vs. hierarchy, status by achievement vs. status by ascription, and time as sequence vs. a synchronized view of time. Park (1996) in her study to compare the United States and Korean
consumer responses to global advertising of apparel products, refers to masculinity vs. femininity as a useful gauge for comparing cultural values. Hofstede (1980) also identifies a dimension of individualism vs. collectivism to examine cultural differences in work-related values between forty different countries.

Individualism vs. collectivism has been one of the most useful factors for explaining different cultural values between Western and Eastern cultures (Park, 1996; Hui & Triandis, 1986; Triandis, 1988). This, along with the consideration of masculinity vs. femininity, are crucial elements in gaining an understanding of the cultural meanings associated with fashion adopted in the United States and Korea, and these two dimensions will be a central focus of cultural values in this study.

**Individualism vs. Collectivism.** Hui (1988) refers to individualism as the tendency to be more concerned with one’s own interests, needs and goals while collectivism is the tendency to be more concerned with the group’s interests, needs, and goals. Western culture has tended to emphasize individualism whereas Eastern culture has generally put more emphasis on collectivism, though there are certainly varying degrees of individualism and collectivism in each culture (Triandis, 1990).

According to Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swindler, and Tipton (1985), individualism consists of self-reliance, independence and separation from family and community; hedonism, utilitarianism, and emphasis on give-and-take; competition; equity and fairness in the distribution of rewards; emphasis on competence; equality of people and the rejection of arbitrary authority; and the self as the only source of reality (cited in Kim, 1997). Hui and Triandis found that collectivism consists of people’s concern about how their decisions affect others in their community: sharing of material resources as well as nonmaterial resources such as time.
affection, or fun; willingness of people to accept the opinions and views of others --willingness to conform; gaining the approval of the collective; and a feeling of involvement in others’ lives (cited in Kim, 1997).

**Masculinity vs. Femininity.** Masculine culture traditionally focuses on progress, achievement and advancement as well as money and tangible items, whereas feminine culture emphasizes interpersonal relationships, the quality of life and the concern and nurturing of others (Park, 1996). Being strong and effective is respected in a masculine culture, while being kind and caring is important in a feminine culture (Kim, 1997). Triandis (1990) suggests a connection between masculine and individualistic behaviors on the one hand, and feminine and collectivist behaviors on the other. Hofstede and Bond (1984) state that the dimension of masculinity vs. femininity is also similar to social gender roles within a culture.

Rokeach (1973) proposes that cultural values are generally stable and resist changes. However, they are not static and undergo modification through socialization processes within a culture (Inglehart, 1990). For example, in the 1970s the values in Korea emphasized materialism accompanied by industrialism while those in the United States shifted to postmaterialism in a postindustrial society.

**Acculturation**

One of the consequences from increasing contact and interaction between different cultures are the resulting changes within each culture. Scholars in various disciplines have defined culture in ways that serve the interest of their work. For the perspective of culture change, I will defer to Naylor’s (1996) definition in which culture is "a set of problem-solving solutions generated in response to the pressures of the environment" (p. x). He suggests that the
process of culture change is essential because environments are always changing, and humans simultaneously control and respond to the changing of physical and socio-cultural environments. In this sense, culture is the mechanism of adaptation for humans, and change is crucial to the survival of a society (Naylor, 1996).

"Acculturation" as a process of culture change has been defined in various ways. According to Gorden (1964), it occurs so that people can share their experiences from a different culture and incorporate elements from that culture into their own. Redfield et al. (1936) state that acculturation occurs when one culture undergoes a drastic alteration in the direction of conformity to another culture through the borrowing of ideas, behaviors or other aspects, and can even involve the loss of certain cultural traits as a result of such contact. Acculturation for Tamura (1994) is the adaptation of a group to specifically American middle-class norms, so the rapid and massive changes that occurred within separate countries throughout the world accompanied by the spread of Western culture resulted in various forms of acculturation.

There are some differences among the three definitions by different scholars. Unlike Gorden's definition, Redfield et al. and Tamura emphasize one-way direction in the process of acculturation, that is, conformity. In particular, Tamura points out the conformity to American middle-class norms along with the spread of Western culture. Similarly to Tamura's definition, it is probably more realistic point of view that acculturation occurs to East from West, rather than to East from West in most cases, and therefore world culture has been dominated by Western culture. Marcuse (1964) in One dimensional man, claims that we are facing an obvious threat of the Western countries' domination over the world. Advanced industrial society becomes richer, bigger, and better and the economy merges into an omnipresent system. According to him (1964), in the social reality, despite all change, the domination of man by man is still the
historical continuum that connects pre-technological to technological “reason” (p. ix). He suggests that the technical achievement of advanced industrial society and the effective manipulation of mental and material productivity brought this phenomenon. Our society is controlled by technology that serves to institute new, more effective, and more pleasant forms of social control and social cohesion, rather than terror, on the dual basis of an overwhelming efficiency and an increasing standard of living (Marcuse, 1964).

He also adds that the society which undertakes the technological transformation of nature alters the base of domination by gradually replacing personal dependence with dependence on the “objective order of things” (p. 144). According to him, the domination now generates a higher degree of rationality—that of a society which sustains its hierarchical structure while exploiting ever more efficiently the natural and mental resources, and distributing the benefits of this exploitation on ever-larger scale. In addition, the productivity and growth potential of this system stabilize society and contains technical progress within the framework of domination. He, therefore, views (1964) that technical rationality has become political rationality.

**Korea’s Acculturation to the Western Countries in Dress.** Korean’s first adoption of Western dress was among government officers and politicians who supported enlightenment (Barringer, 1969; Kim et al., 1993). Okkyun Kim and Kwangbum Seo first brought Western men’s suits to Korea from Japan in 1881 (Yu, 1990). The transitional period from traditional to Western culture and ideas, 1884 to 1894 saw clothing becoming more functional following King Kojong’s clothing reform; there were conflicting attitudes toward Westernization from the use of the solar calendar to Western clothing and short hair (Yu, 1990). According to Kim et al (1993), the Westernization of clothing included the military uniform in 1896, followed by diplomatic
attire in 1899 and bureaucratic dress in 1900. King Kojong’s frock coat and silk hat with short
hair was a radical shift.

The Korean woman who first adopted Western clothes was Koryo Yoon in 1899 wearing
an S-silhouette dress with silk socks, low-heeled pumps, and a hat decorated with ribbons and
feathers, holding a parasol that was in fashion in Europe at that time (Yu, 1990). Styles worn by
other Korean women who came back from foreign countries were the S-style, the Gibson Girl
style, and the bustle style with a long flared skirt and blouse with a high-neckline lace and a large
hat. However, it took a long time for the general public to adapt these new styles to traditional
Korean dress. Kim et al. (1993) suggests that Korean dress's Westernization, in general, moved
faster in men’s clothing than women’s clothing, in urban areas than rural areas, and among the
upper class than the lower class. According to them, most fabrics were imported from England
until 1894, and from 1985 to 1904 a half was from England and the other half, from Japan,
finally after 1905 the most of them were from Japan.

After the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, wearing Western clothes was considered
unpatriotic and traditional Korean dress symbolized an attempt to regain national autonomy
(Kim et al., 1993). School uniforms were influenced by this social mood and Sookmyung’s
uniform returned to traditional Korean clothing in 1910 (Kim et al., 1993). With the beginning
of women’s physical education the *juhgori* (traditional Korean jacket) became longer and the
*chima* (traditional Korean skirt), shorter. At the same time, parasols began to replace *jangod*.

Between the Koreans’ Independence Movement in 1919 and the end of the 1930s,
everyday clothes became more Westernized. There were conflicting ethical views between the
older and younger generations: newspapers and magazines highlighted the sexual freedom that
was expressed in clothing (Kim et al., 1993). In the 1920s “new-style” women wore winter coats
over Western clothes or traditional Korean dresses with Western shoes and hairstyles (Kim et al., 1993, p. 318). Western shoes and socks that were first brought by missionaries in the 1840s were not adopted by Koreans until 1884 (Park, 1982). In the 1930s traditional and Western clothing as well as necessary accessories such as socks, shoes, and bags coexisted. School uniforms were Westernized in 1935 (Kim et al., 1993). Due to Japan’s Wars in 1939 and in 1941, the economy went into recession and materials were scarce. In 1939 pants replaced women’s school uniforms, which was the first adoption of pants by women (Yu, 1990). In the 1940s slacks were recommended for women; khaki jackets with a stand collar and straight pants were recommended for men as fighting attires. Clothing was rationed and the quality was inferior.

The transitional period between World War II and 1962 was a period of dramatic political and social acculturation to Western culture in Korea (Park, Warner, and Fitzgerald, 1993).² Due to the increasing contact with Western cultures, a rapid expansion of educational opportunities brought gradual changes in people’s thinking and behavior. One of the most visible changes was Korean women’s rapid adoption of Western-style dress, which was accelerated by Koreans returning from foreign countries along with Americans entering the country after its unification in 1945. This phenomenon supports Naylor’s (1996) suggestion that in the process of acculturation, material items and technical processes were generally easier to borrow than abstract things. In addition, as Blumer (1969) suggests that fashion is a mechanism for socializing individuals and groups to change, newly adopted fashion in Korea may have played a role to help individuals adjust to the culture change.

² Before the military took over the Korean government in 1963, Korea was both politically and culturally unstable.
According to Clifford (1994), humans negotiate cultural values depending on the conditions of cultural interchange, so the impact of Western fashion not only generated the borrowing of material goods, but also impacted values that include ideals of beauty and the female image. Schrank and Gilmore (1973) define fashion as "a socially derived valuation of an idea, practice or product, or a form of collective behavior" (p. 534), which suggests the close relationship between fashion and other aspects of a culture's values.

It was, however, not until the later years of the 1950s that Western fashion was widely adopted by the public in Korea (Kim, 1991). For example, after Norano's fashion show introduced mambo pants and sack dresses in 1956, they became in fashion in Korea (Yu, 1990). After the Korean War in 1953, both economic and mental despair were extreme and brought a confusion of values. Because the textile industry was undeveloped, material for clothing was insufficient, and the country was dependent upon foreign imports. The uniforms and blankets from the U.S. military, donations by the United States, and imports or smuggles from Hong Kong were the major sources for fabrics used in Korea. The United States' social values were often handed down with their donations.

In the 1960s, at the same time that Western dress was more widespread among women, Korean traditional dress was still worn with the design adapted. As a part of the government's economic development projects that began in 1962, improvements were made in the textile industry, resulting in the domestic production of cheap and easy-to-care-for synthetic fabrics such as nylon, acrylic, acetate and polyester. Since 1961, Western dress has been worn most by women for occasions outside of the home among Korean traditional dress, adapted traditional dress, and Western dress, whereas traditional dress was worn most before 1960 (Jeon, 1999). According to Jeon (1999), the adoption of Western dress for home was lapsed behind adoption of
street wear and Western dress has been worn most at home since 1966, while adapted traditional
dress had been worn most until 1965. As women turned more and more to Western dress for
everyday wear, the Korean traditional dress became something reserved for special occasions

As Western dress became more widely available in Korea, traditional Korean dress
gradually disappeared from urban areas among professionals, and especially among young
people (Kim, 1977). Lim (1975) reported that by the 1970s, Korean youths no longer wore their
traditional dress on campus or in the streets, and even older Korean women adopted Western
dress in their daily life. Kahng's (1971) study found that 86% of the subjects among 109 Korean
female college students always wore Western dress, which supports Lim's study. The relative
affluence in that decade enabled young people to rapidly adopt Western fashion shown in the
mass media. Similarly, Jeon (1999) found in her study on the relationship between the
Westernization of fashion and economic development, that the per capita GNP, as a proxy of
economic development, reflected Korean women's fashion significantly in that traditional
Korean dress disappeared as the per capita income went up.
CHAPTER III. METHODS

In order to compare the fashion adopted by young women in the United States and Korea in the 1970s, I used a qualitative approach. This study included six steps, beginning with examining magazines and compiling a set of color copies of styles to use as stimuli during interviews. The stimuli were intended to refresh the respondents' memory of the styles they actually wore. The magazines provided good access to the media style imagery of the time in each culture and also enabled me to become more familiar with the styles prior to conducting the interviews. This was followed by preliminary interviews in Korea and the United States, from which I was able to develop an interview schedule and finalize a stimulus set. The final three steps included sample selection, data collection, and finally data analysis. This chapter will provide a detailed description of these procedures.

In-depth interviews were conducted in English for American respondents and in Korean for Korean respondents. I asked a number of open-ended questions throughout the interviews to encourage respondents to discuss their own feelings, thoughts, and behaviors without subjecting them to my attitudes and thoughts. In order to probe deeper into the relationships between the respondents' attitudes, values, and behaviors, many "why" questions followed "what" questions.

Instrument Development for Interview

The data collection instrument consisted of an interview schedule and a set of color copies of styles in the 1970s from the magazines in each culture. The interview schedule and stimuli were developed as follows:
Interview Schedule Development

Preliminary Interview. As an initial step in the development of an interview schedule, I conducted informal interviews with three Korean women and two American women who were college students during the 1970s in their respective cultures. When I visited Seoul, Korea, to work on my literature review and magazine analysis, I interviewed women who were the neighbors of one of my sisters. The American women I interviewed were professors at Iowa State University (ISU).

The schedule for the preliminary interviews included eight open-ended questions with broad themes. I asked about styles of clothes they wore in the 1970s as well as their choices of accessories, hairstyles, make-up, and perfume. I asked them to discuss their favorite and ideal styles, their conformity to their peer group, and what they used as references for style selections. I also asked about other people's responses to their styles and their buying behaviors, including places to shop, whether they shopped alone or with somebody else, and the prices of the merchandise.

The interviews were informal and usually lasted about an hour. During the interview they were asked to show photographs as well as any remaining clothing from the time period. I tried to get as in-depth and detailed information as possible while at the same time having them feel relaxed. In order to expand questions for the main interview, I was careful not to miss clues to possible themes for further questions. Longer answers sometimes lapsed into informal chatting that helped to develop questions for my main interview schedule.

Main Interview Schedule. After these preliminary interviews, the themes were expanded and refined to develop a main interview schedule with more questions being added to
each theme. The main interview schedule consisted of three broad themes with background questions. The three themes were fashion styles, cultural values and appearance, and buying behaviors. Each theme was then divided into sub-themes. Thirty-seven questions were asked of the American respondents and thirty-nine questions were asked of the Korean respondents, the two extra questions relating to changes in Korean cultural values (see Appendix C). The interview schedule was broken down as follows:

**Background Information.** The 13 questions in this section inquired about each respondent’s home town, current occupation and career experience, current family background (marital status and children), religion, which college and the years they attended, where they lived during college, their major, club activities, part-time jobs, fashion interests, family economic background, and expenditures for clothes. Their responses were expected to provide background information as a means of examining parallels between the two cultures, and at the same time gain an understanding of how each respondent’s personal background related to the primary themes.

**Fashion Styles.** This section consisted of 16 questions divided into two sections. The first section included 12 questions about clothing accessories, hair styles, make-up and perfume worn for different occasions such as attending classes, meeting with friends, dating, and formal occasions. Each respondent was also asked to describe one of her favorite outfits. The second section included four questions about how other people, such as parents and peers, responded to their style choices, references to the style selection, ideal style, and style conformity to peer group. The purpose of these questions was not only to learn what was actually worn by the respondents, but also to gain an understanding of cultural values that were reflected in the degree of conformity, their ideal style, and other people’s responses to their
style choices. In addition, I wanted to explore how processes of Korean acculturation to the United States and European ways of living were reflected in these fashions.

*Cultural Values and Appearance.* I developed five questions for both cultures and two additional questions for the Koreans only. The five questions were about young people’s (or women’s) cultural values in general, values that the respondents held personally, and the conveyance of values, impression management, and political statements through appearance. The two additional questions I asked the Koreans were to compare their values in the 1970s to traditional Korean values and to current values in order to learn about the process of acculturation. All of these questions were intended to shed light on the relationship between cultural values and appearance.

*Buying Behaviors.* The three questions I asked were about the places the respondents went to buy clothes in the 1970s, whether they generally shopped alone or with somebody else, and the prices paid for the clothes. The responses to these questions were expected to reflect the respondents’ values as well as the United States’ and Korea’s unique situations based on the different stages of fashion industry development during that time period.

**Stimulus Development**

The stimuli were used as follows: After asking the respondents what they wore for different occasions and before asking value questions, I showed them—a set of color photocopies selected from magazines—in order to help the respondents remember other clothes they might have worn in the 1970s. To develop the stimuli I examined fashion magazines from 1970 through 1979 in each culture. *Mademoiselle* was selected as a representation of young American

In the 1970s there were no magazines in Korea with an exclusive fashion content, though some women’s magazines contained fashion sections and product advertisements. *Yosungjungang* and *Elegance* were the magazines that devoted the most space to fashion. *Elegance* concentrated on female college students while *Yosungjungang* targeted a wider age range. Even though it appeared in 1976 and was discontinued in 1978, *Elegance* was the best source for college women while it was published. From consulting with a librarian in the periodical room in the library of Ewha Women’s University where I examined Korean magazines I could get the information and confirmed that by comparing the contents of all magazines from the 1970s.

Initially 36 photocopies of different styles from *Mademoiselle* were selected for the Americans while 40 styles were selected from *Yosungjungang* and *Elegance* for the Koreans. The photos represented the types of styles that appeared most often in the magazines. I assumed that there was a gap between the styles presented in the magazines and what the respondents actually wore; therefore, I focused on relatively realistic styles that fitted with college student lifestyles. Each set included clothing, accessories, and hairstyles. Even though it was easy to eliminate fantastic styles, I sometimes confronted difficulty in deciding if some styles were appropriate for college students’ styles. In order not to miss any styles that were adopted by them I tried to include the styles as far as they were often shown in the magazines.

One professor from my department and one from the Journalism and Mass Communication department, who both attended college in the 1970s, checked the validity of the set of American styles from their experiences because I chose the photos based on my
impression. I asked them to comment on the accuracy of the selections that would represent the college students' styles for the time period. The professor from my department found that the set had some repetitive with only small variations. To minimize confusion among the respondents she selected 19 styles to be used during the interviews. Next, I showed the original set of 36 styles to a professor from the Journalism and Mass Communication department mentioning the set of the 19 styles selected by the first reviewer. She agreed on all the styles selected by the first reviewer, but suggested to include one style that was eliminated. She remembered that she actually owned the exactly same style even though she did not wear it often. Finally 20 styles were selected for interviews with American women.

From the 40 color photocopies of Korean styles, I consulted the three women with whom I conducted my preliminary interviews in Seoul. They were asked to comment on the accuracy of the selections that would represent the college students' styles for the time period. The first woman selected 33 styles from the 40 that I initially chose because she thought that the other seven styles were not actually worn by college students. I showed the second and third women the original set of 40 styles mentioning what were selected by the first woman (and second women). I settled on a set of 33 styles because the second and third women agreed on the set of 33 styles chosen by the first woman. Each style from both sets is discussed and the color copies are included in Chapter IV.

Sample Selection

A convenience sample of 15 American women and 15 Korean women, all in their forties or early fifties, who were college students in the 1970s, were selected to be interviewed.
U.S. Sample

Even though my respondents all live in close proximity to ISU, I initially expected that they would be alumni of universities located throughout the United States. However, most of these women turned out to be Midwesterners who attended academic institutions in the Midwest. Their fields of study were varied, including journalism, law, social science, history, English, linguistics, psychology, education, biology, business, and textiles and clothing. Their current occupations included professors and teachers, university program directors, college administrators and academic advisors, and one lawyer and one health insurance professional. Detailed information on each woman is included in the beginning of Chapter V, Interview Analysis.

Five respondents were found through Barbara Mack, a professor in the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication. During the spring semester 2000, I was working with her on an independent study of interview skills. Fortunately, she gave me names and e-mail addresses of some of her friends who fit my respondent profile. They included professors and directors at ISU, one lawyer and one health insurance professional in Des Moines. Five respondents were found through a graduate teaching assistant in the English department at ISU. These women included professors in his department and a family member in Des Moines. Four respondents were administrators and academic advisors at ISU, found through a professor in the Department of Textiles and Clothing. I contacted each woman by e-mail, introduced myself, briefly explained the purpose of this research, and asked her to participate in the interview process. I did not have a response from two women who I e-mailed and therefore, I had to find two more women later.
Korean Sample

I canvassed three individuals for lists of prospective respondents who attended college in Seoul. The fifteen women I selected all went to universities located in Seoul, and all but two are originally from Seoul. Their fields of study included family and consumer sciences, voice, fine arts, nursing, piano, medicine, violin, German, flute, physical education, biology, and dentistry. Their current occupations ranged from professors and teachers to homemakers, a secretary, a nurse, a medical doctor and a dentist.

Seven respondents were found through one of my sisters. They were her friends or neighbors who attended her Catholic Church. They included professors and a teacher, homemakers, a medical doctor, and a secretary. Six respondents were found through another of my sisters. They were all her friends whose current occupations are professors and instructors. Through my sister-in-law, I found one professor to participate. Most of these women were first contacted by my sisters and gave their consent. In order to confirm as well as follow an official procedure, I contacted each of them by phone before arriving in Seoul and briefly explained the purpose of this research. After their consent to participate, the interviews were scheduled. All of the 15 women in the original group agreed to participate in this research.

Data Collection

The interviews were conducted as regulated by the Human Subjects in Research Committee at ISU. I met with respondents in their offices, homes, church, or a quiet cafe to conduct the interviews, which usually lasted an hour to one and a half hours. Each interview was audio taped to ensure accurate information, and I also took brief notes in case of recording problems. During the interviews the women were asked to exhibit photographs or actual
clothing items from the 1970s. Most of them were willing to show a great number of their photos, but only one American respondent showed me her clothes. With the respondents’ permission, I color-copied photos that I selected and promptly returned the originals.

The respondents’ names were labeled on the cassette tapes after the interview but the women were not asked their names during the tape-recording. Prior to having the tapes transcribed, the labeled names were substituted with identification numbers.

Data Analysis

All of the interview tapes were transcribed before analyzing the data. Two American students at ISU transcribed the American interviews, and I transcribed the Korean interviews with the assistance of another Korean student at ISU. I verified the accuracy of each transcription and translated the Korean transcripts into English before starting the analysis. The accuracy of my translations was then verified with the assistance of a Korean professor in the Textiles and Clothing area. All transcripts were coded by myself without additional coders.

I applied the constant comparative method and adopted open coding. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), the constant comparative method promotes the yielding of patterns and themes in analyzing data. Open coding is “the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data” (p.61). Broad themes were initially identified and refined, then new themes were identified throughout the analysis. The coded transcripts were first analyzed within each culture in order to identify both cultural as well as individual themes. This was followed by comparisons between the two cultures.
The first step of the analysis was to create units of meaning within each transcript. Each respondent’s answer to each question was a unit of analysis. (Answers were usually very long, so I took the liberty of shortening them by eliminating unimportant phrases or sentences.) Certain words, phrases, clauses, or sentences that generated units of meaning were coded to identify themes and sub-themes. After coding each transcript, relationships between themes and sub-themes were analyzed across respondents. Responses were compiled by an interview question, a part of a question, or more than one question combined in order to form a unit of analysis. To analyze each unit I created a table identifying each respondent’s themes and sub-themes, then compared them across the table. To make this process efficient words or phrases that formed themes or sub-themes were highlighted in boldface or underlined. During the comparison process, the frequency of each theme or sub-theme was counted. Usually themes were categorized before counting to determine the relationship between the themes and sub-themes. Finally, themes and sub-themes across questions in each transcript were examined in order to identify any relationship between them for an individual.
CHAPTER IV. SELECTION OF MAGAZINE STYLES AS STIMULI

The stimuli used for the interviews represented styles commonly depicted in 1970s fashion magazines. I examined and selected styles presented in the 1970-1979 issues of the U.S. magazine, *Mademoiselle*, the 1970-1975 and 1979 issues of the Korean magazine, *Yosungjungang* and the 1976-1978 issues of the Korean magazine, *Elegance*. I assumed that there was a gap between the styles presented in the magazines and styles actually worn by the respondents; therefore I focused on relatively realistic styles appropriate for the college students’ lifestyle. The stimulus sets were used to remind the respondents of styles in the 1970s. They were displayed after respondents answered the questions about their style choices for different occasions and before asking them the value questions. In this chapter I will explain why each style was selected as representative of the styles in the decade. For a better understanding of the fashion in each culture, I also examined the ideals of beauty described in articles and advertisements in the magazines from each culture.

**Styles from a U.S. Magazine**

The 20 styles used in the American interviews will be examined and pictorially presented following the discussion on ideals of beauty in the 1970s.

**Ideals of Beauty in the U.S. in the 1970s**

While the look most women pursued in the 1960s was an ultra-thin young girl’s look, a more mature look became desirable in the 1970s. The natural and healthy look was an important beauty theme that resulted in an increased interest in fitness, exercise, and natural foods.
Literature on health flooded the fashion press; diet and exercise became the hottest topics in every issue of women's magazines. “Five successful dieters: how & why” (p. 134-146) in the September issue of *Mademoiselle* in 1973 reported successful cases for women's diet highlighting their strategies for losing their weight. “Health watch '76” (*Mademoiselle*, 1976, June, p. 154-163) recommended young women to make time to do workout for “self improvement” with a busy life suggesting a “weekend workout” or “lunch hour workout.” This search for the healthy ideal brought about the cholesterol debate. A wide selection of low-fat products hit the shelves of supermarkets. The societal obsession with exercise made workout clothing, such as leotards, popular street fashion, and people began to wear more comfortable and casual outfits for a wide variety of occasions, blurring the boundaries between formal and casual attire. In addition, a variety of natural materials were used for clothing, accessories and cosmetics. For example, “Natural ingredients that make your summer” (*Mademoiselle*, 1975, April, p. 160-167) presented natural cotton gauze tops, straw wedge sandals, rope-wedged leather sandals, wood soled camel leather sandals, and natural straw carryalls.

**Styles in the U.S. in the 1970s**

Along with growing emphasis on individuality in the 1970s, the rules of fashion became more blurred. There was great diversity and contradictory styles often coexisted. The soft, feminine look stood next to the masculine look, or the skin-tight, bare sexy look shared space with an easy big look, and different lengths of skirts such as minis, midis, and maxis were worn at the same time.

The counterculture hippie look of the late 1960s, with its emphasis on youth, freedom, anti-authoritarianism, anti-capitalism, and a return to nature, was still predominant in the early
1970s. Probably more than any other item of clothing, blue jeans became the most important element of any wardrobe among the young. Jeans steadily increased in popularity throughout the decade, continually changing shape and color as well as becoming a canvas for decorations and designs that expressed the latest fads. Early on, wide flared, bellbottom hip huggers (Figure 4.1) were popular, evolving into wide, straight-legs, and finally skin-tight straight-legs by the end of the decade. In the middle of the decade wide bellbottoms became extreme (Figure 4.2), and straight jeans were often presented tucked into long boots (Figure 4.3). Faded denim was also seen and often embroidered or studded with metal and rhinestones. With the popularity of blue jeans, other clothing items came out in denim, such as skirts (Figure 4.4), jackets, shirts and overalls. Denim outfits were worn by young women for a wide variety of occasions.
Mini skirts and hot pants remained favorites from the late 1960s to the early 1970s but a wider variety of skirt lengths appeared on the street, ranging from mini- to calf- and ankle-lengths. Different length skirts were worn together in one outfit, as was demonstrated in the column, “Spring ’70 Special: The Ups and Downs” in Mademoiselle (1970, January, p. 60). Examples included a maxi coat with a mini skirt (Figure 4.5). However, midis and maxis were not very appealing to many young women in the early 1970s and did not last long. It is possible that they seemed more cumbersome and appropriate for older, unlike the fresh and lively look of minis.

The soft, gentle, natural, feminine look began to appear in Mademoiselle in the early 1970s and lasted throughout the decade. Soft lines, silhouettes and textures of wool knit and the curves of the big, round-brims of hats marked this look (Figure 4.6). In particular, a very short wool knit one-piece dress or skirt and long cardigan worn with a small cap were introduced in “Girls of the 70s” (1970, February, p. 169-172) (Figure 4.7). A soft cardigan, especially with a
shawl collar worn with an A-line skirt was another typical ensemble that lasted throughout the
decade (Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.5. Maxi coat with
a mini skirt (Mademoiselle.

Figure 4.6. Soft lines, silhouettes, and
textures of wool knit (Mademoiselle.
1970. August. p. 300)

Figure 4.7. Wool knit skirt and long
cardigan (Mademoiselle. 1970.
August. p. 302)

Figure 4.8. Shawl collared
cardigan (Mademoiselle.
1974. February. p. 112)
In 1973 romantic, feminine styles appeared, including ruffled cotton blouses, swirl skirts (Figure 4.9), tiny-flower prints, eyelets, lace-edged dirndl dresses, puffed sleeves, old-fashioned crochet blouses and shawls, and scarves worn like hair bands. In the late 1970s Laura Ashley produced printed cotton dresses based on late Victorian and Edwardian styles, featuring ruffles around the neckline and hem, leg-of-mutton sleeves, lace, tucks, and sashes.

The masculine look coexisted with romantic styles. As the decade progressed, details of men’s wear were added to women’s attire, such as checked caps, tuxedo shirts, tweed vests, suspender pants, bow ties, neckties (Figure 4.10), and men’s undershirts. Pants became more widely accepted, and pants suits competed with skirts as professional work clothes. The appearance of the military look (Figure 4.11), a more extreme masculine look, may have reflected the influence of the continuing demonstrations and protests against the Vietnam War. The look included khaki loose pants and military belts, olive drab pleated wide pants, safari suits, jackets with epaulets and button-flapped pockets.

Figure 4.9. Swirl skirt (Mademoiselle. 1971. June. p. 109)  
Figure 4.10. Men’s neckties (Mademoiselle. 1978. April. p. 134)  
Figure 4.11. Military look (Mademoiselle. 1975. August. p. 46)
The “big look” was predominant in the later years of the decade. Jackets became bigger and looser fitting with wider shoulders worn with dirndl or gathered pants—wider at the top and narrow at the ankle. Big loose T-shirts (Figure 4.12) were often presented with gathered or flared skirts and big loose one-piece dresses featured dolman sleeves and gathered skirts (Figure 4.13).

Figure 4.12. Big, loose T-shirt (Mademoiselle. 1978. January. p. 76)

Figure 4.13. Big, loose one-piece dress with a gathered skirt (Mademoiselle. 1978. April. p. 208)

Classic styles such as shirtdresses and smocks (Figure 4.14) continued throughout the decade and adapted to each year’s trends. Shirtdresses at the beginning of the decade were short like mini skirts and became longer in later years. When softer and more feminine styles gained popularity, shirtdresses included bishop sleeves and gathers. As a classic feminine look, shirtdresses with pleated skirts (Figure 4.15), as well as polyester feminine one-piece dresses with gathers or shirring (Figure 4.16), were more dress-up styles often featured later in the
decade. Classic wool coats with a wide notched collar and a tied belt were presented for winter wear (Figure 4.17).

Figure 4.14. Smock dress
(Mademoiselle. 1971. August. p. 77)

Figure 4.15. Shirtdress with a pleated skirt

Figure 4.16. Feminine one-piece dresses
(Mademoiselle. 1978. September. p. 139)

Figure 4.17. Classic coat with a wide notched collar
(Mademoiselle. 1972. September. p. 107)
The straightforward clean look was presented as mature women’s styling, and included simple neat and classic designs by Calvin Klein, Geoffrey Beene and Halston. These minimalist designs—either separate or one-piece dresses (Figure 4.18)—were comfortable and had a more or less soft look that reflected many of the decade’s overall trends.

As discussed earlier, casual, comfortable and easy fitting styles were important themes in fashion that marked informal lifestyles in the 1970s, and the styles of the accessories were not exceptions. There was a boom in exercise wear that coincided with the hot trend of health clubs and exercise classes as well as other crazes such as roller-skating and disco dancing that increased in popularity in the latter part of the decade. Comfortable shoes appeared such as new bumpy “bull-dog” toes pumps, wedges, clogs, crepe-soled suede-and-leather platforms, tie oxfords, low-profile spectator pumps, and high-heeled penny loafers (Figure 4.19). Natural materials such as straw and wood were used in straw wedge sandals, wood and tan leather platforms, rope-wedged leather sandals (Figure 4.20), and cotton and muslin straw shoulder bags. Scarves were one of the popular accessories throughout the decade and various ways of wearing them were presented. Berets, big pouch bags, and neckties were also major accessories items.
Feminism challenged the traditional ideas of women’s place in society as well as overall notions of what it was to be feminine: the movement had an enormous impact on fashion throughout the 1970s. *Mademoiselle*, like other magazines targeting women readers, discussed new values, life styles and careers. Many radical feminists either rejected fashion or expressed indifference to it because it reinforced the sexual objectification of women (Henderson & DeLong, 2000). This fed into the stereotype that women who followed fashion trends were less educated and more superficial, an idea that seems to have subsided today but nonetheless remains a point of contention. Widespread adoption of the masculine look was a reflection of rejecting femininity and taking new roles. Baggy jeans and pants rather than skirts, short hairstyles, and flat shoes were signatures of feminist garb, requiring minimal maintenance time and energy (Kaiser, 1990).
Styles from Korean Magazines

The major styles of the 1970s will be examined following the discussion about ideals of beauty during the decade. The 33 photos used in the discussion served as the stimuli for the Korean interviews.

Ideals of Beauty in Korea in the 1970s

With the worldwide emphasis on fitness, exercise, and natural foods in the 1970s, the ideal of feminine beauty in Korea was also a natural and healthy look. The thinness theme of the 1960s remained important. In 1971 a columnist of Yosungjungang suggested that “femininity was adjusting to the change of the environment and femininity in modern times was found in something active, free, and functional” (July, p. 54). Hence, despite the older generation’s concerns for the changing female image, younger Koreans accepted the Western ideal of feminine beauty but at the same time kept the traditional ideas of neatness and modesty. The term “natural” drew attention everywhere, and the use of natural materials and makeup became a common practice. The magazines, Yosungjungang and Elegance included advice on exercise and diet in every issue, and as in Western fashion, more comfortable and casual wear became acceptable for more occasions.

Styles in Korea in the 1970s

Fashion became much more diverse in the 1970s and, unlike the previous decade, individuality was a primary theme. Different skirt lengths (Figure 4.21) from mini to Chanel-line to midi and maxi, and styles creating contradictory moods, coexisted in the same time period and in the same way that these were occurring in Western fashion. Yosungjungang introduced
the Paris mode as representative of Western fashion for every season. “1970s Paris mode” in Yosungjungang (1970, May, p. 250-253) characterized the current style as the “coexistence of mini and maxi,” as designed by Saint Laurent, Cardin, Lanvin, Paco Rabanne and others.

Similarly, “Fall and winter clothes: today mini, tomorrow midi, the day after tomorrow maxi,” in the November, 1970 issue of Yosungjungang also specified the coexistence of different-length skirts in Korea. For example, a midi coat was worn over a mid-thigh skirt with knee-high socks or long boots (Figure 4.22), or a maxi coat or vest was worn over an ultra-mini skirt.

Styles and silhouettes from the late 1960s, such as A-silhouettes, mini skirts, and bellbottom jeans, carried over into the early 1970s. An A-silhouette one-piece dress or skirt appeared often with pleats (Figure 4.23). Blue jeans in particular were showcased as the college student look throughout the decade and underwent various changes from year to year, beginning with bellbottoms and moving to straight legs and then skin tight jeans by the end of the decade. A wide variety of denim items such as shirts, jackets, skirts, jumpers, and accessories like berets appeared, and were sometimes decorated with embroidery and other materials.
Despite the continuing dispute in the mass media over how much of the legs mini skirts revealed, they remained a favorite in the early 1970s (Figure 4.24 and 4.25). A special section, "Women in their 20s: From jangod to mini" (Yosungjungang. 1970. September. p. 302-304), indicated that 10cm (4") above knee skirt was not even imaginable in 1900. Revealing bare feet was thought of as an act of family dishonor, and women tried not to reveal their feet even to their husbands. Women covered their faces with a jangod, which would later be replaced by a parasol (Figure 4.26). Even at home in the sultry Korean summer women wore two-layered bosun, traditional Korean socks. It was not until the 1910s that women even had their own names. Even in 1970 older generations were worried about young people's willingness to accept Western customs and fashion, which they thought could easily bring about social chaos. They

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3 Korean traditional dress covered a woman's entire body except for her face: an extended style of juhgori.
deplored what they saw as the conspicuous consumption and shallowness of copying Western fashion and the insensible adoption of material culture, and were also appalled by the loss of modesty that was reflected in clothing such as mini skirts.

Figure 4.24. Mid-thigh shirt dress (Yosungjungang. 1972. September, p. 23)  
Figure 4.25. Mid-thigh skirt and one-piece dress (Yosungjungang. 1971. June, p. 27)  
Figure 4.26. Jangod (Dictionary of Korean costume history. 1988. p. 152: This was not a part of stimuli.)

"The beauty of revealing and covering" (Yosungjungang. 1975. July. p. 212-217) gave advice about how and what part of the body should be revealed—back, above breast, thigh, waist, etc.—depending on the body shape of each individual. This was a very radical discussion considering the time period. Women seemed to be more uncomfortable with revealing the waist or midriff than other parts of the body because they were very rarely exposed in magazines. In order to examine the respondents' level of resistance, one of these styles (Figure 4.27) along with bikini swimsuits (Figure 4.28) were included in the stimuli. I expected that respondents who had
a high level of resistance to revealing midriffs would feel uncomfortable with bikinis even as swimsuits because of their conservative values.

Figure 4.27. Revealing the waist
(Yosungjungang. 1972. May. p. 12)

Figure 4.28. Bikini swimsuits

With the exercise and fitness boom, the sporty, casual, youthful, easy and practical look predominated. Sporty and “cute” denim or cotton jumpers were often presented for the youth, allowing for great variations by combining blouses and shirts with different collars or sleeves (Figure 4.29). Knotting a shirt’s front hem also created a sporty look for young college women (Figure 4.30). Comfortable fabrics such as denim, corduroy, polyester jersey, and wool were represented throughout the decade. Parkas appeared as examples of practical casual winter sportswear.
Pants became more widely acceptable for more occasions and pants suits remained popular (Figure 4.31), as well as knickers, which had been presented since the early years of the decade (Figure 4.32). At the beginning of the 1970s, bellbottoms worn with tunics and a long vest (Figure 4.33) were common and became extremely wide and long in the middle of the decade (Figure 4.34). As the decade progressed, silhouettes and details of men’s wear, such as masculine jackets, checked sports suits, and neckties (Figure 4.35), were incorporated into women’s wear. In 1977, an elegant look with a masculine silhouette was featured. After the mini skirt’s revival in Paris, hot pants (Figure 4.36) were presented in Elegance the following year.
Figure 4.31. Pants suit
(Yosungjungang. 1971. January, p. 43)

Figure 4.32. Knickers
(Yosungjungang. 1972. January, p. 33)

Figure 4.33. Bell-bottoms worn with a tunic and long vest
(Yosungjungang. 1971. March, p. 38)

Figure 4.34. Bell-bottoms—extremely wide and long
(Yosungjungang. 1975. June, p. 53)
Meanwhile, the feminine look continued to be presented, and included ribbon collared one-piece dresses (Figure 4.37) or an over blouse with a cowl neckline or ribbon collar worn with an A-line skirt. Romantic styles such as swirl skirts (Figure 4.38) and ruffled blouses were also seen. A soft feminine look that included a wide variety of crocheted clothes (Figure 4.39) appeared at the beginning of the 1970s, while machine knitted wear (Figure 4.40) started in the later years of the decade. A couple of major women's wear companies that had participated in the ready-to-wear business since the mid-1970s produced women's machine-knitted suits, skirt and shirt, or an ensemble of shirt, skirt, and cardigan creating a refined and elegant look.
By the late 1970s bigger and looser styles were prominent, including big jackets with wide shoulders, loose shirts, gathered skirts, and loose one-piece dresses. Wide shouldered jackets were worn with skirts or pants gathered at the waist with a voluminous silhouette that
emphasized the waist only (Figure 4.41). One typical style was a short vest layered over a blouse, a gathered skirt (Figure 4.42), long boots or espadrilles, and sometimes a scarf-turban or beret. Big loose one-piece dresses with a soft bloused bodice and dolman, raglan, or dropped-shoulder sleeves were often seen. A variety of wide pants appeared including Harlem pants and cropped pants (Figure 4.43). Along with the popularity of the big look, the layered look showed up in the '78 Paris ready-to-wear collection and was adopted in Korea with stylistic changes to better accommodate Korean women's body shapes. Different looks could be expressed by coordinating the same materials in different ways, and accessories were used to accent a look that was otherwise simple.

Though classic styles were still common, they were influenced by the casual and sporty look of the decade such as sporty shirt-dresses (Figure 4.44). Chanel-line trench coats (Figure 4.45) and wool winter coats with wide collars remained throughout the decade. Due to the big
look of the later years of the decade, coats became wider and looser and wide capes (Figure 4.46) appeared, mimicking Arabian style coats that featured a full bell silhouette.

The popularity of casual and comfortable wear affected accessories as well. Comfortable style shoes such as round-toed pumps, wedges, loafers, thick platform shoes, clogs, sandals and espadrilles, as well as long boots, were presented throughout the 1970s. Later in the decade high heels were recommended to go along with the big look. In order to remind the respondents of various shoe styles, figures 4.47, 4.48, 4.49, and 4.50 were included. Knee-high socks (Figure 4.23) worn with loafers or pumps as well as white lacy tights (Figure 4.31) worn with a mid-thigh skirt were often seen.
Bag designs became sporty, using materials such as cotton, cowhide and knits. Practical big bags, often shoulder-style that could carry books, notebooks, and lunches, were often
presented, but many college women carried books in their arms while wearing a small shoulder bag (Figure 4.23 and Figure 4.25).

A variety of hats such as berets, pill boxes, cloches, turbans, and soft or floppy-brimmed cloth hats were frequently presented (Figure 4.51). Scarves were one of the popular items throughout the decade, and various ways to wear them were discussed in many issues of the magazines (Figure 4.52 and Figure 4.53). Long wool mufflers appeared in winter.

A variety of hairstyles emerged throughout the decade such as long and straight or long and waved, short, and put-up styles. Pin-curl perms as well as bangs were often recommended for college women. A short haircut that exposed the ears, called a “boyish cut” (Elegance. 1977. January. p. 68), was presented (Figure 4.54).

Figure 4.51. Various hat styles (Yosungjungang. 1971. November. p. 13)  
Figure 4.52. Various ways to wear scarves I (Yosungjungang. 1971. May. p. 143)
Figure 4.53. Various ways to wear scarves II

Figure 4.54. “Boyish cut”
CHAPTER V. FINDINGS IN INTERVIEW ANALYSIS—AMERICAN WOMEN

This chapter analyzes and interprets the data from interviews with American respondents. It is composed of three broad sections: fashion styles, values and appearance, and buying behaviors. Each section is divided into subsections: The style section is divided into fashion styles adopted, responses to styles adopted, references to style selection, ideal style, and style conformity to peer group. The values and appearance section is divided into young women's values in the 1970s, values conveyed through appearance, impression management through appearance, and political messages conveyed through dress. The buying behavior section is divided into places to buy and shopping alone or with somebody else.

To gain an understanding of how each respondent's personal background relates to these primary themes, I will provide background information of the respondents in the form of a table.

Table 5.1. Background Information of American Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Home Town</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Major</th>
<th>College Years</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>F</th>
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<td>A1 teacher/ community college</td>
<td>Bradford, IL</td>
<td>U of Illinois, IL</td>
<td>psychology</td>
<td>67-71</td>
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<td>A2 adult teacher/ extension</td>
<td>Alden, IA</td>
<td>Iowa State U, IA</td>
<td>family environment</td>
<td>69-73</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>a/</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A3 lawyer/ law firm extension</td>
<td>Merriman &amp; Gorden, NB</td>
<td>U of Nebraska, NB &amp; Drake, IA</td>
<td>social science</td>
<td>70-73</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>a/</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4 extension specialist/recruit</td>
<td>Amana Colonies, IA</td>
<td>Iowa State U, IA</td>
<td>textiles &amp; clothing</td>
<td>70-73</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A5 professional/health insurance</td>
<td>Cleveland, OH</td>
<td>Grinnell College, IA</td>
<td>education, psychology</td>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A6 director/university honored</td>
<td>Atlantic, IA</td>
<td>Iowa State U, IA</td>
<td>history</td>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>u</td>
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### Table 5.1. (Continued)

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<th>Department</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<td>professor/creative writing</td>
<td>Bronx &amp; Long Island, NY</td>
<td>English</td>
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<td>Quincy, IL</td>
<td>U of Illinois, IL</td>
<td>71-74</td>
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<td>Des Moines, IA</td>
<td>Iowa State U, IA</td>
<td>71-74</td>
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<td>Fremont, NB</td>
<td>Kearney State U, NB</td>
<td>71-75</td>
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<td>A11</td>
<td>administration</td>
<td>Southern MN</td>
<td>Makato U, MN</td>
<td>71-76</td>
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<td>Near Detroit, MI</td>
<td>Michigan State U, MI</td>
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<td>Stacyville, IA</td>
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<td>Geneva, IA</td>
<td>U of Northern Iowa, IA</td>
<td>77-81</td>
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<tr>
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<td>professor/ESL</td>
<td>Palo Alto, CA</td>
<td>Cornell U, NY</td>
<td>78-82</td>
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</table>

* ES: Family's Economic Status during college→ u: upper middle, m: middle, Im: lower middle, l: low; FI: Fashion Interest during college→ h: highly interested, a: average, l: lower than average; LF: Living with Family during college→ y: yes, n: no; U: University

Throughout my analysis I will refer to the respondent by their designated number in Table 5.1.

### Fashion Styles

**Adopted Fashion Styles**

Fashion styles adopted by the 15 American women interviewed include clothes styles, accessories, hair styles, make-up and perfume worn for classes, meeting with friends, dating, and formal occasions.

**Clothes**
Campus Wear. Female college students in the 1970s tended to adopt very casual and comfortable fashion styles on campus. The 15 American women interviewed most frequently recalled wearing blue jeans, T-shirts, sweaters and turtlenecks. According to Rochat (1993), lifestyle is a major variable in decision making for an individual’s clothing selection, and at this time, casual was the dominant theme. At the same time that they were studying and working, students wanted to enjoy their youth and freedom.

A woman (A2), who went to college in the early 1970s, recalled that campus wear was more casual than in the 1960s, and saw the early 1970s as a transitional period toward informal style. In the 1950s and ’60s female students were required to wear skirts whenever they were in class at her college (College of Home Economics at Iowa State University).

Practicality was considered as a priority for campus wear by most students (ten of fifteen women interviewed). A woman (A9) recalled:

On campus I wore efficient student clothing. I wore jeans, sweaters, boots, or sneakers or tennis shoes. When I was on campus, my goal was to keep warm and dry and I really never thought much about trying to be fashionable. Being a student wasn’t, that wasn’t, where I made a fashion statement. I was more interested in how I looked when I was at work or with my friends. I remember my college advisor told me on the day I graduated, it was the first time he’d ever seen my legs.

Pants began to overshadow skirts. Fourteen of the fifteen women said that they primarily wore blue jeans, which became the unofficial uniform of college students throughout the decade. The symbolic significance of jeans has gone through a great evolution since the development as laborers in the middle 19th century. Wearing jeans in the late 1960s and early 1970s was associated with freedom, naturalism, anti-materialism and unisexuality, and their appeal was due to comfort, versatility, affordability and durability.
As with everything else, blue jean styles evolved throughout the decade from leftover hippie styles of the late 1960s to hip huggers (Figure 5.1 and 5.2), worn with a wide belt, turtleneck or sweaters (four women). The popularity of bell-bottoms continued into the middle 1970s often accompanied by men's work shirts and tie-dyed t-shirts. While some women enjoyed tie-dyed shirts, others thought that tie-dyed shirts looked dumb. One woman in particular wore only straight or box-pleated skirts with blouses and blazers or tailored jackets. Even though she would wear tailored pants suits or a pair of twill pants, she never wore jeans, attributing her aversion to denim to the way that she was raised in the 1950s.

In the middle 1970s, baggy jeans and pants gained popularity with short crop tops. A woman (A12) recalled, "In the beginning of the '70s, everything was pretty tight, and then by the end it seemed like we wore bigger clothes, looser clothes, so just whatever was in style I wore pretty much."

![Figure 5.1. Hip-huggered jeans (1972)](image1)  ![Figure 5.2. Hip-huggerd pants (1973)](image2)

Straight leg jeans, denim bib overalls and practical corduroy pants became popular late in the decade (Figure 5.3). A woman (A13), who attended college in the late 1970s remembered
the jeans she wore for classes. "Straight jeans, no pleats, a flat waist, just basic Levi kind of jeans with either a sorority T-shirt, a nice short sleeved top or a sweater with a shirt underneath -- never tight clothing, so moderately loose."

![Figure 5.3. Practical denim or corduroy pants and bib-overalls (1978)](image1)

![Figure 5.4. Pant suits with big plaids (1973)](image2)

The purchase of second-hand clothes was also indicative of 1970s fashion. A woman (A1) remembered that she often bought old blue jeans and individualized them in her own way:

Many of us put. I'm not sure what the material is, around the bottoms or up the sides. You would slit them. If you had old blue jeans that weren't bell-bottoms you would take out the seams to almost the knee and then make them ... Blue jeans always shrink after you bought them, and then you would put a couple an-inch or two of fabric around the bottom, and then make the slit and then put that material inside the slit. For decoration also partly make them longer.

Personalizing jeans was a way to express personal creativity. Counter-culture continued to thrive and personalized clothing went along with doing-your-own-thing (Gordon, 1991). The hippie look that rejected the mainstream fashion and conformity still existed, but even within their own groups, jeans were used as a means of expressing individuality and distinction. Books
such as *Clothing Liberation*, *Make it in Denim*, *The Jeans Scene* and *The Jeans Book* told people how to customize and re-fashion their own denim clothing (Gordon, 1991). Jeans embodied a paradox of individuality and conformity (Solomon, 1985). Like so many cultural icons that begin as statements of protest only to be co-opted by the mainstream, blue jeans went from an expression of anti-fashion to become the most everyday article of clothing of the decade, losing its symbol of rebelliousness. Bottom-up theory (Kaiser, 1990) applies to the diffusion of jeans that moved from the sub-culture dress code to the widely accepted American “uniform.” Jeans were adopted by fashion designers as high street fashion by the end of the decade, which also can be interpreted as bottom-up diffusion. Designer jeans were made to fit and stretch to the body in new polyester/denim blends, but they no longer possessed the cheap, long lasting, uniform characteristics of style.

One woman recalls that along with jeans, more formal pants styles were popular in the classroom. Bell-bottom style pants worn with a tunic top were often worn with a large jacket. Pantsuits with big plaids (Figure 5.4) were very popular. There was a tendency for college women to wear jeans more frequently as freshman and sophomores than in their later college years. A simple T-shirt, turtleneck sweater or a long sleeved blouse with a vest was often worn along with jeans or other pants.

In the beginning of the 1970s mini skirts, short one-piece dresses (Figure 5.5), and hippie styles still prevailed. One woman remembered hippie style cut-off jeans and a poncho with a high back as well as hip hugger bell-bottom jeans.
In the winter, hooded parkas and ski-jackets were the practical item for keeping warm on campus. "Flannel shirts. sweaters. big on sweaters. That kind of stuff. I had one of those hooded parkas. that you zipped up and had the frill around the face. so you can walk across campus in the middle of winter. Ski-jacket, that was common. typical attire" (A13).

A woman (A 15). who went to college in New York State from 1978-82 recalled the popularity of blue in color:

Um. usually pants. either jeans or some corduroy pants. I remember. But. casual kind of pants and cotton shirts. stuff like that ... I think the pants were pretty straight legged by that time. Not baggy. but not really tight fitting and T-shirts. blue. I know I had a lot of blue color. Like dark blue, I remember that. And pants and shirts. I just remember a lot of. of just having a lot of blue things. I can remember a pair of green thin corduroy pants. And also some flowered dresses. Little flowered pattern ... I remember several long-sleeved shirts and kind of just sort of basic blouse. Not tight fitting, just with tails, so you tuck them in. And then I can also remember skirts. A lot of kind of calf length skirts that were pretty wide. Heavy cotton.

Meeting with Friends. Nine of the fifteen women wore the same clothes for classes as they did when socializing with friends, which seems to reflect students' financial situations.
They could not afford a big wardrobe containing a variety of clothes for different occasions. In addition, their lives primarily revolved around campus life, being busy with study and work.

However, five women answered that they wore "less casual styles" or/and "nicer clothes" (Figure 5.6) for meeting with friends than they did on the campus. I asked them to clarify what they meant by "nicer." One woman replied "better fabric, more colorful, with some sort of texture or design in them other than plain like just a T-shirt and in case of jeans, just newer pairs probably." An example of "less casual style" was twill pants or patterned pants with a shirt and a blazer.

Simple one-piece dresses that were more formal than jeans became common for meeting friends. Polyester that was a convenient, inexpensive fabric was very popular. A woman (A3) remembered:

If we were going to someplace more formal, to dinner or something like that, most of the styles would be, I hate to admit this, but probably of an artificial fabric. Polyester was really big back then because you could wash it and dry it and didn't have to iron, and on campus that was very helpful. And they tended to be very simple styles, very simple dresses, either long sleeves or short sleeves. Just plain necks and usually just A-line dresses. Very very simple, maybe a carry over from the Jacqueline Kennedy days.

There was also a desire for better fabrics such as wool with a "fairly fitted crew necked cotton knit sweater. I could wear a lot of wool, my blazers were wool or some polyester twill."

According to one woman (A15), "That would depend where. Sometimes the very same clothes. Like if we went out to a bar or to eat pizza or something like that, same clothes. The dresses and skirts, if we went to a nicer restaurant. Never anything fancy in college. I don't think I owned anything that was fancy."

**Dating.** Individuals are generally encouraged to construct their appearance to meet the social normative expectations symbolic to the culture, and this strongly affects apparel selection
(Rudd & Lennon, 2000). According to Kaiser (1990), identity is a self-in-context—a self that is embedded in social relations and situations. Gender is a socially constructed concept that guides individual behavior considered appropriate for men and women (Lennon, Rudd, Sloan, & Kim, 1999). Therefore, dating for most women most likely requires a self-presentation that embodies accepted notions of femininity.

Clothing for dating was grouped into three categories. Five respondents wore nicer clothes/less casual style (Group 1), two wore more feminine styles (Group 2), and seven wore the same styles as they wore when meeting with friends (Group 3). These choices may reflect individual ideas of gender and the role of women as either more or less traditional.

Women in Group 1 avoided wearing jeans for dating, opting for nicer, dressier pants, pants suits or twill pants with a nicer top rather than jeans and T-shirts. They expressed more concern for the occasion as a formal event, even though they did not wear a skirt as a means of increasing their feminine appearance:

I probably didn't wear jeans. I probably wore more of the pantsuits, a nice pants and nice top, or dressier pants, not jeans. I don't know if I did wear skirts. I remember a skirt that I wore, and the skirt was almost shorter than the vest that I had. And to sit, you had to be careful how you would sit. So that might have been, depending on where you went with the date. But most of the dates were to a movie or I remember walking around on campus, and so it was probably pants that I wore. Unless it was a special party or dance, then from the pictures that I have there I probably most often wore pantsuits. (A2)

Group 2 women tried to look more feminine on dates. These women wore skirts and feminine (romantic) blouses of fluid or sheer fabrics (Figure 5.7), or feminine patterns (flower patterns etc.) (Figure 5.8). They had more traditional ideas of gender roles and were more conscious of how femininity was linked to beauty. Whether conscious or unconscious, there was
an effort on their part to meet men’s expectations, and they may have used their femininity to exert power in a gendered world (Rudd, 1997):

Actually when dating was probably the one time you would see me wearing skirts. You know most guys like girls in skirts and so I would wear skirts on dates. This (pointing out a picture of her in a blouse made of Qiana) is pretty a typical date outfit. Qiana is the fabric the blouse is made out of. And, Qiana is a fabric that DuPont made. It’s a synthetic polyester-based fabric, but it was very thin, and you can print pictures on it ... And, suede skirt that snapped at the front ... Something like that. I wore miniskirts. Oh heavens, I had really good legs and certainly when I was in college, I wore really short skirts. That’s more like a mini-length skirt that’s from 75. I will tell you in 71, 72, 73, 74, honey I wore short skirts ... I actually have had one skirt and I can remember the entire skirt was 18" long and it stopped ... In the mid-1970s, you began to find people playing with skirt lengths ... In the early 70s, you had women wearing peasant dresses which were full-length dresses, I had a couple of those but I never really like them. I was a little more conservative than that and I did wear more miniskirts or short skirts until about 75, 76 and then skirt lengths began to get a little longer. Like this outfit, this was taken November 21, 1971. That tells you, that was taken my freshman year of college and that is a plaid outfit with short shorts or sometimes called hot pants with a matching vest and over that a skirt that came up to the mid calf length, middle of the calf. It was called a midi. Yes. So in the early 70s, you had maxi skirts which were floor lengths. Midi, which was the middle of the calf and mini was high above the knee as you dared to go and I wore all 3 lengths at the same time. But minis were probably my favorite because I had good legs. Those were really, I remember having men tell me, wow those are great legs. (A9)
Group 3 is women who wore the same styles for meeting friends as they did when going on dates for a variety of reasons. Two women pointed out that dating in college was a relatively casual event:

It again just depended where we were going because if we were, a lot of times, a group of us would just get together, go out the park and throw the ball around or something. It was just jeans and shirts on it. Only if we were going out for more formal dinners together would it be different. (A3)

A woman (A1) remembered that she did not feel comfortable in a skirt:

Same. No skirts. There have been times in my life when I have not owned any at all. I just don’t feel like myself. I feel uncomfortable. Not physically or psychologically?

Yeah. Not me. Not comfortable. right.

However, special consideration of accessories, even with the same kind of clothes, did make a difference on a date.

Then. I probably wore jeans but I wore something. nicer top. I wore a leotard with a nicer sweater ... But yeah, still the same kind of clothes just probably a little better. more stylish. Jewelry. I can remember big earrings and stuff like that when I went out on dates. more jewelry. (A13)
**Formal Occasions.** Clothing worn for formal occasions included short or long one-piece or two-piece dresses or pantsuits. Formal occasions included going to church, symphonies and operas, or fancy dinners. Ten of the fifteen women considered a one-piece dress (Figure 5.9) a formal occasion outfit. Only one wore long dresses (Figure 5.10) while the rest wore only short or knee-length dresses. A woman (A11), who went to college in the late 1970s described in detail the dress she wore for formal occasions:

For a formal occasion I would wear a dress. At that time they were relatively short, above or below knee, or pretty short skirt, some sort of flowered print cotton. The bodice was more fitted and the sleeves were kind of puffy a little bit. Brighter colors or highly contrasted colors like white and bright blue and maybe some yellows and greens. Smaller collars and some had a little bit larger floppy collar. Most of them were a little bit smaller. The skirt was kind of a A-line or slightly gathered.

Seven women wore nicer pants or pantsuits, mostly for church, dances, special parties or formal dinners. Two women enjoyed two-piece dresses. Other answers included skirts and sweater tops or skirts and blouses. Five of the seven wore one-piece dresses as well as pantsuits.
Pants—traditionally a symbol of masculine power—were increasingly chosen as feminine clothes not only for informal occasions but also in the office as well as for formal occasions, reflecting the social and economic liberation of women in the decade.

Unlike campus wear, more careful choices in design were made for formal occasions, often based on the person's own body shape. One woman was so conscious of her "big hips," that she tried to cover them with a long sweater, jacket or vest, and she didn't like to tuck clothes in because she always thought she was too round. She rarely wore a tight fitting bodice, and if she did, she always had a jacket over it.

For many women, dressing for formal occasions was associated with femininity. One woman dressed more feminine for more formal occasions. She wore dresses that were lower cut—depending on the time of year—ruffled collars, made out of chiffon or qiana knit (shiny icky knit). Another respondent's formal outfit was "a white silk blouse with black velvet pant suit. It would be sheer or it would have ruffles at the collar. Or I would wear a long black skirt and white blouse." Accordingly, high-heeled shoes also emphasized femininity.

Although the majority of the women interviewed tended to be conservative, they allowed for more revealing designs in their formal wear such as "lower cuts." (Figure 5.11) "I had some dresses I wore in the summer. They were one little strap and cotton sun dresses. But in the winter, I would wear wool skirts, blazer, so it would really depend" (A12).

Synthetic fabrics such as polyester were common because they were relatively inexpensive and easy to care for, but chiffon, velvet, wool and cotton were also popular.
Accessories

Wide acceptance of casual and comfortable clothes on the campus in the 1970s carried over to shoes, bags and other accessories.

Shoes. Comfortable shoes were widely accepted among college students. "Simple" and "traditional" described the favorite styles. One woman remembered that she "always followed the fashion in shoes, not traditional." Of the 15 respondents, the footwear most often referred to were sandals (eight), tennis shoes (seven), loafers (five), boots (four), pumps (four), high heels worn with more formal attire (four), clogs (three), shoes with platform soles (two), earth shoes (two) and hush puppies (two).

Boots were divided into two different styles: fashionable boots and hiking boots. Three women wore fashionable boots almost coming up to the knee, fitted to the leg (Figure 5.12) with a skirt, or not as fitted with pants. One woman wore hiking boots with jeans to her classes. Two women said that they never wore boots because they did not closely follow fashion.
Clogs were popular. A woman (A2) remembered:

I wore clogs, but they were platform shoes. With the heavy, big chunk soles, the real high ... I remember buying lots of pairs of those through the '70s because I was short and I liked the height that they gave me. I bought an Italian pair that I just loved.

Earth shoes were also big:

I wore earth shoes, they were big at that time. They were like, they had a special sole in them that was, no, they were real flat, it was like the precursor to Birkenstocks, I mean, they supposedly fit your feet well and all that kind of stuff. But they were complete shoes, they weren’t like a sandal. They were huge in the late 70s. Everybody had earth shoes, yeah. It’s kind of like the Birkenstocks trend is now, only back then it was that. Trekkies were another kind of shoe that everybody had. They were usually like a little shoe boot and they had 2 holes, eyelets where you laced them up and they were suede usually. And they had a softer sole. (A13)

A woman (A9) mentioned Mary Janes:

There was a brief period in 72 where Mary Janes were popular. They’re little shoes, little girls wear them because they’re shoes with round toes, very flat, and a little strap that goes here. They’re just a little round toe slippers almost with but they do have a heel with a little strap that goes here. They were very fashionable one year and I got a pair ... They could be made of anything, but patent leather usually. Mine were black patent leather.

It was fashionable to coordinate accessories by matching colors between shoes and bags with the colors and styles of an entire outfit. One woman remembered that she had a couple pairs of black and brown shoes to match with her bags. Another said, “The shoes would always match the outfits. I had a lot of shoes.” Leather, patent leather, suede and canvas were commonly mentioned materials.

**Bags and Purses.** Six woman had backpacks and five had book bags with straps. One woman remembered, “Big book bag made of cloth. It could have Art Institute, Metropolitan Museum or something like that on it. It would probably have a logo on it.” Another woman (A9) recalled, “I carried the world’s ugliest book bag. It was a big hippie looking brown
cowhide bag that I carried all my books and notebooks and money in. Leather, but it wasn’t nice leather it was cheap leather, but I could afford and over my shoulder.” Three women carried books in their arm or hand without book bags, which was in fad at that time. According to a woman (A3):

We didn’t have book bags back then. Never carried them in the ‘70s. We just carried our books. There were no book bags in the University of Nebraska in the ‘70s. Isn’t that amazing? I look back and I don’t know how we did that but nobody did. I mean, a few people, not many.

Several women did not have many purses. “I did have a purse, but it was sort of a one purse that fit most occasions, that I would carry back and forth to like brown or black, and in the summer a lighter colored tan or light brown.” Shoulder purses were far more popular than hand held purses. Some women preferred small purses, “very little narrow purses with a clasp and a skinny strap on it.” However, others did enjoy big purses, “big bags in leather or sometimes in the summer time a lighter material, like a canvas type.” “I did carry a purse, great big leather, kind of bag that had a draw string top on it.”

Four women remembered that they always tried to have shoes and purses to match. One recalled, “If I bought a pair of shoes, then I would buy a purse that would go with those shoes or could be used, like a black purse that could be used with several different pairs of shoes.” One woman declared that she never carried a purse. “I hated purses so I didn’t carry a purse, but my backpack and I think I had a fanny pack. Just a little … that you can wear around your waist. But I would wear it on my arm, too. You can hang it over your arm. So it was like a purse, actually. And it was leather.”

**Jewelry.** Most women did not wear a lot of jewelry. Simple, minimal and modest were most common adjectives that described the jewelry they owned. Most of it was inexpensive and
was not made of gold or silver, or contained any precious stones. Some women stated that they had never worn earrings, bracelets or necklaces because it bothered them to have things hanging around their necks, or dangling from their wrists and ears. Two women said the only thing they remembered wearing was a watch.

Among all 15 women, earrings were the most popular item of jewelry. Dangling earrings as well as simple hoops were more popular than posts. Most women had pierced ears and wore earrings all the time. Some did not have their ears pierced but wore clamp earrings. Three women did not wear earrings at all. Two complained that they developed a metal allergy after they had their ears pierced, and the other said that earrings bothered her and she never felt comfortable wearing them.

Six women answered that they wore necklaces. Three wore simple gold chains. Beads and macramé were also big fads. One woman remembered, “Everybody wore beads. I owned a good set of pearls.” One woman mentioned her beaded choker necklaces, while another remembered, “We wore lots of macramé necklaces. They were made of a ... you take like a twine, and braid them, and they have wooden beads usually. Or stones sometimes.”

Four women wore bracelets. Two wore macramé with “different colored stones on it,” or “slide on bracelets and ring type bracelets.” One woman recalled, “The crocheted or the macramé jewelry was kind of big, wearing the beads or kind of crafted work to the jewelry, that was about it.”

Rings were the second most popular item as jewelry. Seven women wore rings: class ring from high school (one), birthstone ring (two), simple gold ring (two), ring with mother of pearl (one), cameo ring (one).
One woman was an exception because her father and grandfather were jewelers. She always had very nice jewelry and accessorized them with belts, scarves or jewelry. She tended to wear real stones and gold rather than silver.

**Hats.** Seven women answered that they did not wear hats at all, suggesting that hats were not a big fashion item in the 1970s. Four women had never worn hats. Two answered that they wore hats only to keep warm, such as a stocking cap (Figure 5.13). One woman who did wear hats remembered her leather hats with a flat brim.

**Others.** Scarves were in fashion and worn in many different ways. They were worn around the neck with a jacket, or wrapped around the head like a turban or a bandanna. One woman remembered, “The scarves and bandanna were always kind of flowered or brighter color.” Four subjects mentioned bandannas. One remembered having bandanas that she or her grandmother knitted or crocheted. Another remembered, “I did a lot of bandanas in my hair when I was dressed just casually. I had really long curly hair at that time so it kept it sort of tamed with the bandanna.” Bright colored scarves were often worn with blue jeans and matching tops.

**Hair**

At the beginning of the 1970s, long hair (Figure 5.14) was very popular among young women. Seven of the 15 women interviewed wore their hair very long. Long hair was sometimes braided, pulled back in a ponytail, or twisted up on the head. Four women wore their hair almost to the waist and three wore it in the middle of the back or little longer than the shoulder, though one woman wore her hair above the shoulder. While most of them did not color their hair, one woman sometimes dyed her hair from dirty blonde to blonde.
Two women who had naturally curly hair made efforts to straighten it since that was in fashion at that time:

I have naturally curly hair and so throughout elementary and high school I always kept it fairly short. But in college in 70, 71, 72, everybody wore their hair long. And, I did everything I could to straighten my hair. I used all the commercial straighteners that were on the market. I ironed my hair. I tried several different things. You put it on the ironing board and then flatten it. I put wax paper and then tried to flatten it. Because that wasn’t cool. The styles at that time were long, straight hair. (A2)

Three women had long hair until the middle 1970s then changed it to mid-length or shorter in later years. A woman (A10) remembered a layer cut:

Oh gosh. I wore a lot of different... I wore long hair and it’s straight.... I must have gotten my hair cut there, permanent, and I think I had one of those in college. That’s my hair story to begin, they kind of had the layer cut. they used to called it the Farrah Faucett cut. do you remember that? She was on Charlie’s Angels. She had this beautiful hair but it was thick. People got their haircut like it, my hair was too thin to be cut like Farrah Faucett, but it was more of a layer up there kind of bangs.... I guess my hair is mainly long and straight, either put back in barrettes, if I didn’t have a perm. I didn’t perm my hair much in the 70s.
Two women had mid-length hair, shoulder length or a little longer. Both of them went to college in the late 1970s. One had it permed or used hot rollers to curl it back from the face. The other had it straight most of the time though sometimes it was permed. Overall, there was an evolution of hairstyles from long and straight to shorter and waved.

Make-up and Perfume

Ten of the 15 women wore perfume. Seven remembered the name(s) of the brand(s) they wore while three had no recollection. Two women wore Muguet de Bois by Coty, two wore Intimate, one wore Ambush, one wore Avon Occur, one wore L’air du Temps, one wore Charlie, one wore White Shoulders, one wore Ralph Lauren, one wore Bellodgia, and one thinks she wore Max Factor but is not positive. Five respondents did not wear perfume, one recalling that she could not afford it until she got a job.

In general, most respondents either wore no makeup or makeup that was very light and “natural.” This may reflect their status as college students as well as the styles at the time. While at the beginning of the 1970s pale lipstick was common because eye makeup was emphasized, later in the decade lipstick color became redder and deeper. By the middle 1970s lips had become the most important facial feature.

Responses to Adopted Fashion Styles

Other people’s responses to the styles are important factors when a young person is formulating her or his self-image as well as determining what style clothes she or he will ultimately adopt. Adolescent females in particular have a higher awareness of relationships with others and are more attentive to social feedback than males (Leahy & Shirk, 1985). Positive
responses from others may reinforce the clothing selection behavior and a person may choose specific clothes more often while negative feedback may discourage the clothing selection (Kaiser, 1990). When the respondent is a very influential individual, such as parents, their responses may have more weight on an individual’s clothing selection, all of which may reveal cultural values that reflect society at that given time.

**From Parents.** The responses from parents were divided into positive responses, no response, or negative responses. Three women received positive responses, six received no response, and six received negative responses.

The women who received positive responses from their parents had a tendency to adopt relatively conservative or traditional styles. There was one exception from a woman whose style was extremely conservative. Her mother tried to persuade her to try a new style or a different style rather than dress the same all the time.

The main objections or concern parents had toward their daughters’ choices of fashion revolved around neatness, femininity and modesty, which reflected the standards and values of an older generation. From these interviews I found that parents put great importance on a cleanliness and neatness. This was consistent to other researchers’ findings that indicated older adults are especially attentive to neatness in appearance and tend to respond favorably to people who are dressed accordingly (Lambert, 1972; Judd, Bull, & Gahagan, 1975). The hippie look was most often seen as the antithesis of neatness, and wearing jeans with T-shirts only or wearing pants rather than skirts was in conflict with the idea of propriety as well as femininity in general.

The parents of these respondents seemed to have more traditional idea of gender roles and notions of femininity that were being challenged by feminist ideologies of their children’s
generation. In a social climate in which freedom of all kinds, including sexual freedom prevailed, the younger generation had more permissive standards of modesty expressed by varying degrees of revealing clothing such as shorter skirt lengths or deep necklines.

One respondent claims that for the first five years of the 1970s she and everybody she knew wore blue jeans and T-shirts all of the time. They all bought their double-breasted wool coats at Army surplus stores and she fit in with their peers despite her parents’ objections. “They didn’t like blue jeans, they didn’t like that I looked like a hippie, they didn’t like long hair. They wanted me to have dresses. They wanted me to dress up. But I didn’t.” They wanted her to wear more neat and feminine styles. Her jeans for example were too long or too frayed at the bottom or too old or raggy, and T-shirts were one of her parents’ major concerns.

Even though some parents objected to the hippie look, one woman’s parents were an exception:

Actually, in the ‘70s my mother kind of liked me to look. She liked that hippie look. She liked that long, long hair and hoop earrings, and rummage sale clothes. Oh, that was another favorite dress I had that I bought for about 50 cents at a rummage sale. And it was actually blue and white polka dots, and a sheath. And it just kinda came straight down, and I wore it with like a rope, a homemade rope tie belt. And I had very long hair, and this rope tie belt, and sandals. And I remember my mother liking that. When we went someplace she would tell her friends, my daughter bought that dress for 50 cents, and she would kind of pretend to go. Oh my God, isn’t that terrible. But then she really liked it, because she liked me to look kind of kooky. (A7)

The primary objects of parents’ concern for modesty were mini skirts and revealing halter tops. Even one woman whose mother gave her compliments for being fashionable and having good taste remembered that Mother sometimes expressed concern about her short skirts. A woman (A11) remembered her parents’ concern about her halter tops:

I guess halter tops were a big phase at that time, so you know tied up haltered tops around the back and then lower cut hip hugger blue jeans. That was not my
parents' favorite top at all. Everybody liked those, I mean everyone was wearing them. Some of the tops were unique or some of the tops were cool or looked nice.

This exposes a significant generation gap. According to (A3), "I remember one style that I had that absolutely drove them nuts. My mother was from the 1940s where women wore bright red lip stick and in the late 60s and 70s, there was a style where the lip stick was very pale, almost white, and that absolutely drove her nuts."

Most of the women who did not receive any concerned responses dressed like the mainstream and "didn’t do anything terribly different."

From Peers. Most women received either positive responses or no comments from their peers. Favorable complements included phrases such as fashionable, in good taste, upscale, creative, unique, cool, etc. The women who received compliments were relatively more dressed up than their peers:

My peers would perceive me as pretty fashion conservative and more upscale. I was never kind of a hippie dresser at all. My parents always thought my skirts were too short. I would say generally, I looked like my peers ... I always think of what I read about Coco Chanel: Coco Chanel said, 'Dress outlandishly and they remember the dress, dress elegantly and they remember the woman...'. I was decorated like someone who wore Chanel. Lots of the classic Chanel suit with the pockets had the gold buttons and lots of gold chains and things. I would have less ornamentation than that. (A9)

I think for the most part, people felt like I was fashionable and had good taste. I think I tended to dress up more than most of my friends usually. I would wear jeans and t-shirts, but I dressed up a little bit more. (A10)

Here again, a different standard of modesty between parents and peer group is noticeable. Some parents expressed their concern over how much halter tops revealed, while peers complimented the tops for being unique, cool or looking nice. Individuals who get negative feedback from their parents are most likely conforming to the styles of their peer group.
Five women did not get any response from their peers. Most of them remembered that they dressed the same as other members of their group. "Well, we all dressed similarly. It was all pretty much the same, so we just kind of fit together." "I don't remember that much. I mean, when all you basically wear is jeans and tops, it's a little hard to have any reaction to it, so I really don't remember anything there."

None of the women recalled receiving negative responses from their peer groups.

In American culture it seems to be almost taboo to make a negative (even if frank) comments about another person's appearance in the same way people are weary of pointing out one's lack of social skills. This runs parallel to other cultures, though maybe on a different level. However, parents' ability and willingness to give criticism can be ruthless.

References to Style Selection

A variety of sources were used as reference by the 15 women as guides to choosing styles. In many cases, individuals used more than one source of reference (see table 5.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store display</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV program</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music (Rock) stars</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalogues (for mail order)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern books</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Peers were the source that most women relied on, and this included both the general group as well as a specific individual. There has been research to indicate that female adolescents were greatly and more influenced by friends when making clothing choices than male adolescents (May & Koester, 1985). Aside from their peers, most other sources of influence came from popular culture:

For me it was probably other peers. Like I said, they may start a new style based on what they saw in the movies or what they saw in a magazine. I wouldn’t be the one to start wearing that until after I had seen it on a number of people and felt comfortable with it myself. So it probably was other people, other people that I saw on campus or in my classes, or my sorority. (A2)

Specifically, “hippies on campus” or “a close friend who looked neat and sharp” were also influential sources.

Seven of the 15 women relied on magazines—an easy access to cultural images of bodies and fashion—for reference. In general, each woman looked at more than one type of magazine (see table 5.3).

Table 5. 3. Magazines Used as Reference to Styles in the U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine Title</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mademoiselle</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glamour</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventeen</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper's Bazaar</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post and Life Magazine (2-3 page fashion section)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New Yorker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New York Times (fashion section on Sundays)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One woman pointed out that as a student, her financial situation did not allow her to subscribe to fashion magazines that were relatively expensive, and another woman recalled that she enjoyed looking at them at the doctor's office but never subscribed to fashion magazines herself.

There was a strong positive relationship between the use of fashion magazines such as *Mademoiselle*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Glamour*, *Seventeen*, and *Cosmopolitan* as a reference and the subjects' overall interest in fashion. Only women with average to high interest in fashion used them as reference, and the use of high fashion magazines such as *Mademoiselle* and *Harper's Bazaar* were seen as the top of the heap. This is consistent with other research. Painter and Pinegar (1971) report that female college students who were fashion innovators read more fashion magazines than students less interested in fashion.

Five women relied on store display and retailer's suggestions out of convenience. The reason why store display as well as peers influenced more than other sources was likely that those were around everybody. There was no positive relationship between the reliance on peers or store display and fashion interest.

Five women relied on movies as a major source of fashion style reference. "Certainly movies. I did probably see every movie Audrey Hepburn ever made, twice." One woman paid attention to women in rock-and-roll, one cited TV programs, one mentioned the Sears and Montgomery Ward's catalogues, and one referred to Simplicity pattern books.

Sears and Montgomery Ward's, probably those two, because it showed what was available and easy to order from, it was a common thing to do is order clothes from a catalog. Also it gave you lots of pictures to look at see how it looked on person, or a style. (A11)
Pattern books influenced this woman’s fashion style in two different ways. One was that she made garments from the design and patterns by Simplicity, and the other was that she bought ready-to-wear designs similar to what she saw in the pattern book.

**Ideal Styles**

Responses to questions pertaining to ideal styles were divided into three groups: “I wore my ideal style” (Group 1), “I didn’t wear my ideal style” (Group 2), and “I didn’t have an ideal style” or “I have never thought of it” (Group 3). If a woman’s ideal style was different from what she actually wore, she was asked to describe her ideal style or name a person who exhibited that style. These sources were ranged from fashion models to movie stars to political figures such as feminists and writers to peers to the styles presented by famous designers’ works.

The ideal styles of the seven women in Group 1 were described as comfortable, feminine, or arty, funky, and bohemian. Five of the seven women’s ideal style was something comfortable, varying from pants suits, pants with a sweater or jacket, to jeans and t-shirts.

Fashion model Lauren Hudson and singer Stevie Nicks were examples that represented their ideal style. While two women considered their own body shape as their ideal styles, some emphasized that there was a gap between their more realistic bodies and models with more ideal figures. A woman (A2) said:

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Probably the ideal style was the pant suits, with the pants and a long jacket or a vest of some kind. That’s what I wore because I thought it looked best on me or complemented my figure. That probably influenced it more than... I had seen models, but I thought I couldn’t wear that. That’s not me. That’s fine for them, it looks neat, but that’s not me.
```

One woman expressed her ideal “feminine” style as “frilly, puffy sleeves types of things” while another woman’s ideal was “arty, funky, bohemian, freer and artier.”
Six of the fifteen women in Group 2 said their ideal style was different from what they wore. Three of the six women identified their ideal as a fashion model's style, the style of a fashion designer's works or a character's from a movie. Tailored style represented by Audrey Hepburn and Givenchy and romantic styles in the movie, *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* were identified as ideal:

Well, I loved Audrey Hepburn.... So, I think tailored. I don’t know what word describes that look. To me, I always called that a very tailored look. (A8)

My favorite designer in the whole wide world has been Givenchy. His clothes are so fresh and crisp. They are feminine without of being full of ruffles and lace. He doesn’t need ruffles and lace to make woman look like a woman. I’ve always thought Givenchy, particularly in his clothes in the 60s and 70s, had a great image of a powerful but feminine woman.... Certainly in my life as a student. I represented cheap, what I could afford, but my professional clothes, yes, I tried to imitate as much as I could, my ideal style within my budget. (A9)

I’m trying to think of movie stars at that time. I think you know the movie, one of the movies that was popular at that time was *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, you know in that type, if I remember right, I can’t remember the name of the women who was in there, her clothes was kind of a peasant style. Yeah, gathered and it would usually have like a little flounced at the bottom or another gathered part at the bottom, the neck was usually gathered around here and maybe an elastic waist and the sleeves, puffed sleeves a little bit.”

*Could it be romantic style?*

Yes. (A11)

One woman’s ideal style was that of one of her friends:

I do remember I had a friend who came from a very wealthy family and she always had angora sweaters, and you know, silk this and silk that, I didn’t have that so and they were like collar neck sweaters with wool pleaded pants, more of a classic cut and Talbots look and I always thought that was really nice and she looked really wealthy and I liked her style but I can never afford it.... Yeah, classic style. She portrayed wealth in simplicity just by, she didn’t wear a lot of jewelry, but her hair was always neat, her clothes were impeccable and made of the best fabrics and simple lines. (A14)
Jackie Kennedy Onassis' "simple" style was considered ideal, as was that of feminist writer/activist, Gloria Steinem, "She is a feminist. Now she must be 60. She wore very hip clothes. Pretty, but feminist. She is a writer, a speaker."

Two of the 15 women answered that they did not have any ideal style since "they didn't pay a lot of attention to fashion" and "dressed conservatively, not with fashion trends."

These women's ideal styles or ideals of beauty are closely linked to their clothing selections. In addition, ideal styles may make individuals compare themselves to more attractive, ideal images—upward comparison—and result in increased self-dissatisfaction (Rudd & Lennon, 2000).

**Style Conformity to Peer Group**

The respondents were asked, "Did you dress like your peers?" Nine women said they did, while six said they did not, and they gave three different reasons why this was or was not the case. Five women replied that they dressed like their peers in order "to be accepted, to fit into the group, consciously or unconsciously."

Female college peer groups in which members have frequent interactions tend to share mutual interests, and great importance is placed on group cohesiveness and acceptance. Appearance is one way to express their mutual interests and collective tastes as well as values and norms, and conforming to the group reduces anxiety by gaining social acceptance (Kaiser, 1990).

In American culture, individualism is as deeply rooted as capitalism and democracy, and individuality has been touted as a means of freedom and creativity. However, in the context of
female college peer groups, conforming to the norm seems to be more conducive to peer acceptance than individuality (Creekmore, 1980):

Yes. Everybody kind of hung out together and you, not exactly like that, usually right along the same lines. I think I dressed to fit in so I didn’t stand out or be totally different. Sometimes there was something I might like that was a little different than what they had that I would wear but typically fit into the group. (A11)

Yeah, very much so. I can remember sitting at the table in the dorm having dinner noting that all eight people who were seated at the table had bib overalls on, you know, that was just the style, that’s what just we wore so probably to get some peer identity, I don’t know.

Did you feel safe?
Probably, yeah. Felt like more like you belonged to this group. It probably had to do with the fact I really wanted to be identified as a member of this group. Those were my friends and the things we did for social life, it was part of that ‘being who you are’ kind of thing. (A13)

Three women also indicated that “you choose friends who are kind of like you.” The styles that the three women liked were styles their peers liked because they were similar.

I think you choose friends who are kind of like you. I had girl friends that I went shopping with. We liked the same things. Actually, I had one friend, she doesn’t live here anymore, but we used to very frequently when we were both teaching, we would show up wearing the same kind of thing. We wore a lot of earth tones, earth colors, and natural fibers. And we would end up wearing the same outfit. (A7)

Well, I dressed like my immediate peers. yes.... It wasn’t a conscious decision. We just all dressed the same. I think partly we came that way. We were friends because we were similar, and one of the ways we were similar was how we dressed. (A15)

Another reason was “just followed the fashion style.”

Four women wore different styles from those of their peer groups. One woman remembered that she looked very different while three women indicated a little difference:

No, I didn’t dress like my peers. Because I was more comfortable probably being much dressier because I didn’t wear the jeans. I didn’t do that. I still don’t do that. And in the 70s, I just was always dressier. I always wore makeup, fingernail
polish, I always wear jewelry. And, in the 70s many people didn’t. I had long fingernails. I wore polish, I always wore my jewelry, they’re family pieces and my dress was always, what I wore was dressier. And my peers would be wearing jeans, very casual. (A6)

Three other women’s answers were: “I was more conservative than my peers.” “I would say in college I dressed a little bit less casually than my friends at the time probably because I worked at the clothing store.” “I was a lot more dressed up than most people … My major is clothing and textiles—or was, so I had a little bit more interest level, so I always wanted to look nice, nicest as I could afford to look so.”

Values and Appearance

Kaiser (1990) suggested that values help us to identify what is important to us and they affect our preferences and choices. Values clearly underlie appearance communication, and they are linked to both appearance management and perception and serve to shape a personal sense of focus in everyday life. Cunningham and Lab (1991) also see that clothing as an artifact can be an unconscious and unintentional conveyor of attitudes, values and beliefs. Individuals, on an almost unconscious level, continuously assess what we should wear (Kaiser, 1990).

Young Women’s Values in the 1970s

The 1970s saw rapid change in social values in America. Of the women interviewed, seven stated that values young women held at this time were represented by feminism and striving for the equality of women as well as racial and religious minorities. Three women stated that liberal and permissive attitudes were an influence. Three cited the anti-war movement, two
cited anti-materialism, two cited anti-establishmentarianism, two said good family and education, and one said religion (see table 5.4).

Table 5.4. Young Women's Values in the U.S. in the 1970s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value Dimension</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>equality for women as well as racial and religious minorities (or feminism)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberal and permissive attitude (or freedom/free love)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anti-Vietnam war</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anti-materialism</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anti-establishment</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good family and education</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religion</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the late 1960s and early 1970s the United States went through dramatic social and political turmoil. Three of the women interviewed saw the early 1970s as "the time of protest against the Vietnam War," which polarized society and led to widespread rejection of mainstream social norms among much of the younger generation (Gordon, 1991):

The early part of the 70s was very similar to the late 60s. This was the time of the protest; the whole anti-Vietnam War movement was from 1967 to 73 when Nixon finally resigned. There was incredible amount of protest on the campus to get the U.S. out of the Vietnam War and quite a few people joined the Peace Corps and Vista ... A lot of people I knew, and I also thought, that you should pick something to do with your life that helps people ... I think helping people. kind of doing your part, making the world a better place. (A1)

Youths were politically active throughout the decade and growing more independent with new rights and responsibilities. They were optimistic and idealistic.

Paradoxically, there was also a carefree attitude among young people in the early 1970s. Even though people in rural America still held to strong conservative values, overall there was an attitude toward having fun and doing whatever felt good. Liberal and permissive attitudes
prevailed among college students pursuing a sense of freedom. Sexual promiscuity and the use of drugs such as marijuana and LSD were common:

The early '70s were characterized by a 'live and let live' attitude with people experimenting with alternative lifestyles, value systems, recreational drugs—just about anything that was a total departure from the cultures in which their parents were raised. The musical, Hair captures well many of these concepts. (A5)

The United States in the 1970s was well into the post-industrial stage, and a wave of anti-materialism swept the country. Many of the attitudes of the 1960s remained strong and the popularity of second-hand clothes among youth reflected non-materialistic culture in the decade. A woman (A6) describes it vividly:

It doesn't make any difference what you wear, but who you are. In the '70s, you looked at the person, not what the things the person had. You didn’t look at, you moved away from, having a nice car or nice clothes; those didn’t define the person as much as getting to know them. There was probably less emphasis on the economic side of life. In other words, while you need to be able to feed and clothe yourself, you didn’t need to have a bank account, saving account, that wasn’t a big thing. In the mid '70s, because of the political system in the U.S. with the war, Vietnam war and Richard Nixon, the value of the people, my generation, we became jaded, we truly didn't think, we thought we had the better way of perceiving how you went about on living your life. Many of us didn’t understand why we were in Vietnam and what was going on, many of us thought that it was important to go into Vietnam, so when the generation splits, you know you need to change something. I think our value system was not necessarily that everything was wrong with what we’re doing, it is time for change. We tended to throw out old things, old things we’ve been holding on to. One of them was of accumulation of wealth. We believed that you didn’t need to accumulate a lot of wealth.

Among all of the social changes in the United States during the 1970s, the continuing swell of the women’s movement was perhaps the most prominent. The changes in gender roles and family life, the increasing educational and economic opportunities, the changing image of women in the media all contributed to the new images of women (Wandersee, 1988). The modern feminist movement in America can be traced to a series of efforts in the 1960s, such as
the publication of Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963, the addition of the category of sex to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 (Morgan, 1970). One woman (A10) recalled:

In the 1970s, the Women’s Movement was well underway in the United States with several major pieces of legislation passed to improve women’s lives. For example, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was amended in 1972 to prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender, the Women’s Educational Equity Act of 1974 created a series of programs to promote educational equity, and Title IX of the 1972 Higher Education Amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited gender discrimination in higher education, including sports. In 1971, the 26th amendment to the U.S. Constitution lowered the age qualification to vote in all federal, state and local and local elections to 18. The Equal Rights Amendment was passed by the U.S. House and Senate in 1972 and sent to the states for ratification --but failed to get enough states to ratify. (The statements above are very organized because she answered value questions by e-mail. And her occupation as a director of women and politics program at a university probably affected her answer, too.)

The movement was often seen as driven by radical feminists who challenged the traditional family structures that were male dominated (Findling & Thackeray, 1996). Women were becoming very independent and “free from sexual packaging that bound and restricted women—for example, bras and very high heels.” Furthermore, they had achieved a sense of sexual freedom.

Feminists countered the objectification of the female body as it was often portrayed by the media, by promoting the “natural look” (long straight hair, no makeup, and no bra, etc.), as well as an adoption of some styles from working class male culture (blue work shirts and jeans, etc.). The natural look stimulated fashion industries into producing bras with natural bust lines and cosmetics that enhanced one’s figure while maintaining a “natural” look. Feminist ideologies had a great impact on society in many aspects, contributing to the rethinking of gender
roles and categories (Kaiser, 1990). Jeans as unisex clothing also symbolized the breakdown of gender roles in youth culture (Gordon, 1991).

Along with women’s liberation, racial minorities were also making strides, and ethnic clothing was such as hand-made crafted items spread widely. Craft revival in design emphasized the beauty of individual hand-made items and mass-produced popular culture was rejected (Haye, 1988):

I considered myself a feminist in the early 70s, progressive (liberal), and academic—this was reflected in my dress. I wore jeans, comfortable shoes (workboots, even) sandals. I had a couple of macramé belts that I bought at craft fairs. I wore loose, flowing tops. I had a number of long dresses, some with empire waists, but wore them with sandals in informal occasions. I also wore mini dresses that were so short that they came to my upper thigh. I bought clothes at rummage sales. This reflected what I thought was an identification with nonmaterialistic culture. I didn’t wear a bra. I was pregnant in 1972 and made a maternity smock from an old Indian print bedspread (it looked indeed very homemade). I would have scorned what might have been seen as a “sorority girl” look—that is, an attempt to put oneself very together with coiffed hair and matching “outfits.” I never had a diamond ring—that would have reflected “establishment” culture. Actually, the look that I affected was not as ‘natural’ as it may have appeared. I still shopped, took care of my appearance, wanted the “right” kind of clothes. Clothes which reflected feminist/hippie/nonmaterialistic values. (A7)

There were still some women who held traditional values that emphasized family, education and religion. They wanted to get married and raise families, become good wives and mothers. They were considered as the sorority people by (A15):

I think they valued family still…. Women highly valued good marriage, successful marriage rather than their own career at that time. I still think so even though they didn’t want to admit it. I think most of my friends still worked, so the career part was important. It was not necessary for family income. I think that underneath it all, all of my friends wanted to get married and have children and surprisingly one of my best friends was like the number one student in the college of business that year and she doesn’t work today. She helps her husband with his business but she got an MBA but never went back and had a full-time career. (A14)
The respondents were asked if their personal values were in agreement with the overall attitudes of youths at that time. Six women answered that their own values did agree. "Yes, I was involved in the Women's Movement and worked on the campaign in my state to ratify the ERA. I was increasingly independent, with a social and political conscience. I was optimistic and enthusiastic" (A10). Two women answered yes and no. "Some of them I am comfortable with, some not." Four women answered "no." They were categorized into two groups. The first group (three women) was those who viewed themselves as "more conservative" than the majority of young people in the '70s: "Coming from a fairly conservative background, I didn't practice free love and use drugs.... I'm not sure I would have participated in demonstrations" (A8).

One woman thought that she was more individual and selfish than other youth because she was pursuing a successful career, and from her point of view, many young women were more concerned about having families and raising children. It should be noted that subjects answered yes or no to this question depending on how they interpreted youth's values during that time.

Values Conveyed through Appearance

All of the women interviewed agreed that the values they held were either consciously or unconsciously conveyed through their appearance. Four women said that their independence and self-assurance affected their looks as much as following fashion trends. These were the women who most valued the feminism and individualism that was prevalent at the time. "I am centered, self-assured and make my own choices about appearance, rather than being driven by what is
considered in." "Then you’ll work to look different to say ‘who I am.’ And, in order to know who I am, I need not look like you.”

Feminism was one of the strong messages conveyed through appearance by many women in the decade. One woman said she intentionally dressed unfeminine and refused to follow fashion, towing a radical feminist’s point of view stated by a woman who was even reluctant to discuss fashion (Herald, 1992). A woman (A3), who went to a law school from 1973-75, held a less extreme feminist position. When asked, “What kinds of values did you convey through your appearance?” she responded:

This precise question became an issue in law school. There were seven of us in a class of over 150. As graduation neared, most of the women took one of two courses: a) dressing in business suits structured very much like a man’s, which I believed was tacit admission that one had to be male to be perceived as a successful lawyer or b) ultra-feminine, sexy low-cut clothing designed to emphasize her gender. I made a conscious decision to do neither. My clothing was undoubtedly conservative but it was soft and very atypical of that worn by my male co-workers, in color, shape, fabric, and texture. I never dressed radically or to make a political statement. Perhaps, boring is an appropriate term! I tried to convey a confidence in my ability to practice law and function in my environment while acknowledging and being proud of those aspects of me that were undoubtedly different than those of most of my co-workers. Similarly, outside the office, I was mostly in very casual clothing without political statement. Not very noticeable but comfortable and confident.

As the woman (A3) describes, there were two extreme methods used by women to gain power or cope with male dominance, either mimic men or to use beauty as a weapon. However, she did not give up her femininity or use her femininity as a means to gain power. She seemed to possess true confidence in her ability as a female. This issue came to be in the center of the “dress for success” discussion that increasingly attracted middle class women throughout the latter part of the decade.
Two of the women’s pursuit of freedom, anti-materialism and anti-establishmentarianism were embodied in the hippie and the natural looks. They stressed the importance of comfort and freedom in their personal choice of dress, and were not concerned with clothing as a status symbol. In the first half of the decade blue jeans, T-shirts, work shirts, and long hair were the common choices. The popularity of second-hand clothing was also an expression of anti-materialism.

Two women emphasized conservatism and morality, and turned away from extremes in fashion or revealing clothing that looked sexy. One woman valued her creative ability to sew, and developed “more interest in fashion, a little bit less classic, little bit more experimental.” It is important to note that in general, people hold more than a single set of values. Often these values conflict with each other and the manner in which they are reconciled are frequently manifested in a person’s wardrobe. In addition, most of the women in this study were on tight budgets as college students and clothing was not normally a priority as several women mentioned during their interviews.

Impression Management through Appearance

Individuals select clothing to shape their own impressions and realities, and self-presentation is influenced by social expectations and cultural symbolism (Kaiser, 1990). Twelve women said they intentionally tried to make a certain impression through their appearance, while three answered that this was not a concern. Two women said “being smart” was the impression they wanted to make. Another said “smart and sexy.” Two said “competent.” two said “professional by looking older or more mature,” two said “comfortable or practical.” and two said “in style or fashionable.”
Yes, I wanted people to think I was older and more mature than I was. I was the youngest reporter at the *Des Moines Register* by 2 or 3 years. So I was trying to look older, more grown up, I wanted to be taken seriously. I wanted, I was working in a professional atmosphere, so I wanted to be treated as, I wanted to look like and sound like a professional.

*So even when you went to college, after and during, both?*

Yeah, I worked all the time I was in college. I worked my way through college. I paid for my own college education. When I was in school, I didn’t care what I looked like. I wore jeans and a sweater and went to class, but when I was at work, I wanted to look mature. (A9)

Other answers included “confident” (1), “feminist and sexy” (1), “feminine and sweet” (1), “pretty and attractive” (1), “clean and neat” (1), “cosmopolitan/cultured/well traveled” (1), “a little bohemian and arty” (1), “more liberal hippie” (1), “look not like the sorority girls—to be different from them” (1), and “look like the people who didn’t care very much about how they looked.”

I would immediately say no, but then I would say, well, you know. I kind of wanted to look like this kind of people. The people who didn’t care very much about how they looked because those things weren’t important…. I think we thought, I think all of us thought appearance doesn’t matter…. Yes, what a person really is doesn’t have to do with what they look like…. We thought there were more important things, there were big issues here. And, you know, thinking about how you looked rather than what you do was not worth while, or something. (A1)

This answer indicated her orientation toward anti-materialism.

In contrast, three women said that they did not manage their appearance in an attempt to make a certain impression to others:

Well, when I was working, I always dressed professional to look nice and professional. You know when I went to college; I just dressed in shirts and jeans like everyone else. I wasn’t feeling I needed to impress anyone with what I wore or make a particular statement. (A5)
Political Message Conveyance through Dress

In the early 1970s social-political attitudes among youths were relatively explicit (Kness & Densmore, 1976). Clothing such as T-shirts with a statement and badges with slogans were used as a means to convey social and political positions. Eight women stated that they conveyed some kind of political messages through dress such as peace symbol or anti war T-shirts:

Yes, I remember wearing lots of peace symbols, like tie-dyed shirts. And often I had, I know a necklace that had a peace symbol. I had earrings. I had a shirt. It's Asian, I know ... Oh, I did have a few things that had the peace sign I think probably on them ... Yes, peace was, you know, that was something very popular at the time. (A1)

I was opposed to the war in Vietnam and I had a couple of pieces of t-shirts with anti-Vietnam War messages on them. I had pendant that was a peace symbol and I had a pair of earrings that were peace symbol earrings. That's about it. I didn't put bumper stickers on my car. I didn't wear labels hardly ever. (A9)

Other political messages included slogans such as “liberal/anti-establishment” and “I am not Republican”:

Well again, that was all about the whole culture at that time. We were liberal; we wanted to vote liberal. We wanted to be active in liberal politics. Very much anti-conservative. It was like, soon after the Vietnam War and all the protesting, this was like trail ends of this kinds of stuff. So you know, pretty much anti-establishment, wanted to be different. (A13)

Clothing Buying Behaviors

Places to Buy

Shopping behavior researchers link places where people shop with fashion related attitudes. Individuals who shop at department stores appear to be more fashion-conscious and to enjoy the shopping experience more than discount store shoppers. Specialty store shoppers appear to place more importance on brand names and quality, and tend to judge a store's
personality as an important criterion. Both specialty and department store shoppers may be fashion-conscious and/or innovative (Lumpkin & McConkey, 1984). Shim and Chen (1996) found that individuals with lower levels of shopping interest tend to choose stores based on convenience rather than brands or fashion.

The 15 women interviewed shopped at a variety of stores. Ten said that they frequented local department stores, and four said they went to chain specialty stores such as Paul Harris, Casual Corner and Maurice’s. Three respondents said they went to department stores in larger cities, two went to individual boutiques, two used mail, one liked army surplus stores or second-hand shops, and one went to discount stores like Loehmann’s to find brand names. Three women answered that they made their own clothes (see table 5.5).

Table 5.5. Types of Stores to Buy Clothing in the U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Store</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>department stores (a: local, b: in big cities)</td>
<td>13 (a:10, b: 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chain specialty stores (eg. Paul Harris, Casual Corner, Maurice’s)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individual boutiques</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mail order</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>army surplus stores or second-hand shops</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discount stores for name brands (eg. Loehmann’s)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The department stores mentioned included J. C. Penney’s in Des Moines and Ames, Sears and Younkers in Des Moines, Dillard’s in Oklahoma, and Macy’s and Emporium in New York.

Women who frequented these stores did so for discounts as well as the variety of designs and sizes:

Because they have a large enough selection, they’d have my size, because I was a big woman in the 70s. I wore a size 12 but I’m so tall that I needed; most small shops don’t have the range of clothing that large department store would have in
the options I needed. Because of the length of my torso I needed two pieces so
department stores had better selections for me. (A6)

Though they shopped at local department stores, three women also went to department stores in
larger, nearby cities such as Chicago, Minneapolis and Omaha. One went mainly for the
shopping experience alone while the other two indicated that it was an added activity while
visiting family.

Not surprisingly, eight women said that they paid close attention to sales. Horridge and
Richards (1984) report that a lower sense of fashion-consciousness coincides with a concern for
economics, but this is not necessarily consistent with eight of the women who said they watched
for sales. While some of them indicated that they had a low sense of fashion-consciousness,
others said their concern for fashion was relatively high. The fact that these women were college
students on tight budgets is probably a more accurate explanation for their economical shopping
habits. However, bargains or sales did not have much influence on one woman:

Often department stores in Ames, Des Moines, or Ft. Dodge. And like I said, I
would go on these buying sprees, so sometimes Minneapolis, to larger department
stores. I very rarely buy at discount stores. And part of that was because I've
always been willing to put more money into clothes because I usually wear them
for extended times, and they fit better, and they wear better, for me, for my styles.
And so I have always been willing to put more money into clothes. I find that the
cheaper clothes don't fit as well or don't last as long ... My husband doesn't
understand that because he won't buy anything unless it's on sale. I mean usually.
And he will say why can't you go look there? But it is always picked over. My
sense is that it is picked over or it's not coordinated. I mean it is pieces that didn't
sell and so if I can't find something that is going to go together I am not going to
waste my time. Occasionally I'll look and find something, but I do not go the
discount basement stores to look. For the majority of my clothes, I pay full price.
Which is just the way I am. (A2)

It is important to note that this subject was a textile and clothing major at a Midwest college who
had a high interest in fashion (see Table 5.1). Lumpkin and McConkey (1984) suggest that as a
high-fashion-conscious consumer, she is more likely to shop at up-scale department stores.
enjoys shopping and is more likely to travel to greater distances as well as spend more money on clothing. This woman in particular said that her quality consciousness kept her from shopping at discount stores.

Patronizing a specific store tended to be based on personal preferences for styles that particular chain carried:

I bought a lot of my clothes at Paul Harris when I lived in Ames because they had the more contemporary hippie kind of women’s clothes. I liked their style ... I can remember I used to buy my jeans and stuff from a store called Richman Gordman’s because they always had jeans on sale there. (A13)

One woman who went to college in the early 1970s remembered that she bought clothes at second hand or Army Surplus stores, and when she would buy new jeans, she would go to modest level stores such as Sears or Penney’s. She enjoyed hippie styles throughout her college years (1967-71) and on into the 1970s, valuing anti-materialism and freedom and described herself as a feminist and individualist with a moderate income.

Most respondents did not remember specific prices that they paid for clothes. Eight said they bought average priced clothing while one remembered that her clothes were average to below average in price.

**Shopping Alone or with Somebody Else**

Eight women shopped by themselves while seven went with somebody else. Three said they went with friends, three went with their mothers, and one went with her sister. Reasons for shopping alone included responses such as, “I know what I like.” “to be more efficient.” and “to go on my own schedule.”
I think it's because I know what I like, shopping with someone just always kind of slows me down and I really don't want their opinion because I know what I like and what I don't like. I don't need my hands held. (A14)

I know what I want, and yes, because I don't actually, I buy what I like and what I'm comfortable with and not what somebody says I should buy ... If somebody says it looks really good or something I, if I'm not comfortable putting it on, I won't wear it. I have to think this looks good or this fits ... Usually I ended up buying it because they tell me it looks good but I think it doesn't look right on me, so I'd never wear it again. If I'm not completely comfortable, I'm not going to wear it I'm not going to pay for it. (A6)

I prefer to go shopping by myself because then I can go on my own schedule. I can take the time I need. But I often will take clothes home on approval and then ask someone, "What do you think about this?" or "How does it look?" Or, sometimes I need time to think through how I really like it. Try it at home, and I often try to figure out what their policy is for returning. Most department stores you can exchange it or take it back if you've got the receipt. (A2)

These answers pertain to a sense of individualism that was central to ideas of liberalism and capitalism in America. In *American Ideologies* (1976), Dolbeare and Dolbeare state that individualism stresses the moral responsibility and opportunity of each person to serve his or her own needs as he or she sees fit. The essence of freedom is autonomy, self-reliance and self-discovery, and must be fully played out in individualistic cultures. This is reflected in two of the above responses as these women alluded to their willingness to take a responsibility for their own actions. While a woman's (A2) answer indicated that shopping alone was more convenient timewise, she did not have complete sense of self-reliance because she wanted to get other people's opinions, and a good return policy allowed her this freedom.

Seven women went shopping with somebody else, either with friends, their mother or sister. The major reasons for shopping with somebody else was "for fun" or "to get an opinion," and it was considered a social activity.

Oh no. clothing was always a group shopping experience. *With your friends?*
You bet. We always prowl to the sales together. That’s what we did on a Saturday afternoon, we went shopping. Because that’s why God made friends, for fun, just for fun, it was one of things we did for fun. It didn’t cost any, when neither of us had much money, it didn’t cost any money at all to look and so you can go and try the clothes and spent together and get a Coke and.

But, when you chose your clothes. did you decide yourself or discuss with your friends?

Oh, we discussed certainly. My friends always teased me for being so conservative and then I would buy conservative clothing.

So even if you discussed. did you make a decision eventually?

Sure, Marcy and Mary, the friends you that you see in here, Mary-Anne and I had been friends since first grade ... 3 or 4 or 5 of us would go clothes shopping, we’d try stuff on, what do you think? Do you like it? Was it on sale? Ultimately, I was pretty confident about making my own decisions. (A9)

It is obvious that shopping was a form of entertainment for this woman, and this reflects findings by Horridge and Richards (1984). In a survey of 1950 business women, those with a higher sense of fashion consciousness derived more pleasure from shopping. A woman (A11) said she shopped with other both as a way of getting other people’s opinions as well as for entertainment:

Combination, sometimes I would go shopping with people ... A lot of time I would go with just my roommates at the time ... Because it was more fun to go shopping with another person and also you then you can ask their opinion if they thought it looked good or ideas ... Yes, they affected my decision ... So usually if I went with a friend it’s because we were going out for an afternoon of shopping and, you know, go get something to eat, do a little shopping, go to a movie or something. So it was very social.

Three women remembered shopping with their mother and one woman shopped with her sister.

Well, with my mother because when I came home for holidays she would take me shopping and buy me clothes ... With friends, because it was fun. It was more fun to go shopping with friends. And then alone, just because I would need something and so I would just go out and shop for it ... Probably, I preferred with my mother, actually. Not just because she paid, but we would have fun doing it.

Did she affect your decision?

Sometimes, yes. But, especially because she is more patient than I am, so she would encourage me to try more things on. I would be impatient and I would want to leave. She would say, oh try that, try this on, try this.

In general, did you feel comfortable to decide what you would buy by your self?

Yeah, yeah, usually. (A15)
CHAPTER VI. FINDINGS IN INTERVIEW ANALYSIS—KOREAN WOMEN

In this chapter I will analyze and interpret the data from interviews of 15 Korean women.

Background information on Korean respondents is as follows Table 6.1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Home Town</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Major</th>
<th>College Years</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>I</th>
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<tr>
<td>K1 professor/education secretary</td>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>Ehwa Women’s U, Seoul</td>
<td>family &amp; consumer sciences</td>
<td>68-72</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>K2 secretory/academy professor</td>
<td>Inchon</td>
<td>Hongik U, Seoul</td>
<td>fine art</td>
<td>69-72</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Yonsei U, Seoul</td>
<td>voice</td>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Seoul National U, Seoul</td>
<td>violin</td>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Kyounghiee U, Seoul</td>
<td>piano</td>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>y</td>
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<td>Sookmyoung Women’s U, Seoul</td>
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<td>75-79</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>y</td>
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<td>76-80</td>
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<td>77-80</td>
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<td>Kyounghiee U, Seoul</td>
<td>voice</td>
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<td>78-82</td>
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<tr>
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<td>nursing</td>
<td>78-83</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  I: low : FI: Fashion Interest during college—h: highly interested, a: average, l: lower than average; LF: Living with Family during college—y: yes, n: no; U: University
Throughout my analysis I will refer to the respondents by their designated number in Table 6.1.

**Fashion Styles**

**Adopted Fashion Styles**

As South Korea came under the influence of Western customs, one of the most visible and rapid changes was the adoption of Western-style clothing in women's fashion. Naylor (1996) states that in the process of acculturation, material items and technical processes are more easily borrowed than abstract things. While Korean society still embodied past customs and manners, fashion as an embodiment of material goods was changing rapidly.

As Western-styles were introduced into Korea, the traditional dress, *hanbok*, gradually disappeared in urban areas, especially among young people and professionals (Kim, 1977). Western countries, the United States in particular, had become an ever-increasing influence on Korean fashion. The 1970s' political and social stability following the economic expansion of the 1960s allowed young people in cities to easily adopt the latest Western styles.

**Clothes**

By the 1970s, Korean youth no longer wore their traditional dress on campus, at work, or on the street, and even older Korean women adopted Western dress in their daily life. The only exceptions were rural women and those with family systems based upon strong Confucian values and traditions (Barringer, 1969). All of the fifteen women interviewed in this study wore Western dress except for holidays such as New Year's Day and Thanksgiving.

**Campus Wear.** In the 1970s the comfortable casual look (Figure 6.1) coexisted with the feminine (Figure 6.2) and formal (Figure 6.3) looks on Korean college campuses. Casual and
comfortable wear usually meant jeans, T-shirts, Y-shirts\(^4\) and a jacket, while the feminine or formal look was a skirt with a blouse, vest and jacket, or a one-piece dress. Ten women indicated that they alternated between comfortable and casual and the more or less feminine or formal look. Four women said they wore skirts rather than pants or jeans most of the time. One of the four remembered that she did not wear jeans at all but did wear other pants. In contrast, one woman recalled that she enjoyed jeans or other pants most of her college years and wore skirts very rarely.

According to a woman (K1) who went to college from 1968 to 1972, the early 1970s were a transitional period in female college students’ campus wear from the formal to the more casual look. Bell-bottom jeans, which were a hot fashion item in the United States, gained popularity in Korea and remained in style until the mid 1970s, often worn with a tight, fitted Y-shirt. She recalled:

> At that time, after I entered college in the late 60s, I wore formal dress. And then, jeans were very popular. And A-lined mini skirts, which were in fashion. So. I wore them with blouses. I tucked the blouse in the skirt. I could do that because I had a flat stomach at that time ... When I was a freshman and sophomore in college, the mini was popular ... in my sophomore and junior years, it was very short, and I think it got longer afterwards. When it reached the extreme, it went up to 20 centimeter (7 1/8”) from the knee although I didn’t wear it that short... In the ’70s skirts became longer, midi ... or about knee-length. At that time, I thought I couldn’t wear the mini because I was a senior ... Jeans weren’t Mambo\(^5\) style. It was bell-bottoms or straight. Very wide. Mostly bell-bottoms. Just swept around. Y-shirts were tight around the waist with a wide collar. There were blouses that flared a lot, or ones with ribbons ... or masculine ones. But. I usually wore y-shirts.

Another woman (K2), who went to college from 1969-72 had a different recollection of jeans:

\(^4\) In Korea, men’s dress shirts were called y-shirts. Y-shirts for women were collared, tailored shirts similar to men’s dress shirts. With a fitted waist they were popular in the 1970s.

\(^5\) Pants which are very tight and tapered toward the ankle.
I wore jeans and basketball shoes, t-shirts or blouses, and casual jackets. At that time, jeans were not very wide, they were straight and they weren’t made in Korea. Almost none ... And jeans were not bell-bottoms at the time, uh ... in the 70s ... Because there weren’t any makers of jeans in Korea, everybody wore jeans made in the US. So most were straight. Bell-bottoms were for street wear ... So they were not worn at the time. I mean not in the early ’70s, but 2 or 3 years later ... They were synthetic; at that time we didn’t wear a lot of natural fiber. Polyester, something like that ... People wore bell-bottoms, but I didn’t because my parents didn’t like them. I only wore straight jeans, and no other type of pants. I wore wool pants in the winter, which were also straight. The slacks became wider later. I think they were even wider than 10 inches. At that time, when we wore Y-shirts, we wore tightly fitted ones.

The more feminine or formal look of skirts and blouses or one-piece dresses was still widely prevalent on campuses, and even worn by those who adopted jeans and pants. A woman (K4) who went to college 1975-79 recalled:

In class I usually wore comfortable clothes. In Korea, comfortable wear was synonymous with campus wear at that time. But, it was not like wearing jeans for work. I wore pretty skirts, or even when I wore pants. I wore pretty pants. I bought good clothes ... Because I am not tall, 157 centimeter, one-piece dresses might look better on me, make me look taller. But, for violinists, one-piece dresses were uncomfortable for playing, so we usually wore two piece outfits. Two-pieces, a skirt and blouse, in different colors, sometimes with a vest. The skirts were usually A-line. Box-pleated skirts were popular ... The vest was fitted to the body with the narrow waist. The blouses were popular at that time and similar to current designs ... not very different, feminine, the only variations were in the collars. Some had ribbons, which was popular ... The collars were usually small... At that time jeans were not imported like now and not as popular. They weren’t made in our country. We couldn’t buy them from the stores ... So if we wanted to buy a pair of jeans, we had to go to Dokebi market and bought used ones. So there were some blue-colored clothes produced in our country with different fabrics like cotton or linen ... We would have custom-made bell-bottoms ... There were tops that went with them called Heji shirts ... So we would wear the top and the bottom in the same color with the sleeves rolled up.

A blouse and skirt rather than a one-piece dress were considered comfortable clothing to her. She seemed to view jeans as too casual and remarked that jeans were “not popular,” which was different from other women’s perceptions. Practicality (comfort) was still an important factor in
her selection of campus wear, but her standard for comfort was different from most other subjects as suggested by her feminine choice of clothing. Even though campus wear was more comfortable and casual than attire for other occasions, the degree of comfortable and casual depended on individual choices for various occasions. A woman (K5), who also attended college from 1975-79, had a different perspective of jeans:

When I was a college student in the 70s, jeans and jackets were in style ... Under a jacket I’d wear a y-shirt or T-shirt or something like that. When I look at my old pictures, I wore scarves, and it seemed that I tried to look stylish. The jacket was a long fitted style with a narrow waist.

Later in the decade, straight jeans replaced bell-bottoms and straight pants became fashionable even though bell-bottoms still remained:

Blue jeans and T-shirts. Just straight jeans. I didn’t wear bell-bottoms. I didn’t wear boxy t-shirts very much. I wore cotton t-shirts with collars, tight with a slim waist ... Other than blue jeans, yes, straight cotton pants. And, I think I wore skirts a lot too. They were just pleated skirts. We didn’t wear them short. They were right below the knee. I wore them along with checked boxy y-shirts. (K15)

According to these women, the major reason for wearing jeans was that they were “in fashion.” The fact that jeans were hot items was more important than their comfort or practicality. The tendency for Korean women to keep up with the latest trends suggests that they are a relatively fashion conscious group, which is in line with the concept of collectivity that has been emphasized in Korean culture, and this was especially apparent when it came to conformity within the younger age groups. Conversely. American culture placed more emphasis on practicality, so the comfort of jeans may have been the initiated in the Unites States. While American women wore jeans with casual T-shirts. Korean women wore them with more

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¹ Traditional gray market which sold imported goods. It was located in Namdaemoon traditional market.
feminine tops such as fitted Y-shirts, indicating that while Korean women accepted jeans as a fashion item they still wanted to look stylish and feminine, not too casual.

Besides jeans, other comfortable clothes like cotton pants were popular:

I usually wore pants and t-shirts. Straight pants and something like ... Sometimes I wore skirts ... but I think I usually wore pants because they were comfortable. I wore bell-bottoms too. They’re very wide aren’t they? ... Cotton pants ... They were very wide and long, dragging on the floor ... And I wore a shirt and vest ... they were a set with a skirt. This was a blouse with a collar that looks like this ... triangular shaped ... and at the time, we always wore a blouse with tight cuffs like this ... buttoned ... Yes, skirts matched with the vest. (K6)

Silhouettes became wider in the later 1970s. For example, puff sleeved jackets with wider shoulders became fashionable. A woman (K8) who went to college from 1976-79 remembered:

I think jackets with pads were in fashion... the shoulders were not that broad, but with puffed sleeves ... I think the waist was slightly fitted ... boxy style came into fashion later in the ‘80s ... The most popular blouses that I wore were ones with ribbons here ... I did not wear fitted style blouses alone but usually under a jacket. Because as a student isn’t it somewhat awkward to wear a blouse alone? So under a jacket. I didn’t have many days I needed to dress formal, about once or twice a week or so ... I think I wore jeans with natural waistline ... Aren’t the hip-huggers recent things? Did they wear something like that in the past? I don’t think so ... The bell-bottoms we wore were not the ones like what you can see on the stages, but just a little wide. At that time wedges were in style, so sandals and other shoes were wedge heeled. I didn’t wear a lot of feminine shoes at that time.

As she pointed out, hip-huggers were not in style in Korea at this time. Even though jeans were rapidly and widely accepted from Western culture, not every style was adopted; only those that could best be acclimated into Korean culture were selected.

As the silhouette became wider in the later 1970s, fuller skirts—flared or gathered (Figure 6.4)—came into fashion even though A-line or box-pleated skirts still remained:

I wore a lot of one-piece dresses. Designs were cute and feminine rather than mature. They weren’t very tight, always roomy. The collars were always round. The bodices of one-piece dresses were always fitted and the skirts were flared ... Well, at the time, jeans were popular. I didn’t wear jeans. They were straight at
that time ... Other pants were bell-bottoms; there were very wide bell-bottoms. too. (K9)

Figure 6.1. Comfortable and casual look on campus (1976)

Figure 6.2. Feminine look on campus (1978)

Figure 6.3. Formal look on campus (1977)

Figure 6.4. Fuller skirts (1979)

A woman (K11), who went to college from 1977-80 remembered that she enjoyed skirts and one-piece dresses. She remembered that skirts were always midi or knee-length straight with a waistband. Another woman (K13), who went to college from 1978-82 usually wore formal suits, but sometimes wore jeans:

I think I wore formal suits a lot, usually skirted suits, but pants suits too ...
Sometimes, jeans and t-shirts. Besides skirted suits, a skirt with a jacket. I wore a variety of skirts, mostly A-line or pleated skirts, I guess more pleated skirts … Well, in the first and second years I wore casual wear such as jeans and corduroy pants—both were straight pants—with basic round neck-lined t-shirts or collared. And for formal wear, I wore checked wool skirts that were about the knee-length. Knee-ticklers were in fashion and they became longer and longer. In my freshman year, it was above the knees, but when I was a senior, the hemline was below the knees and longer … As for pants, straight pants had pleats at the waistline. Some pants puffed around up here and tapered down to the hem were popular … In my freshman year, the shoulder fitted exactly. When the ready-to-wear first appeared, it was standardized and fitted exactly. Later, it was padded but the pad was not thick and the shoulder looked perpendicular … The shoulder became broader in my junior and senior years. Jackets were relatively long and the same styles were worn with pants and skirt alike. The skirts were not very long.

Between her first and second years of college she moved from casual to more formal styles, which paralleled the changes of American women’s fashion choices. Her detailed descriptions vividly depict the transition from 1970s to 1980 silhouette styles. One woman (K10) pointed out the popularity of knitwear:

I wore a lot of knit. Yes. at that time knit was in fashion … Both sweaters and skirts. Some of them were in sets. And pants … I bought Morado or PePe or those kinds of brand … The skirts were about this long … and pleated like this, regular pleats about 1.5 to 2 centimeter apart (knife pleated) … The waists of knit skirts were of elastic bands. The sweaters were not so long around the waist… from the waist … Ah, some of the sweaters had fitted waists. Although they were formal wear, they looked casual, you know.

Meeting with Friends. Twelve women wore the same or similar styles for classes (Figure 6.5) as they did when going out with friends, whereas three women said that they wore more feminine or formal styles. The former group stated that they wore the same clothes because they did not go back home and change before going out. Most students in Korea still commuted to college from their parents’ house, which was often far from campus, and an hour or longer commutes on public transportation were not uncommon since most students did not own
their own cars. However, one woman who wore similar clothes for school and social occasions avoided jeans, and three other women wore more feminine or formal styles such as a skirt with a blouse or a jacket and sometimes a vest with pants. This may also explain why some women wore more feminine formal clothes on the campus, dressing more for after school meetings than for class. A woman (K5) wore the same clothes for classes as after school and said:

I don't think I went home to change. So I probably wore the same thing. If I was home before I went out I would wear more formal suits, skirts, and one-pieces ... I didn't wear pants suits. Because I wore custom-made suits, they were not very formal ... It seemed I wore these to the campus... jackets, scarves... sometimes I wore vests... I must have liked silk blouses very much. I always wore something formal ... At that time my older sister was a high school music teacher, so when I went out, I would borrow her clothes. I didn't have a lot of formal styles. When I had to go to some important place, I borrowed from my sisters. My younger sister was also a music teacher. She was very stylish, too dressy ... My older sister wore simple styles ... so I borrowed more from her than from younger sister... Yes, three of us wore the same size... also the same height... but our tastes were different. But, we were similar ages, so we shared.

The fact that sisters often borrowed clothes from each other reflects the closeness of family relationships as well as the custom that children lived with their parents until they married.

Figure 6.5. Clothes for meeting with friends (1975)  
Figure 6.6. Clothes for dating (1975)
Dating. Eight women said that they dressed differently on dates while seven said that they did not dress especially for these occasions. The former answered that they wore one-piece dresses or a blouse and skirt, sometimes with a jacket or vest (Figure 6.6). Their goal was to look feminine, prettier, neater or to create a romantic mood. A woman (K1), a student from 1968-72 said:

When I dated, I didn’t wear Y-shirts, not jeans either. One-piece. A blouse and skirt. It was very simple. Fitted waist and Chanel line. I liked round necklines ... In Korea, people conform to fashion so arduously. As for flounces, I didn’t wear them a lot, but for example, I wore blouses with small ruffles here and there ... Skirts were A-line pleated when the mini was in fashion ... Later skirts came down to the knees ... I didn’t wear the mini while in college, and even after graduation I didn’t wear them because my legs were ugly ... but still the mini was quite popular in our country.

The idea of femininity was not the same for all of the women who said that they tried to look feminine. A woman (K4) made an association between femininity and a dressy look:

I would wear feminine looking clothes. Skirts, pretty ones, one-piece dresses or dressy skirts, like those of a princess. The skirt part of the one-piece dress were bell-shaped and the hemline spread out about 180 degrees, and the sleeves were puffed up.

Another woman (K12) connected femininity with softness:

One-piece or a skirt and something ... Well, just a blouse and a vest which were in a set with a skirt ... But I didn’t wear formal two-piece suits. I might have dressed femininely. I don’t think I wore pants or jeans.

Some women answered that they did not try to look particularly feminine, but they took special care with hairstyles and accessories. One reason why it was not necessary to go back home to change for date after school was that many women dated men in the same department or at least on the same campus:

My boyfriends were all the friends that I went to school with ... If I didn’t see them very often. I could have done something special for dates, but since I met
them all the time at school ... I just wore the same ... When I met a man through seon 7, I wore more formal styles. I think I wore a lot of one-piece dresses. Just a little tidy style...dark blue and bias-taped in white... collar was... is it called a French collar? School-uniform style collar ... with a ribbon. (K8)

**Formal Occasions.** Seven women considered a two-piece dress formal wear, while five indicated a neat one-piece dress was acceptable. Four women considered a masculine/angular tailored suit or jacket to be formal, two said a pants suit, two said pants, one said a long skirt and blouse, and one said she wore a one-piece dress and jacket ensemble.

Formal wear (Figure 6.7) was often associated with tailored, somewhat masculine suits. While seven women answered that they wore two-piece dresses, five specified a tailored suit or at least a tailored jacket as formal wear. A woman (K9) preferred double-breasted tailored jackets and tight office style skirts:

>Around graduation time, I had an interview for a job ... at that time I wore a simple two-piece suit... Yes, something like a man’s suit. It was probably a dark color, dark blue or dark green ... a fitted jacket with a slightly narrow waist, A-line skirt, and blouse. (K15)

Neatness was also associated with formal wear:

>Well, you mean like going to a concert? I dressed up. I wore two-piece dresses. I think it was Chanel-line. Yes, that looked neat ... it was really formal, with a fitted waist. The skirt was Chanel, coming down slightly below the knees. Well, it was like a man’s suits. (K6)

Some women had the idea that one-piece dresses generally looked more feminine than two-piece dresses and they wore them to look more feminine for formal occasions. This was the group who associated formality with femininity:

>Usually, I wore a neat one-piece dress ... depending on the season. I wore silk in the spring and fall because I liked silk. Still I don’t think I wore formal (meaning

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7 Formal arrangement between a prospective groom and bride usually set up by parents or relatives.
masculine/angular) suits most often... Mostly, I think I tried to dress stylish and feminine... My sisters wore simple stuff, so I could borrow from them. (K5)

Long dresses were considered one of the most formal styles, but only one woman wore this for formal occasions. In general, college students did not have the opportunity to attend many formal occasions. nor could they afford a big wardrobe while they were in school:

When I went to a concert or a party, I wore a long skirt and blouse ... They weren't all that pretty. What was important was that I wore a long skirt because it was more formal and dressy ... In the past I wore big skirts that spread out like what the princesses wore in old times ... I still remember wearing dresses like that. (K4)

Annual college festivals were one of the most special and formal occasions, especially for female university students. On that day, they invited their dates to campus and tried to look their best. A woman (K1), who went to Ewha Women's University from 1968-72 recalled May Day, the spring festival for the annual beauty contest on her campus:

On May Day ... it was a special day at Ewha ... We had to go there with a boyfriend. I had a formal dress custom made for that and it was called an ensemble, jacket over a one-piece. It looked very tidy ... The fabric was ...
probably synthetic, depending on the season ... in winter and fall we would wear wool jersey.

In the later 1970s, pants suits became more accepted as formal wear. Knitwear (Figure 6.8) also gained popularity with the advent of ready-to-wear national brands. In particular, a set of knitwear such as a knit skirt with a knit cardigan and vest made by Jeil Wool or PhyungPhung appeared, and the upscale feminine look attracted many young women despite the expense.

**Accessories**

**Shoes.** In the 1970s comfortably styled or wedge shoes were popular. Of the most popular styles, ten of the subjects mentioned wedges (Figure 6.9), nine said sandals (Figure 6.10), eight said pumps, six said boots and five said Land Rovers. Other styles mentioned were high heels, loafers, basketball shoes and clogs. Pumps with blunt and lower heels started to gain popularity early and lasted throughout the decade. A woman (K13), who was a student from 1978-82 remembered:

In my first and second year in college, I wore pumps with about five centimeter (2") heels. At that time, branded shoes started to appear, so I bought them from national brand shoe stores rather than from the hand-made shoe salons.

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5 Casual and comfortable shoes with very low heels that were equivalent to a Hush Puppy in America
Three women pointed out that the shape of front toes changed from pointed to thick and round even though pointed shoes still remained. A woman (K1), a student from 1968-72 recalled:

Shoes had lower heels. In the previous years, very pointed toes that looked like an ant waist were in fashion, but they were no longer in fashion by our time. By our time the toes were rounder and heels were thicker. That was probably in order to wear them along with the miniskirts ... I think the bottom had to be thicker to go with the mini skirts.

Wedges were worn mostly with long bell-bottom jeans, but they were worn with other pants and skirts too. Their popularity lasted throughout the decade. A woman (K6), who went to college from 1975-79 remembered:

As for shoes, wedges a lot. Wedges with about seven centimeter (3") high heels in the platform style ... When I entered the college, my brother bought me a pair of them at Kumkang ... in a shiny black patent leather ... and I liked them so much that I wore them all the time. I think I bought similar ones a lot.

Along with the popularity of wedges, more traditional sandals and boots were also common. Sandals were in fashion through the decade. “In summer I wore sandals with straps. They were in fashion and wedges were too. Sandals with straps and blunt wedges co-existed in summer at
that time." Styles of boots varied from long boots with more fitted legs (Figure 6.11) to more comfortable loose-fitted legs, both being more popular than short boots:

I wore boots, long ones. Not so long as to cover the knee. Some students wore tight boots, you know ... the bottom parts were leather, and upper parts were cloth and tight, but I didn't wear that kind ... I usually wore stiff ones with wedge heels. (K6)

Long boots were so popular that one woman was very upset that she could not wear them "because my legs were thick. I couldn't find ones that fit."

In the late 1970s Land Rovers gained popularity among youths, coinciding with more comfortable styles like jeans. A woman (K12), a student from 1977-81 said, "I did not wear flat sneakers ... I remember Land Rovers from Kumkang ... I remember wearing those. They were low heeled but not flat. they were bouncy with low heels. I thought they were comfortable."

There were other kinds of comfortable shoes too. "I wore shoes with closed toes and with straps like this ... Yes, which were hooked like this around the ankles."

Figure 6.11. Long boots with fitted legs (1978)  Figure 6.12. Carrying books in hands (1975)
The popularity of clogs in America did not quite carry over to Korea. They were viewed as too casual or even clumsy, which is a rather negative image in Korean culture. Three women strongly disliked them. One woman said, “I hated them.” Another woman said, “I didn’t even consider them shoes for outdoors.” As much as Western shoe styles were accepted, especially casual styles, there was still a significant amount of discretion and scrutiny over the styles that Koreans ultimately adopted. Yet, while some women frowned upon clogs, two women did wear them. “I don’t think clogs were in fashion at the time. Ah, yes. I think I wore a pair once. I bought a pair from a store called Kang Salon which was covered this much and the back was open.”

Some women remembered that they only had a couple of basic pairs of shoes while they were in college. One woman remembered that she had a casual pair and a feminine pair, and wore them for a couple of years. When they wore out she bought a new pair, and this probably reflected many college students’ financial situations.

**Bags and Purses.** Throughout most of the 1970s carrying books in hands or arms (Figure 6.12) without a book bag was the fashion among female college students. Twelve women remembered that they followed this trend. Seven women said that they began to carry big shoulder bags—often rectangular—later in the decade. Two other women indicated that they used big bags made of fabric. A woman (K1), a student from 1968-72 remembered that there were no backpacks at that time. She carried her books in her arms, but carried a leather purse with shoulder strap for formal occasions. However, another woman (K2), a student at that same time recalled:

At that time, bags were like those of hippies. At our time, hippies were very popular. They smoked marijuana even in the classrooms between classes. Yes. male students emptied the cigarette filters and filled them with marijuana instead.
Students in our school smoked a lot. Even female students did a lot … Ah, some hippie bags were made in cowhide. Mostly squared with leather straps crossed like XX and there was a big metal buckle attached to it with a long strap. They wore it over the shoulder. It was a book bag and everything. Usually I carried this unless I wore formal wear.

Two women remembered that carrying books in their hands or arms (sometimes books were bound with a strap) was the dress code for college students and an indication of their group identity:

In my time, there were no book bags. Now they carry bags over the shoulder, but we bound books with bookstraps and held them in our hands. We held books in our hands and carried a purse over the shoulder. So we showed off the books. At that time, we didn’t’ think it was showing off because everybody did. So at that time you just followed, but now I think that could be kind of showing off. (K4)

Book bags and handbags made of cowhide were in fashion, but not everybody liked them:

I remember I had ones that my sister gave me after they got bored … It was in fashion to carry books in the hand. I wonder why we did so because it was so inconvenient … the books would slip … Uhuh … we didn’t even have bookstraps … The books would slip down and … I think we considered it as a symbol that we were college students … I also remember a very, very big bags that could hold most of the books, so I would carry it … I liked it. (K5)

These two women were both students from 1975-79. One woman attended Seoul National University and the other went to Kyunghee University. Despite their conflicting recollections over the use of bookstraps and bookbags, from their descriptions it appears that the way to carry books was essentially a fashion statement among female college students. Among the cowhide, patent leather and fabrics used, cowhide seemed to be the most popular.

Small purses with shoulder straps were worn by thirteen of the subjects. Four women had big rectangular cowhide purses with no straps. One woman had no purse and just used a big book bag for all purposes. “I enjoyed purses … but since they were expensive, I couldn’t pay
much attention to them. I preferred investing in clothes. At that time I was financially strained
... I would carry leather purses, which were small and cute."

One woman preferred big purses. “Yes, at that time there were only leather bags ... yes,
ah, in cowhide, which was this big ... now I remember ... the big rectangular purse in my hands.
I hated carrying small purses.”

People also made an effort to match shoes and bags by color or design. One woman said,
“I tried to match the colors and textures of bag and dress.” Another woman’s idea of matching
was different from most. “I tried to match the colors of shoes and bag. When I wore black
shoes, I carried a yellow or brown bag. Since it is boring to wear things that are too similar, I
didn’t choose the same colors.”

Jewelry. Twelve women wore some kind of jewelry. Twelve said they wore necklaces,
five wore earrings, four wore rings and three wore bracelets, while three said they wore no
jewelry.

It seems that female college students in Korea rarely wore jewelry on campus until the
early 1970s. A woman (K1), a student from 1968-72 recalled, “No jewelry. At that time nobody
wore jewelry—no necklaces, earrings or rings. Our generation did not wear them. The next
generation did. We didn’t wear them to school.” Another woman (K2), who attended college
from 1969-72, concurred. “I never wore any of jewelry. I might have worn only very big metal
pendants with jeans and T-shirts and in the autumn when I wore sweaters. I think I wore
something like that.”

Gold was the most common material, but other cheap materials were also popular. One
woman remembered wearing cheap rings and necklaces.
Until the 1970s ear piercing was very rare in Korea. According to Confucianism, the body is handed down from the parents. It is precious and should be kept in its natural state, and no part of it should be injured or altered. Based on these values, the older generation in particular had a negative view toward ear piercing, and since respect for the family was still important to the younger generation as well, they refrained from doing it. The fear of pain was another incentive for keeping their lobes in tact. One woman who was afraid of the pain from piercing also found it bothersome to wear clip earrings, so she did not wear any. Another woman who did have her ears pierced told an interesting story:

I had my ears pierced when I was a senior in college. Before that, I wore something dangling like this ... I didn’t even think about ear piercing at that time and I did not think that it looked particularly stylish. But I did it just because I had headaches and people said it would help. There weren’t a lot of people who had their ears pierced in our department. I was different at the time. (K12)

Some women seldom wore jewelry for practical reasons. One woman majoring in Music played the violin and said that earrings got in her way while practicing “because they could get caught on the instrument.”

Fourteen K or eighteen K gold and pearls were the most common types of earrings. Three women remembered that they had small gold earrings, some with simple gems like sapphires or crystals, and wore them with a gold necklace. One woman who only wore small gold earrings on special occasions, did not like either clips or posts. She thought that they made her look too mature and she did not feel comfortable in them. She did not find earrings an important accessory and never felt she needed to wear them.

Along with the spread of casual and comfortable styles, long casual necklaces (Figure 6.13) came into vogue among college female students. One woman thought that a big necklace
with T-shirts expressed the vividness of youth. Another woman who enjoyed long necklaces said:

I remember wearing necklaces often. People used to say to me that I really liked necklaces that were long and dangling ... I think I usually wore long ones. Not the ones that were fine and fit to the neck ... I think it was made of wood. (A6)

At the same time, some women preferred small necklaces. "I wore small and neat-looking necklaces but I couldn't wear big ones." This was the Music major who had to contend with getting jewelry caught in her violin. One woman remembered that she enjoyed both shorter and longer necklaces with a pendant.

Three women wore bracelets and seven wore rings. Two women specifically remembered that they did not wear rings. "Since I had to play the piano, I didn't wear rings. neither now or in the past. I even lost my wedding ring." One woman who went to medical school said. "I could not wear rings because of my job. I had to wash my hands often during work. I didn't even wear a watch. I couldn't wear rings at that time because I had a habit of touching it when I wore one." Two women emphasized that they made an effort to coordinate jewelry with their outfits:

I liked necklaces. I always wore a necklace. At that time, big ones were popular. With a shape of owl ... In the summer I would wear big ones, which looked cool. So depending on the dress, when I wore a simple dress. I wore a big necklace. If the dress was cute I wore smaller ones. (K9)
Hats. Ten women did not wear hats for various reasons. Four said they felt uncomfortable in a hat, three said hats did not look good on them, while one said that wearing a hat was interpreted as being showy and gaudy. A woman (K3) indicated that hats simply were not common at that time. “Hats were worn only on special occasions. Wearing hats were like, only for the actors or actresses in the movies ... It was something exceptional.” Another woman (K4) said:

In the school of music, if we wore a hat, that could lead us to have a bad reputation because hats were interpreted as being showy and gaudy. It was different from what it means now. Even though the professors got their degrees from abroad, they were still Korean men (conservative). Any student who wore a hat would get out of the professors’ favor. Out of the total students in the school, only a couple of girls wore hats. Because of Confucianism, it was considered bad if women looked sexually attractive in Korea. Women had to conceal their beauty. At that time people thought that way if a woman wore a hat. Ha. ha. ha...
Only five women wore hats.

While two women wore hats for the style, three wore them only for practical purposes such as keeping warm in winter or for protection from sunlight (Figure 6.14), especially on summer vacation trips. “When I went on a vacation in summer, I would intentionally not pack a hat, but
if the sunlight was too strong. I could buy a straw hat or a cap.” Two women did wear hats for the style:

Ah yes, in the winter with winter coats … Yes, at that time I don’t think there were woven hats. I wore black hats with a small brim. Hand-knit I think. Um, it was in the winter, but not only to keep warm. I wore them for the style. (K2)

I wore hats a lot. I wore berets a lot, and in the summer I wore ones like that, you know with a brim. And in the winter, velveteen like this … that’s a beret, right? I wore a lot of them. (K10)

Scarves

Scarves (Figure 6.15) were a big part of fashion and were worn in many different ways such as over a blouse or under a jacket or coat. They were worn as a way to look more feminine or more stylish, or simply to keep warm in winter.

Figure 6.15. Scarf worn over a blouse (1978)

Hair Styles. At the beginning of the decade many women had long hair, worn down, put up in the back, in a ponytail or braided. As the decade progressed, short hair gained in
popularity though long hair still remained. Two women mentioned that the reason for having short haircuts was to focus on their studies or to practice the piano. Permanents were also very popular, and eleven said they had their hair permed at one time or another:

I grew it long, then had it cut short because it was bothersome. It was a bother for me to do things. I didn’t want to hang around near the campus … going to a beauty salon with friends … I regarded such things as a bother. So I grew my hair long and had a ponytail in the back or put it up with a hairpin, or if it grew too unkempt, I cut it short … It was good because it took less time to care for. Maybe I had a haircut once or twice a year. I seldom had a perm. Permed hair looked terrible on me. I had my hair permed once, but it looked bad. So I never did it again. (K6)

There were some interesting haircuts among young women that most of the older generation could not understand. A woman (K4) recalled:

At that time Swegui (wedge) hair was popular … like a wedge … We permed our hair heavily and rolled it inward then twisted the whole thing like an animal’s tail. I wore this style because it looked good on me. And another style was cutting the hair short right after having it permed. It was very popular.

Another woman (K8) remembered:

I changed my hairstyle a lot. I tried every style other people wore. Well, do you know Shinae Yoon’s style (singer)? Yes, which was puffy and zigzagged like this … I tried that too… Yes, straight hair too. At that time there wasn’t a straight perm, probably around the end of the decade. At the beginning of the decade there wasn’t something like a straight perm but by the time I graduated, yes. But, even when I wore it long, it wasn’t as long as yours, just about this long, right below the shoulder. And I wore my hair short, too.

Besides these styles, Audrey Hepburn’s short cut and other short hairstyles were popular at that time:

At first, as a freshman I wore a sanggo cut. It was about two centimeters long in the front. When I was seen from the back I looked like a boy. So when people saw me on campus, they were just shocked…. In the third and fourth years I had a goji cut. I permed my hair and … like this. This style was called baram mori (windy hair). I kept wearing that style. Because, nurses have to wear hats and you had to grow it long and make a bun like this. Uh, so baram mori was in fashion. (K10)
A big fad among young women in the later 1970s was a pin-curl perm that permed only the end of hair making it wavy. It was often used for short hair and made it stand away from the face. A woman (K12) remembered, “I had my short hair slightly permed, not heavily just loosely, just big and wavy ... I had a pin-curl perm so that I could easily fix it since my hair would stretch out like this.” Two women did not get hair permed because “I didn’t want to spend the time make making myself look good.” “I figured I would do it when I got older.”

**Make-up and Perfume.** Eleven women said that they did not wear perfume in the 1970s. Three women remembered that they used it occasionally just because they received it as a gift. Only one woman remembered that she bought fragrance for herself. Reasons for not wearing perfume ranged from “I didn’t like the smell” to “I didn’t like to give off a smell” to “I would have a headache from the smell if it is too strong” to “I’m allergic to it.” One woman remembered Chanel No. 5 as being the most famous perfume. “There probably were domestic fragrances but their quality was not very good.”

Ten women wore light makeup but three of them only wore it for special occasions such as meeting with friends, dating or formal occasions. Five women did not wear makeup at all during their college years. “I just used lotions ... I never put on makeup during the four years I was in college. I used makeup for the first time in my life on my wedding.” “I did not use makeup at all ... It was not until right before I got married that I started to use makeup. When I went to a concert, I put on makeup for the first time in my life.”
Responses to Adopted Styles

From Parents. Parents’ responses to the fashion styles of the fifteen women were categorized into three groups: positive response (five women), negative responses (four women), no response (seven women).

The positive responses were pretty, feminine, neat and clean, looks good on you, fits well, stylish, good sense of design, and so on. Feminine, neat and clean were important evaluation criteria as far as parents were concerned.

The negative responses pertained to mini skirt being too short, bell-bottoms being too wide, or hairstyles being too wild:

I didn’t mind such things but I just couldn’t wear the ultra-mini, which was popular at the time, right? When I wore one, my father called me and made me take it off. I bought one, but couldn’t wear it ... I couldn’t wear very wide pantaloons because my father didn’t like them either. But I usually didn’t listen to him. I didn’t care what other people thought ... No, I mean I didn’t care what they said. I did what I wanted to do. What I felt comfortable doing ... My father didn’t like permed hair, so I just lightly permed it. (K2)

She gives the impression that she was independent from her father, which was unusual in Korea at the time. However, her actual behavior indicates that she was obedient because she did not wear mini skirts, wide bell-bottoms or heavy perms that he did not like.

One woman remembered receiving both positive and negative responses. The negative response was due to her excessively short miniskirts. Otherwise, she always received compliments on her good taste:

Several times, when I wore miniskirts. It was in fashion. I think I often wore very short miniskirts. At that time the hemline was as short as twenty centimeters (7 1/8") above the knees. I think I wore a skirt with some pleats along with stockings. And high heels ... Yet, my older brother saw me in the miniskirt and said, “Hey! Isn’t that too short?” (K6)
One woman’s parents were concerned was about her hair style:

I didn’t wear miniskirts when I went to school. My parents were not opposed to anything. Nothing in particular ... but they didn’t like my hair, Shinae Yoon’s hairstyle. When I did that, my family’s response was bad. My younger brothers and sisters would tell me to redo my hair because they didn’t like it. They thought it looked gaudy. “Your face and hair do not go together.” My face looked like a child, but hair was very wild ... so. (K8)

A woman (K5) recalled that in the late 1970s mini skirts that were too short were legally prohibited and considered a misdemeanor offense:

In my time, the mini was not in fashion. It was in fashion immediately before 1975. It was during my sister’s time in the early 1970s. They were arrested for a misdemeanor due to their short skirts or long hair (in men’s cases) ... This sister was a teacher and was scolded by the principal in her school because she wore miniskirts to school.

The women who did not receive any memorable responses from their parents recalled that they did not follow extreme fashion trends.

From Peers. Peers’ responses to women’s fashion styles were categorized into three groups. Six women received positive responses, two received neutral response, and seven received no response. Nobody received any negative comments.

Positive responses were comments such as cute and pretty, well-dressed, stylish, upscale, especially good sense of color, fits very well, refined, feminine, and so forth:

At that time a friend of mine said that I was the best dresser in our class. Since my sister gave me whatever she bought from Japan, t-shirts or whatever, I would wear t-shirts with vests ... since the colors were different at the time. They used a lot of pastel colors ... people said I was stylish. Well, since I got the clothes from my sister ... At that time, my family was bankrupted and I had to work and it was financially difficult. But through my sister, I got the clothes. I came to like Japanese clothes. Well, even a blouse, it was embellished and feminine ... Since my facial features are not well defined, Japanese style flattered me. (K9)

Neutral responses were casual, active and so on.
References to Style Selection

The variety of sources the fifteen women said they used for references when they chose their clothing styles ranged from store displays, peers, people on the street, sisters, designers’ suggestions in custom-made shops, magazines, TV, celebrities (see table 6.2).

Table 6.2. References to Style Selection in Korea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Store display</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peers</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People in the street</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer’s suggestion in custom-made shops</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrities</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Store displays were the sources most often used, most likely because they were always around and people do not need to make any effort to be exposed to them. They also presented a relatively realistic selection of fashion choices.

Peers were also an influential source. “When a friend dressed well, I referred to it in order to decide what to buy ... She and I were different so I didn’t buy exactly the same thing. I looked for something different from hers that fit my own style.” (People on the street were another source, which follows the Korean tendency toward fashion consciousness and conformity, so people watched each other on the street to see what is current style and whom to imitate:

First of all, what other people would wear ... yes, people around me ... in the street or anywhere ... you could see more of the styles that were in fashion. So what people wore a lot, probably I saw them from the window display too. While I walked around, I saw one I liked then I kept that in my mind. And then, when I
went to the dressmaker, I said I wanted this style ... At that time we would go to
dressmakers in Ewha Women’s University district a lot. When we went there,
they had samples. And when I said I wanted this style, the designer could change
it a little bit. (K8)

Sisters were another important source because they lived together in their parents’ house during
college years.

Custom-made shops were very popular in the 1970s in Korea because there was not much
ready-made clothing. According to the IWS (International Wool Study, 1972), ready-to-wear
clothing was only ten percent of the fashion industry in Korea. The following year, (Lee, 1973)
reported that forty percent of women’s clothing was custom-made, in particular formalwear such
as suits, and this is reflected in the data from my interviews. Before major national brands began
the ready-to-wear business in the middle 1970s, most of the women were dependent on custom-
made clothing. At first it seemed that most women bought ready-to-wear brands for casual wear
while they continued to rely on custom-made outfits for formal wear. By the end of the decade
most women’s wardrobes were entirely ready-to-wear. Designers who worked in the custom
shops were respected, even though many of them learned the trade from fashion academies
rather than regular colleges. The shops were clustered in the major fashion streets in the
Myungdong and Ewha Women’s University districts in Seoul. However, there were some
custom-made shops in the neighborhoods that were cheaper and appealed to women whose
major concern for clothing was price:

I took the fabric to custom-made shops and the designer sketched a design that
would be good on me. And if I thought it was good, I had it custom-made ... If
you didn’t have a design in mind, you just decided based on what their
recommendations ... But I didn’t want something peculiar. I had such plain tastes
... I didn’t like peculiar things so I chose moderate designs based on the
designer’s suggestions. (K1)
There were not many fashion magazines or women’s magazines in Korea in the 1970s, especially for young women. Besides Yosongjoongang and Elegance, Yosongdonga and Yowon focused on general women’s issues rather than fashion. Because most college students’ economic circumstances did not let them subscribe to magazines anyway, they often had to wait for the rare occasions when they did find friends who had copies.

Only one woman (K11) did not choose her wardrobe herself. Her mother always bought her clothes for her.

Ideal Styles

The impact of Western fashion meant not only adopting items and styles but also incorporating the values and ideals of beauty and the female image. When asked if they actually wore their ideal style, five women responded that they did, seven said they did not, and three said that they had never thought about it. Descriptions of their ideal styles were simple and neat, dignified, slim, feminine, feminine beautiful and graceful, feminine and romantic, feminine and cute, modest, or gypsy and free.

American movie stars such as Audrey Hepburn or Vivien Leigh in Gone with the Wind contributed greatly to notions of ideal style:

I liked a simple and neat style with not much of decoration and looks dignified … In the movies … Audrey Hepburn wore this style in a movie … Anyway, I watched her movie and her style was like that wasn’t it? (K8)

Audrey Hepburn’s style … she was slim … I didn’t have many occasions to dress like that … I wore fitted and slim dresses that didn’t have these sleeves when I performed. (K12)

Ideal style … I wanted to dress in the style … you know, in the Western movies like Gone with the Wind. Women wore dresses with fitted bodices and spread-out skirt like this … I wanted to wear dresses like that, with tightly fitted waists and
fluttery skirts ... I still want to wear such a dress. If you come to Korea, please make one for me with fabric like the curtains'... I really wanted to wear one like that. Like in the movies, riding a horse ... riding a horse behind a man like this. (K11)

Besides Hollywood, Korean TV stars also contributed to fashion ideals:

Feminine, beautiful and graceful was my ideal. I wanted to dress like this, but I didn’t have many chances to buy clothes based on my taste ... At that time ... I liked Go Eunah’s (Korean female TV star) style ... I don’t know if she liked that style ... Since she was a TV star, she might have just worn it for the job. No, I don’t think she wore feminine and pretty dresses. I liked her image on the TV drama. (K9)

I liked the feminine style. Well, as far as I remember, Kim Jaok (Korean female TV star) appeared in a drama wearing very feminine dresses, and I liked that style ... sort of modest. (K15)

Another woman liked a romantic feminine style with frills and ruffles. The meaning of “feminine” seemed to be broad and could be associated with modest, graceful, romantic, cute and so on, and it might be a reflection of Korean cultural values that “feminine” was synonymous with “modest.”

Three women answered that they did not have an ideal style and dressed primarily for comfort:

No, since I was not very interested in fashion I just liked comfortable clothes. And I never tried to reveal my body ... I think I was picky though ... I compared a lot when shopping. Even when I had my clothes custom-made, I had to compare the shops on the both sides of the street, but I couldn’t find one I liked. (K5)

Style Conformity to Peer Group

Eleven women answered that they wore clothes similar to their peers: The reasons were grouped into three —“I got along with similar friends” (6), “chose styles in fashion” (4), “appearance of ready-to-wear” (1).
Yes, I did. Because I got along with similar friends ... none of us were very gaudy. I made friends with others who were modest and frugal. Well, we dressed similar. There wasn’t any one who dressed very well. Just ... what people wore in general at the time ... it’s just like that. (K6)

Yes. It was the time that ready-to-wear started to appear ... So we bought ready-to-wear clothes. So the styles of the jackets were all similar. If different, it was just the prints. The jackets for spring and fall were all wool gabardine. (K13)

The last description echoes the transition from custom-made to ready-to-wear clothing.

At that time, ready-to-wear was in its beginning stages without a big selection of designs or sizes in Korea, and as ready-to-wear became more popular, it made sense that people began to dress similarly. “Well, I didn’t try hard to look the same, but what I wore was in fashion so I probably did ... I didn’t like to dress exactly like my friends... Well, probably the tastes were similar.”

Four women thought that their styles were different from those of their peers whether they were less casual, more casual or more feminine. One woman whose mother always chose her clothes for her remembered that she dressed less casual than her peers did:

I think I was different because my friends wore a lot of jeans or pants ... I think I was particularly interested in fashion because of my mother. My mother was a perfectionist. So she never gave me any choices. She meticulously cared about what I wore. I think she was very respectable. (K11)

In contrast, one woman recalled that she wore more casual clothes than her friends did:

I was different. At that time, girls would wear one-piece or two piece dresses, even to class, but I wore pants and T-shirts ... since I couldn’t afford to invest in clothes or didn’t have the time, or because I didn’t put much importance on them. (K15)

Another woman answered:

I don’t think it was similar. In college, one of my friends liked a very neat formal style, and another liked to wear hats and small scarves and tried to look stylish. She had a lot of mufflers too. She really tried hard (to look good). I also dressed sometimes very dressy, and sometimes carelessly. Due to my sisters, I wore
different styles, so I dressed in various styles. So I don’t think I looked similar to my friends. (K5)

Values and Appearance

Young Women’s Values in the 1970s

Values and priorities varied among the fifteen women, ranging from pursuing a career and professional success to the pursuit of freedom or individuality to participation in social movements to raising a family to complying with the rules of social collectivism (see table 6.3).

Table 6.3. Young Women’s Values in Korea in the 1970s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value dimension</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pursuing career/professional success</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>having a good husband/being a good wife and mother</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pursuit of freedom</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individuality</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participation in social movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>complying to the rule/collectivity</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many young women focused on preparing themselves for their future careers and professional success, which was influenced by the women’s liberation movement in Western cultures at the time:

Both my friends and I studied very hard to get a job ... there were a lot of people who tried to get a job ... we didn’t pay much attention to other things. After graduation, I was going to study abroad ... so in college we had to get ready to study abroad with the thoughts that we were going to continue to study. (K5)

Confucianism viewed women as subordinate to men and restricted their education and social activities (Koh, 1987). Beginning in the early 1960s, rapid economic growth in Korea contributed to the accelerated progress in education for women and by the 1970s the average gap in education between males and females was narrowing. Nevertheless, the inequality between
the sexes still existed with distinctly defined and conventionalized roles (Korea Development Institute, 1975; Hasan & Rao, 1979; Lee, 1977). A woman (K2), a student from 1969-72 remembered:

At that time there weren't a lot of female students who wanted to find a job. They all entered college in order to get married to a good man. There were a lot of female students who got married before they graduated.

Was it the atmosphere of art schools at the time?
Yes. I think our school was particularly like that compared to other schools in that sense.

Along with women's liberation, the Western hippie sense of personal and cultural freedom became an important theme among Korean youths:

The latter part of President Park's reign was dictating in the '70s. People wanted to be free. So, everybody aspired to freedom and Western culture. They grew their hair long. Beatles culture was popular. Clothes also ... U S hippie culture was very popular so we copied it and tried to follow the trend ... Since I studied music, it was taken for granted that I was going to get a job. Among women, the prevalent thought was that they should marry a good man since they didn't have the ability to get a job. Women with the ability had to study more. (K4)

Well, freedom I think ... For women, something like freeing oneself from tradition ... For example, women could smoke, they could drink ... like that. Those things were not familiar until our time. It was probably a challenge to the traditional culture. But for medical students ... it wasn't that strong, and I didn't see a lot of friends who had problems. (K11)

Freedom could mean freedom from the government dictatorship or traditional ideas about women, but either way, women challenged traditional social expectations by imitating Western culture. As a result, conventional gender roles began to be blurred, and women started to enjoy things that had been exclusive to men, despite the continuing inequality between the sexes (Lee, 1977).

With all the rapid social and cultural changes of the decade, collectivity as a traditional cultural value still prevailed but it conflicted with the individuality being introduced. A woman
(K9) criticized women who indiscreetly followed fashions based solely on their collective consciousness:

At that time, young women were concerned about fashion too much and followed whatever was in, opposite of individuality. They didn’t care whether it fit with themselves or not. I thought one should adapt fashion to her own style, but ... At that time when we graduated from Sookmyung Women’s University, people thought we would make good wives and mothers ... Ewha students were like ... they were most conscious of fashion among female college students ... and you know, when people went shopping for clothes, they went to Ewha Women’s University district. It was wrong I believed to have such an atmosphere around the campus ... so in practice, I found Sookmyung students studied harder than Ewha students. No, that’s my perspective but anyway, overall, more women who had perseverance ... in other words Korean-style women, entered Sookmyung than Ewha. Ewha women were open to feminist movements and so on, but in practice they were not very happy in their family lives ... because of the overall atmosphere ... I think it was the school that was responsible for the atmosphere of the campus area. The fact that people went around the campus not to buy good books but to find all the stuff in fashion ... The stores were doing business because there were demands.

In the later 1970s Korean society underwent a lot of political turbulence, but while many young people participated in the student movements against the Government, others remained focused on their studies:

It was the time of political anxiety, mistrust toward the government, and a conflict whether or not I should participate in the society... Participating in the student movements, or studying hard ... I was interested in the social movements but I didn’t know much about it, so I studied for my future. (K13)

Eleven women thought they held the same or similar values as other youths of the time, but four answered that their views were either less traditional or more traditional based on their perceptions of other young women’s values. A relatively conservative woman (K8) answered, “Mine wasn’t. I was very conservative and believed I should be conservative and hold strictly to traditional values. I was somewhat too conservative ... so, I acted even more feminine.”
When asked whether the values young women held in the 1970s were similar to traditional Korean values, seven women answered that they were different while four thought they were still the same. These latter four considered the 1970s as the transitional period from traditional to modern values. I then asked them to compare 1970s’ values with today’s values. Some said they were similar to traditional values, but today’s values are very different:

They were the same as the past in the 70s, but now ... very different ... Female students think they should have a job. And my daughters do not want to get married for their “careers” or something ... they believe they should get a job.

A woman (K8), who had a conservative, collectivist point of view, thought 1970s’ values were much closer to traditional Korean than the radical ideas of today:

Well... I don’t know. I haven’t thought about it a lot ... but at that time people cared what others thought. They didn’t act on their own ... But these days they don’t care about other people ... What color of hair you wear, fashion, whatever, ... and others don’t care about that either. They don’t call names or point fingers at them. As you like it, as you want it ... So I think we cared about what other people would say or think ... Like people say, the harmony between tradition and modern, like moderation might be important. People don’t have to be too conservative and restrained like I was. And rather than being too open, I think it is important to keep up with the world while conserving the tradition. Very ideally ... Yes. In our time ... it was conservative. We valued getting married to a man from a good family. But there were people who thought of their own work. When I think of it now, we had such thoughts, but we couldn’t express what we thought. But these days we can talk about our thoughts and views about women have changed. It has changed so much that now women don’t have to give up what they want to do. But still the basic ways of thinking have not diverted much from the Oriental ways of thinking. But got a lot better ... Oriental ways of thinking are, for example even now, when women have to get married, there are times they have to give up what they do. Yes. I see such cases from time to time, and especially I saw a lot of women giving up their work because of children, and I think the perspectives of people around them are still conservative ... Husbands, or even the women’s family think that if women do like that (work in spite of their children) ... because you live in the US, you might think both parents have responsibility of raising children, but in Korea, it is still not true. In the US, the public childcare system is good, but in Korea, we don’t have such system, yet ... First of all, there isn’t such system, so we cannot even think about it.
There were two opposing opinions about the direction of modern culture. One woman had a positive opinion about today's youth while another thought that they are too extreme and she was very concerned about this.

One woman (K15) considered the shift toward individuality as a positive move, criticizing the emphasis placed on traditional culture:

For example, the idea that women should be feminine according to men's expectations. For many women, especially for college students, the only reason they entered college was to find a better man or to advance in social level. But I was different. I thought there were restrictions to individualism ... I thought there was something wrong with the existing social rules or systems, didn't feel I needed to follow such rules. It was important to have my own identity ... But now difference is accepted and an individual's characteristics are valued, and to some extent, the society is heading more toward the extremes of individualism.

On the other hand, another woman (K9), a homemaker with relatively conservative values, emphasized that women were also losing precious things when they argued for their own rights. She also blamed materialism as the basis for the women's liberalization movement that has indirectly fostered the destruction of humanitarianism:

A lot of people blindly followed the extreme modern values and threw away good things pursuing bad things ... So it is like chaos. I think while people emphasized women's rights, women gave up some of their rights. From the '70s on, modern materialism has been defused and the values changed women's thinking. The traditional Korean woman's image ... women like Shinsaimdang were not that kind of a person. She was a superior person as a woman. First of all, she was wise, self-sacrificing, modest, and fully altruistic ... that kind of a person. That's an image of the traditional Korean woman. Then the women's liberalization movement came about. Since the movement began, some women started to claim their rights while neglecting their duties. So the position of wives or mothers, which everyone has to respect, is rather denied ... This kind of trend started in the '70s and the feminist movement spread further, and now it is hard to find the true position of women ... I think this became a social illness and now the ethics in the

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5 Female artist and calligrapher in Lee dynasty. She lived from 1512 to 1559. Her father, husband, and son were all scholars. She was known as a model of good mother and wife with intelligence and integrity. She had warm and calm personality and was good at sewing.
family and the value system are in a state of confusion. And now, adolescents do not know what is right. And at the same time, such movements facilitated the diffusion of the materialistic perspectives, such as women should have a particular ability, or earn money. And now such values are widely spread among men and women, and these days women cannot get married unless they make money, even in our country. Now, for women the time has ended when they just ate and slept and raised children ... Because women claimed liberalization. That all came from materialism. Religions used to be the philosophy based, but now, even the religions are considered something to reject and materials have become a basis, churches in other countries are empty as well because people have to go to work, make money, etc. So now they say they are trying to make the world beautiful, but the world in fact turns into an age of decadence, and the material goods are “God” because all the people follow it. And, adolescents go astray because they cannot find security in their home ... So what is left for the children is not the emotional security and love which they deserve, but the computer, money and games... so they grow ill psychologically. Women's liberalization movement is implicitly fostering this tendency.

In the process of acculturation, material items and technical processes were generally more easily borrowed than abstract things (Naylor, 1996). Likewise, in the 1970s when Western clothes replaced traditional Korean fashion for everyday clothes, relatively traditional values and modern values still coexisted in contrast with each other. Park, Warner, and Fitzgerald (1993) also found that Korean society still embodied traditional customs for many people. Blumer (1969) suggests that one function of fashion is a mechanism for socializing individuals or group to change. In the 1970s Korean culture made a transition from traditional values to modern values, and the adoption of Western dress may have played a role as a means of adjustment to the changing social climate.

Values Conveyed through Appearance

The close relationship fashion has with the values of a given culture is embodied as "a socially derived valuation of an idea, practice or product, or a form of collective behavior"
(Schrank & Gilmore, 1973, p. 534). Thirteen women thought that values were conveyed through fashion, while only two did not make a connection between values and appearance. Those who focused on their future careers rather than settling for traditional female roles based their wardrobe choices on practicality. “Well, I just liked the clothes that I felt comfortable. I hated uncomfortable ones. I didn’t have to look pretty to men; I had to practice, and I lived far from school, so I dressed comfortably.” A woman (K8), on the other hand, strove for a modest, sincere, more or less subservient image that embodied the virtues of traditional Korean women:

Yes, I think it could be connected. I don’t think I did so on purpose, but people around me, when I talk to my mother or my aunt, they would want me to be more feminine. So, I think I was influenced by them a lot in dressing more in a feminine style.

Social expectations shaped clothing choices, heavily influenced by the older generation’s traditional ideas of gender roles.

Impression Management through Appearance

Fourteen women consciously or unconsciously managed a certain image through their appearance. Responses ranged from wanting to appear feminine, simple, neat and clean, lofty, modest, smart and active, decent, sincere, simple, refined, cute, stylish, wanting to demonstrate a good sense of design or artisticness, to being indifferent to fashion due to focusing on studying.

I liked formal styles, neat and clean ... I didn’t want to emphasize femininity. I wanted to express lofty ideas, such as that I do not harm others, which was in line with Christianity. (K4)

Modest style. I didn’t like clothes that exposed a lot ... Yes, but in order to be modest, you have to be neat. (K2)

I didn’t want to show others a certain image intentionally, but I was afraid that what I wore didn’t fit my image ... If a very good design didn’t fit my image, I wouldn’t wear it. My own image is feminine and I don’t like something extreme
... I just wanted a decent and simple image ... I think it's because I studied German. Since German style is simple and sincere ... Anyway, I think I was influenced by that. (K9)

Along with religious convictions and fields of studies shaping the image the women wanted to manage, their own body and face played a role as well:

I didn't do much. I just tried to wear what matched me ... I liked something simple and feminine. Personally, I didn't like anything complicated or peculiar ... I just wanted something plain. At that time it wasn't just me; a lot of people did the same thing. It wasn't that I thought my image was like this, but I just had that in mind what kind of style looked good on me. (K1)

One woman said she did not try to construct any particular image. "Well, since I got a job, especially after I became a professor, I couldn't avoid thinking of some kind of image. But I didn't think of it in college."

Political Messages Conveyed through Dress

None of the 15 women said that they tried to convey any political message through their dress. By the end of the 1970s there were students protests against the Korean government, and student groups had their own dress code: jeans, simple boxy T-shirts, possibly with a political slogan on it, and often a headband around the forehead. None of the fifteen women in this study were involved in the protests, though one said that she began to participate at the beginning of the 1980s.

Buying Behaviors

Places to Buy

According to 14 women, Myungdong and Ewha Women's University district were the most popular places to shop for clothes among female college students. Myungdong had a
variety of clothing stores that met different needs, and the district included custom-made shops, department stores, chain stores, etc. Ewha Women’s University district was popular for custom-made shops and women’s clothing shops, and the close proximity of these stores made shopping convenient:

At that time my clothes were mostly custom-made. In Ewha Women’s University district, most shops were dressmakers. So when I got there I chose one of them ... They had clothes displayed, so we could choose the style we liked and have it made ... In Myungdong, there were women’s clothing stores that sold simple casual clothes, t-shirts and so. I bought coats, trench coats, and two-pieces there too.

In general, custom-made clothing was considered to be of better design and quality and was more expensive. Usually women bought ready-made clothes for casual wear and had formal wear custom made:

I bought casual wear ... and had formal dresses custom made ... I don’t think I bought ready-made formal wear at the time. I think most of us had formal wear custom-made. At that time, expensive dresses were custom-made and from a certain point of time they started to sell brand name ready-to-wear formal wear. (K12)

Due to the high cost of custom-made clothing, some women bought inexpensive materials from a fabric store and took it to a custom-made shop so they would only have to pay for the labor:

There were apparel stores in Ewha Women’s University district. And later, since they were expensive, we asked around and if somebody said, “There was a dressmaker who was good and cheap.” then we took our own fabrics to the dressmaker and just paid for the labor. And I think I also went to Myungdong a lot. (K12)

Besides clothing stores, Myungdong had other entertainment such as movies, restaurants and cafes, so when young women went there with their friends just for socializing, they often bought clothes impulsively:
Because dressmakers in Ewha district were famous, I thought their design and quality would be good. So although they were expensive, I went there once a year or so ... and in Myungdong ... I hung around with my friends. And if my friends said, "that will look good on you," then psychologically ... you know. Also, if others said something looked good and they bought one, you also wanted to buy it and so on ... There was Cosmos Department Store as well as Jeil Department Store ... So you could shop at the department stores and also women's clothing shops in Myungdong ... By the way, more than anything else, I think I liked Myungdong because it was the most popular place at the time. So there you could eat Tukbokee, Sushi, and Grandma's House squid stir fry, etc. So full of fun ... There was a lot of stuff for young people ... and they sold clothes on the street as well as in the department stores, so you could go there with friends and buy clothes and shoes. (K12)

In the later 1970s national brand chain stores started to appear in Myungdong, and attracted young women's attention with their larger selections:

In the early college years I went to Ewha Women's University district where my sisters used to shop. Because you didn't have to go different places ... everything was in the same place ... I went to custom-made shops a lot there, though ... Then in Myungdong, ready-to-wear started to appear at the time. Bando Fashion, and then Original Lee ... Francoise. PyungPyung, those kinds of brands ... They were more elegant than what we could find in dressmaker shops. There were different styles in the brand shops ... and there was a bigger selection. (K5)

It was not until later in the decade that department stores began to appear in Myungdong.

Department stores were associated with a wider selection of designs and sizes as well as better quality, but they were more expensive compared to the neighborhood women's stores:

Maybe the department stores in Myungdong? Department stores were only in Myungdong ... For convenience. Since the department stores carried all the merchandise. There was a large selection of ready-to-wear clothes. Not because of fashion, but because it was easy to buy such clothes. They were good ones too. (K11)

Chain stores in my neighborhood, La Beaute, Cheil Wool ... they were the largest ... Nonno. PyungPyung, Nina Rich ... They all appeared at that time ... The ready-to-wear brands had just started to appear at that time. Since they were standardized, and I thought they fitted my body shape very well ... Otherwise, department stores like Shinsaegae, Lotte in Myungdong ... they had just opened at that time. There was a big selection. (K13)
Besides Myungdong and Ewha Women's University district, the women said they also shopped at neighborhood women's clothing stores and custom-made, Dongdaemoon traditional market, Namdaemoon traditional market, Jongro underground arcade, and women's clothing stores in Itaewon. Neighborhood women's clothing shops sold clothes at relatively moderate prices compared to Myungdong or Ewha Women's University district. The greatest portion of clothing in neighborhood women's clothing stores were items that had been selected from cheap major traditional markets (Namdaemoon, Dongdaemoon, etc.) by the owner of the stores, so the price was relatively cheap but the quality was low. Due to the relatively cheaper prices, women who tended to buy casual clothes and did not want to invest much money in their wardrobes would shop in the neighborhood stores, while they bought formal clothing of better design and quality in the department stores. At that time many young women used public transportation such as buses and generally walked by many stores in the neighborhood between the bus stops and home. Since these neighborhood shops were close to where they lived, when they passed a store and found something they liked, it was easy for them to buy it on impulse.

Table 6.4. Places to Buy Clothing in Korea.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place to Buy</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Myungdong</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewha Women's University district</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namdaemoon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongdaemoon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jongro underground arcade</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itaewon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table. 6.5. Types of Stores to Buy Clothing in Korea.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Stores</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>custom-made shops (Myungdong, Ewha Women's University district, neighborhood)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>department stores (Myungdong)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women's clothing shops (Myungdong, Namdaemoon traditional market, Dongdaemoon traditional market, Jongro underground market, Itaewon)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chain stores (Myungdong, neighborhood)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shopping Alone or with Somebody Else

Two women preferred shopping alone while twelve preferred to shop with somebody else. One woman rarely shopped for her own clothes and wore whatever her mother bought for her. Nine women who shopped with friends or family answered that they “needed somebody else to get other person’s opinion on size and design.” seven said it was “to have fun, not to feel lonely,” four responded “because I was not confident to decide on my own,” and three said it was “for the purpose of payment.” They also indicated that it was necessary to have somebody else’s help when deciding to buy more expensive clothes:

Yes, whether it fit or not … I wanted an objective view about the style and size … Friends helped each other buying clothes … So if a friend said it looked good and pretty on me then I just bought it. Since I didn’t have specific thoughts in mind, I thought it was OK if someone else said it was good, unless it was a very weird thing. (K6)

No. I never went alone. With friends, my mother, or aunt. First, because I didn’t feel comfortable about deciding alone. I had to ask somebody. If I went with my mother, it was because the clothes were expensive. I didn’t pay for it any way. (K8)

Surprisingly, two women pointed out that they did not often trust the salesperson’s opinions about style, which might indicate why they felt the need to shop with somebody they knew as well as having fun and not feeling lonely:
I wasn’t influenced by them. When I was debating between two designs in a dressmaker’s shop, I couldn’t trust people there. They might suggest something that wasn’t selling well. I couldn’t even trust the salespeople of the shops I patronized most often. And it was also no fun to shop alone. (K5)

With friends, or with my mom. I don’t think I went shopping alone. I don’t think I spent time alone because it was no fun to go alone. And if you went alone, when you tried something on you needed someone else to see it. (K12)

Eight women said they most often shopped with friends, four said their mother, three said their sisters, and one said her aunt. Friends tended to be the preferred company because they wanted “to have fun together,” or “they have the same point of view.”:

Yes, I went with friends because we had the same point of view regarding what to buy … If I went with my friends they said it looked good. But parents, they said “hey, don’t you think it looks weird” and I didn’t like that. I did not go alone … because it’s no fun and there was nobody to talk to. (K6)

In this case, she wanted to buy what she liked and seemed to need confirmation from her friends to feel reassured of her choices. The major reason to shop with one’s mother was that she paid for the clothes:

When I bought expensive clothes, I went with Mother because she had to say yes and paid for them … When shopping for cheap ones, when mom went shopping I would follow her and she bought something for me. So I went shopping with her. (K12)

One woman gave a different reason for shopping with her mother. She believed that her mother would give her a more honest opinion. “I wanted to hear her opinion. I didn’t like others saying that it looked good, when it actually didn’t. I usually made the choice, but my mom gave me an honest comment.” Another woman (K5), who liked to shop with her sister, said that she respected her opinion because she had more experience. She was an economical consumer who did not want to waste money by making a bad decision:

I wasn’t confident and I didn’t want to waste my money. I was very economical. It wasn’t like spending enough when I bought very good clothes. I thought I had
to be very careful in spending money. My sisters had more experience than I did, so I wanted them to look.
CHAPTER VII. COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE INTERVIEWS
WITH AMERICAN WOMEN AND KOREAN WOMEN

This chapter will compare and contrast the data from the interviews with the American and Korean respondents, and analyze the differences and similarities of the fashion, finding possible reasons.

Background Information

Based on the background information of the United States and Korean samples in tables 5.1 and 6.1, there are significant parallels between the two cultures. Most of the two samples were composed of women currently working as professors, instructors, teachers or university workers, though two respondents in the Korean sample were homemakers, a category that was not included in the U.S. sample (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1. Comparison of the U.S. and Korean Sample’s Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Professor</th>
<th>Instructor, teacher, university related occupations</th>
<th>Other occupations</th>
<th>Homemaker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The family economic status of respondents in the two samples shows a similar distribution of primarily middle class groups (Table 7.2). This is self-determined status.
Table 7.2. Comparison of the U.S. and Korean Sample’s Family Economic Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wealthy</th>
<th>Upper middle</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Lower middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The level of interest in fashion among the respondents in both samples also illustrates a parallel between the two cultures (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3. Comparison of the U.S. and Korean Sample’s Fashion Interest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Highly interested</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Lower than average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>4 (5)</td>
<td>8 (7)</td>
<td>3 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>6 (4)</td>
<td>9 (7)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Some respondents answered that their level of interest fell into more than one category.

One area where there was a significant difference between the two samples was the social environment that comprised the campus life of women in both cultures. Most of the American respondents attended a college in a relatively small town in the Midwest while all of the Korean respondents went to a college in Seoul, the capital of Korea and a major urban center. The difference may have affected the results of this study. According to Boissevain (1974), small community residents tend to express a high degree of conformity and community attachment that affects their clothing selection and shopping behaviors. Youths from homogenous, conservative rural area who are exposed to less social diversity conformed to more traditional styles while urban adolescents were more apt to use clothing as a means of gaining social approval as well as personal expression experimentation (Hess, Markson, & Stein, 1985; Choi, 2000). MacGillivray and Wilson’s (1997) also found that urban adolescents were more likely to use clothing for both
social approval and social distinction among their friends as well as to make themselves feel good. whereas rural students conformed more to traditional standards, dressing like their peers and taking less risks. However, there were no significant differences among late adolescents between rural and urban area in their research; these differences were significant for early and middle adolescents only.

Cowell and Green (1994) found that there is a positive relationship between strong social attachment to community and shopping locally. Miller and Kean (1997) suggest that in rural communities in the United States, interpersonal reciprocity (between community members), institutional reciprocity (between consumers and retailers), and moral motivations were distinguishing factors that lead rural consumer to shop with local retailers (cited in Choi, 2000).

There are also conflicting results between studies that compared rural and urban consumer behaviors. In their study of fashion innovators, Gordon, Infante, and Braun (1985) found that urban consumers were far more innovative with fashion than rural consumers, however Summers, Belleau and Wozniak (1992) found no differences in perceptions of fashion and apparel shopping between the two groups. They attribute this to the fact that television and other forms of mass communication may have contributed to an overall cultural homogenization.

While the American respondents' majors included a variety of disciplines, more than half of the Korean respondents—eight women—majored in music. The period over which the American respondents attended college covered a wider range of the 1970s focusing on earlier years while most of the Korean respondents attended college during later years of the decade (Table 7.4).
Table 7.4. Comparison of the U.S. and Korean Sample’s College Years

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
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Another major difference was that all of the American respondents left home and lived on or near campus away from their families, while all of the Korean respondents remained in their parents’ homes during their college years.

**Fashion Styles**

**Adopted Fashion Styles**

**Clothes.** In general American styles were more casual than Korean styles, and the range of styles from casual to formal was greater for Americans than Koreans. With an emphasis on practicality and anti-materialism, Americans frequented second-hand shops. But with the exception of one woman who bought used American jeans, Koreans did not wear used clothes.

Fashion in both cultures during the early 1970s underwent a transition from formal to more comfortable and casual campus wear. This was more the case in the United States where women wore more jeans and pants whereas Korean women wore more skirts, so while Americans gave priority to practicality, Koreans clung to relatively traditional ideas of gender roles. Korean women tended to show a greater concern about their appearance and wanted to look feminine even when they dressed casually. When they did wear jeans and t-shirts, they chose shirts that were stylish rather than the plain boxy type that were popular with American women, or they wore tight, fitted y-shirts that maintained a more feminine look.
While jeans became widely accepted in both cultures during the decade, they did not share the same symbolic significance. In the United States, women's desire to achieve equality and women's enhanced status from increased education and opportunity were reflected in the unisex look of jeans. In Korea they were adopted by women mainly because they were in fashion and a symbol of youth, though their comfort also appealing. Eicher (1992) argues that a product accepted across cultures in the globalization process does not necessarily hold the same meanings as those in the originating culture, and DeLong, Koh, Nelson & Ingvoldstad (1998) confirm that the meaning of jeans were different. Though their research focuses on the recent symbolism of jeans, they found that for American respondents, jeans symbolize casual American culture whereas Koreans responded that jeans symbolize the participation in youth and student culture within contemporary Korean society.

American students more often personalized their jeans with surface decorations reflecting individual creativity that became such an important theme of the times. The fact that Korean women did not adopt hip-huggers illustrates the modesty about revealing the body that endured and reflected the traditional conservative attitudes that prevailed even in the wake of cultural change. This tension was also apparent in the endless debate over mini skirts. In both cultures there was a tendency for college women to wear jeans more during their freshman and sophomore years than in their junior and senior years.

Women in both cultures tended to wear the same styles for meeting friends as they wore on campus. Many Korean women wore the same clothes because they did not go back home to change before going out, which may partly explain why they wore more feminine or formal styles while on the campus.
Eight respondents in each sample took special care when selecting styles for dating, while seven wore the same clothes for dates as they did for other activities. Only two of the eight Americans tried to look feminine for dates while the other five just wore nicer or less casual clothes. All eight Koreans wanted to look feminine even though they each had different interpretations of femininity. More Koreans than Americans wore skirts on dates. Pants were more acceptable to American women, though usually nicer pants or pants suits. This reflects different ideas of the two cultures on female role and social expectations.

Formal styles were associated with femininity in both cultures, however femininity is interpreted differently. Formal styles in the United States were often associated with revealing lower cut back or necklines while formal Korean dresses emphasized neatness and modesty, but in both cultures long dresses were an expression of the highest formality. The annual college festival was one of the most formal occasions among Korean students, especially at women’s universities, and everybody dressed her best whereas many American students wore casual wear for their college festivals.

**Accessories, Hairstyles, Make-up and Perfume.** There was not a lot of difference in the choices of accessories between American and Korean women. Comfortable and casual shoes were more accepted to both than in the previous decade, though Korean women’s shoes were relatively more dressy and formal, probably to accommodate their relatively more feminine formal clothes. There was a significant difference in the attitudes towards clogs. While they were “hot” in America, most Korean women had a negative opinion of them because they saw them as too casual and even careless and considered them inappropriate to wear in public, again reflecting different cultural attitudes toward casualness. Hats were not popular in either culture and there were even negative perceptions toward them in Korea. Scarves, however, were a hot
fashion item in both cultures throughout the decade. Bags, purses and jewelry styles were similar in both countries.

Changes in hairstyles throughout the 1970s were similar, though American women tended to wear straight hair while most Korean women permed theirs. Permed hair may have been a symbol of becoming a mature woman to Korean young women possibly because it was not allowed until they graduate from a high school. In addition to permed hair, wearing make-up was not allowed to high school students in the 1970s, required to wear school uniforms. Therefore, make-up, personal clothing as well as permed hair marked the transition from high school to collegiate status for Korean women. Americans wore more perfume than Koreans, and Korea did not even manufacture perfume, but depended on imports that were worn by only a small number of women. In both cultures light and natural makeup was common.

Responses to Adopted Styles

In both cultures, the biggest concerns among parents were neatness, cleanliness, femininity and modesty, with a preference for relatively conservative classic styles. The generation gap was more apparent in America. While the parents in both cultures had more modest and traditional attitudes toward clothing, Korean youth were more conservative than Americans and so did not contend with as much conflict over fashion with their parents.

American respondents received more negative responses from their parents whereas Koreans received slightly more positive responses (Table 7.5). American youths tended to claim more independence from their parents and chose styles they liked, while Koreans were more concerned about parents' opinions and maintained a certain level of obedience. Part of this is
probably due to the fact that Korean women continued to live with their parents during their college years and remained under their parent's supervision.

Table 7.5. Comparison of Parents' Responses to the Styles Adopted by American and Korean Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive response</th>
<th>Negative response</th>
<th>No response</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
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None of the American or Korean respondents received negative responses from peers. The women who received complements tended to dress slightly more upscale than their peers.

References to Style Selection

Table 7.6. Comparison of References to Style Selection in the U.S. and Korea

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
<th>Korea</th>
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<td>Peer groups</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Store display</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>TV program</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Music (Rock) stars</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catalogue (mail order)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (in custom-made shops often made by textile companies)</td>
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<td>People on the street</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sisters</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Designer's suggestion in custom-made shops</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celbrities</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>
Respondents in both cultures used a variety of sources for selecting styles. Peer groups, magazines, movies, and store displays were relatively important sources for American women, while store displays, peer groups and people on the street were important in Korea. Peer groups were very influential in both cultures, but store displays were the most important source in Korea. Korean women were more fashion conscious so they paid closer attention to what was in the stores and the styles of people in the street, while American women went to stores with a relatively preconceived vision of what they would buy. American women gave more credibility to sales people while Koreans had a tendency not to trust them, thinking that they tried to push designs that were not popular.

Magazines were a more important reference source for American women than they were for Koreans. In the 1970s there were no magazines in Korea dedicated exclusively to fashion; rather, fashion was relegated to subsections and advertisements in general women’s magazines. American respondents, on the other hand, tended to look at a variety of magazines (see table 5.3).

Movies (A-5: K-0) had a significant influence on American women’s style selection. Among Korean women, movies were a good source for ideal style but nobody considered them an important source for their personal wardrobe choices.

Mail order catalogues and pattern books in America vs. designers’ suggestions in custom-made shops in Korea point to the different stages of the fashion industry in two cultures at that time. Even though ready-to-wear clothing began to appear in Korea in the early 1970s, it was not widely accepted initially because the quality did not measure up to custom-made clothing and since the price was similar, it was not much of a bargain. When larger companies entered the business in the middle part of the decade, ready-to-wear became more accepted. While
Americans could make their own customized clothing by using commercial patterns with their own choice of fabric, not many Korean women sewed their own clothes even though the fashion sections in women’s magazines often included the method of making patterns. Home-made clothing was relatively popular for children’s wear.

Since Koreans remained at home while attending college and had relatively tight family bonds, several respondents also relied on their sisters’ input about fashion.

**Ideal Styles**

Seven American respondents said that they wore their ideal styles while six said they did not. Seven Korean respondents did not wear their ideal styles while five did. There is not much statistical difference between the two groups in each culture and across two cultures. In both cultures movies influenced notions of style, but Koreans in particular mentioned Hollywood actresses as fashion role models. It was difficult for them to imitate movie star outfits, either because the styles were not very realistic for everyday life or did not conform to their own body types. American women often mentioned fashion models’ names while Korean women did not because fashion shows and professional fashion models were not very common in Korea at the time.

Adjectives that defined ideal styles in each culture are listed in Table 7.7.

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<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
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<tr>
<td>simple</td>
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<td>neat</td>
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</table>
Aiken (1963) claims that individuals whose clothes conform to groups are more likely to be restrained, submissive and to give into the social order. Taylor and Compton (1968) state that people who value conformity in dress have a desire to maintain harmonious relationships, and this is more apparent in the collectivist culture of Korea than the individualistic culture of the United States. In both cultures however, female college students tended to follow group norms and conformity was very important.

**Values and Appearance**

**Young Women's Values in the 1970s**

The values held by the respondents in both countries in the 1970s are listed in Table 7.9. The respondents' different expressions that are considered as the same value dimension are grouped together.

**Table 7.9. Comparison of Young Women's Values in the U.S. and Korea in the 1970s**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value Dimension (A: American women's expressions K: Korean women's expressions)</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
<th>Korea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A: equality for women as well as racial and religious minorities (or feminism)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K: pursuing career/professional success</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: liberal and permissive attitude (or freedom/free love)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K: pursuit of freedom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: anti-Vietnam war</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K: participation in social movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: anti-materialism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: anti-establishment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: good family and education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K: having a good husband/being a good wife and mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A: religion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K: individuality</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K: complying to the rule/collectivity</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Feminism and women’s liberation were important themes for women in both cultures. Americans were primarily concerned with “equality for women” while “pursuing a career and gaining professional success” were important for Koreans. Americans dealing with ethnic, religious and other forms of culturally designed inequality made equality a major theme, unlike Koreans living in a relatively homogenous culture with little history of immigration. The fact that the number of Korean women who valued “pursuing a career and professional success” and “having a good husband and being a good wife” only differed by one respondent illustrates how transitional a period this was between traditional and radical values.

Freedom was an important value among women in both cultures and American respondents valued “liberal and permissive attitudes.” While two Americans said that anti-materialism was important, no Koreans considered this a cultural value reflecting the economic climate of each country at that time. While America was dealing with the fallout of post-industrialism, Korea was in the midst of becoming an industrialized nation. Instead, two Korean women mentioned that individuality was an important value, reflecting the promise of opportunity and choice that was attached to industrialization. Where three American respondents listed the anti-war movement as a priority, only one Korean said that participation in social movements was important. That may indicate the difference in women’s socialization in the two cultures, that is, political issues played a larger role in the social lives of American women than of Korean women.

Values Conveyed through Appearance

Most women in both cultures believed that values were conveyed through appearance, and feminism was one of the stronger messages conveyed by women’s fashion in the 1970s.
Four American respondents believed that the way they dressed was more a reflection of their independence and self-assurance rather than their simply following fashion trends, and Korean women who pursued careers rather than traditional female roles said they based their wardrobe choices on practicality. Feminism was, however, more valued among American women. One American, who considered herself a radical feminist, said that she intentionally dressed unfeminine and refused to follow fashion. Among Americans, freedom, anti-materialism and anti-establishmentarianism were embodied in the second-hand clothing or hippie look that stressed the importance of comfort and freedom, and emphasized that clothing was not a status symbol. Even though a similar number of women in both cultures (7 Americans and 6 Koreans) said that they valued feminism, Korean women still dressed in relatively more feminine styles because traditional ideas of gender were so deeply rooted in the society.

**Impression Management through Appearance**

The images that respondents in both samples tried to construct through their appearance, either consciously or unconsciously, are listed in Table 7.10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
<th>Korea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>smart</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clean</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neat</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>artistic/ having a good design sense</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>looking like I don‘t care how I look/ indifferent to fashion and focusing on studying</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confident</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>competent</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.10. (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>American</th>
<th>Korean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>professional</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminist</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>looking not like the sorority girls</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comfortable</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>practical</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sexy</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fashionable</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attractive</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cosmopolitan</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultured</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well traveled</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bohemian</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liberal (hippie)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modest</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decent</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sincere</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lofty</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stylish</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refined</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cute</td>
<td>x</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* "x" is marked in the column of the culture when the expression was used by a respondent.

Adjectives (or phrases) like smart, looking like they don't care how they look or focusing on studying only as well as feminine, clean, neat, artistic (having good design sense) were used by both samples to describe the impression they wanted to manage. Confident, competent, and professional were used by American women. Those words reflect ideas of self-reliance, competition, and emphasis on competence that are sub-value dimensions of individualism as discussed in chapter two. They are also associated with achievement that is an emphasis in masculine culture. Therefore, American culture is a more individualistic and masculine culture while Korean culture was shifting to it.
Sexy was an American concern while Koreans were more concerned with modesty. American women were also concerned with comfort, practicality and permissiveness that have an association with utilitarianism and hedonism, sub-value dimensions of individualism.

**Political Messages Conveyed through Dress**

Many American women wore clothing with peace symbols or anti-war T-shirts while none of the Korean respondents used clothing to display political messages, again reflecting different political climates between the United States and Korea. Three American respondents said that protesting the Vietnam War was a primary concern, while only one Korean respondent said that participation in social movements was important.

**Buying Behavior**

**Places to Buy**

The Korean respondents were willing to travel farther to go shopping while most American respondents shopped locally. In Korea in the 1970s most custom-made shops were clustered in Myungdong and Ewha Women’s University districts and departments stores were focused on Myungdong and Jongro. There were no department stores in neighborhoods and it was not until later years of the decade that custom-made shops appeared in the neighborhood.

Mail order was a common practice in the United States, but was almost nonexistent in Korea. Americans did not wear custom-made because ready-to-wear apparel was of good quality and reasonably priced, while Koreans had to depend on custom-made shops. In Korea discount stores for name brands did not exist and second-hand clothing was not widely accepted (Table 7.11).
Table 7.11. Comparison of Types of Stores to Buy Clothing in the U.S. and Korea

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Stores</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
<th>Korea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department stores (America—L: local, B: big cities,</td>
<td>10 (L)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea—clustered in big shopping streets)</td>
<td>3 (B)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chain specialty stores</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s clothing shops</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mail order</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army surplus stores or second-hand shops</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discount stores for name brands (e.g. Loehmann’s)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom-made shops</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shopping Alone or with Somebody Else

Table 7.12. Comparison of Shopping Alone or with Somebody Else

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>By themselves</th>
<th>With somebody else</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*One Korean respondent did not buy her own clothes.

Most Korean respondents shopped with somebody else while American respondents were almost equally divided, again suggesting the American tendency toward independence. This also may be due to different return policies. In Korea in the 1970s returns were hardly allowed and exchanges were difficult, so Koreans had to be more careful with their purchases. They were also more concerned about the fit than American women, and probably felt the need for somebody else to make sure an outfit looked and fit just right.

While many of both American and Korean respondents shopped with their friends, more Koreans than Americans also shopped with family members such as their mothers or sisters, which again reflects the strong family bonds that were maintained by women continuing to live with their families during college years. While Americans considered shopping with their
friends primarily as a social activity and opportunity to have fun, Koreans were more concerned about getting their friends’ opinions, though both of these reasons applied to both cultures.
CHAPTER VIII. CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions

In traditional Korean culture with its Confucian roots, the education and social activities of women were restricted and their role and status were subordinate to men (Koh, 1987). In the 1970s, with industrialization and acculturation to Western customs, Korean women gradually took on more important roles in society, and in the process fashion reflected the permeation of new ideas and behaviors into culture, but this was a gradual process. Naylor (1996) suggests that in the process of acculturation, material items and technical processes are more readily borrowed than abstract concepts, and this was the case in Korea. At the same time that most women were adopting Western fashion, their traditional values governed most of their lives.

Values in a culture are the guiding principles in the choices of dress (Kaiser, 1990). As Western ideas faced significant resistance, Korean women were selective with the Western styles that they did adopt. Items that fit easily into Korean culture were adopted faster while others met with more resistance. Modesty remained an important Korean value, so the more revealing styles from the West were not readily accepted. The miniskirt controversy raged throughout the decade, and for a while the Korean government even prohibited them under misdemeanor laws. Body revealing hip-huggers did not appeal to Korean women as a popular fashion statement.

American respondents placed a stronger emphasis on individualism, and this was symbolized in the acceptance of more practical and comfortable clothing among women, compared to Korean women. Koreans on the other hand, held strongly to notions of collectivism and family, which are in line with historical trends in both cultures. However, in Korea, ideas
and behaviors characteristic of individualistic societies began to take root during this decade due to increasing industrialism, while anti-materialism sprang up in the United States in the wake of its post-industrial period. According to Inglehart (1990), values are not static and undergo modification during socialization processes within a culture, even though Rokeach (1973) proposes that they are generally stable and resist changes. This study indicates that changes in cultural values occurred among young women in both countries in the 1970s.

Herald (1992) suggests that one prominent theme in the 1970s was the rise of the woman’s movement, and most of the respondents from both cultures indicated that this was an important phenomenon in their lives at the time. While “pursuing career/professional success” was important to Korean respondents, “equality for women as well as racial and religious minorities (feminism)” was of primary importance to Americans, and both of these values were rooted in the women’s feminist movement. American women showed a great concern for ethnic and religious injustice due to significant minority populations, whereas Korea is a homogenous culture with few immigrants. Americans’ concern for equality also coincides with individualism. Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swindler and Tipton (1990) suggested that “interest in equality of people and the rejection of arbitrary authority” is a sub-value dimension of individualism (see table 7.11).

For both Americans and Koreans it was important to project either smartness or indifference to personal appearance, and this also reflects women’s liberation issues. However, there was still a gap between the two cultures in that some Korean women still showed concern for traditional ideas of women’s role (see table 7.7). The images of “confident,” “competent” and “professional” that American women wanted to construct reflect the nation’s individualistic and masculine culture, showing a close connection with “self-reliance,” “competition,” and
“emphasis on competence,” which are sub-value dimensions of individualism (see table 7.11). While American culture is more individualistic and masculine, Korea was fast moving towards this state. Much evidence of that was found in this study. Korean women’s value of “pursuing career/professional success” is connected to ideas of “achievement” that is focused on masculine culture. At the same time, “having a good husband and being a good wife” were important to about half of the Korean respondents, consistent with notions of collectivism and feminine culture (see table 7.11).

Prevalence of casual and comfortable styles with an emphasis on practicality, along with new women’s roles, is also evidence of the shift from collective to individualistic culture in Korea; so too is tolerance for women to present themselves as more masculine than in the previous decade. For example, pants replaced skirts for a wider variety of occasions. However, Korean styles remained more feminine and formal with more choices of skirts than among American styles, reflecting the perseverance of traditional ideas of women’s roles in Korean culture.

“Pursuit of freedom” was highly valued in both countries. “Liberal and permissive attitudes or free love,” mentioned by American respondents, reflect individualistic values (see table 7.11). Individuality was important to two Korean respondents while anti-materialism was important to two American respondents, again coinciding with the post-industrialism occurring in the United States and the industrialization taking place in Korea. American emphasis on anti-materialism and practicality was also reflected in some respondents who shopped at thrift stores and Army Surplus stores, but with the exception of one woman who bought used American jeans, second hand clothing was not popular among Koreans.
Similarities in clothing styles or behaviors between the two cultures found in this study were also due to a common "spirit of the times" and the characteristics of the respondents as female adolescence group. At the same time, differences persisted due to the diversity of values as well as the different stages of the fashion industry in the two cultures (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1. Possible Reasons of Similarities and Differences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for Similarities</th>
<th>Reasons for Differences</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Acculturation</td>
<td>• Cultural values (individualism vs. collectivism: masculine vs. feminine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Common &quot;spirit of the times&quot;</td>
<td>• Stage of fashion business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Characteristics of the respondents as female adolescents</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Natural" was a "hot" issue in many aspects of life in the 1970s. Light "natural" makeup was popular throughout the decade, and in the later years of the decade natural fibers took preference over synthetic fibers such as polyester, which were initially favored for their convenience and cost.

Conformity to peer groups was common in both cultures, indicating a strong cohesiveness among adolescent females during their college years, even in America where individuality was considered important. The fact that peers were very influential resources for style selection in both cultures illustrates the strong conformity. However, there was still a gap, with Korean women having an overall stronger willingness to conform (see table 7.8).

Korean women paid closer attention to store displays as indicators of current fashion, while American women went to stores with a relatively clear vision about what they would buy (see table 7.6). People on the street were an important source of style selection for Korean
women whereas no American respondents mentioned this as an influence, which may illustrate Korean women’s relatively strong fashion consciousness, as an indication of collective culture.

Interview analysis revealed Korean women’s preferences for more feminine (dressy) and formal styles than those chosen by Americans. While on campus, most American women dressed very casually, wearing more jeans and other pants, whereas Korean women wore skirts more often than Americans did. Shoes were another significant difference. Korean women wore dressy shoes such as high heels more often, probably to accommodate their more feminine and formal outfits. Korean women tended to be more concerned about their appearance and wanted to look more or less feminine even when they dressed casually. The resistance to clogs by many Korean women is an example of their adherence to formality. As clothes for formal occasions were associated with femininity in both cultures. Koreans’ preference for more feminine, dressier styles may also be explained by their overall concern to hold onto formality. Though jeans became widely accepted in both cultures, they did not have the same meaning. In the United States they represented women’s desire to be equal to men and their enhanced status. In Korea, women adopted jeans primarily as a style in fashion or a symbol of youth. This is consistent with Eicher’s research (1992), which suggests that a product accepted across cultures in the globalization process does not necessarily hold the same meanings as in the originating culture.

There was a distinctive difference between the stages of development in the fashion industry between both countries. While American women enjoyed the convenience and low cost of ready-to-wear clothing, Korean women still heavily depended on custom-made clothes until the middle 1970s. The development of science and technology that brought industrialization, urbanization and popularization growth to Korea eventually made mass production of fashion possible and led to the appearance of larger department stores and underground shopping
arcades. The popularity of mail order catalogues and pattern books as resources for Americans, versus designers’ suggestions in custom-made shops in Korea is another indication of the different stages of industry.

In short, all aspects of culture were closely related to each other and fashion reflects those values. In the United States individualism and masculinity were dominant cultural values revealed in women’s adoption of characteristic styles and behaviors. Koreans held onto collectivism and femininity, yet underwent the process of melding traditional and newly adopted values in their acculturation to the West.

Contributions of the Research

This cross-cultural study of fashion adopted by young women in the United States and Korea in the 1970s will benefit the area of textiles and clothing in many ways. First, the examination of fashion presented in the magazines as well as what was actually adopted by young women for different occasions in the two cultures in the 1970s has extended our historical knowledge on the 1970s fashion in the two cultures. In particular, exploring Korean women’s adoption of Western fashion provides insight into the process of acculturation through dress.

Second, the examination of values held by young women in the two cultures and the exploration of the connections between the values and fashion offers an understanding of the dynamics in value changes, and provides deeper insights into cultural aspects of fashion. Fashion mirrored the dramatic socio-psychological changes that followed rapid economic growth, particularly in Korea. As Blumer (1969) suggests that one function of fashion is a mechanism for acclimating individuals or groups to change, in the 1970s fashion may have played a significant role in adjusting individuals to these rapidly evolving environments.
Third, analyzing the similarities in the style selection and shopping behaviors of the two cultures, interpreting them, and finding possible causes shed light on the common "spirit of the times" in the 1970s as well as the adolescent group's characteristics shared among young women in the United States and Korea.

Fourth, analyzing the differences between fashion choices and shopping behaviors of young women in these two cultures deepens insights into fashion, especially the socio-psychological aspects. This study has provided insights into the relationships between dimensions of cultural values and differences in clothing styles and behaviors between the two cultures, revealing the close connections between cultural values and fashion. Furthermore, this cross-cultural study has ultimately made a contribution to the understanding of human behavior through group behavior as it relates to fashion.

Finally, findings from this study also have implications for the fashion industry. Since the globalization of fashion, understanding of consumers' characteristics in each culture became a key to marketing strategies for fashion manufacturers. Exploring the process of Korea's acculturation to the West reveals the conflicts between traditional and newly adopted values. Values that are deeply ingrained in one culture always affect its attitudes and behavior even when new ideas are accepted. Therefore, the deeper understanding of a culture as a melding of traditional and new values will benefit the industry as in adapting its products to the needs and preferences of its target market in order to appeal successfully to consumers.
Limitations

The findings of this study should be evaluated in light of certain limitations. First, the respondents were limited to women who were college students in the United States and Korea in the 1970s. The findings cannot be applied to other groups or time periods.

Second, the number of respondents was limited to fifteen women from each country and they are a narrow representation of the cultural spectrum. Many respondents in both cultures were professors, instructors, teachers, or program directors of university programs and those who pursued academic careers may have affected the results of this study.

Third, a significant difference between the two samples is that most of the American respondents attended a college in a relatively small town in the Midwest, while all of the Korean respondents went to a college in Seoul, the capital of Korea and a major urban center. In addition, while the American respondents’ majors included a variety of disciplines, more than half (eight) of the Korean respondent majored in music.

Fourth, as a cross-cultural analysis there may be bias in the process of translation of the interviews from Korean to English, and semantic equivalency of some of the language may not be entirely accurate. In addition, respondents from the two cultures may define concepts differently, and as a native Korean there may be a certain amount of discrepancy in my interpretation and analysis of the American subjects’ responses.

Suggestions for Further Research

The following studies are suggested for exploration based on the findings of this study. First, the respondents’ occupational focus on academic careers may have influenced individual values, goals, world views, daily experiences and references, and eventually had an impact on
their fashion and clothing behaviors. Therefore, for further research a sample with a wider variety of occupations is suggested.

Second, in this study clothing styles for a variety of occasions as well as accessories, hairstyles, and makeup were covered. For further research, comparing wedding attire as well as work clothes in both cultures could be explored in order to further understand the cultures.

Third, one-time interviews were employed in this study. Second interviews following the first interview would be helpful to acquire supplemental information. In addition, actual period clothing would help supplement the photographs. The photographs were usually taken for certain events rather than everyday life, and therefore may not reflect the full range of styles in the respondents' lives. For this study I asked respondents to bring to the interviews representative clothes kept from the 1970s; however, only one subject brought two pieces, which were not included in the study.

Fourth, gender would be an interesting issue in further research. The samples of male respondents could be explored for a comparison of the styles between the two cultures.
APPENDIX A. LETTER TO INTERVIEWEES
February 1, 2000

Dear Ms. 

I am a graduate student in the Textiles and Clothing Department at Iowa State University. I got your name from Professor Barbara Mack, whom I did independent study with. I am working on my dissertation, whose topic is comparison of the fashion adopted by young women in the United States and Korea in the 1970s. The purpose of this study is first, to describe the fashion adopted by young women within two different cultures—the U.S. and South Korea— in the 1970s. Second, to analyze qualitatively the differences and similarities of the fashion in the two cultures and interpret the reasons in socio-cultural and historical contexts, finding possible factors which may have affected the fashion.

For the data collection, I am looking for 15 women from each culture who were college students in the 1970s to interview with. During the interview you will be asked about demographic information, your clothing styles, buying behaviors, and values at that time. The interview will take about 1 hour or little longer and be tape-recorded just for my notes. The tape recorded will be labeled with your name, but right before transcribing, your name will be substituted for numeric designation for your confidentiality. Therefore, your responses will not be identified by your name in my study and be used only for the purpose of my research.

I can meet you anywhere it works best to you. Are you willing to participate in my study? Please, feel free to say no if it is hard for you for any reason. If you will be able to do this, could you please bring your photos or real objects (clothes) that represent your clothing styles in the 1970s in the interview if you have any? But, that is not required. Please, e-mail me on when is most convenient to you? And, where?

I really appreciate your help in advance.

Sincerely.

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APPENDIX B. CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWS
Informed Consent to Participate in Research

Research topic: Comparison of the fashion adopted by young women in the United States and Korea in the 1970s

February 1, 2000

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This form is designed to provide you with information about this project, and to answer any questions you may have regarding your voluntary participation in it. The purpose of this study is first, to describe the fashion adopted by young women within two different cultures—the U.S. and South Korea— in the 1970s. Second, to analyze qualitatively the differences and similarities of the fashion in the two cultures and interpret the reasons in sociocultural and historical contexts, finding possible factors which may have affected the fashion. You will be asked to remember your old memories about your clothing styles, buying behaviors, and values in those days. An interview will be tape-recorded and last about one hour. No risks are anticipated, but as you feel tired or uncomfortable, you may quit the interview at any time. As a participant, your responses will remain confidential. Your name will be substituted for numerical designation before transcribing the tape-record of your responses. Visual materials you may provide will be also used in this study only with your consent. This research will be used only for academic purposes.

I participate in this project voluntarily and understand my rights regarding confidentiality. Therefore, I give consent to use the information I provide in this project on this date.

Printed name of participant

Signature of participant Date
APPENDIX C. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(PRELIMINARY & MAIN INTERVIEWS)
1. What styles of clothes did you wear for different occasions during your college life? What style of accessories did you wear—shoes, bags, purses, jewelry, and hats? What hairstyle did you wear? What make-up did you wear? What perfume did you wear?

2. What was your favorite style? What was your ideal style? What woman represented your ideal style? Could you give me a name if she is well known?

3. Did you dress like your peers? Why? Why not?

4. Who influenced your choices of styles? What were your references for fashion trends? Magazine, stars in movies or TV programs, celebrities, close friends, or something else?

5. What were others’ responses to your style? What were your parents’ or older people’s responses? What about your friends’ or peer group’s responses?

6. Where did you buy your clothes?

7. Did you buy clothes by yourself or with somebody else? With whom? Why?

8. Do you remember prices you paid for your clothes? Were they relatively expensive, average, or not expensive clothes?
Main Interview Schedule

Thank you for coming here to help me. As I introduced myself in my letter earlier, I am a Ph. D. student in the Textiles and Clothing Department at Iowa State University. And, now I am working on my dissertation. Its topic is comparison of the fashion adopted by young women in the United States and Korea in the 1970s. So, I am interviewing 15 women from each culture who were college students in the 1970s. Your responses will be used only for the purpose of my research and will not be identified by name. And, as I mentioned in my letter, I would like to record our interview just for my notes. Please, forget about the recording and feel comfortable.

I would like to begin with some background questions.

1. Where are you originally from? Did you grow up there?
2. What do you do for a living? How long have you worked there? How do you like your job?
3. Do you have a family? Do you have children? What are their ages?
4. Where did you go to college? How long did you live there?
5. Did you live with your family, or by yourself? If not, in sorority, dormitory (residence hall), or apartment? How long did you live in each situation?
6. What years did you go to college?
7. What did you major in?
8. Did you belong to any clubs on campus or outside campus? If so, what clubs?
9. Did you have a religion? If so, were you active in your church?
10. Did you have any part-time job to support yourself beside studying?
11. How would you describe your family's economic background? Would you describe yourself as wealthy, upper middle, middle, or lower middle class?
12. In terms of your interest in fashion, how would you describe yourself? Highly interested in fashion, average, or less than average?
13. Do you remember roughly how much you spent on clothes monthly or yearly?
14. I would like to know what styles you wore for different occasions during your college life. First, what styles did you wear on campus?
15. What styles did you wear when you went out to meet your friends or see a movie?
16. Did you wear different styles when you dated your boyfriend or male friend? If so, what styles?
17. What about when you had blind dates?
18. What style did you wear for a formal occasion?
19. What style of accessories did you wear—shoes, bags, purses, jewelry, and hats?
20. What hairstyle did you wear?
21. What make-up did you wear? What perfume did you wear?
22. Could you pick one of your favorite outfits and describe it in detail?
23. When you married, were you in college? If so, what style dress did you wear as a bride? What about your parents' and other family members' dresses? And, bridesmaids and other guests?
I brought some pictures from a young women's fashion magazine in the 1970s, *Mademoiselle* (to Korean interviewees, *Yosungjunagnang* and *Elegance*), hoping these remind you of the styles you wore at that time. Could you tell me what styles you wore if you wore any of the styles?

24. What were others' responses to your style? What were your parents or older people's responses? What about your friends' or peer group's responses?

25. What was your ideal style? Did you wear clothes that represented your ideal style? If not, why? What woman represented your ideal style? Could you give me a name if she is well known?

26. Did you dress like your peers? Why? Why not?

27. What were your references for fashion trends for your choices of styles? Magazine, stars in movies or TV programs, celebrities, close friends, or something else? Why did you use them as references? Could you explain about your references in detail such as how well it worked and so on?

28. What values did young people (or women) hold in the 1970s?

29. Did you agree to those values?

30. What kinds of values did you convey through your appearance?

K-1. Do you think those values were the same as the Korean traditional values? If not, what were the differences? (question for Korean women only)

K-2. Do you think those values were the same as the Korean current values? If not, what were the differences? (question for Korean women only)

31. Did you try to manage your appearance to make a certain impression to others? If so, what impression?

32. Did you try to convey a political message through your clothes? If so, what political message?

33. After you had finished your college, did you have a job? What kind of work did you do?

34. Did you dress differently for work? How? Would you describe your work clothes?

35. Where did you buy your clothes? Why?

36. Did you buy clothes by yourself or with somebody else? With whom? Why?

37. Do you remember prices you paid for your clothes? Were they relatively expensive, average, or not expensive clothes?

38. We are coming to the end of the interview, but I would like to ask if you have anything to add to what I have said. Is there anything I have forgotten to ask you, or any area of fashion we have not talked about that you would like to share?

Thank you very much for your time and your willingness to talk with me. I really appreciate your participation in my interview and your comments will be very helpful for my research.
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