

FASHION IN BRITAIN IN THE 1960s

A STUDY OF ATTITUDES

By

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses the role played by fashion in the clothing market in Britain in the 60's and relates this analysis to different theories about fashion.

The study is based on interviews with fashion designers and fashion journalists, and on the answers of a sample of several hundred consumers to close-ended questionnaires, with few open-ended questions, on statistical data about the clothing market in Britain, on market research data and on the available literature about the development of fashion as a mode of clothing behaviour.

The point of departure of the study is the distinction between Mass Fashion and Elite Fashion as two different modes of clothing behaviour, both reflecting responsiveness to innovations in style and design. In this sense they differ from a third mode of clothing behaviour - Non-Fashion, which reflects indifference to such changes.

The findings of the study are roughly consistent with the hypotheses (a) that clothing behaviour in Britain in the 60's tended to be fashion oriented, (b) that fashion in Britain in the 60's was age group directed more than class directed, (c) that Mass Fashion is disposed towards uniformity and the consumer's response is not primarily oriented towards the presentation of his individuality, (d) that Mass Fashion tends to be anonymous and unpredictable as to the response of the consumers to each individual innovation, (e) and that the interaction between different participants in the process of the diffusion of fashion is conditioned by differences in their respective perception of their part in the processes and by the patterns of communication among them.

In the light of the prevalence of Mass Fashion and its implications some modifications are suggested to the existing theoretical approaches to fashion, the diffusion of innovation approach, the social differentiation and stratification approach, the collective behaviour approach and the approach which deals with the meaning of fashion to the individual. These modifications cast light on both individual attitudes towards fashion and the interaction between buyers and sellers in the clothing market, as well as the symbolic expression of status differences through external appearance.

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PREFACE

The following study is based on research work done in England during the years 1964-1966. The sources used in this work are of three kinds:

- a) available literature about the sociology of fashion, the sociology of communication, and the history of fashion;
- b) available market research data about the women's clothing market in Britain, and readership surveys of women's fashion magazines;
- c) original research based on questionnaires sent to consumers and dress designers and interviews with top dress designers and fashion journalists.

The most important of these three sources is the last, i.e. the original research on which most of the study is based. The data provided by the market researcher and readership surveys and family expenditure surveys were conceived only as complementary to the data derived from the original research which was done especially for this study.

Several works in the sociology, history and economics of fashion, in the sociology of communication as well as studies of post-World War II British society provided the raw material for the formulation of the theoretical framework of the study. The information gathered from these works made it possible for us to assess the findings of the original research relating to the social function of fashion in past decades. The original research done in the course of the study focussed on three groups: the dress designer, the fashion journalist, and the consumer.

Twenty-six top dress designers were interviewed on the basis of an open-ended questionnaire. Following these interviews questionnaires were sent to a list of 870 firms employing dress designers all over Britain, of whom 131 replied. As the number of fashion editors in the British press is rather small it was possible to study their attitudes and role orientation on the basis of intensive interviews. The fifteen fashion editors who were interviewed included all the editors of magazines which specialize in fashion, most of the fashion editors of women's magazines which have a special fashion section, the editors of fashion sections in three dailies which had at the time a regular fashion section appearing more than once a week, and one fashion editor of a Sunday quality newspaper (The Sunday Times).

The study of the consumer was based on the questioning of a sample of 589 women in Greater London, Brighton and Liverpool by experienced interviewers of the Market Research Division of Courtaulds Ltd. The interviews were based essentially on close-ended questionnaires, with a few open-ended questions.

The research was carried out with the financial help of Leicester University Research Board and Marks and Spencer Ltd. The statistical processing of the consumers' answers to the questionnaire was done by Atlas Computer Laboratory, The National Institute for Research in Nuclear Science. In the interviewing of top dress designers and fashion editors I was assisted by my students in the Department of Sociology, Leicester University. In the course of my work I was privileged to be able to consult my colleagues in the Department of Sociology. I would like to thank all those persons whose help made it possible for me to carry out this study.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Types of Sociological Theories on Fashion

The study of fashion is not the exclusive domain of the sociologist. The economist, the psychologist, the cultural historian and the student of aesthetics also have a legitimate claim to a share in that field of study which grows out of the pattern of human behaviour known as fashion. The sociologist with his own interest in this field is therefore bound to ask himself two initial questions:

- (i) What is fashion?
- (ii) What distinct contribution can sociology as a discipline make to the understanding of this phenomenon?

Our usage of the term 'fashion' does not cover all the meanings attached to this term, it is confined to fashion in clothes. In the context of this work fashion is conceived as a form of clothing. Clothing was defined as: "Anything applied to or put upon any portion of the body for any purpose".¹⁾ Fashion is a much more limited concept. It connotes change, and conformity to change. It represents the prevailing usage of dress in a given period,²⁾ assuming that different fashions prevail at different periods. Thus fashion is transitory - not lasting or permanent.

1) Roach, M.E., Eicher, J.B., Dress Adornment and Social Order, New York, 1966, p. 9.

2) Brenninkmeyer, I., The Sociology of Fashion, Paris, 1963.

It involves novelty and is associated with social trends.¹⁾ Yet it is not a basic component of social and cultural change but rather an epiphenomenon. It reflects social change but cannot be considered as a basic attribute of social change. Clothes as well as fashion are modes of social behaviour. "Clothing may serve the demands of protection, modesty, and comfort; function as symbols of sex, age, occupation, status or ritual condition; serve decorative purpose, or be used to attract the opposite sex."²⁾ Most of these functions involve interaction between people and thus come under the heading of social behaviour. While clothing as such might still in certain cases be devoid of social meaning - such as in the case of its usage for protection alone. Fashion is always associated with social interaction; it can therefore be conceived as a mode of clothing, conditioned by social factors at least in the sense that it involves ego expectations as it affects the response to one's appearance. In this context it is also possible to describe the special traits of fashion behaviour as a mode of clothing behaviour. Fashion behaviour is clothing behaviour which is transitory, involves innovation and conforms to a prevailing trend during a certain period and in a certain social framework. Another characteristic of fashion behaviour is its dependence on the demand for clothing based on considerations associated with conformity to the present prevailing trends. Our study is concerned primarily with fashion behaviour in this sense.

1) See: Lang, K., Lang, G., Collective Behaviour, New York, 1961, pp. 465-487.

2) Roach, M.E., op. cit.

The contribution of sociology as a discipline for the study of the phenomenon of fashion is related to the features of fashion described above. The social conditioning of the phenomenon of fashion is implicit in the notion of fashion behaviour - as behaviour which not only involves interaction between individuals, but also reflects prevailing trends in society. Yet in answering the question regarding the specific contribution of sociology to the understanding of fashion it is not sufficient to state that fashion involves interaction between individuals or even to relate it to sociological concepts such as symbolic communication, normative modes of behaviour, social control, institutionalization or any other concept considered to have an established status in the realm of sociology.

It is also necessary to define the scope of the sociological approach to fashion, thereby making it possible to distinguish between the sociological viewpoint and that of other academic disciplines.

The contribution of sociologists to the study of the manifestations of fashion is rather limited. This limitation is referred to in E. Sapir's entry on 'Fashion' in the "Encyclopedia of Social Sciences": "The chief difficulty of understanding fashion in its apparent vagaries is the lack of exact knowledge of the unconscious symbolism attaching to forms, colours, textures, postures and other expressive elements in a given culture. The difficulty is appreciably increased by the fact that the same expressive elements tend to have quite different symbolic references in different areas."¹⁾

1) Sapir, E., "Fashion", The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 6, p. 141.

Some students of fashion who have been tempted to explore the artistic and cultural aspect of fashion have tended to relate them to notions such as Zeitgeist - 'climate of opinion'.¹⁾ In doing so they have in fact adopted the approach which the creators of fashion themselves adopt when they express their attitude in public.²⁾ An approach of this kind, when adopted by sociologists, is likely to result in the formulation of rather vague and obscure propositions. Such propositions cannot be translated adequately into the language of hypotheses and thus cannot be tested by empirical research.

There are a number of other perspectives from which a sociologist may have approached the study of fashion. These can be listed as follows:

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- 1) See: Laver, J., Style in Costume, London, 1949, pp. 4-12. Sumner, W.W., Folkways, Boston, 1907, pp. 190-194.
 - 2) Mary Quant, the designer whose name is associated with the teenage fashion in the sixties, wrote: "Good designers - like clever newspapermen - know that to have any influence they must keep in step with public needs, public opinion ... and with an intangible 'something in the air'. They must catch the spirit of the day and interpret it in clothes, before other designers begin to twitch at the nerve ends. I just happened to start when that 'something in the air' was coming to boil. The clothes I made happened to fit in bars and jazz clubs. The rejuvenated Queen magazine, Beyond the Fringe, Private Eye, the discothèques and That was the Week That Was, were all born on the same wave length". Quant, M., Quant by Quant, London, 1966, p. 74.

- a. Fashion has been studied as related to the diffusion of innovation and communication.¹⁾
- b. Fashion has been studied from the point of view of social differentiation and stratification.²⁾

-
- 1) See: Meyerson, R., Katz, E., "Notes on a Natural History of Fads", The American Journal of Sociology, May 1957, pp. 594-601; Katz, E., Levin, M.L., "Tradition of Research on the Diffusion of Innovation", The American Sociological Review, April 1963, pp. 237-252; Lazarsfeld, P.F., Merton, R.K., "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action", in Rosenberg, Bernard and David Manning White, (eds.), Mass Culture, Illinois, 1957; Tarde, G., Law of Imitation, New York, 1903, pp. 144-147; Mills, C.W., "The Man in the Middle: The Designer", in L.L. Horowitz (ed.), Power, Politics and People, New York, 1963, pp. 374-386; Simmel, G., "Fashion", The American Journal of Sociology, May 1957, pp. 374-386; König, R., Mode in der Menschlichen Gesellschaft, Zurich, 1958, p. 265; Lynes, R., The Taste Makers, New York, 1949.
- 2) Barber, B., Lobel, L., "Fashion in Women's Clothes and the American Social System", in Bendix and S. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power, Illinois, 1953, pp. 323-332; Goffman, E., "Symbols of Class Status", The British Journal of Sociology, 1951, pp. 294-304; Faller, L.A., "A Note on the 'Trickle Effect'", in S. Lipset and N. Smelzer (eds.), Sociology: The Process of a Decade, New Jersey, 1961, pp. 501-506; Allen, F.L., The Big Chance, New York, 1952, pp. 192-193; Schwarz, J., "Men's Clothing and the Negro", Pylon, vol. 24, Fall 1963, pp. 224-231; Vablen, T., The Theory of the Leisure Class, New York, 1899; Simmel, G., op. cit.

- c. It has been studied as collective behaviour.¹⁾
- d. Lastly, the sociologists, or rather the social psychologists, have dealt with some aspects of the meaning for the individual of fashion as a social force.²⁾

a. Those sociologists who have studied fashion as a process of innovation and diffusion of innovation have been for the most part, sociologists who specialized in the study of communication. The conceptual framework of their work was laid down by the American sociologists E. Katz and R. Meyerson who regarded fashion as a mechanism of social change. According to Katz and Meyerson, fashion is characterized by a succession

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- 1) Blumer, H., "Fashion Movements", in A.M. Lee (eds.), An Outline of Principles of Sociology, New York, 1939, pp. 216-218; Lang, K., Lang, G., Collective Behavior, New York, 1961, pp. 465-471; Turner, R.H., Killian, L.M., Collective Behavior, New York, 1957, pp. 194-197, 207-211; Smelzer, N., Theory of Collective Behaviour, London, 1967, pp. 170-173, 180-187, 196-198, 205-207, 210, 214, 217; Turner, R.H., Surace, S.J., "Zoot Suiters and Mexican Symbols in Crowd Behavior", The American Journal of Sociology, July 1956, pp. 14-20.
 - 2) See: Goffman, E., The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life, New York, 1959, pp. 1-15; Goffman, E., Encounters, pp. 145-147; Goffman, E., Behavior in Public Places, New York, 1963, pp. 25-28, 33-35, 64-69, 108-109, 203-205, 211-213; Stone, G., "Appearance and the Self", in R. Rose (ed.), Human Behavior and Social Process, New York, 1962, pp. 86-117; Hault, T.F., "Experimental Measurement of Clothing as a Factor in Some Social Rating of Selected American Men", The American Sociological Review, June 1954, pp. 324-328.

of chronological stages, each in turn characterized by interaction among producers, distributors and consumers. They described them as: "Discovery of potential fad or fashion, promotion by the discoverers and/or original consumers, labelling, dissemination, eventual loss of exclusiveness and uniqueness and death by displacement."¹⁾

Another paper by Katz, Lewin and Hamilton, deals with the broad aspect of diffusion of innovation. According to this paper, the process of diffusion of innovation of fashion is defined as "acceptance over a time of some specific item -- an idea or practice by individuals, groups or other adaptory units linked to specific channels of communication, to a social structure, and to a given system of values or culture".²⁾ Hence fashion involves both an interaction among producers, distributors, and consumers; and a continuous process in which innovations are diffused through discernible channels of communication.

This approach, which provides for the identification of the channels through which fashion spreads, does not throw much light on the specific features of fashion and is distinct from other types of innovation especially with regard to social control.³⁾ Moreover, the link between fashion and stratification can only indirectly be inferred from studies which focus primarily on the way in which fashion is spread. It is possible to derive

1) Meyerson, R., Katz, E., op. cit., p. 594.

2) Katz, Levin, op. cit., p. 237.

3) See below p. 13 on social control.

from such studies some information about the responsiveness to innovation in different social groups, but in order to interpret the differences between groups in this respect it is necessary to turn to other approaches to the study of fashion.

b. The second sociological approach to fashion is characterized by the attempt to relate fashion to social differentiation and stratification. All students of fashion argue that fashion is a product of differentiation. Fashion is regarded as a consequence of the fluidity of the social system without which it is not likely that the phenomenon of fashion would have developed. It is conceived as a symbol of a social group or, in fact, of a status group. Therefore it is considered to be closely associated with social stratification and class structure in a society. One of the conclusions drawn by sociologists who tackled the problem of fashion in this context was that there is a circulation of symbols which originates in one status group and are later adopted by other status groups. Moreover, most of the works which have dealt with fashion from this point of view have also assumed that symbols always originate in the upper stratum of society and are imitated by the lower stratum. Consequently such sociological studies speak about the usurpation of symbols by the lower classes and endeavour to identify the defence mechanism used by the upper classes to prevent such usurpation.

The main limitation of this approach is that in this form it focussed only on stratification in terms of classes and elites. But the concept can be modified in order to make it applicable also to social groups other than strata in class society. One obvious example of such a group is an age

group in a generation society which possesses status symbols of its own.¹⁾

c. The third school of sociologists who have tried to interpret fashion consists of those primarily interested in collective behaviour. A typical representative of this school is N. Smelser. He conceives collective behaviour as "mobilization on the basis of belief which redefines social action".²⁾ Among the different forms of collective behaviour he classifies fashion as an expressive form of collective behaviour. An expressive collective behaviour such as fashion is according to Smelser a movement that does not seek to bring about a profound change in the social order, but confines itself to 'positive wishfulfillment'.

Sociologists who study collective behaviour tend to emphasize the strain which underlies collective behaviour. The term 'strain' itself is not used by all students of collective behaviour; some of them preferred other terms such as pressure, disequilibrium, imbalance, conflict, and disintegration and best known of all Durkheim's 'anomie' to describe the unstable situation which is conducive to collective behaviour. N. Smelser in his analysis of collective behaviour prefers the term strain to anomie which seems to him to be too narrow for the purpose of analysing all types

1) For an analysis of social differentiation based on generation see: S.N. Eisenstadt, From Generation to Generation, New York, 1956. The term Generation Society was applied to problems of British society among others by B. Wilson. See: Wilson, B., "War of the Generations", The Daily Telegraph, August 24th, August 25th, 1964.

2) Smelser, N., op. cit., p. 8.

of strain. However, the preference for the term strain in our context is no more than a consequence of the fact that Smelser, who uses this term, was perhaps the only student of collective behaviour who has tried to specify what types of strain underlies the fashion cycle in particular.

Smelser maintains that one of the sources of the strain that underlies fashion in western societies is the lessening of the appropriateness of a given item of fashion to symbolise status which takes place when fashion spreads and ceases to differentiate the holder from others who have adopted it. Another element of strain is the uncertainty as to appropriate new items which will be adopted in the next cycle, and according to Smelser this lies in the availability of facilities for investment in new styles. According to Smelser, certain conditions limit the freedom to innovate in fashion. For example he claims that modesty restricts extreme deviations. This last comment is certainly not applicable to some of the new trends in fashion which symbolize age groups rather than class.

It seems that Smelser, like other students of fashion, has overlooked the functions of fashion which are not rooted in class differentiation. Yet the concept of strain underlying fashion as collective behaviour is heuristic and adds a new dimension to the study of fashion. It makes it possible to compare fashion to other modes of collective behaviour, all of which are characterized by the particular existence of particular strain associated with them.

d. The fourth approach to fashion is that of sociologists who deal with the significance of fashion in the life of the individual. Thus

G. Stone who considers fashion as a kind of announcement of the identity of the person.¹⁾ In his view fashion is conceived as an introduction of an individual to other individuals not by means of discourse, but by means of symbolic communication. Stone assumes that clothes stimulate response both in the wearer of the clothes himself and in other people. The wearer's response to his own clothes is his "programme" while other people's Responses are called "review". When "programme" and "review" tend to coincide, the self of the person is validated or established; when such responses diverge the self of the one who "appears" is challenged and needs redefinition.

Stone's approach is concerned with appearance rather than with fashion as such. For him fashion is only one of the many possible ways of asserting a person's identity. Thus he stresses primarily the socio-psychological meaning of fashion to the extent that he deals with interaction between individuals which is not directly linked with the social structure and social processes. Yet the method of "programme" and "review" can be borrowed and used in the study of fashion in a social context. The meaning attached to dress models by designers can be regarded as the "programme", and the meaning attached to it by the customer can be analogous to "review".

The study of "programmes" and "reviews" in this broader context can be expected to reflect not only the psycho-sociological characteristic of individuals but also social processes which affect the spread of fashion.

1) Stone, G., op. cit.

The sociological studies of fashion have related the phenomenon of fashion to the central sociological themes of social control and most of them have also related it to the theme of social change.

There are, however, variations in the way in which the themes of social change and social control are treated in these sociological discussions of fashion.

Assuming that fashion is linked with social change, it is theoretically possible to suggest several propositions concerning such an association. Fashion can be a source of social change; fashion can be an integral part of social change; it can be an expression of social change - that is to say a kind of superstructure or epiphenomenon; it can be a mechanism, that is to say, a mechanism which accelerates social changes; it can also be an autonomous change, unrelated to other social changes.

It has never been claimed by students of fashion that fashion is indeed an initial source of change, but all the other four types of relationship between fashion and social change are implicit in the different approaches to the study of fashion under the four sociological perspectives previously indicated.

Studies of diffusion of innovation and communication tend to treat fashion as a mechanism or vehicle of change. Studies of fashion with reference to the differentiation and stratification of society tend to emphasize the role of fashion as either a part or an expression of social change. Studies of fashion as collective behaviour tend to regard the spheres of changes in fashion as a more or less autonomous sphere of human

behaviour. Those studies which treat fashion from the viewpoint of the individual have no explicit interpretation of the association between fashion and social change, but as they are concerned with the impact on the individual of fashion as a social phenomenon, they tend to conceive fashion as an integral part of social change.

The second major theme in the sociological study of fashion is that of social control.¹⁾ Most sociologists who have dealt with fashion as a mechanism of social control have focused their attention on the relationship between fashion and custom. Both custom and fashion are conceived by sociologists as mechanisms of social regulation of individual behaviour. Yet there are variations in the treatment of the relationship between custom and fashion by different sociologists. Some sociologists tend to

1) For the discussion about fashion and social control see: Simmel, G., op. cit., pp. 541-558; Spencer, H., Principle of Sociology, vol. 4, New York, 1897, pp. 205-210; Spencer, H., Essays, London, 1883, pp. 61-65; Carlyle, T., Sartor Resartus, Boston, 1897, pp. 30-37; Duncan, H.P., Communication and Social Order, The Bedminster Press, 1962, pp. 190-200; Nystrom, P., Economics of Fashion, New York, 1928; Richardson, J., Kroeber, A.L., "Three Centuries of Women Dress Fashion", Anthropological Record, vol. 5, 1940, pp. 111-153; Kroeber, A.L., "On the Principle of Order in Civilization as Exemplified by Changes in Fashion", American Anthropologist, 1919, pp. 235-263; Tumin, M., "A Note on Cultural Style", The American Journal of Sociology, 1941, pp. 568-571; Koplin, J.N., Schiffer, N.J., "The Limit of Fashion Control", The American Sociological Review, December 1948, pp. 730-738; Ginsberg, M., Sociology, Oxford, 1937, p. 158.

emphasize the similarities between the two mechanisms¹⁾ while others put the emphasis on the differences between them.²⁾ There is an agreement on fashion being more transitory and less institutionalized than custom. But there are differences of emphasis as to the question to what extent fashion is oriented towards innovation and thus entails a departure from established custom. Those who regard fashion as a powerful mechanism of convention are inclined to underplay the differences between fashion and other forms of dominance of the group over the individual. König, for example, maintained that there are no differences in the regulatory system such as law, custom, usage, convention, morals, the differences between them being all differences in degree and not in kind. On the other hand, sociologists who attached more importance to the transitory aspects of fashion asserted that there is a "constant conflict between custom and fashion".³⁾ According to this concept custom is social habit while fashion and innovation are "remarkable exceptions" to the rule of "human dislike for change".⁴⁾

Noteworthy among those who regarded fashion as an exception mechanism of social control is M. Ginsberg. Ginsberg distinguishes between

1) E.g., Landis, op.cit., pp. 305, 309-310; Sumner, op.cit., pp. 184-185, 194-195; König, op.cit.; Sapir, op.cit., p. 141.

2) Nystrom, P., op.cit., pp. 123-124, 132-141; Ginsberg, op. cit., p. 158.

3) See: Nystrom, P., op. cit., p. 124.

4) See: Nystrom, P., op. cit., p. 132.

law, morals and conventions which are customary mechanisms of regulation on the one hand and fashion on the other hand. According to him fashion differs from other modes of prescribed behaviour in many ways, notably its permanence and range. Moreover "as soon as fashion is generally adopted it loses the distinction of novelty and the prestige attached to its innovators".¹⁾ Consequently fashion "differs fundamentally from other norms of behaviour which gain additional significance and power of persistence from wide diffusion".²⁾

A somewhat different approach is suggested by E. Sapir. While being aware of the difference between fashion and custom, he conceives fashion as being essentially complementary to custom. He maintains that "fashion is custom in the guise of departure from custom",³⁾ that is to say, an outlet for the "itch to break away in some measure from a too literal loyalty to accepted custom".⁴⁾ According to this middle-of-the-road approach "custom marks the highroad of human interrelationship, while fashion may be looked upon as the endless departure from and return to the highroad".⁵⁾

1) See: Ginsberg, M., op. cit., p. 152.

2) See: Ginsberg, M., ibid.

3) Sapir, E., op. cit., p. 140.

4) Ibid.

5) Sapir, E., ibid., p. 139.

Sapir was not the first social scientist to be aware of the dialectic nature of fashion. The two faces of fashion, the promotion of innovation and the conformity to the established trend, were already observed by Simmel. Simmel was concerned mainly with the psychological meaning of fashion for the individual. He realized that fashion, while putting pressure to bear on the individual to conform, appeals at the same time to the individual's "need for differentiation". In different circumstances, the emphasis might be either on the distinctive or on the conformist aspects of fashion but the strain between these streams is always present. "... Fashion represents nothing more than one of the many forms of life by the aid of which we seek to combine in uniform spheres of activity the tendency towards social equalization with the desire for individual differentiation and change".¹⁾ These psychological traits of fashion are, according to Simmel, linked with the social function of fashion as a product of "class distinction".²⁾ Thus Simmel maintains that fashion has a "double function" as "... fashion on the one hand signifies union with those in the same class, the uniformity of a circle characterized by it, and, uno actu, the exclusion of all other groups".³⁾

Fashion has an economic and psychological aspect as well as sociological ones. Thus the study of fashion by sociologists can benefit from the works of economists and psychologists who deal with fashion in the context of their respective disciplines.

1) Simmel, op. cit., p. 543.

2) Simmel, ibid., p. 543.

3) Simmel, ibid., p. 544.

Sociology, however, is only one of the disciplines which can contribute to the study of fashion. Moreover, at least some of the work done by economists, market researchers and psychologists is also relevant to the sociological study of fashion.

The economic basis for the understanding of fashion was provided by no less an economist than John Maynard Keynes himself.¹⁾ It was in the context of the Keynesian concept of "effective demand" that problems of fashion were discussed. Keynes himself referred to fashion when he dealt with consumption, and his approach was influenced by other economists who were interested in the problems of fashion in particular. As is well known, Keynes linked his concept of effective demand with the problems of full employment. Since fashion is one of the factors which contribute to increasing consumption and consequently to the demand for goods in the economy, it was asserted that fashion had a function in maintaining a high degree of effective demand and securing full employment.

One of the conclusions which can be derived from this theory and which has a direct bearing on the study of fashion is that producers who are interested in exploiting their means of production to full capacity tend to encourage innovation in fashion, which creates an effective demand in the economy.

The contribution of the market researcher to the study of fashion is theoretically less important.²⁾ The market researcher is primarily

1) Keynes, J.M., The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, London, 1936, pp. 27-32.

2) Nystrom, P., Marketing Hand Book, New York, 1954; Beckman, Maynard, Davison, Principle of Marketing, Illinois, 1957; Alderson, W., Marketing Behavior and Executive Action, New York, 1957.

interested in the consumers as an independent group. He studies the process of buying in order to detect the motivation of the consumer and his preferences.

The meaning of fashion for the individual has also been studied by psychologists,¹⁾ in particular those belonging to the psychoanalytical school.²⁾ A typical example of the latter approach is J.C. Flügel's explanation of fashion in terms of three motives: decoration, protection and modesty. Flügel claimed that the historical origins of fashion cannot be studied adequately on the basis of one single motive alone and the student of fashion ought to take into consideration all three distinct motives.

Such approaches to fashion are of limited value as they are focussed on the common features of all forms of fashion instead of providing for an analysis of different forms having a different function in different social circumstances. In our study of fashion behaviour in Britain we have tried to elaborate and in certain cases have modified some of the concepts implied in the above mentioned approaches to fashion. In doing so we have aimed at making these concepts more applicable to empirical studies of the social function of particular patterns of fashion behaviour.

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- 1) For example: Ryan, Shaw M., Clothing - A Study in Human Behaviour, New York, 1966; Bliss, S., "The Significance of Clothes", The American Journal of Psychology, 1916, pp. 217-227; Dunlop, K., "The Development and Functions of Clothing", Journal of General Psychology, 1928, pp. 64-78; Harms, B., "The Psychology of Clothes", The American Journal of Sociology, 1938, pp. 239-250; Bush, G., London, P., "On the Dis appearance of Knickers", The Journal of Social Psychology, 1960, pp. 359-366; Hurlock, E.B., The Psychology of Dress, New York, 1929.
 - 2) Bergler, E., Fashion and the Unconscious, New York, 1963; Flügel, J.C., The Psychology of Clothes, London, 1940.

Mass Fashion and Elite Fashion, the Sociological Perspective

As our research was in fact a pilot study in a field which has not yet been thoroughly explored, it is possible for us to suggest only a tentative theoretical scheme which ought to be modified in the light of further and more comprehensive studies in the field. The point of departure in constructing such a schema is a proposed division into three modes of clothing behaviour which correspond to three elements of the clothing market. The three modes of clothing behaviour are: 'Elite Fashion' clothing behaviour, 'Mass Fashion' clothing behaviour and 'Non-Fashion' clothing behaviour. All three modes of clothing behaviour existed in the clothing market in Britain in the 60's, but one of them, Mass Fashion, prevailed.

The notion of Mass Fashion as distinct from Elite Fashion may also be considered as analogous in certain aspects to the notion of "Mass Society". Mass Society has been described as a society in which "there is a marked increase in opportunities for the many to intervene in areas previously reserved for the few. These opportunities are related to the determination of social policies and cultural standards by large numbers of people who are not competent to make such decisions".¹⁾ This concept of Mass Society, in which the exclusiveness of elites is absent corresponds in a way to our concept of Mass Fashion as a fashion which no longer symbolizes the exclusiveness of elites.

1) Kornhauser, W., The Politics of Mass Society, Berkeley, 1959, p. 28.

It is noteworthy that the notions of Elite Fashion and Mass Fashion are not confined to the behavioural components on which this study is focussed. Thus the terms "Elite Fashion" and "Mass Fashion" embrace more aspects of fashion than Elite Fashion behaviour and Mass Fashion behaviour, for example the technological aspect of fashion. On the other hand the notion of "Non-fashion" is meaningful only in a behavioural context. Non-Fashion clothing behaviour is in fact a category which covers several forms of clothing behaviour whose common denominator is that they are not fashion oriented. In this respect Elite Fashion behaviour and Mass Fashion behaviour are related to Elite Fashion and Mass Fashion respectively in the same manner as clothing behaviour is related to clothing.

Elite Fashion¹⁾ is produced in a limited number of copies, it is high-status oriented and tends to assert status differences in terms of

- 1) The concept of Elite Fashion and Elite Fashion behaviour are derived from the literature about Haute Couture and from intensive interviews with designers and fashion editors. See: Bertin, C., Paris à la Mode, London, 1956; Dior, C., Dior by Dior, London, 1957. Davenport, M., The Book of Costume, New York, 1949; Beaton, C., The Glass of Fashion, London, 1954; Laver, J., Tastes and Fashion, London, 1937; Clothes, London, 1952; A Letter of a Girl on the Future of Clothes, London, 1946; Fashion and Class Distinction, London, 1950; The Past and Future of Clothes, London, 1958; Styles and Costume, London, 1948; Dress - How and Why Fashion in Men's and Women's Clothes Have Changed During the Past 200 Years, London, 1958; Burrow, J., The History of the House of Worth, London, 1928; Latour, A., Kings of Fashion, London, 1957; Veblen, T., op. cit.; Schneider, P.E., "What Makes Paris Fashion's Capital", New York Times Magazine, 27th July, 1958, pp. 18-19, 43, 45; Contini, M., Fashion, London, 1965,

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dress. It can also be described as individually oriented in the sense that it emphasizes the unique in each garment and each individual wearer rather than the common elements in each garment. The main source of Elite Fashion is Haute Couture which caters for rather narrowly selected groups of consumers. The spread of Elite Fashion to consumers other than those belonging to a selected group results in the depreciation of the 'fashion value' of a fashionable item.

Mass Fashion¹⁾ is mass produced. It tends to be less related than Elite Fashion to the assertion of status differentiation in terms of dress.

(Ftn. cont'd from previous p.)

pp. 261-298; Adburgham, A., View of Fashion, London, 1966; Robinson, D.E., "A note on fashion leadership", Business History Review, vol. 37, pp. 451-455; Brenninkmeyer, I., op. cit., pp. 133-142; Nystrom, P., op. cit., especially pp. 189-302.

- 1) The concepts of Mass Fashion and Mass Fashion behaviour are derived from the literature concerning the development of mass production in the clothing industry in Britain after the 2nd World War, and from literature about recent trends in British society and from interviews with fashion editors and the survey of consumers' attitudes towards fashion carried out especially for this study. The relevant publications include: Heaton, H., Economic History of Europe, New York, 1948; Keynes, J.M., op. cit.; Wray, M., The Women's Outwear Industry, London, 1957; Robinson, D.E., "A Note on Fashion Leadership", Business History Review, vol. 37, pp. 451-455; Nystrom, P., op. cit.; Contini, M., op. cit., pp. 299-311; Brenninkmeyer, I., op. cit., pp. 143-154; Halliday, L., The Fashion Makers, London, 1966; Chillingworth, J., Busby, H., Fashion, London, 1961; Quant, M., op. cit. The evaluation of marketing of mass produced fashionable clothes is also illustrated

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On the other hand it appears to have a strong influence on age differentiation. Mass Fashion is also inclined to express the aspiration to conformity rather than to assert the uniqueness of each individual wearer. The source of Mass Fashion is the work of designers employed in the clothing industry.

Non-Fashion behaviour tends to be unrelated to the assertion of status differentiation through appearance. It is "economy" oriented in the sense that consumers' demand is determined primarily by considerations of durability and low price. In this respect we may say that this kind of clothing behaviour is unaffected by fashion considerations.

It is noteworthy that in the late 60's, after our research work was completed, a new pattern of fashion behaviour evolved. This new pattern falls between the Mass Fashion pattern and the Elite Fashion pattern and can be described as Semi Mass Fashion. It shares with Mass Fashion the age group orientation, but like Elite Fashion puts the emphasis on the uniqueness of the garment and the individuality of the wearer. The source of

(Ftn. cont'd from previous p.)

in the experience of Marks & Spencer Chain Store. See: Adburgham, A., "The Sparks Behind Marks", Harper's Bazaar, May 1965; Marks, S., "How contact is kept with consumer", The Times, May 30th, 1961; Rees, G., "Sir Simon Marks - Artist of the Penny Bazaars", The Sunday Times, February 7th, 1960; Black, S., "The new archangel of Baker Street", Vogue, February 1965.

Semi Mass Fashion is mainly the boutiques, which are not as exclusive as Haute Couture, but at the same time do not demand the mass production which is characteristic of Mass Fashion. Our study does not deal with this new development in detail, although some of our findings reflect the beginnings of this new trend.

The three patterns of clothing behaviour are conceived in the context of this work as ideal Types which correspond to actual modes of fashion behaviour but are not identical with them.

Of these ideal types of modes of clothing behaviour the ideal type of Elite Fashion cannot be an exclusive mode of clothing behaviour because of its emphasis on the assertion of the status of a minority group. Non-Fashion clothing behaviour can theoretically be an exclusive mode of clothing behaviour but the study of the history of clothing shows that the phenomenon of fashion has existed for a long time. An exclusive Mass Fashion market is also theoretically possible and it may be also suggested that it is the logical consequence of recent developments in the clothing field. But there is still a demand for products of Elite Fashion on the one hand and for items which are not fashionable on the other. Any change of fashion is affected by a syndrome of social, economic and psychological factors. The effects of social and economic conditions on fashion can in some cases be traced but only ex post factum with regard to a specific change in a specific period. The effects of social change on fashion have been demonstrated by developments in the sphere of fashion which have

taken place in recent years.¹⁾ In High Mass Consumption societies²⁾ the development of the ready-made clothes industry has been accompanied by an enlargement of the role played by Mass Fashion, as compared with Elite Fashion which dominated the world of fashion until recently.

The study of the literature about clothing behaviour in the past indicates that this prevalence of Mass Fashion behaviour has developed only in recent years. A picture of the clothing market of the past which emerges from this literature is that of a more dichotomous clothing market in which the Elite Fashion behaviour of the upper classes co-existed with a Mass clothing market which was to a considerable extent unaffected by refinements of fashion.³⁾

The main source of Elite Fashion is Haute Couture which is oriented towards a rather narrowly selected group of consumers, who are characterized by the social status derived from their affiliation to the upper and upper middle classes. The consumers of Mass Fashion, on the other hand, represent, from the point of view of stratification, almost a cross-section of society.

The difference between Elite Fashion and Mass Fashion is rooted primarily in the orientation of the designers. The Elite Fashion of the past too, was copied and imitated by industry after becoming fashionable

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- 1) See specially: Wray, M., op. cit.; Quant, M., op. cit.; Nystrom, P., op. cit.
 - 2) See: Rostow, W.W., The Stages of Economic Growth, Cambridge, 1963.
 - 3) Brennikmeyer, I., op. cit.; Quant, M., op. cit.; Adburgham, A., op. cit.

in the closed circles of the Haute Couture clients. But the spread of Elite Fashion in this manner was different from the spread of Mass Fashion. The basis of the communication of Elite Fashion to wider groups in the society was essentially a process of imitation which reflected the social aspirations of those women who accepted their "betters" as their reference group. This stratification aspect of fashion is almost entirely absent in the mass produced ready-made clothes of the new type.

The ideal Types associated with the notions of Elite Fashion and Mass Fashion constitute a new approach to fashion in the context of which the existing theories on fashion can be elaborated. Any attempt to relate the study of fashion behaviour to various sociological theories on fashion raises the question of which propositions related to these theories are relevant to our approach.

In answering this question, we shall refer to the different sociological perspectives from which the study of fashion has been approached. Some sociologists who deal with fashion cannot always be identified solely with one of these perspectives as they tackle the subject of fashion from more than one point of view. Moreover, most sociologists whose basic concept of fashion is a consequence of one of the four above mentioned approaches do not ignore those aspects of fashion which are central to other theories.¹⁾ This qualification applies mostly to the question of

1) See above pp. 5-6.

the impact of stratification which is considered by almost every sociologist who tackles the problem of fashion. Yet only some sociologists treat stratification as a prism through which the whole phenomenon of fashion ought to be viewed. Therefore only those sociologists are included in our study as examining fashion from the point of view of social differentiation and stratification. Consequently, our attempt to select from the different approaches to fashion, propositions which are relevant to analysis of fashion behaviour will focus on similarities between the four approaches rather than on the different angles from which they tackle the subject. This applies mainly to the relation between fashion, its spread and social stratification which is a central theme of our study, and in the context of Mass Fashion as distinct from Elite Fashion.

The four sociological approaches to fashion did not ignore the social stratification aspects of fashion. But since they were not aware of the distinction between different patterns of fashion they tended to conceive these and other aspects of fashion in terms derived mainly from one pattern of fashion to which we refer as Elite Fashion. Our distinction between this pattern and the notion of Mass Fashion one is based on a study of recent literature about clothing behaviour as well as on our own observations and empirical research. Thus the theoretical framework of this study is the outcome of an attempt to relate the various sociological approaches to fashion to a more elaborate concept of fashion which takes into consideration our conclusions derived from different sources of data about the role of fashion in the clothing market in the 60's.

A. The Diffusion of Innovation Point of View

The main concern of the sociologists who tackle fashion from this angle is the manner in which fashion is communicated and spread. The spread of fashion involves the activation of the predispositions of the people at the receiving end of the channels of the communication, that is to say the consumers. Sociologists such as Katz maintain that the response to innovation is conditioned by predispositions some of which are conducive to the spread of certain innovations while others constitute an obstacle to this. Consequently, the degree to which innovations such as new styles of fashion are accepted is conditioned by the social forces which mould the attitudes of the potential consumers. In many cases these social forces are likely to be related to the stratification of society.

Another factor which affects the diffusion of an innovation is the role played by the promoters and the communicators of the innovation, whose mode of operation affects the response of the potential consumers to their message. Thus according to this view the appeal of the innovation is conditioned by the predisposition of the respondents and the manner by which the promoters utilize the channels of communication, including "human" channels of communication such as opinion leaders.

The point of view of the diffusion of innovation approach is relevant to our distinction between Elite Fashion behaviour and Mass Fashion behaviour, both in the context or predisposition of the consumers and in the context of the channels through which innovations in fashion are communicated. The predisposition of the clients of the Haute Couture are

dependent on their class consciousness. Thus they are inclined to respond in a positive manner to styles and models which emphasize their elite position. Moreover, the "fashion value" of innovation in Haute Couture fashion tends to depreciate when the innovation spread to others beside the exclusive Elite Fashion; when such an "usurpation" takes place the client of the Haute Couture fashion tends to turn to new ideas of fashion.

On the other hand, the predisposition of the consumer of Mass Fashion is less affected by class consciousness. The appeal of an innovation is not dependent on exclusiveness. In this respect the emphasis on age differentiation involves a different kind of predisposition to the emphasis on class differentiation. Consumers may be disposed to adopt innovations for their own sake. Fashion items may be subjected to depreciation merely because change is conceived as desirable in itself, not following a breach of exclusiveness. The channels of communication through which innovations in fashion are communicated also are different for Elite Fashion on the one hand and Mass Fashion on the other.

Elite Fashion is likely to be communicated through face to face contact. To the extent that it is nevertheless communicated through formal channels, they are in most cases specialized fashion journals of small circulation. The opinion leaders in the context of Elite Fashion are usually women of high status and the process of communication is regularized and institutionalized, although not in a formal framework. On the other hand, Mass Fashion is communicated mainly through channels of the mass media, daily newspapers and T.V. The opinion leaders are mostly

people who are idolized because of their achievements in fields associated with Mass culture or so called 'Pop Culture'.

B. The Social Differentiation and Stratification Approach

As the association between fashion and social differentiation is dealt with in most sociological approaches to fashion, only theories which view fashion mainly from the viewpoint of social stratification come under this heading. Worth mentioning in this context are three conceptions related to the same kind of process: 'trickle effect', Usurpation and Depreciation. The link between fashion and social status is embodied in the treatment of items of fashion as status symbols, but new designs in fashion are exposed to imitations which depreciate their value as symbols of affiliation to a distinguished status group. In this respect, fashion is a status symbol which cannot be easily protected against usurpation on the part of the people belonging to a lower status group. Therefore fashion may be subjected to a 'trickle effect' by which its value as a status symbol is depreciated. These characteristics of fashion are much more apparent with regard to Elite Fashion than with regard to Mass Fashion. As Elite Fashion asserts class differentiation in particular, it is bound to lose its meaning in terms of social stratification when it is subjected to usurpation by lower classes. On the other hand, Mass Fashion cuts across the class boundaries and is much less dependent on confinement to an exclusive group. The concept of usurpation hardly applies to age differentiation which appears to be more relevant to Mass Fashion than class differentiation. Moreover, items of Mass Fashion are not becoming less fashionable because

of their wide circulation. Depreciation in Mass Fashion takes place only because there is a continuous demand for innovation which enable the consumer to enjoy change for its own sake.

C. The Collective Behaviour Approach

The concept of fashion as collective behaviour puts the emphasis on tension which promotes change. The tension which underlies fashion relates to the stratification of society. Items of fashion symbolize the differential prestige in a ranking system. Fashion as a status symbol plays a bigger role in modern society, which puts emphasis on achievement and mobility, and is therefore more fluid than the traditional society. Fashion is more flexible than a status symbol such as education and more subject to change. Yet fashion is regularized and institutionalized within the framework of seasonal cycles. In this respect it is different from "fad" which is much less institutionalized.¹⁾ This characterization of fashion by the students of collective behaviour is applicable to the phenomenon of Elite Fashion, while in the context of our concept of Mass Fashion, fashion has many features in common with fad. Yet Mass Fashion is more structured than fad in the sense that, unlike fad, its origin and channels of communication are identifiable. The tension which underlies Mass Fashion is also different from the tension which underlies Elite Fashion in the sense that it is not so strongly associated with class differentiation.

1) For the definition of the term 'fad' see: Sapir, E., op. cit.; Meyerson, R., and Katz, E., op. cit.; Nystrom, P., op. cit.; Lang, K., Lang, G., op. cit.

D. The Meaning of Fashion for the Individual

There are several concepts of fashion which treat this phenomenon from the viewpoint of its significance for the individual. The Symbolic Interaction theory approach and Simmel's approach to fashion are two of these concepts. The Symbolic Interaction theory maintains that people convey their identity through appearance. People's identity is conceived in terms of group affiliation, that is to say the appearance of people symbolizes their self-image regarding their position in society. Appearance is related to clothing in general and fashion in particular, and people's attitudes towards fashion as a mode of appearance conveys the degree to which their clothing behaviour reflects their status aspirations. From the symbolic actions point of view, even attempts to establish a false identity are significant, as they indicate an inclination towards the usurpation of status symbols which reflects people's dissatisfaction with their status in society. Accordingly, a man who adopts the symbol of a status group other than his own is looked upon as an "impostor" of a kind. The Symbolic Interaction approach might lead to the formulation of several questions which are relevant to our study.

The first question is the extent to which Mass Fashion can symbolize the same group affiliation as Elite Fashion. Another question that can be raised in connection with the Symbolic Interaction theory concerns class affiliation in particular; this question is whether the assertion of class affiliation plays an equally significant role in different periods and different social milieu. Are people less anxious to assert their class

affiliation in Mass Consumption society than they are in a less "modernized" society? Moreover, one may even ask the question whether a society in which Mass Fashion prevails in clothing behaviour tends to be a society in which the identification at first sight of people's class is not thought to be necessary or appropriate.

As with the Symbolic Interaction approach, Simmel focussed his attention on the meaning of fashion for the individual. Moreover, he realized that the meaning of fashion for the individual is determined by the social context which moulds individual attitudes. Yet he was not concerned with appearance symbolizing status but rather with the attitudes of the individual in his relationship to his social environment. According to Simmel, fashion is characterized by a tension between two aspirations on the part of the individual, the aspiration for uniformity with and similarity to the existing trend and the aspiration for individual differentiation. Although Simmel is concerned with forces which motivate the behaviour of the individual, these forces are conceived as reflecting social forces which affect the individual's relation with society. Simmel's approach is applicable to our study because Elite Fashion and Mass Fashion differ from one another in terms of the relative role played by the two forces referred to by Simmel. Elite Fashion is more individually oriented on the motivational level, as it puts more emphasis than Mass Fashion on the assertion of uniqueness, and of differentiation on the social level. This orientation is in fact connoted by the definition of this kind of fashion as Elite Fashion. On the other hand, Mass Fashion, which is mass produced and not confined to one distinguished status group, is affected by the

aspiration for similarity which reflects an inclination towards uniformity on the social level. In addition to the above mentioned sociological and socio-psychological approaches to fashion, the economic theories of fashion are also relevant to our study. These theories provide a link between the individual consumer's demand for fashionable goods and the interaction between sellers and buyers in the market.

The Elite Fashion market of Haute Couture is characterized by a direct relationship between artisan and client, and is governed by a different economic relationship than that of the anonymous mass market. The latter is more directly affected by socio-economic factors, such as the availability of money to different classes and social groups, as well as by attitudes towards fashion as a mode of clothing behaviour which determine the demand for fashionable goods. The mass market is more competitive and this is more suited to the pattern of modern economy. Social processes affect the Mass Fashion market in two different ways: by influencing the demand for fashionable goods, and by determining the degree of risk for the manufacturer in the market. The risk of the producer in a market which is so much affected by changes in taste is bigger than in the case of markets for goods in which "hit" and "miss" elements play a smaller role. This "hit" and "miss" element and the risk for the manufacturer associated with it, is of course almost absent in the case of Elite Fashion, where the relationship between the producer and consumer is direct and personal.

The Dimension of the Study

Our study concerns a situation in the clothing market in Britain in the 60's, which is characterized by the decisive part played by Mass Fashion. This situation, on which our study is focussed, developed as a result of changes in the clothing market in general and the market for fashionable goods in particular. In the clothing market, the effect of fashion implies that people are not motivated by purely 'economy' considerations in buying clothes, and that the demand for new garments is affected to a considerable degree by changes in fashion. Consumers affected by 'economy' considerations are consumers who put the emphasis mainly on durability and low price. In other words, the notion of the best value for money in this context is associated with the usability of the garment in the narrow sense of the word. On the other hand, consumers who are fashion oriented in their considerations are also concerned with the question as to what extent the garment is in fashion. Moreover, they are reluctant to wear clothes which are not in fashion and thus tend to buy new clothes whenever fashion changes. Consequently fashion oriented people are likely to buy more clothes than 'economy' oriented ones, who in many cases wear their clothes until they are worn out.

In the fashion world itself, the major part played by Mass Fashion has a bearing on Elite Fashion as well. Many talented designers prefer working for the mass market and thus this market sets new trends in fashion. A study of the literature about fashion leads to the conclusion that these considerations of the fashion market in Britain in the 60's followed

changes in the demand for fashionable goods in the structure of the fashion market and in the meaning of fashion as a status symbol. Therefore the spread of Mass Fashion is meaningful in three contexts: that of individual attitudes, that of the interaction between buyers and sellers in the market, and that of the symbolic expression of status differences.

a) The individual attitude context

In this context, Mass Fashion is looked upon from the subjective viewpoint of consumers, designers and communicators. An analysis of fashion confined to this level lacks a broader sociological perspective, and this limitation qualifies the sociological significance of the findings.

b) The interaction between buyers and sellers in the market

On this level of analysis, attitudes and motivations are studied in relation to the behaviour of people in the clothing market. In this context, fashion is a component of clothing behaviour which is determined not only by motivational factors but also by economic considerations, such as the availability of money to the consumers and the economic considerations of the manufacturer.

c) The symbolic expression of status differences

On this level of analysis, Mass Fashion is examined in relation to social stratification, which is reflected in people's attitudes, and has a bearing on the fashion market as well as on other spheres of activity.

Only an analysis which takes into consideration the third context as well as the first and the second can interpret Mass Fashion in broader sociological perspectives. Therefore we are bound to ask the question

which attributes of fashion in general and Mass Fashion in particular enable us to link our subject matter with the wider social processes.

In the individual attitude context, the spread of Mass Fashion is associated with consumption, which is affected by a need for excitement rather than by 'economy' considerations.

In a context of interaction between sellers and buyers in the market, the spread of Mass Fashion is associated with the availability of uncommitted money to new strata in society and especially to young people and teenagers, with changes in technology of production and in marketing including the use of man-made fibres, and with the evolution of the young look, or London Look, which originated in Britain and has spread to other western countries.

In the context of appearance as an expression of social differentiation, the spread of Mass Fashion is associated with the limited effect of class consciousness on appearance, and an inclination to demonstrate identification with an age group by following new trends in fashion.

The different aspects of Mass Fashion and their implications in the three contexts mentioned above are interdependent. They are interdependent in a narrow sense, as they represent necessary but not sufficient conditions for the evolution of Mass Fashion. In this respect, it is the phenomenon of Mass Fashion that links together attitudes, market trends and social forces. Yet the different aspects of Mass Fashion are also interdependent in a broader sense, involving stratification in British

society. From this point of view, which combines the concept of appearance as a mode of asserting status and the concept of market as a sphere of interaction affected by social stratification, the characteristics of Mass Fashion in Britain in the 60's reflects some interrelated processes in British society. These processes concern the interaction between class and other criteria of social differentiation, age in particular, in certain spheres of social activity, loaded with symbolic meanings related to stratification.

In spheres of social activity involving an assertion of people's status, images of class differentiation appear to play a secondary role compared with images of other criteria of differentiation, such as age.

This trend does not necessarily imply a diminution in the role played by class in determining people's expectations of life, but it undoubtedly reflects an inclination to confine the expressions of class consciousness to certain spheres of social life, while in other spheres the role played by class tends to diminish.

Such an inclination indicates the multi-dimensional differentiation which is characteristic of a highly developed western society with a low degree of congruency between attributes of the individual's status. The various attributes of status do not carry the same weight in different social contexts. They are related to various criteria of differentiation and have a different impact on patterns of interaction between individuals in various spheres of social activity. The effect of class on patterns of behaviour tends to be stronger in spheres of life where status, in terms of class, implies monopolization of access routes to the means of asserting

individual status. In Elite Fashion, the power position of the upper and upper-middle classes is ensured by the availability of sufficient financial resources and sufficient motivation that enable them to monopolize the facilities for appearance symbolizing a higher status. Mass Fashion, on the contrary, provides for democratization, in the sense that it makes possible the usurpation of status symbols associated with class. On the other hand, to the extent that age differences play a part in determining people's behaviour, fashion is an appropriate mode of expression of such differences in terms of appearance. The emphasis on physical appearance and even on the presentation of the sex motive and the need for excitement, is associated with the image of youth and is thus suitable for the assertion of differences between the younger and older generations. According to recent sociological observations such age differences tend to play a bigger role in contemporary society than they used to play in the past. If these observations are correct, the Young Look, the availability of money to teenagers, and the emphasis on excitement rather than economy which are characteristic of contemporary Mass Fashion in Britain, can be looked upon not only as expressions of a major change in fashion itself but also as a manifestation of change in the interaction between different criteria of social stratification in contemporary society.

The inclination towards prevalence of Mass Fashion can be regarded by observers who claim that British society is becoming less class conscious as a further evidence in support of their argument. Yet this claim cannot be sustained without more evidence. But if the evidence is not sufficient to sustain such a far-reaching conclusion, it might however

support the more modest proposition that appearance in terms of clothing is no longer a reliable indication as to people's class affiliation. If this assertion is correct, we might relate this implication of Mass Fashion to an inclination towards status inconsistency, that is to say towards a different emphasis on the various components of status in different social situations. In such a case, a society in which Mass Fashion prevails will be a society in which it is difficult to identify "at first sight" people's class. In such societies the conveyance of people's class affiliation would probably involve more refined symbols than appearance in terms of clothing.

It is, however, apparent that the indifference of Mass Fashion to status symbols conveying class affiliation, has a confusing effect with regard to mutual expectations in certain situations of interaction between individuals.

There are situations in which class is relevant to the interaction between individuals even in rather superficial contacts between them. In these cases, inability to convey class by appearance might affect the outcome of interaction in a manner which would prevent the bearers of high status from utilizing the privileges deriving from their status.

One might also speculate that class affiliation and education tend to become less significant in superficial contacts between people. On the other hand they still play a considerable role in other kinds of contacts in which class and education can be conveyed by other means than appearance. In such cases the status symbols conveying class and education are not as liable to usurpation as those associated with clothing behaviour.

But the examination of such a speculative proposition is beyond the scope of this study.

The Method of the Study

The aim of this study was not to offer a comprehensive explanation of the spread of Mass Fashion but rather to study some aspects of this process from a limited angle. The viewpoint from which the role of fashion in clothing behaviour is looked upon is that of the different participants in the spread of innovations in fashion in women's clothing. In other words, the empirical part of the study is essentially a study of attitudes which is complemented by information derived from historical, sociological and psychological works on fashion, and some statistical data derived from official government surveys and market research statistics. The method of the study imposed certain limitations which qualify some of the conclusions drawn from the data. Based to a considerable extent on subjective statements of attitudes, and on information about actual clothing behaviour provided by consumers themselves, the reliability of the data can be challenged in many respects. One question which may arise is: to what extent images, beliefs, views, attitudes and opinions of several sets of groups of people about fashion are indicative as to the actual structural processes which affect people's clothing behaviour.

The proliferation of attitude studies by sociologists reflects the difficulty in obtaining reliable quantitative data about human behaviour. In the absence of such data many sociologists try to learn something about

human behaviour from people's own statements on their behaviour and attitudes which are bound to be affected by their self-images, views, and opinions. Most attitude studies assume that people's attitudes reflect their social experiences and affect their behaviour and are thus sociologically significant. Such studies can be challenged from two different points of view. On the one hand, it is questionable to what extent it is possible to draw conclusions from attitudes about the experience which they are expected to reflect. On the other hand it is possible to ask to what extent people's attitudes provide a reliable indication as to their actual behaviour.

The first question is related to the explanatory power of attitudes. The second question refers only to attitudes as a means by which people's tendencies can be studied in cases in which it is impossible to find more reliable indexes. The problem of establishing the explanatory power of attitudes is that such attitudes are relevant to sociological inquiry only in as far as they have a degree of autonomy, and their 'malleability' is limited.¹⁾ According to this approach attitudes are worth studying only in as much as they are more than a mere reflection of social structure. If the structural conditions govern both attitudes and conduct, the notion of attitude appears to contribute little to an understanding of human conduct in the social context.

1) Cohen, P.S., "Social Attitudes and Sociological Enquiry", The British Journal of Sociology, vol. XVII, No. 4, 1966.

This criticism of attitude research is not applicable to a more limited approach to attitudes. Even if attitudes are devoid of explanatory power, their study may be useful from the viewpoint of the social scientist, if they are taken to reflect conduct as well. In such a context people's attitudes may serve as indicators, if not of their actual behaviour, at least of their tendency to behave in a certain manner. Moreover, if attitudes are treated in this way, the less autonomous and more malleable they are, the better they reflect the structural conditions which govern both these attitudes of people's conduct. In this respect, the justification for the study of attitudes does not lie in theoretical considerations concerning the explanatory power of the notion of attitudes, but in a research strategy. As a result of the technique of interviews and questionnaires it is in many cases easier to obtain reliable information from people about their attitudes and about their behaviour. Such an indirect approach of course raises the question of the relation between verbal and non-verbal behaviour, but this question is not identical with the question of the explanatory power of attitudes and opinion. It is rather more a question of the extent to which there is an empirical correlation between attitudes and opinions on the one hand, and conduct on the other. Although sociologists and social psychologists do not deny the existence of some such correlation, most of them admit that verbal and non-verbal behaviour may be "far from perfectly related to one another, even if they refer to the same social object".¹⁾ Studies based on subjective statements of people about

1) See: Guttman, L., "A Structural Theory for Intergroup Beliefs and Action", American Sociological Review, vol. 24, No. 3, 1959, p. 318. McGuire, W., "The Nature of Attitudes and Attitude Change in Lindzey and Aronson", Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. III, pp. 136-160.

their attitudes and intentions should be treated with necessary caution and the data obtained by them ought to be complemented if possible by data from other sources.

Therefore a sociologist who is aware of the limitations of his own method and equipped with a theoretical apparatus and sufficient background knowledge about his subject matter, is capable of drawing some sociologically meaningful conclusions from attitude and opinion studies. Assuming that people's attitudes reflect their experience, the sociologist can relate his findings to his prior knowledge of their social environment, the pattern of socialization in their society and the effect of the social forces to which they are exposed. The effects of attitudes on behaviour can be traced by asking people not only to express their own views, but also to convey their impressions about other people's attitudes and behaviour. Such information cannot be regarded as a reliable source in itself, but the comparison between the attitudes of different people affiliated to different groups in society, or holding different key positions with regard to the studied phenomenon, might lead to conclusions regarding actual behaviour. In drawing these conclusions the sociologist can utilize his general knowledge about the role of each group in the process which he is studying, as well as the theories which are applicable to the subject. If the patterns of human behaviour are components of the social structure, consequent changes in these patterns may be regarded as representing social changes. Such a change might be of less or more importance to the social structure, but in any case it is

significant in the study of the particular processes on which the study is focussed. Moreover, there are cases in which social change can be traced in the attitudes of people, before it is observable in their pattern of behaviour.

For example the fulfillment of people's aspirations, traceable in statements of attitudes, might be inhibited by economic limitations. Such people are disposed to change their behaviour when the economic obstacles to the fulfillment of their aspirations are removed. On the other hand, a change in their economic conditions might raise new aspirations.

The interaction between the purchasing power at the disposal of younger girls, the aspirations of youth for an appearance which emphasizes their distinct identity as an age group, and the development of young fashion, demonstrates the link between aspirations, necessary conditions and actual social behaviour.

It is nonetheless noteworthy in this context that market surveys carried out by researchers and studies of consumers' behaviour by economists tend to attach much attention to consumers' predispositions as reflected in their attitudes and images. It is implied in most of these studies that attitudes reflect one of the main components of the market situation which can be expected to have a considerable effect on behaviour. The sociological meaning of such attitudes is demonstrated in the existence of significant correlations between these attitudes on the one hand, and criteria of social differentiation such as class, age group, marital status and employment on the other. The findings of this study provide many examples of such correlations which show differences between social groups in their susceptibility

to change in style and design, the two elements which are the essence of fashion in clothing.

Our study of attitudes focussed on three different groups of participants in the spread of fashion: the designers, the communicators and the consumers. Each of these is characterized by having a different position in the process, thus entailing a different point of view. A comparison between the responses of these three groups to questions put to them enables us to observe associations between their positions and their attitudes. In certain cases, in which the participants in the process are asked to provide information rather than express opinion, a comparison between the answers might also help in eliminating the effect of opinions and self-images on their response.

In addition to this, techniques designed to check the reliability of answers were incorporated into the questionnaires. The study of various holders of key positions in the process of fashion diffusion was based on the assumption that their effect on the process is not equal. The success of the dress designer is dependent on his ability to foresee the response of the consumer. The communicator's ability to promote innovation is also dependent, to a considerable extent, on the predisposition of the consumer. The fact that all the other participants in the process studied are oriented at affecting the consumer's response, indicates the strategic position of the consumer in the process. Consequently our study of the role and position of the consumer in the process of the spread of fashion, and his attitude towards novelties in clothing behaviour is more detailed than the study of roles of the dress designer and communicator. The empirical research

done specifically for this study was confined to three of the four main key positions in the process of the spread of fashion, the manufacturer being excluded. The reasons for this exclusion were technical rather than substantive. The term 'manufacturer' refers not only to individuals but also to incorporated bodies, some of which divide the responsibility for company policy between different office holders. In addition to this, some approaches to several manufacturers revealed their reluctance to be interviewed. The study of the manufacturer would also have involved an examination of the structure and economic activities of firms engaged in producing fashionable goods. Such a study was beyond the modest financial means available for the purpose of this study. Yet some light on the role of the manufacturer was shed by the answers of the designers employed by them, and the communicators who are often in touch with them.

The methodological approach embodied in the study of subjective attitudes of dress designers, communicators and consumers was based on certain assumptions concerning the nature of the process of the spread of fashion. It was assumed that each of the participants in the process has his own objective role to play, as well as a self-image which is not necessarily upheld by objective analysis. The discrepancies between the role analyzed from an objective point of view and the role image are a part of the situation and have a bearing on the spread of fashion. Not less important are the discrepancies between role images of the different participants in the process, and the manner in which they conceive of the evolvment and spread of new fashions. If the orientations of the different participants

in the process do not coincide, and if these orientations lead to different conceptions about the process in which they are participating, they are apt to fail in coordinating the behaviour and the expectations of the other participants. This can be said in particular about the designer.¹⁾ Evidence showing that the designer's self-image reflects the artistic rather than the commercial aspect of his role are significant as such self-image is apt to affect his order of priorities in the performance of his role. Yet there is no doubt that he has also to adapt himself to the needs of the market situation. The designer's ambiguous position has a bearing on the process through his relationship with the manufacturer, on the one hand, and the consumer, on the other. The designer's innovations are communicated to the consumer by the journalists.²⁾ The role of the journalist was mainly studied on the basis of his own self-image and conception of the process in which he participates. He can conceive of his own role in two different ways - as a part of the journalist's profession, and as a part of the system through which fashion is spread. Emphasis on the journalistic profession rather than on the "world of fashion" reflects the reference group of the fashion journalist and entails a degree of detachment on his part which makes him more qualified than the designer to judge the behaviour of the consumer.

The consumer at the receiving end of the channel through which innovations are communicated has the option of responding to fashion favourably

1) See chapter III below.

2) See chapter IV below.

or ignoring it.¹⁾

Complementary to this are the objective data on consumers' behaviour provided by official surveys, yearly expenditure and clothing consumption habits and market research surveys.

In the process of the study it was assumed that the consumer's response to fashion is affected by three sets of attitudes;

a) The first concerns his motivation in buying new clothes and his considerations in choosing between alternative garments offered to him by the manufacturer. Consumers who are motivated by considerations of cost and durability differ in their market behaviour from consumers who are motivated by the desire to be fashionably dressed. The spread of fashion consciousness among consumers affects the market in two different ways. On the one hand it increases the demand for fashionable goods, and indeed for clothing in general. On the other hand, it adds a new dimension to this demand by introducing the element of taste. Consequently it makes consumer behaviour less predictable.

b) The second set of attitudes concerns the effect of general social trends in British society. A decline in the importance of status symbols associated with class structure on the one hand, and the evolution of a pattern of behaviour rooted in age group identification in particular among teenagers and young people on the other, are of far-reaching consequence to the fashion market. The traces of a change in this direction in

1) See below chapter V.

the attitudes of consumers are therefore important both to the study of fashion and to the study of changes in British society in the 60's.

c) The third aspect of consumers' attitudes which affects the formation and the spread of fashion is their response to news about fashion which reaches them through the mass media. This news includes information, both about changes and advertising, which aims at promoting products. The effectiveness of advertising is limited and conditioned by the predispositions of the consumer toward fashion in general and his attitude towards the different channels through which innovations are communicated to him.

The study is an attempt to discover some of the social characteristics of the process by which women's fashion is spread. These features of the process are not identical with those focussed upon by economists, psychologists and market researchers. Based to a considerable extent on data concerning attitudes, the part played by attitudes in the process is dealt with in more detailed manner than the actual behaviour of consumers, designers and communicators. Yet the study is not confined to attitudes; the questionnaires sent to consumers and interviews with designers and communicators included questions concerning actual behaviour which, with certain qualifications, provide information about actual behaviour. This information is complemented by objective data about family expenditure and clothing consumption as well as by market research surveys. Moreover, the hypotheses of the study also reflect the accumulation of knowledge about clothing behaviour and fashion which can be derived from available

sociological, economic, psychological and historical works related to our subject. Nevertheless, as the whole field of fashion has not yet been explored by sociologists and as our data, apart from the data concerning attitudes, are rather limited, our study cannot be regarded as more than a pilot research. Moreover, the analysis of the data involves references to different fields of sociology relevant to our study. Thus there ~~there~~ is no coherent theoretical scheme which would serve as a comprehensive model of the studied phenomenon. Yet, although our hypotheses are not presented in the form of a comprehensive theoretical model, they are linked together not only by being focussed on the same subject, but also by reflecting some interrelated phenomena in British society in the 60's. The contribution of our study can therefore be summed up under three headings:

1. The suggestion of the concepts of Mass Fashion and Elite Fashion as ideal types, which makes it possible to elaborate the existing sociological approaches to fashion.
2. The application of these concepts to the clothing market in Britain in the 60's, which is characterized by the prevalence of Mass Fashion.
3. The study of attitudes towards Mass Fashion on the part of consumers, designers and communicators, and the association between these attitudes and their respective views of society.

The Hypotheses

The present study is focussed on Mass Fashion rather than on Elite Fashion. The characteristics of Elite Fashion described above were not the subject of the empirical research made specially for this study. The description of these characteristics is based on a comprehensive study of literature about fashion which includes historical, sociological and psychological studies, as well as popular monographs and the memoirs of famous designers.

In addition to this, an empirical study of Mass Fashion projects some light on Elite Fashion as well. Unlike the case of Elite Fashion, the literature regarding Mass Fashion is very limited and therefore much more emphasis has had to be put on our own empirical study. Yet at least some of our data were corroborated by available statistical surveys and market research reports. One of the conclusions that can be drawn from the literature about fashion in general, our empirical study of attitudes towards fashion, and data on the clothing market in Britain in the 60's, is that the function of Haute Couture in the formation of new styles and designs in clothing tends to diminish, while the ready-made clothes industry is increasingly becoming a major source of novelties in fashion.

However, in the era of Mass Fashion, sensitivity to fashion is not confined to the upper and upper middle classes. Working class women who could not afford Haute Couture are subject to the influence of Mass Fashion in their clothing behaviour. In this respect a study of Mass Fashion in Britain in the 60's can be expected to reflect developments in the spheres

of social stratification such as changes in the part played by class affiliation in modern mass consumption society. For example it is becoming more and more difficult to identify people's class in terms of appearance, while age seems to play a more distinct role in determining clothing behaviour and other aspects of appearance. The study does not focus specifically on changes in British society, yet some changes which have been observed by students of British society are reflected in the characteristics of fashion as a mode of clothing behaviour.

This observation, and the available literature about clothing and fashion in Britain in the 60's, led us to the proposition that Mass Fashion rather than Elite Fashion was the main source of innovation in styles and designs of clothes in Britain in the mid-60's.

This proposition entails certain hypotheses concerning the characteristics of the fashion market dominated by Mass Fashion.

- a) Clothing behaviour in Britain in the 60's tends to be fashion oriented.
- b) Fashion in Britain in the 60's tends to be age group directed more than class directed.
- c) Mass Fashion is disposed towards uniformity, and the consumers' response is not oriented at presentation of their individuality.
- d) The Mass Fashion market tends to be anonymous and unpredictable as to the response of the consumers to each individual innovation.

- e) The interaction between the different participants in the process of the spread of fashion is conditioned by differences in their respective concept of their part in the process and patterns of communication between them.

These hypotheses are working hypotheses dealing with limited aspects of clothing behaviour in Britain in the 60's and the part played by fashion in this context.

This limited scope of the hypotheses is a consequence of the nature of the study which is essentially a pilot study in a field which has not yet been thoroughly explored.

CHAPTER II

Fashion and the Clothing Market

The fashion market is an integral part of the clothing market. Thus the impact of fashion on consumers' demand can be expected to be reflected in clothing purchase statistics. The spread of the influence of fashion on new groups in society is likely to result in an increase of the purchase of clothing items by these groups. People who are motivated by fashion considerations are under pressure to buy new clothes whenever fashion changes. Consequently, the impact of fashion can be expected to be reflected in an increased expenditure on clothing. As clothing expenditure statistics do not distinguish between purchases motivated by fashion considerations and purchases which are not affected by such considerations, the effect of fashion can be traced only indirectly. It is possible to infer from clothing market statistics only whether an increase in clothing expenditure had occurred or not. The absence of an increase in expenditure may cast doubts on propositions according to which responsiveness to fashion tends to spread to new groups in society.

On the other hand, of course, an increase expenditure in clothing is not in itself an indication that such a change had indeed taken place.

The available data about clothing expenditure as a percentage of total consumer expenditure in Britain show that this percentage has not changed much since the late 40's. Following a small increase in the late

40's, expenditure on clothing stabilized and since then has suffered only small fluctuation around 8%.

Table 1
Clothing Expenditure as Percentage
of Total Consumer Expenditure

Expenditure £m 1958 prices				Expenditure £m 1958 prices			
<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cloth- ing</u>	<u>Per- centage</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Cloth- ing</u>	<u>Per- centage</u>
1946	12061	758	6.3	1957	14985	1207	8.1
1947	12455	844	6.8	1958	15362	1206	7.8
1948	12436	928	7.5	1959	16080	1267	7.9
1949	12669	1007	8.0	1960	16735	1359	8.1
1950	13018	1046	8.0	1961	17127	1386	8.1
1951	12843	957	7.5	1962	17517	1386	7.9
1952	12780	949	7.4	1963	18375	1443	7.9
1953	13351	974	7.3	1964	19082	1493	7.8
1954	13896	1046	7.5	1965	19421	1557	8.0
1955	14452	1129	7.8	1966	19811	1562	7.9
1956	14577	1178	8.1	1967	20211	1562	7.7

Source: National Income and Expenditure, 1964, 1968.

It can be argued that the general stability of the proportion of the expenditure on clothing as a part of total consumer expenditure is inconsistent with the proposition that as a result of the spread of Mass Fashion

and the general rise in income, new sectors in society tend to become fashion oriented and consequently to increase their expenditure on clothing. But such an argument is not born out by more detailed analyses of the statistical data. A change in the pattern of clothing consumption which would reflect the increased role played by fashion does not necessarily imply an increase in expenditure on clothing as a percentage of the total expenditure. Moreover, given the assumption of an increase in income and the standard of living, an unchanging pattern of consumers' behaviour would probably result in a decrease in clothing expenditure as percentage of the total expenditure. In other words, expenditure on clothing appears to increase with the increase of the total expenditure. Indicative in this respect are the figures about the development of the clothing market itself after elimination of the influence of price changes. And indeed consumers' expenditure statistics for the years 1958-1965 at 1963 prices show a steady trend for expenditure on clothing to rise.

Table 2
Consumers' Expenditure on Clothing at 1963 Prices
(£ million)

	<u>1958</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Footwear	281	292	312	319	311	319	330	339	333	331	338
Other clothing:											
Men's & boys' wear	439	460	493	495	496	518	538	559	562	550	566
Women's, girls' & infants' wear	837	880	945	971	970	1,008	1,042	1,088	1,091	1,101	1,155
T o t a l	1,557	1,632	1,750	1,785	1,777	1,845	1,910	1,986	1,986	1,982	2,059

Source: Family Expenditure Survey, 1968.

The British consumers thus increased their purchases on clothes by about 25% in ten years. The growth of population only partly accounts for this increase, most of which can be attributed to changes in patterns of demand for clothing items in certain groups of British society. Does the rise in clothing purchases reflect the impact of fashion?

This question cannot be answered on the basis of the available statistics. Yet the breakdown of clothing expenditure statistics reveals certain features of the clothing market which can be interpreted as supporting such a proposition. Not all the components of clothing expenditure are equally subject to the influence of fashion. Of the different categories of clothing expenditure, outer clothing is the most related to the sphere of fashion. On the other hand, men's and women's underclothing, children's clothing and other items of clothing are less likely to be substantially affected by fashion oriented purchases. Thus it is worthwhile to examine whether the increase of expenditure on women's outer clothing exceeds the increase of expenditure on other categories of clothing.

The data on clothing expenditure of the average family in 1957-1969 are most indicative in this respect. They show that during those years there was a trend for the expenditure on women's outer clothing to increase more rapidly than the expenditure on other kinds of clothing.

Table 3

Clothing Expenditure of Average Family
(Shillings/Week at current prices)

	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1962</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Men's outer clothing	4.38	4.28	5.67	4.59	5.26	5.18	5.50	5.92	6.65	6.55	5.58
Men's under clothing	2.38	2.30	2.28	2.33	2.61	2.49	2.72	2.73	2.83	2.90	3.09
Women's outer clothing	5.73	6.46	6.47	8.51	7.43	7.12	7.56	8.47	9.61	10.56	10.02
Women's under clothing	3.24	3.27	3.47	4.56	4.10	4.00	3.91	3.98	4.37	4.36	4.09
Children's clothing	3.72	3.85	3.79	3.90	3.99	4.23	4.55	4.02	5.19	4.55	5.00
Other clothing	4.27	4.13	3.83	4.78	3.91	3.94	4.33	3.71	4.31	4.45	4.34
ALL CLOTHING	23.72	24.29	25.52	27.66	27.30	26.97	28.56	28.84	32.96	33.36	33.12

Source: Table A11, Your Future in Clothing (An Economic Development Study of the future market for the clothing industry), National Economic Development Office, London, 1970.

The trend can be inferred from the changes in the expenditure of an average family on women's outer clothing as a percentage of the expenditure of such a family on clothing in general.

Table 4

Percentage of the expenses on women's outer clothing
out of the total expenditure on clothing in the years 1957-1967
(Shillings/Week at current prices)

<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
24.1	26.5	25.3	30.7	27.2	26.3	26.4	29.3	29.1	31.6	30.2

Source: Taken from Your Future in Clothing, Table A11.

The above table clearly shows that the percentage of the clothing expenditure which was spent on women's outer clothing tended to increase in the late 50's and 60's. The same conclusion can be drawn from regression analysis based on clothing expenditure of the average family.

Table 5

Results of Regression Analyses

<u>I t e m</u>	<u>Regression coefficients</u>	
	<u>'a'</u>	<u>'b'</u>
Men's outer clothing	+0.182	+0.00033
Men's under clothing (incl. hose)	+0.158	-0.00236
Women's outer clothing	-0.004	+0.01027
Women's under clothing (incl. hose)	+0.211	-0.00263
Children's clothing	+0.191	-0.00142
Other	+0.283	-0.00481

Source: Your Future in Clothing, Table A12.

The National Economic Development Office's study of the clothing market says in reference to the above regression analysis: "the interpretation of these figures is that as total expenditure on clothing increases the proportion spent on men's and women's outer clothing increases but the proportion spent on other groups tends to decrease".¹⁾

Both the total increase in the expenditure on clothing in constant prices and the increase in the proportion of this expenditure spent on outer clothing in general and women's outer clothing in particular may be attributed to the effects of the spread of fashion. In this indirect way the impact of fashion may be traceable in clothing expenditure statistics.

The Young Consumer and the Clothing Market

The proposition that clothing expenditure is affected by the spread of fashion focuses our attention on certain groups in society whose members are more likely than others to be predisposed by fashion considerations in their clothing purchases. The most important group in that respect is that of younger people. M. Abrams who was the first to study the teenagers as consumers, has shown that the proportion in the fifteen to twenty year old age group's earnings which they spend on themselves rose by 100 percent between 1936 and 1959. Summing up his conclusions M. Abrams notices that: "Increasingly, market research has documented the importance of teenagers as consumers and more and more manufacturers, before embarking on production, now consider it necessary to know something about the tastes and spending habits of these young people."²⁾

1) See: Your Future in Clothing, Ibid., p. 96.

2) Abrams, M., Teenage Consumer Spending in 1959, (Part I), p. 5.

Abrams' study is not focused on clothing in particular, yet his data regarding expenditure by teenagers in 1957 reveals two facts which are relevant to a study of clothing and fashion behaviour. The first is that women's clothing was in 1957 the biggest single item of teenage expenditure. No less than £ 120 millions, according to Abrams, were spent by teenagers on women's clothing out of a total expenditure of £ 900 million. The proportion of the expenditure on women's clothing out of the total expenditure by teenagers, men as well as women, was 13.3% . M. Abrams' data showed also that teenage spending in 1957 was 15.8% of all consumers' spending in Britain on women's clothing. Interpreting these data Abrams maintained that: "By and large, then, one can generalize by saying that the quite large amount of money at the disposal of Britain's average teenager is spent mainly on dressing up in order to impress other teenagers and on goods which form the nexus of teenage gregariousness outside the home. In other words, there is distinctive teenage spending for distinctive teenage ends in a distinctive teenage world."¹⁾

The effect of teenage expenditure on the clothing market was also noticed by the National Economic Development Office study which stressed the importance of young people in the clothing market. Moreover, the study also associated the impact of the young consumers on the clothing market with their role in the sphere of fashion: "They are also important because of their fashion consciousness which influences the purchases of other age groups. They themselves tend to retain some fashion consciousness

1) Abrams, M., op. cit., (Part I), p. 10.

as they grow older although they tend to buy clothes less often and from different outlets." ¹⁾

The survey thus refers not only to the direct role played by young people as consumers but also to their role as a source of inspiration for fashion motivated purchases by other groups.

The importance of the young consumers in the clothing market is demonstrated in data about expenditure by the 15-29 year age group as a percentage of the total men's and women's market.

Table 6

Men's Wear (1967)

Expenditure by 15-29 year old males as a per cent of total expenditure
by all males over 15 years

	<u>Per cent</u>
Suits	39
Jackets	60
Shirts	39
Pyjamas	34
Rainwear	36
Trousers	53
Knitwear	54
Coats	36

Source: Your Future in Clothing, Table 5 A

1) See: Your Future in Clothing, op.cit., p. 6.

Table 6 (cont'd)

Women's Wear (1967)

Expenditure by 15-29 year old females as a per cent of total expenditure
by all females over 15 years

	<u>Per cent</u>
Coats	48
Rainwear	36
Trousers	60
Knitwear	42
Blouses	34
Skirts	48
Nightdresses	48
Underwear	46
Waist slips	75
Full slips	37

Source: Your Future in Clothing, Table 5B.

The 15-29 age group of women forms 20% of the total female population over 15 years old. The 15-29 group of men forms 25% of the total male population over 15 years old.¹⁾ These tables, and in particular that of the expenditure of young women in the 15-29 age group, show clearly that the proportion of the expenditure on clothing of young people exceeds by far their percentage in the population.

1) Your Future in Clothing, op.cit., p. 5.

In certain items such as women's trousers, purchases by the younger 26 per cent of the female population accounts for no less than 60 per cent of the expenditure.

Asslightly less marked pattern is also observable in the data about expenditure by the same age group of men as a percentage of the total expenditure of adult males.

The study concludes that: "Young people are heavy buyers of most types of clothing compared with adult population as a whole".¹⁾

This conclusion is supported also by a research market study made by Courtauld Research Department.²⁾ According to this study in 1964 the portion of the market for ready-made and home-sewn dresses of the 15-19 age group was 12.4 per cent, which is more than the portion of the market of any other age group.

Table 7

Total U.K. Market in Home-Sewn and Ready-Made Dresses
in Percentages by Age Groups (1964)

<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-34</u>	<u>35-39</u>	<u>40-44</u>	<u>45-49</u>	<u>50-54</u>	<u>55-59</u>	<u>60-64</u>	<u>65-74</u>	<u>Total</u>
12.4	10.7	9.7	8.3	7.5	11.3	8.6	9.7	8.3	5.2	8.2	100.0

Source: Women's Outwear Market Research Report, Courtauld, Market Research Department, 1965.

1) Ibid.

2) Women's Outwear Market Research Report, Courtauld, Market Research Department, 1965.

More detailed information about the impact of expenditure by teenagers is available for the year 1960. The data about the size of the U.K. market in 1960 show that the average number of dresses bought by teenagers in that year was 2.4 as compared with 2.1 by women of the ages 20-24, 2.0 by women between the ages of 25-29, and an overall average of about 1.5 by women above the latter age.

Table 8

Average Number of Ready-Made Dresses Bought in 1960

<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
2.4	2.1	2.0	1.6	1.5	1.4

Source: Women's Outwear Market Research Report,
Courtauld, Market Research Department, 1965.

Younger people not only buy more than other people but are also more inclined to replace their clothing. The role of replacement in the table below which refers to dresses only is calculated by comparing stock with acquisition. The data indicate that younger people (not necessarily teenagers) have a higher rate of replacement than older people. On the other hand, they also indicate that the highest rate of replacement does not occur among teenagers but among women between the ages of 25-29. Yet it is still significant that women between the ages of 15-19 have a much higher rate of replacement than most older women.

Table 9

The Rates at Which Women Replace Their Dresses

<u>Age group of women</u>	<u>Total dress wardrobes</u>	<u>Dresses acquired 1960</u>	<u>Replacement rate for wardrobes</u>	<u>% of average replacement rate</u>
	<u>Million dresses</u>		<u>(Years)</u>	
15-29	49	15.4	3.2	125
30-59	100	27.0	3.7	108
60+	38	4.8	7.9	51
<u>T o t a l</u>	<u>187</u>	<u>47.2</u>	<u>4.0</u>	<u>100</u>

Source: Women's Outwear Market Research Report, Courtauld, Market Research Department, 1965.

All the data lead to the same conclusion: younger people in general and teenagers in particular play an important role in the clothing market and the proportion of their expenditure out of the total expenditure on clothing exceeds their proportion in the whole population.

For such a pattern of behaviour to develop it was necessary that younger people have both more available uncommitted income and the disposition to buy more clothing items. The explanation suggested by British social scientists of the role of the young consumers were thus twofold - economic and socio-psychological.

Mark Abrams' study of teenager consumers was the first systematic study of this subject. This study has drawn the attention of sociologists as well as economists to the increasing impact of teenagers' expenditure

in the market of consumer goods. Abrams pointed out that young working boys and girls pay a relatively small portion of their income (boys 35 shillings on average and girls 25 shillings on average) to their parents for board and lodging. Thirty-five per cent of the average boy's expenditure goes on drinks, cigarettes and entertainment and nearly 40% of girls' average expenditure goes on clothes, shoes and cosmetics. Dr. Abrams also pointed out that the average real weekly wages of young people in the 15-21 age group were over 50% higher in 1960 than in the late 30's. Moreover, because parents are more prosperous their children are able to keep a much higher proportion of their earnings to spend on themselves.¹⁾ Commenting on Dr. Abrams' findings, E.A. Johns notes that: "It might well be the case that a dustman's daughter would have more actual pocket money than her father".²⁾ The same point is emphasized also by the sociologist B. Wilson who maintained that "young people are the new rich with uncommitted incomes who can buy entertainment at high prices".³⁾ G. Rose too claims in reference to working class boys that "they have also benefited a good deal from post war affluence and since they are less committed, are more often out and about. Firms, selling records and clothes in particular, early began to see that they constitute an important new

1) M. Abrams, op.cit.

2) Johns, E.A., The Social Structure of Modern Britain, London, 1965, p. 130.

3) Wilson, B., The Social Context of the Youth Problems, London, 1965, p. 11.

market and started to create an image of the teenager ..."¹⁾ The availability of higher income as one of the causes for the development of a new pattern of age group culture associated with relatively high expenditure on themselves was also emphasized by H. Willmott, "... not that today's Bethnal Green boys or young people generally are just the same as those in earlier decades. Obviously they have more free time and are wealthier, their lives are less circumscribed, their opportunities are greater in all sorts of ways. Obviously too, their emergence as consumers with relatively large disposal incomes, and the resulting commercial 'teen age culture' have helped to make them more aware of themselves as a distinct section of the population."²⁾ Teenagers and younger people have not only more money but also different patterns of spending. As T. Fyvel puts it: "Working class adolescents are being incessantly persuaded to spend much of their money on a comparatively narrow range of goods, mostly mass produced."³⁾ Clothing items are undoubtedly among these goods, as the study of the National Economic Development Office put it: "The typical young person's wardrobe today certainly has more variety and more clothing for special purposes than 10 years ago."⁴⁾ And this is related to another factor mentioned in the same study - the rise in the

1) Rose, G., The Working Class, London, 1968, p. 82.

2) Willmott, H., Adolescent Boys in East London, London, 1966, p. 174.

3) Fyvel, T.R., The Insecure Offenders, London, 1961.

4) Your Future in Clothing, op.cit., p. 5.

general standard of living which "tends directly or indirectly to expand the market for clothing of all kinds, particularly outwear."¹⁾

The availability of uncommitted income is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the increase in the expenditure on clothing on the part of young people in general and teenagers in particular. Such a tendency to spend the extra income on clothing is another necessary condition. The sources of such a tendency are sought by most sociologists in socio-psychological and socio-cultural factors. Such observers as Willmott tended to regard the economic factor - the availability of large disposable income itself as a means of assertion of the distinctive identity of the teenagers" since "their emergence as consumers with relatively large disposable income ... have helped to make them more aware of themselves as^a distinct section of the population. For these reasons they may be more confident, more assertive and somewhat more inclined to challenge adult authority."²⁾

A similar image of younger people as consumers is reflected in Musgrave's study Youth and Social Order. He too refers to the impact of the new economic role of the young on their status. "They have on a scale without precedent this century economic power derived from independent earnings; they enter highly skilled occupations; they marry young. It is true that they are without the vote; they receive a bad Press. They

1) Ibid.

2) Willmott, H., op.cit., p. 174.

are without high status in the sense of enjoying the high regard of others, but they have considerable status (though less than what is potentially theirs) in terms of economic and social independence."¹⁾ The consequence of this development is spelled out by B. Wilson, "The trade in symbols of power, prestige, sex and aggression has become an in-built part of the economy".²⁾

Teenage expenditure is thus conceived as an integral part of teenage culture, which is associated with the tension that characterizes a group consisting of young people who have achieved economic independence but have not yet to carry the full responsibilities of adult life. "The period between school leaving and marriage has always been one of some strain, and conflict between conformity and rebellion",³⁾ says G. Rose, adding the explanation that adolescent girls in particular realized that "marriage would limit their freedom to spend and to go out with the lads".⁴⁾ Consequently there is also "a general realization that the teenager should enjoy himself while he could". The pattern of teenagers' and young people's expenditure which are inherent in the so-called youth culture can thus be interpreted in the context of style of life associated with a particular stage of the life cycle which these younger

1) Musgrove, F., Youth and Social Order, 1964, p. 11.

2) Wilson, B., op.cit., p. 11.

3) Rose, G., op.cit., p. 83.

4) Ibid.

people have reached. Such an interpretation assumes that "each stage in life has a different style - the teenager, the young married, the young parents, the grand-parents, the widow or widower. Clearly family size is the key variable, since it will govern the amount of income available for expenditure after buying necessities and allowing for discretionary income."¹⁾

In the context of such an approach, the patterns of consumption associated with youth culture are not permanent, and are associated with the so-called "moratorium"²⁾ period. The consequences of these features of the economic behaviour of teenagers were pointed out by E.A. Jones, who maintained that: "In reality the teenagers are not so powerful, either economically or otherwise, because they do not constitute a permanently stable group. Their tastes change very rapidly, and each year a proportion of their number defects in order to get married. As a result the commercial interests geared to the demands of the teenage market must find new ways to attract the support of the emerging 15-year olds ..."³⁾ New fashions are mentioned in this context as one of the means of promoting teenage expenditure. But surrender to fashion cannot be conceived as no more than good salesmanship on the part of manufacturers. The surrender of young people in their late teens and early twenties to the influence

1) Musgrove, P., The Economic Structure, London, 1969, p. 57.

2) See: Erickson, W., "Identity and life cycle", Psychological Issues, vol. 1, no. 1.

3) Johns, E.A., op.cit., p. 131.

of fashion has some socio-cultural and psychological explanation as well. Most of them put the emphasis on the tensions to which young people are subjected, and on their desire to assert their distinct identity. Such an interpretation of the surrender to fashion in the context of peer group behaviour has been put forward by S. Wilson: "The search for prestige in the peer group thus becomes a tension-maintaining activity for young people. Tension is sustained by the very surrender to fashion, since each new fashion is of only limited duration in conferring the prestige which the individual seeks."¹⁾

The conclusion that the younger generation's clothing behaviour is emphatically fashion-oriented, to the extent of ignoring economic considerations, is also supported by the findings of the National Economic Development Office survey. According to this survey: "Each individual appears to have a sense of the total number of garments appropriate for his (or her) wardrobe. Clearly this varies very considerably from individual to individual but applies particularly to married men and women whose way of life has become relatively stable. It is less true of adolescents, who have not always had sufficient experience of buying their own clothes to have developed a sense of the number they need."²⁾ Moreover, adolescents attached a different meaning to the term 'last'. "For adolescents, lasting may be several months; for older men, years."³⁾ The new youth culture is

1) Wilson, B., op.cit., p. 11.

2) Your Future in Clothing, op.cit., p. 73.

3) Ibid., p. 72.

devoid of class connotation; though not rooted in traditional class values and not associated with class consciousness, it has sprung rather from attitudes originating in the more prosperous section of the working class. It appears that there are two phases in the new identity development of younger people in Britain. In the first phase, the expression of peer group modes of behaviour are typical mainly of young people from working class families, while in the second the so-called youth culture spreads beyond the boundaries of particular class. M. Abrams who was the first to draw attention to distinctive teenage economic behaviour wrote in 1959:

"... the teenage market is almost entirely working class. Its middle class members are either still at school or college or else only just beginning on their careers; in either case they dispose of much smaller incomes than their working class contemporaries and it is highly probable, therefore, that not far short of 90 percent of all teenage spending is conditioned by working class taste and values. The aesthetic of the teenage market is essentially a working class aesthetic and probably only entrepreneurs of working class origin will have a natural understanding of the needs of this market."¹⁾

Following M. Abrams, E.A. Johns maintains that "As middle class and working-class adolescents used to be differentiated by the comparative poverty of the latter, so today it is the middle-class youth who is poor

1) Abrams, M., Part I, op.cit., pp. 13-14.

and his working class counterpart who is characterized by his affluence and his own peculiar spending habits."¹⁾

The working class connotation of the new youth culture and its economic expression in particular is also emphasized by G. Rose. According to him, the teenagers' distinctive behaviour, including their inclination to spend more on themselves and enjoy themselves while they can, is associated with "some elements in working class acculturation which, exaggerated in adolescence, tend to support leisure based subculture".²⁾ Although as Abrams maintains, "The aesthetic of the teenage market is essentially working class aesthetic",³⁾ the growth of youth culture as a separate and distinct phenomenon in British society has a bearing on the majority of teenagers including those with middle class backgrounds. It is, as B. Wilson pointed out: "increasingly the way of life of the larger part of the whole generation".⁴⁾ However, in Wilson's view this youth culture which "comprises a range of distinctive attitudes, postures, life style and patterns of action"⁵⁾ has a bearing on society as a whole. "Our society", he says, "is increasingly divided into age groupings, each with its appropriate behaviour patterns, and this division has largely

1) Johns, E.A., op.cit., pp. 130-131.

2) Rose, G., op.cit., p. 84.

3) Abrams, A., op.cit., p. 13.

4) Wilson, B., op.cit., p. 6.

5) Ibid., p. 6.

replaced the old class division."¹⁾ This view is not far from P. Musgrove's emphasis on the life cycle as the most important determinant of style.

These conclusions about age groupings replacing class divisions may be too far-reaching. Yet it appears that the style of life of young people, including their behaviour as consumers, can no longer be analysed without referring to age as a distinct factor which is not directly related to the class factor.

Social Class and the Clothing Market

The role played by peer groups in determining spending habits, particularly with regard to fashionable clothing, justifies the support of the argument that "class oriented patterns of consumption are being modified, or as F. Zweig put it: "In the Sunday crowd you can hardly distinguish the working classes from the middle classes, especially in the age-group between 20 and 30."²⁾ Thus, in spite of the fact that the youth culture is aesthetically associated with the working class, its economics do not reflect what are supposed to be characteristic working class spending habits. However, this is inconsistent with the assumption that the working classes tend to spend "... more on food and less on conspicuous consumption such as clothes and furnishings, cars and refrigerators".³⁾ Working class

1) Ibid., p. 10.

2) Zweig, F., Worker in an Affluent Society, London, 1961.

3) Johns, E.A., op.cit., p. 56.

affluence on the one hand, and mass production on the other, facilitate the development of new spending habits. In this respect, the pattern of spending of the younger generation of the working class and the blurring of the differences in appearance between young people of different classes, appears to represent a trend which is not entirely confined to certain age groups. The consequences of this trend were described as follows: "At the turn of the century, the middle classes would undoubtedly have clearly declared their status by clothing. Present day affluence, improved techniques in the mass production and marketing of clothing and the influence of the mass media now mean that any attempt on the part of one section of the community to distinguish itself by its apparel can be quickly defeated if other people in the society also adopt the same fashion..."¹⁾

According to the Courtauld market research survey the differences of the average number of dresses owned by women in each class are as follows:

Table 10

Average Number of Dresses Owned by Women in Each Class

Upper and middle classes	11.2
Better-off working class	9.8
Upper working class	8.1
Lower working class	6.7

Source: Women's Outwear Market Research Report,
op.cit.

1) Johns, E.A., op.cit., p. 71.

Yet the number of dresses is hardly an indicator to either expenditure on dresses or fashion consciousness. The figure does not tell us anything about the rate of exchange of old clothes for new ones and the prices of each dress. Much more important are the data concerning the weekly expenditure on clothing in general and women's in particular. The available data are not organized on the basis of class affiliation but of income group, but assuming that there is an association between class and income it is possible to draw some conclusions from these figures with regard to class.

Table 11

Income and Expenditure on Clothing by Income of Household
(Shillings per week)

	Under £ 6	£ 6 but under £ 8	£ 8 but under £ 10	£ 10 but under £ 15	£ 15 but under £ 20	£ 20 but under £ 25	£ 25 but under £ 30	£ 30 but under £ 35	£ 35 but under £ 40	£ 40 but under £ 50	£ 50 but under £ 60	£ 60 or more	All house- holds
Women's outwear clothing	1.96	2.70	3.20	4.86	6.37	7.26	8.84	10.61	13.90	16.09	19.43	33.48	10.02
Men's outwear clothing	0.05	1.11	2.19	1.44	4.16	3.91	5.67	7.78	7.50	11.40	21.51	21.35	6.58
Total expenditure on clothing and footwear	6.13	10.63	14.11	18.0	28.89	33.26	40.83	47.70	53.77	63.04	81.13	110.51	41.16

Source: Family Expenditure Survey, 1967.

The above data show clearly that the family income is still a most important factor in determining the level of expenditure on clothing. This tendency is observable along the whole scale. The higher the income the higher the expenditure on clothing. If this tendency as reflected in 1967 data is characteristic it is reasonable to assume that the increase in affluence of the working class will indeed result in increased expenditure on clothing. This conclusion is also supported by the data about weekly expenditure on women's clothing of manual workers in the different income groups.

Table 12

Average weekly household expenditure (in shillings), on women's clothing by income of head of household, workers in manual occupations

<u>Under</u> <u>£15</u>	<u>£15</u> but under <u>£20</u>	<u>£20</u> but under <u>£25</u>	<u>£25</u> but under <u>£30</u>	<u>£30</u> but under <u>£35</u>	<u>£35</u> or <u>more</u>	<u>All</u> <u>house-</u> <u>holds</u>
2.73	3.74	5.52	7.32	9.00	17.48	8.66

Source: Taken from Family Expenditure Survey, 1967.

The tendency of the expenditure on clothing of the manual workers' households to rise with the rise of income is consistent and marked.

A similar tendency although less marked, is observable among other occupation groups. In two categories of occupation both usually regarded as middle class occupations, there is a similar tendency of the expenditure on clothing to increase with the increase in income. There is only one exception: the lowest income group in the 'middle class occupations'

tends to spend more on clothing than the second lowest one.

Table 13

Average weekly household expenditure (in shillings) on women's clothing,
by income of head of household, workers in professional, technical
administrative, managerial and teaching occupations

<u>£10</u> <u>and</u> <u>under</u> <u>£20</u>	<u>£20</u> <u>and</u> <u>under</u> <u>£25</u>	<u>£25</u> <u>and</u> <u>under</u> <u>£35</u>	<u>£35</u> <u>and</u> <u>under</u> <u>£50</u>	<u>£50</u> <u>or</u> <u>more</u>	<u>All</u> <u>house-</u> <u>holds</u>
9.59	7.08	10.69	16.30	24.84	15.54

Source: Taken from Family Expenditure Survey, 1967.

Table 14

Average weekly household expenditure (in shillings) on women's clothing,
by income of head of households, workers in clerical occupations

<u>£10</u> <u>and</u> <u>under</u> <u>£20</u>	<u>£20</u> <u>and</u> <u>under</u> <u>£25</u>	<u>£25</u> <u>and</u> <u>under</u> <u>£35</u>	<u>£35</u> <u>or</u> <u>more</u>	<u>All</u> <u>house-</u> <u>holds</u>
11.43	6.62	14.69	24.07	15.39

Source: Taken from Family Expenditure Survey, 1967.

The three tables show clearly the effect of income on the weekly expenditure of the household on clothing. Yet they also show that the effect of class cannot be ignored altogether. The households of middle

class occupations in all income groups tend to spend more on clothing than the manual workers' households. This tendency is also reflected in the expenditure of all the households of each occupational group. While the weekly expenditure of the low middle class occupational groups is about 15 shillings a week, the average expenditure of the manual workers occupational group is between 8-9 shillings a week. The effect of occupation is clearly less marked than the effect of income, but it is by no means negligible.

The effect of the rise of average weekly income in clothing expenditure is general and clothing expenditure on women's outer clothing in particular is also observable in data regarding the average expenditure for the periods 1962-1964, 1963-1965, 1964-1966, 1965-1967.

Table 15

Average weekly income and expenditure (in shillings)
for various year intervals

	<u>1962-64</u>	<u>1963-65</u>	<u>1964-66</u>	<u>1965-67</u>
Total average weekly income (in shillings) for the periods 1962-64, 1963-65, 1964-66, 1965-67	441.74	468.49	503.38	534.35
Average weekly expenditure on clothing (in shillings) for the year periods 1962-64, 1963-65, 1964-66, 1965-67	34.91	37.35	39.33	41.13
Average weekly expenditure on women's outer clothing (in shillings) for the year periods 1962-64, 1963-65, 1964-66, 1965-67	7.72	8.55	9.55	10.06

Source: Taken from Family Expenditure Survey, 1967.

The table shows clearly that there is a tendency for the expenditure on women's clothing to increase more rapidly than the average household income. This tendency is clearly reflected in the indexes of the average household income and average expenditure on clothing and women's out clothing. Table 16 shows the rates of increase based on period 1962-64, for each of the categories in table 15.

Table 16

Rates of increase in income, expenditure for clothing in general
and women's outer clothing

	<u>Household average income</u>	<u>Average household clothing expendi- ture</u>	<u>Average household expenditure on women's outwear</u>
1962-64	100.0	100.0	100.0
1963-65	106.0	106.9	110.7
1964-66	113.9	112.6	123.7
1965-67	120.9	117.8	137.3

Source: Taken from Family Expenditure Survey, 1967.

The indexes thus reflect a simultaneous increase of the average income, average weekly expenditure on clothing and average weekly expenditure on women's outer clothing in particular. Moreover, they also reflect the tendency mentioned above in this chapter¹⁾ for the expenditure on

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women's outer clothing to increase more rapidly than the expenditure on clothing in general. However, the above data are consistent with the proposition that expenditure on clothing is strongly associated with the level of income. An association between income and expenditure on clothing also has a bearing on the question of the effect of social class on clothing behaviour. Income is known to be correlated with class, the latter defined in terms of occupation. Thus, even if as some observers suggest, the meaning of social class as such with regard to spending habits tends to change, the pattern of spending continues to be related to class through the effect of the income factor. The effect of the income factor thus conditions the extent to which the dividing lines between classes can be blurred as a result of changes in working class style of life. Consequently a socio-cultural change which affects the working class consumers' tendency to buy more clothes ought to be regarded as a necessary but not sufficient condition for the change in their spending habits.

A much-discussed question among students of British society is to what extent, with the reduction of the income gap between the middle and the working classes, the gap between their style of life tends to narrow as well. Studies such as those of Young and Willmott, Goldthorpe and Lockwood and Zweig have suggested that the socio-economic changes deriving from working class affluence have indeed some socio-cultural consequences. Yet there are two different concepts regarding the sociological meanings of these changes. Willmott and Young's studies of family,

kinship and class in Bethnal Green and Woodford¹⁾ concluded that there is an inclination among a considerable number of the affluent workers to define themselves as middle class and to adopt middle class values. The Woodford study found that no less than 48% of the manual workers in their sample considered themselves as middle class. Moreover, there were only small differences in this respect between skilled workers on the one hand and semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers on the other. The Woodford enquiry also showed that the reasons for the working class members' claim to middle class status was their inclination to judge themselves on the basis of their pattern of spending, rather than on the way in which they earn their money. A similar view was expressed by M. Abrams²⁾ who pointed out on the basis of his statistical analysis that the traditionally accepted spending habits of working class were altering. The thesis about an alleged embourgeoisement of the British working class was summed up by F. Zweig who maintained that "large sections of the working class find themselves on the move towards new middle class values and middle class existence".³⁾ This thesis was challenged by J. Goldthorpe and David Lockwood, who suggested an alternative interpretation of the change in working class values. According to them, it is not the

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- 1) See: Young, M., and Willmott, P., Family and Kinship in East London, London, 1957; Young, M., and Willmott, P., Family and Class in London Suburbs, London, 1960.
 - 2) Speech at British Institute of Management Conference, Harrogate, as reported in The Times Weekly Review, 26 Nov., 1959.
 - 3) Zweig, F., op.cit.

embourgeoisement of the working class involving the acceptance of middle class values that has taken place but rather a certain change within the framework of working class attitudes. They argued that "The totality of this change may be best understood, we would suggest not as a movement towards but rather as a far-reaching adaptation and development of traditional working class way of life under greatly altered economic and physical conditions."¹⁾ In line with this approach, they discuss the 'privatised' working class man who is much more concerned with money and possessions than the traditional proletarian, and yet remains working-class in many aspects of his thought and behaviour. Moreover the "on going modification of the class frontier"²⁾ is not a result of a change in working class values only. Thus they recognize the possibility that the "social outlook of some sections of the middle class may represent a movement away from individualism which has been found characteristic of this class as a whole."³⁾ Concluding this analysis, Goldthorpe and Lockwood claim that the change in attitudes of the different social classes may be "in the nature of 'independent convergence' between the new working class and the new middle class, rather than merging of one into the other".⁴⁾ On the basis of this conclusion, they argue that "it is important that a focus of future research should be on the relationship

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- 1) Goldthorpe, J.P., Lockwood, P., "Affluence and the British Class", Sociological Review, 1963, p. 152.
 - 2) Ibid., p. 151.
 - 3) Ibid., p. 152.
 - 4) Ibid., p. 152.

between a working class and those specific middle class groups which appear socially least distant from it."¹⁾ It is noteworthy that both the embourgeoisement thesis and the "normative convergence" thesis agree on the fact that in certain spheres of behaviour there is indeed a tendency towards blurring of class lines between the manual and non-manual group, at least as far as patterns of consumption are concerned. This change is significant in itself, whether or not the style of life of the working and middle class respectively have been altered in other spheres as well. Moreover, looked upon from the narrow angle of our study, it is the change in spending habits in general and clothing expenditure in particular that counts. In this respect, it is significant that both statistical data and the interpretation of these data by sociologists and market researchers are consistent with the proposition that fashion tends to have a considerable effect on the spending habits of the consumer in the clothing market and in particular those of the young consumers.

1) Ibid., p. 151.

S u m m a r y

1. The spread of the influence of fashion can be expected to result in increased expenditure on clothing, but an increased expenditure on clothing does not necessarily reflect the impact of fashion.
2. Although the proportion of clothing expenditure to the total consumer expenditure has not changed much since the 50's, consumer expenditure on clothing at fixed prices has increased constantly, together with the increase in total expenditure.
3. The expenditure on women's outer clothing in the average family increased more rapidly than expenditure on clothing in general.
4. The 15-29 age group of consumers plays a bigger role in the clothing market than other age groups and their percentage of expenditure on clothing far exceeds their proportionate number in the population.
5. Social scientists who have studied the teenage spending habits have related them to the development of the new youth culture which is not class-oriented, although it is strongly influenced by working class aesthetics.
6. Working class affluence and mass production facilitate the development of new spending habits, including an increased expenditure on clothing.
7. Both income and occupation affect expenditure on clothing, but the effect of income is more marked.

8. The expenditure of the average household on clothing, in particular, increases with the rise of the average household income. The average expenditure on women's outer clothing increases more rapidly than the rise in the average household income.

9. Two different interpretations were suggested of the new spending habits associated with working class affluence, embourgeoisement and convergence. Both interpretations imply blurring of class differences in as much as patterns of expenditure, including expenditure on clothing, are concerned.

CHAPTER III

Fashion in the 60's - The Outlook of the Dress Designer

"His art is a business, but his business is art."¹⁾ Thus did the American sociologist C. Wright Mills describe the role of the designer in modern Mass Consumption Society.

In his statement about the dual orientation of the designer, Mills was dealing with the role of the designer in any kind of craft, but his definition is no doubt applicable to the particular case of the dress designer which can be regarded as typical.²⁾

Describing the role of the designer, C.W. Mills wrote also:

"There are, I suppose, three kinds of obsolescence: (1) Technological, as when something wears out or something better is produced; (2) artificial, as when something is deliberately designed so that it will wear out; and (3) status obsolescence, as when fashions are created in such ways that consumption brings disgrace or prestige in accordance with last year's or with this year's model, and alongside the old struggle for existence, there is added the panic for status. It is in this economic situation that the designer gets his 'main chance'. Whatever his aesthetic pretensions and his engineering ability his economic task is to sell. In this he joins

1) Mills, C.W., "The Man in the Middle", L. Horowitz (ed.), Power, Politics and People, p. 378.

2) Below the word 'designer' will be used instead of dress designer. In reference to our empirical study and the conclusions drawn from it, the term 'designer' will apply to an even more limited category: that of dress designer who specializes in women's clothing.

the advertising fraternity, the public relations counsellor and the market researcher. These types have developed their skills and pretensions in order to serve men whose God is the big sell. And now the designer joins them."¹⁾

This description of the role of the designer puts the emphasis on his service to the manufacturer during the process of distribution. Although Mills sees the designer as the "man in the middle", from Mills' point of view, he is essentially acting in a manner analogous to a one-way channel of communication. Thus his mode of operation is not different in principle from that of the advertising agent, for example.

Consequently, the manufacturer is regarded as the source of all changes and the role of the consumer is conceived as a rather passive one. In describing how the designer is conditioned by the process of distribution Mills wrote:

"The cultural workman himself, in particular the designer, tends to become part of the means of distribution, over which he tends to lose control. Having 'established a market' and monopolized access to it, the distributor - along with his market researcher - claims to 'know what they want'. So his orders - even to the freelancer - become more explicit and detailed. The price he offers may be quite high; perhaps too high, he comes to think, and perhaps he is right. So he begins to hire and to manage in varying degrees a stable of cultural workmen. Those who allow themselves to be managed by the mass

1) Mills, C.W., ibid., p. 379.

distributor are selected and in time formed in such a way as to be altogether proficient, but perhaps not quite first-rate. So the search goes on for 'fresh ideas', for exciting notions, for more alluring models; in brief for the innovator. But in the meantime, back at the studio, the laboratory, the research bureau, the writers' factory, the distributor is ascendent over many producers who become the rank and file workmen of commercially established culture apparatus."¹⁾

The key position of the designer with regard to the spread of fashion suggests that he may be a good source of information not only for his own role, but also for the process in which he participates. Of course, as a participant in this process, he is not an objective observer, but his own views and observations are still valuable even if they are biased. Moreover, the bias of the designer may have its own significance, and it affects his role in the process.²⁾

1) Mills, C.W., op.cit., p. 380.

2) Statistical and other objective data can provide only limited information about the clothing market and the role of fashion in this market. More detailed information can be obtained from the participants in the process of the spread of fashion itself. Designers, fashion journalists and consumers are at the same time actors who both play a role in the process and are observers of the process. Of course, their role as observers is affected by their role as participants. For example, the designer seeking commercial success has often to satisfy popular taste, which is not necessarily identical with his own. Yet in as much as the ideology of the occupation emphasizes the artistic values of the occupation, it seems likely

(Ftn. cont'd from previous p.)

that many designers would not easily admit that they prefer commercial success to originality. This kind of bias does not mean that the designers' and communicators' views and the information conveyed by them are valueless. They are worth studying for two reasons. (a) The prism through which designers and communicators view their own occupation, their clientele and the process of the spread of fashion affects their decisions. In spite of ideological biases and rationalization, the information conveyed by designers, fashion journalists and consumers cannot be expected to be entirely divorced from reality. In fact it is almost impossible to study a process of fashion behaviour without making use of this kind of information. The question is only how to minimize the effect of distortion caused by the inevitable discrepancy between reality and its perception of interested parties. This can be done by evaluating the information in the light of the conclusion drawn from an analysis of the bias of the information. Consequently, the study of the self-image of the designer and the communicator is relevant to the evaluation of his opinion about his clientele. Thus an analysis of the responses of the designer and fashion journalist to our questionnaires and interviews will aim at identifying the main issues involved in their self-image; (b) It is possible to infer from the answers sociologically meaningful information about the designers' and journalists' own behaviour, and their observations concerning fashion in general and the process of its spread in particular.

Thus a study of the designer's own views can be expected to provide valuable information, which might help us to answer the question of whether or not he consciously accepts the commercial motive as a guiding principle in his work. The designer is a less reliable source with regard to the objective characteristics of the fashion market. Since, in his position, he is associated both with the manufacturer and with the consumer, he can be treated in this respect as a well-informed although not completely reliable observer.

The views and observations of the dress designer in Britain were probed both in close-ended questionnaires and open-ended interviews.¹⁾ Both the questionnaires and the interviews focussed on the same aspects of the fashion market and of the designer's own view of his role in the process of the spread of fashion. The questions dealt with were: the self-image of the designer, his perception of his role, his reward expectations, his views about his position vis-a-vis the manufacturer on the one hand and the consumer on the other, and his impressions about the conduct of the other participants in the process by which fashion is spread, in particular the consumer.

The close-ended questionnaire was posted to outer clothing firms in Britain on the assumption that those firms in the ready-made women's clothing industry which employ dress designers would refer the questionnaire to them. These questionnaires were sent to 870 firms in the

1) See Appendices A and B

ready-made clothing industry all over England which are listed in the "Fabric and Clothing Trade Index 1964-1965". The firms were asked to refer the questionnaires to the designers employed by them. One hundred thirtyone designers answered the questionnaires; 310 firms could not be traced at the address registered in the index; 314 returned the questionnaires unfilled, most of them because they did not employ designers, some other firms were not a position to respond as they had been dissolved or amalgamated with other firms, or went through other changes after the list had been published. Only 12 flatly refused to answer the questionnaires.

In addition to this close-ended questionnaire 26 London top designers were interviewed in depth.¹⁾ The interviews were conducted on the basis of open questions covering the same topics as the close-ended ~~ended~~ questionnaire. Among the 26 designers interviewed were 3 of 11

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- 1) The term 'top designers' refers to: 1. Haute Couture dress designers, 2. ready-made dress designers who are known to specialize in designing high quality modes which are sold in small series. These designers included those who are responsible for the spread of the new British originated style known as the London Look. The seasonal fashion show of the "London Fashion House" and "Associated Fashion Designers of London" are looked upon as the source of inspiration for dress designers all over Britain.

London Haute Couture designers, 8 out of 10 members of the group known as London Fashion House, and 15 of the 17 members of the Associated Fashion Designers of London. The questions included in both questionnaires were divided into seven groups:

The first group focussed on the concept of fashion in general, its relation to class, nationality and age group, the effect of mass production on it and the reasons for changes in fashion.

The second group of questions dealt with the diffusion of fashion. These questions aimed at finding out what designers thought about the spread of fashion, and the factors which promote this spread.

The designers' opinion of their clientele was probed in the third group of questions. These questions had a double purpose: on the one hand they aimed at gathering information about the consumer and the Haute Couture client as seen from the viewpoint of the designer. On the other hand some of the questions were intended to find out which group of clients or consumers the designers had in mind when they designed their models.

The fourth group of questions aimed at tracing the influences which have an impact on the designer's work. Designers were asked where they got their ideas from, whether they were affected by other designers and whether they attended fashion shows.

The self-image of the designer was the subject of the fifth group of questions. Some of the questions in this group dealt with the image of the designer's occupation, and whether it was conceived as an art or

craft. The designers were also asked to state whether they preferred to take into consideration "functional values", aesthetic values or cost when designing; and whether they felt that they had a style of their own. Another question referred to the designer's view about the differences between designers of the Haute Couture and the designers of ready made clothes.

The sixth group of questions focussed on the process of designing new models. The designers were asked whether they worked on their own or with a group, and to what extent their work was conditioned by technological factors such as the materials, their colours and the accessories required for the garments.

The last group of questions concerned the balance of reward of the designer, and his reasons for choosing designing as a career.

The Self-Image of the Dress Designer

The examination of the empirical data was based on the assumption that while the interviews in depth of 'top designers' provide more insight into the way in which the dress designers conceived their role, the prevailing attitude of the members of the occupation can be better inferred from the responses to the close-ended questionnaire. Thus we preferred to tackle the answers to the close-ended questionnaires first and on the basis of analysis of the answers to proceed with the examination of the more elaborate responses to the top designers to the open-ended questions put to them.

Of the various groups of questions included in the close-ended questionnaire, those dealing with the self-image of the designers were most indicative as to the position of the designer in the process of formation and spread of fashion. One of the questions put to the designers in the close-ended questionnaire was: What are the most important qualities a designer needs? The designers were asked to state their first, second and third preference in a list of suggested qualities. The distribution of the answers was as follows:

Table 17

Distribution in order of preference of designers' responses to the question: "What are the most important qualities a designer needs?"

<u>Qualities suggested</u>	<u>Responses by preference</u>		
	<u>Nos.</u>		
	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
Originality	23	12	11
Creativity	42	24	12
Taste	24	21	19
Technical ability	14	35	21
Ability to adjust to mass market	14	16	22
Ability at public relations	2	1	3
Courage	8	3	8
Luck	3	6	15
No answer	1	13	20
T o t a l responses	131	131	131

It is clear from the answers as to first preferences that the largest concentration of responses relate to "artistic" qualities of originality, creativity and taste.

Indeed, taken together, these first preferences represent the responses of the overwhelming majority (89 out of 131) of the designers who answered the question. Only 14 of them put the emphasis on "ability to adjust the model to the mass market", and only few, in fact only 2, mentioned "ability at public relations".

As to the second preference, the responses show a shift towards an emphasis on technical ability, 35 out 131 or the largest single concentration of second preferences. The "ability to adjust to the mass market" and the "ability at public relations", which together may be taken to represent the "market approach", constitute only 16 out of a total of 131 first preference responses, 17 second preference and 25 third preference.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that in the first preference most designers clearly tend to emphasize the three artistic qualities (originality, creativity and taste). On the second and third preference there is a stronger emphasis on craftsmanship and market orientation.

The dilemma is also reflected in the answers of the 'top designers'. When asked in the interviews "What are the most important qualities of a successful designer?", the answers in general reflected the "dual

orientation"¹⁾ of the designers, and almost all answers referred to more than one quality. Typical answers of this kind were: "Natural ability, coupled with experience of understanding their commercial market", "Combination of ability to produce and to gain public recognition", "Being creative, know how to cut, to sew and be practical".

The exception to this rule were a few designers who mentioned only one quality which in all cases reflected market orientation: "Practicability", "adaptability", and "knowledge of what is selling".

It seems therefore that although there is little difference between the two groups of designers as regards adaptability to the market, paradoxically the 'top designers' were those who appeared to attach slightly more importance to market orientation. But this difference may be rooted in the difference between open-ended and close-ended questions, which enabled most of the 'top designers' to avoid the dilemma of which of the qualities mentioned by them was considered by them to be more important.

The question whether the designers conceived their occupation as an art or craft was also asked in the close-ended questions in a more direct way. The distribution of responses to the question "Do you look at your occupation as an art or craft?" was as follows:

1) See p. 89.

Table 18

Distribution of designers' responses to the question:
"Do you look on your occupation as an art or craft?"

<u>Suggested nature of occupation</u>	<u>Responses Nos.</u>
Art	23
Craft	22
Both	79
No answer	7
<u>T o t a l</u>	<u>131</u>

It is clear that the possibility of giving the answer 'both' enabled most of the designers to avoid the dilemma involved in formulating an unequivocal answer to the question asked. Consequently it is difficult to interpret in a meaningful way the fact that of the designers who did not make use of the possibility to answer 'both', about half regarded their occupation as an art, while the other half preferred to regard it as a craft.

The same question was also included in the interviews with the 'top designers', and most of them tended to respond by giving answers such as: "A bit of both", "a mixture", etc. But there was one noteworthy difference between them and the designers who answered the closed-ended questionnaire. There were many more of the 'top designers' who referred to their occupation as a 'craft' than those who referred to it

as an 'art'. In fact, all the answers could be classified either in the category of "both" or in that of 'craft'. Only one 'top designer' asserted in an unequivocal way that he regarded his occupation as an art. Some of the explanations given by the top designers interviewed are also worth mentioning, as they cast light on the attitudes behind the answers.

"Both - it's a craft in that you must have the know-how; but essentially it is an art - people who design well are artists - they are creative at this when they could have been creative at something else. I would have liked to be a portrait painter - but it's commercialized now". Another designer who regarded the occupation as aboth an art and a craft said: "In colours and theme - art. Putting it together so that it matters, all sorts of figures and shapes - that's craft". Another typical answer was: "A craft, well, the designing is an art, but somewhere along the line it becomes a craft. I am a businessman!"

The designers' image of their occupation is not necessarily identical with their views regarding the criteria by which a successful designer is recognized.

The difference between the two was demonstrated in the responses to the question of who was the successful designer.

Table 19
The Successful Designer

<u>Suggested criteria of the successful designer</u>	<u>Responses Nos.</u>
Artistic success	12
Public recognition	21
Commercial success	91
No answer	7
T o t a l	<u>131</u>

In answering the question less than 10% of the designers regarded the artistic designer as the successful one. More designers accepted the test of public recognition as a criterion for success in the occupation. But it is clear that in the view of the great majority of designers polled, the most important criterion is "commercial" success. No less than 91 out of 131 designers equated success in general with commercial success.

The view expressed by the top designers in the open-ended questionnaires reflected a similar tendency. Most of the answers reflected the opinion that success is measured in "public recognition - in terms of press, publicity and of course sales". "Natural ability" was mentioned in several answers, but so were "experience", "luck", "adaptability to conditions". It was thus clear that the respondents had no doubts in their minds that the meaning of success of a designer is "how well his collection sells, and the difference of opinion here is only about which of the qualities increased sales". Most of the designers interviewed had

a clear view that the successful designer is "not designing for himself but for the people who will buy". Thus when asked about what makes a designer unsuccessful one answer was: "Trying to be too arty". Another designer added: "The Royal College of Art produce designers every year, but they have no idea how to make clothes". The same designer summed up the prevailing view of the respondents when he said: "At present you can't be a success until you are practical".

There is an apparent discrepancy between the designers' assessment of their situation as reflected in the question about the successful designer on the one hand, and their own view about the desirable nature of the occupation on the other hand. The responses to the question: "What are the most important qualities a designer needs?" appear to reflect the ideology of the occupation which emphasized the "artistic" values such as originality and creativity. But at the same time the designers are aware of the fact that it is commercial success rather than individual creativity that determines the status and reputation of the designer. Since the origin of the designer's occupation is rooted in the "elitist" orientation of Haute Couture, most designers prefer to retain the "artistic" self-image which characterizes the close circle of Haute Couture designers.

Yet this self-image is not identical with the designers' perception of the reality of the mass market dominated by the "commercial" approach. Thus many designers prefer to express their own attitudes in ideological terms, while adopting a different approach when their attention is focussed on the realities of the market. In other words, they

would like to think that although the commercialized designer is more likely to succeed, they themselves are not "prostituting" their work by sacrificing artistic values.

The impact of the ideology of the occupation is reflected also in answers to the question: "Do you think you have a style of your own?" In answering this question, most designers claimed to have a style of their own and thus in fact expressed their belief in the value of individual creativity inherent in the ideology of the occupation.

Table 20

Distribution of responses to the question
about originality of designers' own style

<u>Claim of originality</u>	<u>Responses Nos.</u>
Having a style of his own	93
Does not have a style of his own	32
No answer	6
T o t a l	<u>131</u>

The emphasis on individual creativity does not necessarily imply a preference for it. It appears that when asked, "Personally would you prefer to design for a limited selected group, or for a mass market?", many designers, in fact, the majority of them, preferred to design for the mass market rather than for a limited selected group.

Table 21

Distribution of responses to the question
about designers' market orientation

<u>Preferences</u>	<u>Responses</u> <u>Nos.</u>
Mass market orientation	68
Selected group orientation	62
No answer	<u>1</u>
T o t a l	131

When asked to explain their preferences, designers who preferred to work for the mass market expressed their view that: "It gives a more interesting variety of work", or "More scope for designing", and even that "Mass market designing is far more creative". Similar answers were given also by those who preferred to design for a selected group, but the emphasis was rather more on the possibility to express "originality in design" and to produce "unusual designs" and even "ultra fashions".¹⁾

The designers who explained their preferences using economic arguments also belonged to one of the two categories, namely those who prefer to design for mass production, and those who preferred to design for

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- 1) The question about the preference of the designer was followed by a supplementary question in which the designers were asked to give their reasons for their preference. The arguments cited above were selected from the responses to this supplementary question.

a selected group. While one designer preferred to design for the mass market because: "Income and profit are there", another expressed the view that designing for a selected group "pays better". There were also those who preferred to design for the mass market because there is more satisfaction in "seeing masses of your design in production", or "you feel a better sense of achievement to know that 100% of women are wearing your design", or even "I want every woman to have a chance to dress well".

These answers can also be interpreted as reflecting an awareness that Haute Couture was declining as a major source of new styles and designs.¹⁾

It is impossible to know to what extent the designers' statements were genuine expressions of their intentions, and to what extent they were no more than rationalization. It seems that designers who expressed preferences for designing for the mass market did not think that they were severely restricted by either the market condition or the demands of the manufacturer. They appeared to believe that even when designing for the mass market it was possible for them to maintain at least some degree of what they regarded as "creativity". The view that designing for the mass market is not profoundly different from designing for Haute Couture is not shared by the top designers, which includes Haute Couture designers.

1) This assumption about the decline of the Haute Couture is supported by the objective evidence. When our research started in 1964, there were 11 Haute Couture houses in Britain; three years later there were only three of them.

The group of 'top designers' who were interviewed in depth were inclined to emphasize and over-emphasize the difference between themselves and designers for the mass market. Answers such as "Haute Couture is still really an art, ready-made clothes more of a craft", were typical of most of them. They claimed that "Haute Couture is more creative than mass production", that "the wholesale designer is more hampered", that "the couturier has no price limit and can do whatever he wants", and even that some of them are "very artistic and what they do is comparable with any painter". Only a few of those in this category of designers did not demonstrate this kind of status consciousness, and did not claim that the Haute Couture designer is in a way superior to the read-made clothes industry's one. One Haute Couture designer who claimed that there doesn't need to be any difference between the two added: "I do both". Another even maintained that the ready-made designers have the "advantage of being practical".

The views expressed in these interviews, like the answers to the questionnaires, do not provide conclusive evidence about the position of the designer in relation to the manufacturer, on the one hand, and the consumer, on the other.

The limitation deriving from the economic conditioning of the designer's work was emphasized by only a few designers, in particular by the Haute Couture ones when commenting on the ready-made designers. Most of the mass production designers emphasized the opportunities provided by the market rather than the limitations imposed on them by its demands, and continued to regard their work as creative and their role

as active rather than passive. On the whole, most answers presented a rather balanced image of a designer who has to take into consideration the commercial aspect of his trade, but still manages to possess a strong sense of craftsmanship.

The Dress Designer and his Clientele

The designer's commercial success depends on his ability to receive and interpret "messages" which indicate the aspiration of the consumer, and to reconcile them with other messages expressing the commercial outlook of the manufacturer. Looked at from this viewpoint, the role of the designer is active; it involves processes of selection and decision-making which in matters of style are considered creative.

As we have seen above, most designers thought that the success of the designer is measured by his commercial success, that is to say, that such success is dependent on the response of the clientele to the work of the designer. Thus a high premium is put on the success of the designer in anticipating this response. A designer whose designs fulfil the expectations of the clientele is likely to have a commercial success and consequently be considered a successful designer by his colleagues. It is not realistic to assume that the taste of the designer will always be identical with that of his clientele. Moreover, it is not likely that a designer who is bound to seek commercial success only will always be in a position to design for the group which he regards as his ideal clientele. On the basis of these premises, a realistic outlook on the part of the designer can be expected to produce a discrepancy between the distribution of

answers to the two questions: "When you design a garment who are you mainly designing for?", and "If you were in a position to design clothes for whoever you wanted to, whom would you design for?" Yet when these two different questions were put to the designers who answered the close-ended questionnaire, the distributions of the answers to the two questions were rather similar. The answers to the two questions were as follows (some designers mentioned more than one category).

Table 22

Designers' orientation as to their intended and ideal clientele

<u>Clientele</u>	<u>Intended Responses Nos.</u>	<u>Ideal Responses Nos.</u>
Miss Average	19	18
Every woman	20	12
Teenagers	24	21
Younger women	21	27
Middle-aged women	14	8
The modern fashionable woman	38	42
Women with good taste	29	38
Wealthy women	5	0
Others	0	0
T o t a l	170	166
Did not answer	10	6

n = 131

The belief on the part of the designer that the intended consumers are identical with the ideal consumers can be attributed either to a disregard of the intended clientele or to a rationalization by means of which aspirations are modified to suit the limitations of reality.

The most popular answers to both of the questions mentioned above were: "The modern fashionable woman" and "Women with good taste". Much less popular were the categories which avoided the evaluation of the clientele's approach to fashion, such as "Miss Average", or "Everywoman". Age categories such as "teenagers" and "younger women" were more popular than categories such as "Everywoman" and "Miss Average", but far less popular than ideologically loaded categories such as "The modern fashionable woman" and "Women with good taste".

Two rather small differences between the answers to the two questions are noteworthy. The category "Everywoman" was mentioned by 20 designers in the answer to the first question, against only 12 in answer to the second question. This difference might indicate a "realistic" outlook on the part of some designers. The second small difference concerns age category. It emerges from the answer to the second question that designers prefer to design for younger women, rather than for teenagers. But when commenting on the intended clientele, more designers mentioned "teenagers" than "younger women".

Designers were also asked to explain the reasons for designing and wanting to design for the particular groups mentioned by them.

Table 23

Distribution of reasons for designers' orientation
to their intended clientele

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Responses Nos.</u>
Because they like changes	40
Because they have better taste	30
Because they have a flair for fashion	42
Because they are "with it"	20
Because they have better figures	7
Because it is easier to produce	19
Because it is the firm's policy	89
Because of a wider market	5
T o t a l	<u>252</u>
Did not answer	10

n = 131

The responses to the designers show that they accept the fact that the policy of the firm conditions their work, at least with regard to the particular group for whom they are designing. This particular group may be identical with the desired group, but it is likely that in many cases there will be a discrepancy between the desired and the intended group. Yet, the fact that many designers maintained that they were designing for a particular group "because they like change", or

"because they have better taste", or "because they have a flair for fashion", or "because they are 'with it'", indicate that many designers who answered the questionnaire thought that the group they were designing for in accordance with the firm's policy was not imposed on them against their will, and that they had other good reasons to design for this group beside the "firm's policy".

The fact that the designers who realized that they had to follow the firm's policy still added other reasons for designing for a particular group, may be interpreted in two different ways: One possible interpretation is that the additional reasons represent rationalization. The other interpretation is that the firm's policy in this respect coincides with their desires. It is impossible on the basis of our data to decide which of these two interpretations is the more appropriate.

The answers to the question regarding the reasons for wanting to design for a particular group are of little help in this respect. As the question about the firm's policy concerns the existing situation, and not the desired one, the category of the "firm's policy" was omitted from the alternatives offered to the designers when they were asked "Why they want to design for a particular group". Consequently the distribution of the answers to the two questions are not comparable. In addition to this, 23 designers did not give any reasons for wanting to design for a particular group, as against 10 who did not give reasons for designing for the intended group.

Table 24

Distribution of reasons for designers' orientation
to their ideal clientele

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>Responses Nos.</u>
Because they like changes	18
Because they have better taste	32
Because they have a flair for fashion	45
Because they are "with it"	9
Because they have better figures	8
Because it is easier to produce	7
Because they have more money	6
T o t a l	125
Did not answer	23
n = 131	

The reference to the questions about the group for which the designer's work is oriented, thus proved to be of a limited value only. They did not project much light on the designer's perception of his clientele.

It appears that due to the limitations of the close-ended questionnaire, the responses to the above mentioned two questions produced rather poor results from the viewpoint of our research.

A much clearer picture of the designer's perception of his clientele emerges from the interviews in depth with the 'top designers', both in the ready-made clothes industry and Haute Couture. Some of the answers to the question of the interviews were detailed enough to enable us to understand the attitudes of the 'top designers' toward their customers or consumers. Nevertheless, there is no single exclusive pattern which could be labelled as the "designer's outlook". In fact there were considerable variations in the perception of the 'top designers' of their clientele, as reflected in the responses to the questions put to them.

Most of the 'top designers' interviewed were aware of the necessity of finding some kind of mean between their own desire to express creativity and the demand of the market; but there were clear differences in emphasis between the different designers. When asked "When you design a garment who are you designing for?", some designers answered simply "The customer", while others claimed that "Designers always design for themselves, unconsciously, if not consciously". There were also such answers as "The average woman in the street", the "Average English woman", and "Anyone who likes our stuff". One of the designers whose first reaction was to answer simply "the customer", qualified this answer when he went on to explain his attitude. He said: "Depends what section you are designing for; if Couture, one knows what kind of life these people live. It is hard work designing something for someone who doesn't want to be bored by it by Christmas. You can make a marvellous model, but you must think if you can make it to their satisfaction. But you can't think entirely of the customer; the vendor wants the fashion of two years ago". Moving in the

opposite direction was another designer who started by claiming "Designers always design for themselves consciously and unconsciously", and then while talking became aware of the existence of the consumer and said: "But here it is difficult to design for myself because Britain has a certain image for the foreign buyer - we have many - it is a very British image - never mind if British clothes aren't what the typical Briton wears, the foreign buyer thinks they are - and for the English it's quality, through and through". Some statements were more extreme. On the one end of the continuum were answers such as "For the market, for the consumers, we know what would sell". While on the other end were answers such as "I design for the tall, beautiful woman, for myself and for my pleasure".

Some designers tend to project their dilemma and the compromise at which they arrive on to the consumer. To this category belong designers who claimed to design for "A particular mentality, a group that follows us", or for "People who understand clothes". A more detailed illustration of this category is represented by the following answer which is a typical example of the manner in which some designers conceive the image of their clientele, and reflects their own state of mind: "We are a company designing for a woman who is aware of fashion but doesn't dictate fashion, a woman who will select what is suitable for her life, for the mature woman, and the woman who thinks about her clothes in advance. Our clothes are not for the impulsive buyer, they are very selective and rather conservative, of good quality, between 8-15 gns., classic, chic, very adaptable". It appears as if such^a designer almost identifies

the ideal fashionable woman with the woman who buys his product; and a designer working on the basis of such assumptions would probably attempt to impose his own taste on the consumer, rather than respond to the demands of the market. Yet he is fully aware of the fact that he has to work for a particular clientele. It is also reasonable to assume that this clientele really exists, although it does not necessarily possess the idealized qualities attributed to it by the designer. This answer is a good example of the way in which ideological attitudes and commercial considerations intermingle with each other in the mind of the designer.

A less ideological view about the manner in which the designer's intentions and the consumer's demand can be reconciled was expressed by the designer who said: "They come back because they like my particular style. I can't force them to buy what they don't like, but on the other hand designers, like artists, don't create masterpieces all the time; the designer sometimes thinks that he has created something of extreme beauty, and the customers don't like it. On the other hand, sometimes he thinks it will be a failure and it is a success; usually masterpieces are failures". The feeling on the part of the designers that in order to succeed in their occupation they must find some kind of modus vivendi between their artistic aspirations and creativity on the one hand and the demands of their clientele on the other, may be vaguely expressed, but it represents the real dual role of the designer, who is both a creative craftsman and an interpreter of the public mood.

This attempt to reconcile the two elements is also expressed in the responses of the designers to the question about what their clientele are looking for when buying a new garment. In answering this question

the designers were asked to refer to three alternatives in an order of priority.

Table 25
Designers' views on their clientele's considerations
when buying new garments

<u>Considerations</u>	<u>Responses by preferences</u>		
	<u>Nos.</u>		
	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
Quality	18	22	29
Simplicity	4	2	6
Good cut	9	20	16
Good value for money	22	36	24
Interesting design	13	12	14
Fashionable design	41	14	10
Something different from what they have	18	15	12
Clothes not affected by fashion	1	1	4
No answer	5	9	16
T o t a l responses	<u>131</u>	<u>131</u>	<u>131</u>

The distribution of the answers in the first priority reflected a tendency to refer to alternatives which are associated with the desire to be in fashion. No less than 72 out of 126 stated that the first preference of their clientele is "fashionable design", "something different to what they had before", or "interesting design", while only smaller numbers

referred to the economic considerations such as "good value for money". The picture changes in the distribution of answers in the second preference. Here there is a considerable increase in the mentions of the economic considerations, in particular "good value for money", or "quality of the garment". A similar tendency although less emphasized is reflected also in the third priority. It is also noteworthy that some designers who mentioned the first priority did not refer to second and third priorities. And thus the number of those who did not answer is only 5 in the first priority, as against 16 in the third priority.

The answers in general can be interpreted as conveying the view of the designers that the consumers are affected both by the desire to be fashionable and by economic considerations, with a tendency towards a slightly stronger emphasis on fashion aspirations in the first priority. The attribution of the desire to be fashionable to the consumer is related to the role of the designer as a creator of new designs, while the references to the economic considerations of the clientele requires an adaptation to commercial considerations from the designer. In this respect the answers to the question "What do you think your clientele are looking for while buying a new garment?" can be interpreted as related to the "dual orientation" of the designer.

The open-ended questions put to the 'top designers' also reflect the dual orientation of the designers. There was confusion among the designers between their views about what the clientele are looking for and their concept of the ideal clientele. "I would love them to look for something new and exciting and different and forget that it must be

safe", "I prefer a person to be openminded - fashion consciousness of a person must come out when they see a collection, like short skirts are now generally accepted", said another. On the other hand there were those who applied to what they thought to be the real clientele. Among them were those who responded in answers such as: "Good value for money", or even describe the actual clientele as "people who just don't want anything way out or modern".

This dual orientation of the dress designer is associated with the question of the nature of the occupation. In our references to the designers as a group we preferred to call them an occupation, but they themselves regard themselves as a profession. "Our profession is an honourable one and we must maintain a high standard", says the first clause in the code of ethics of the "London Association of Clothes Designers and Production Managers".¹⁾ The self-image of the dress designer as that of members of a "creative occupation" has many elements in common with that of the members of the liberal professions. Yet they lack at least one important attribute of a profession, notably the ability to monopolize the entry into the occupation. There are schools of dress designers who issue diplomas to their graduates, there is also a formal association of dress designers. But there is no way of preventing the appearance of non-qualified designers, and of preventing those who are not members of the association from entering the profession. Moreover, some of the

1) Code of Ethics of London Association of Clothes Designers and Production Managers, London, 1939, see appendix C.

more successful designers, those of Haute Couture in particular, are not members of the association.¹⁾

Another clause worth mentioning in the "code of ethics" of the clothes designers and production managers concerns their relationship with the employers: "In our relations with our employers, we must manifest an interest in the business equal to their own, showing a spirit of co-operation with the success of the business as our sole aim".²⁾

This clause reflects an unequivocal preference for the commercial orientation over the creative or artistic orientation. The attitudes expressed in the clause are by no means balanced by another clause that says: "We must keep ourselves well informed, maintain an active and open mind towards new and progressive ideas, and serve the best interests of all by a willing exchange of ideas and suggestions, thus further advancing and developing the clothing industry".³⁾ The demands made on the designers to keep themselves "well informed" and "maintain an active and open mind to progressive ideas" appears to reflect the designers' aspiration to the status of a profession. That is to say, a "profession" in the sense that it is used by sociologists, who maintain that the role of the professional involves mediation between a body of knowledge and the

1) For example: None of the 'top designers' interviewed for this study appears in the list of the members of the association.

2) Code of Ethics, (clause 6).

3) Code of Ethics, (clause 3).

wider public.¹⁾ Yet the dress designer can hardly compare the body of knowledge possessed by him to that of a member of a liberal profession. According to the sociological theories about professions, a physician or a lawyer for example, has the advantage of being in an authoritative position in relation to his patient or client, because he can apply knowledge which the client himself does not possess. He is expected to exercise his skill on behalf of his client to the best of his ability, but without the client himself being able to intervene and to influence the way in which he carries out these tasks. In the exchange between him and the client, the latter provides only the fee, while the full responsibility for decision-making with regard to the tasks involved is supposed to lie with the professional man.

This theory cannot be applied without modifications to the relationship which exists between the "creative professional" and his clientele. The "creative professional" deals with matters of taste rather than knowledge. His craftsmanship involves, in addition to technical skills, sensitivity to the response of the clientele in relation to the service he offers it. The process of exchange between him and the client involves more than an exchange of money for know-how, or for knowledge, or even for good taste. The product, whether commodity or service, of the "creative professional" has to be modified in view of the values

1) See: Carr Saunders, A.M., Wilson, P., The Professions, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1933; Vollmer, H.M., Mill., C.P., Professionalization, New Jersey, 1966; Parsons, T., The Social System, Tavistock Publications, London, 1952.

attached to it by the client, and these values are subjected to changes in the socio-cultural environment, as well as to the impact of other professionals in the field. Thus the contribution of the clientele to the profession is not confined to money or even to money and prestige, but includes also "taste" which supposedly is the expertise of the professional. This theory appears to fit the case of the fashion designer in particular and might explain the variety of rather confused and inconsistent expressions of attitudes on the part of designers towards their own professional role.

Most of the statements of attitudes on the part of designers included three elements which together are compatible with the theory outlined above. (a) An emphasis on the role of their own creativity in the process of their work. (b) The acceptance of the expected response of the clientele as a consideration which modifies their own preference in matters of taste. (c) The realisation that the ability to reconcile the designer's own "artistic" sense with the limitations imposed on it by the client will be tested in the market. These characteristics of the designer's role apply to Haute Couture as well as to those who work for the ready-made industry, but the latter have to take into consideration the existence of the manufacturer, who is also an indirect participant in the process of fashion designing.

The demand made by the designers' code of ethics - that of manifesting an interest in the business equal to that of the employer - reflects an image of the employer as an embodiment of the interest in the success of the business. In this respect, the employer is not

conceived as having a personal independent view, but as representing the commercial orientation as such. In a way, the employer can be looked upon as the channel by which the economic limitations associated with the market situation are conveyed to the designer. In the case of the Haute Couture designer, on the other hand, the awareness on the part of the designer of the manufacturer's demand is replaced by direct economic dependence on the client.

The designer in the ready-made clothes industry and the Haute Couture designer also differ from each other as regards the kind of sensitivity, that enables them to respond to the demands of their market. In the case of the Haute Couture designer, his market consists of individual clients and the relationship between him and the client is in many cases particularistic. Moreover, the emphasis is on the individuality of each client, including his idiosyncratic demands. The mass-market designer, on the other hand, has to respond to a "climate of opinion", "Zeitgeist", rather than to the personal demand; his relationship with the consumer, in his case, is no more than an abstraction, and is more universalistic. The designer here aims at satisfying some ideal type of a certain category of consumer or even in some cases the "average consumer" in general. Consequently, he is oriented toward the common denominator of his potential clientele, i.e. of those who conform to a general trend, rather than of those who emphasize their individuality.

Designers' Views on Fashion

The designer's self image as a member of an occupation is bound to be connected with his views about the function of his occupation, i.e. the creation of fashion. A relevant question in this respect is the question as to the extent to which designers regard changes in fashion as stimulated by members of their occupation.

Table 26

Designers' explanations for changes in fashion

<u>Sources of Change</u>	<u>Responses Nos.</u>
Society is changing	35
Women get bored with their clothes	33
Women have more money to spend on clothes	24
Industry demands changes	19
Designers stimulate changes	59
Mass media stimulate changes	32
T o t a l	202
Did not answer	6

The designers' explanation of changes in fashion show that the explanation according to which designers stimulate changes was mentioned 59 times. The mass media were mentioned 32 times, while the view that industry demands changes was mentioned only 19 times. The view that

changes in fashion occur in response to demands from the consumer or society was also rather popular among the respondents. "Society is changing" was mentioned 35 times, and 33 references were made to women who get bored with their old clothes and 24 to the fact that women have more money to spend. In general, it appeared that designers were inclined to see changes in fashion as an outcome of an interaction between demands on the part of the clientele and initiative on that of the designers and communicators, while only a few designers consider promotion by the manufacturer as an essential source of changes in fashion.

The considerations which lies behind the answers of the fashion designers to the question regarding changes in fashion can be inferred in part from the answers of the 'top designers' to the same question in the open-ended questionnaire put to them. Those who put the emphasis on consumers as the main source of change, tended to attribute it to boredom, which leads women to demand change. "Boredom would set in if it didn't", was one answer; "Females like changes", was another; "Women like change to attract attention", "Women get fed up with what they have and want something different", "People always want something new - fashion evolves - you can have a fabulous look but not for ever - you've got to move on", or the same idea in other words: "If you have a thing for long enough you can't stand it any longer". This emphasis on change clearly associated change in fashion with women's need for entertainment, and change is conceived as a form of entertainment.

"Life would be boring if we had no change", or even more explicitly, "Like women, fashion is fickle". The attribution of changes in

fashion to women's desire for change was the most popular answer in all open-ended questions, but there were also quite a few designers who maintained that changes in fashion reflect social changes. "It's evolution - it's interwoven with life - you have to accept it", "This is where the sociological aspect comes in", were typical expressions of that view. A more elaborate answer belongs to the same category, that of the designer who observed: "Fashion is changing today more rapidly because women are going out to work and they need different clothes, they can't buy padded dresses". There were also a few who attributed changes either to the need of the industry or of the mass media. One even claimed that changes are made "much more by the press than by the designers". But most typical was the fact that only one respondent referred to the designer's need for self-expression as a source of change.

It appears that the 'top designers' interviewed in depth were inclined to see their work as a response to a need generated either by women's desire for change or by social factors, rather than as an independent expression of their creativity.

Another question put to the designers concerned the manner in which fashion is spread. The designers were asked to say what in their opinion is the most important factor in spreading fashion. Although the question referred to the most important factor, some of the designers nevertheless mentioned more than one factor and thus the number of answers received did not correspond to the number of respondents. Nevertheless, the distribution of answers is not meaningless.

Table 27

Designers' views about the most important factor
in spreading fashion

<u>Factors</u>	<u>Responses</u> <u>Nos.</u>
Cinema	3
Television	17
Fashion magazines and press	74
Teenagers	58
Television idols	14
People with good taste	13
Mass media in general	3
T o t a l	182
Did not answer	2
n = 131	

It is clear from the answers that the designers attached more importance to the influence of the press than to all other channels of the mass media. Fashion magazines were mentioned 74 times while all other channels of the mass media only 36 times. The categories of "teenagers" and "people with good taste" are of a different kind since they referred to opinion leaders rather than to mass media. The answers show clearly that in this category teenagers and pop idols are thought by the respondents to be the most influential. There is no necessary contradiction between the role played by the mass media and

that played by the opinion leaders, and this is perhaps the reason why some of the respondents preferred to mention more than one factor.

The emphasis on the importance of the mass media in general, and the press in particular, is even more strongly emphasized in the answers of 'top designers' to the open-ended questionnaire. In their interviews, the 'top designers' were asked three different questions regarding the spread of fashion: "How would you say fashion is diffused?", "What do you think is the most important factor in spreading fashion?", and "What part do you think the mass media play in spreading fashion?"

The answers to these questions were almost identical. Some of them mentioned mass media in general in the answers to the first two questions, others were more particular, and emphasized the role of the press. Only a few referred to television, and even fewer mentioned opinion leaders. Those who referred to the press were the most categorical in their answers. Typical in this respect were repeated short answers such as "The press", "magazines", or even an answer such as "entirely by the press".

The general mood expressed in the answers is illustrated in the answer of one of the designers who said in response to the question regarding the role of the mass media, "I can't imagine fashion without mass media, T.V. has no great importance such as the press, but perhaps has an influence on the young, the teenagers - the Avengers".¹⁾

1) "The Avengers" was a popular T.V. series in the early and mid-60's.

Several questions put to the designers dealt with the impact of different criteria of social differentiation on fashion. Two groups of questions were focussed on this subject. In the first group of questions the designers were asked to express their view on whether there was different fashion for different classes and different age groups. Another set of questions concerned the effect of "economic position", "social class", "being young" and "being fashionably dressed".

Most designers tended to think that there is a different fashion for different classes and different age groups. But while with regard to age groups there were only 3 out of 131 who answered "no", such a negative answer was given by no less than 34 designers with regard to class.

Table 28

Designers' views about different fashions

<u>Fashions</u>	<u>Responses Nos.</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No answer</u>	
Class fashion	94	34	3	131
Age group fashion	127	3	1	131

Although most designers thought that there is a class fashion and that there is a different fashion for the young, the majority of them

saw no necessary connection between "economic position", "social class" and "being fashionably dressed".

Table 29

Designers' views about the connection between social characteristics
and being fashionably dressed

<u>Social characteristics</u>	<u>There is a connection</u>	<u>No connection</u>	<u>No answer</u>	<u>Total</u>
Economic position	50	78	3	131
Social class	57	68	6	131
Young	57	70	4	131

Although there is no necessary logical contradiction between the view that there are different kinds of fashion for different social groups and that there is no connection between group affiliation and being fashionably dressed, the responses to the two sets of questions may be interpreted as reflecting a degree of confusion, in particular with regard to the question of association between class and fashion. Perhaps what may seem to be the reflection of a discrepancy between the two sets of responses can be interpreted as an expression of a view that although there are typical patterns of fashion associated with different social groups, not all women necessarily follow the pattern of their own group.

This interpretation is in part supported by answers to open-ended questions in which the designers were asked to give explanations to their responses to the close-ended questions regarding the connection between social characteristics and being fashionably dressed.

In their explanations quite a few designers emphasized the fact that a woman whose means are relatively low, or a working class woman can nowadays afford to be fashionably dressed. "Today a girl or a woman can dress smartly on a small budget", said one designer. "Money helps, but it is not everything", said another. On the other hand, there were those who thought that "a well made good cut garment is still expensive". But those belonged to the minority whose view was that there was a connection between being fashionably dressed and economic position.

The dilemma was even more apparent in the case of the connection between class and being fashionably dressed. In explaining their answers to this question in the close-ended questionnaire, those who thought that such a connection existed put the emphasis on the need "To keep up a certain appearance if in a social position", as against the attitude of "the average housewife and mother ... " who "has no real need to be 'with it' during her normal day". On the other hand, as in the case of the connection between economic position and being fashionably dressed, those who answered the question negatively emphasized that "anyone can be smartly dressed, regardless of class, one might find out what suits oneself", or that "some of today's mass produced garments are equal to some expensive ones".

At the same time, there were also those who maintained that the impact of class on fashion is diminishing anyway. "I feel most social classes have their own adaptation to the current fashion", said one designer, while another went as far as to claim that "the little girl in the street knows more about it than many a Lady Gwendoline".

Among those who emphasized the effect of class were those who emphasized the effect of upbringing, education and the influence of the surroundings, and circles in which one moves. But on the other hand, there were many who maintained that though there may be a pattern of dress which characterizes social classes, it is open to usurpation and thus as one designer put it: "Fashionably dressed women improve their social status".

Thus in spite of the differences of opinion, most answers indicate that the respondents thought that social upbringing, social surroundings and the availability of money provided for the development of fashion consciousness and in this respect, there was a typical fashion for different classes. But there was also a tendency to claim that this identification of certain patterns with certain classes is diminishing and that as a consequence of the availability of cheaper fashionable garments, the connection between social class and fashion is diminishing. Moreover, the explanations given by many designers implied that women of lower income groups can afford to keep in fashion, and according to the opinion of some designers even improve their social position.

The majority of the designers who denied that there was a connection between being young and being fashionably dressed tended to emphasize

that any woman can be in tune with fashion if she wants to. On the other hand, the minority who asserted that such a connection existed were inclined to say either that recent fashion was oriented towards the young or that the young were more fashion conscious. In this case, as in the case of the answers to the question about the connection between social class and being fashionably dressed, it appears that some of those who answered "no" understood the question in a somewhat different way than those who answered "yes". While the latter conceived the question as referring to the actual differential effect of fashion in different groups, the first thought that in their negative response they were expressing the view that there was no necessary connection of this kind.

The designers who answered the close-ended questionnaire were not asked to explain their answers to the question about whether there was a connection between "being fashionably dressed" and "being young", "economic position and social class". But these questions were also put to the 'top designers' interviewed in depth. Their views may cast some light on the considerations behind both positive and negative responses of their less distinguished colleagues to these questions.

It is characteristic of the answers of at least several 'top designers' that although they did not agree on the question of whether there was still a different fashion for different classes, they appeared to agree that there had been a change in this respect, and that the change was in the direction of the diminution of the importance of class. Thus several of those who answered "no" added remarks such as: "Not any longer", "not now", "not so much as they were". A more elaborate

expression of the same view was that of the designer who said: "Fashion started with people with more money, but now even C & A have fashionable clothes".

The increasing effect of the age group on fashion was also mentioned in this context. As one designer put it: "I think there are different fashions for different age groups, in different districts, but not different social groups".

It is also noteworthy that unlike the 'top designers' the majority of the designers who answered the close-ended question maintained that there were different fashions for different classes.

The questions concerning fashion in the context of social stratification are related to the questions of the impact of mass production on fashion. This at least is the view reflected in the answers of most designers to the question put to them about "What effect would you say the mass production dress industry has on fashion as a whole?"

This question was put as an open-ended question to both the 131 designers who answered the questionnaire and the 26 'top designers' interviewed in depth. The prevailing view was that mass production, as one of them put it, "Promotes interest by making fashion available to everyone", or in the words of another designer: "It gives more people chance to buy up-to-date fashion garments at a reasonable price". Only very few designers denied this kind of influence, but there were considerable differences as to the evaluation of this effect of mass production. On the one hand there were many who believed that "it has a stimulating effect

on fashion", that it has created a far greater scope and outlook", or that it "stimulated the fashion scene and has given Britain the highest standard of cheap and medium wear". On the other hand, there were others who expressed their view that this effect was unfortunate as it "prostituted" fashion and "makes things cheaper but not better". While the first group tended to emphasize the shift of the centre of fashion from Paris to London and the democratization of fashion by "bringing fashion in most people's reach", the latter regretted the reduction of "fashion standards" and the emphasis on uniformity which "is apt to make everyone look the same shape". In addition to this difference in evaluation there was also a difference of opinion between the respondents on the question of whether it was Haute Couture which was still the source of original ideas, or, as most of the designers thought, that nowadays the mass production industry sets the pace of fashion. There were also some respondents who emphasized the feedback of mass production to Haute Couture. A typical answer of this kind was: "Reorientation - couture is becoming embryonic for mass production instead of self-contained, much of the original couture design is now aimed for sale to mass produced (copyist interpreters) instead of to an isolated class". Another illuminating answer was that of the designer who mentioned three effects, "a) it brings fashion immediately to the public, b) it provides many more opportunities for young designers to express themselves, c) it has forced the couture to re-think and create better coutured fashions".

There were also other influences of the mass production which were repeatedly mentioned in many answers. One of them was the increased pace

of the change in fashion, which were seen by some designers as associated with the inclination towards uniformity. Thus as one designer put it: "The effect of mass production was to intensify new ideas and then to kill them". In this view there are, as another designer put it, "more rapid changes in style every season", since mass production must continuously produce something new.

This view was shared by another designer who explained: "When a new fashion is introduced in the mass market, many buy it, and therefore many get tired of it. Therefore any other dress not ⁱⁿ mass production which is of the same style or colour will also be out of date".

Another effect of the mass production mentioned by many designers was the increasing impact of the younger generation on fashion. According to this opinion, the designers who work for mass production become "the leaders of fashion, leaders who are actually led by the young teenagers who, by their quest for a certain style, ironically enough lead the manufacturers".

The three different effects of mass production on price, speed of change and age group orientation were clearly summed up by the designer who stated: "On the whole, especially the younger women are accepting the quick fashion changes and are most willing to buy and keep up with today's fashion and so industry must be quick in producing cheap, snappy and up-to-date styles as soon as new styles start to catch on".

The rapid pace of change associated with mass production confronts the ready-made clothing industry with problems of adaptation. There is

some objective evidence that the too frequent changes in both design and style mentioned by many designers are not welcomed by many manufacturers. As a result of this tendency, manufacturers are bound to produce too small a series of each model, and thus stand to lose some of the advantages of mass production. Moreover, many models become old-fashioned and outdated in weeks rather than months, and soemtimes even in days. The change often takes place when many copies of a certain design are still in stock, with the result that the unsold garments have to be withdrawn. The pace of change is in many cases dictated by some boutiques in London rather than by the bigger manufacturers. Well established firms are often unable to compete in the market, not because of lack of industrial efficiency, but because they have failed to follow rapid changes in style which did not originate in the industry itself. These market dangers are illustrated in a letter which was received in response to a questionnaire from a well established firm of ready-made clothes, which liquidated itself voluntarily as a result of the trend mentioned above.

"For many years the company had a prosperous business in women's coats, suits, etc., (originally in tweeds, and more latterly in other materials suitable for town wear - made perhaps on the whole, for those who wanted clothes which looked good rather than novel, and which would not lose their shape whilst the material survived - and who were prepared to pay the necessary price). About eight or ten years ago, the turnover and profits started to fall; and the reasons (real or alleged) included transfer of purchasing power to the 'buy often and throw away' minded - heated cars - together with the shops' reluctance to

order reasonable stocks and their preference for special small orders instead, with consequently increased difficulty in economic planning, manufacture, despatch, etc.

Although the owner of the business continued to believe, rightly or wrongly, that a fallow period of from perhaps five to twenty years might see the pendulum swing back from the meretricious to solid worth, he was not prepared meanwhile either to drop old standards or to lose all the financial results of previous hard labour; and the business was wound up in consequence."¹⁾

The letter cited above is characteristic of a situation of change in market conditions which has a bearing on recent developments in the ready-made clothing industry. During the last few years many firms which specialized in production of fashionable ready-made garments found the burden of the consumers' demand for innovations in design and fashion too heavy to bear. Thus they decided upon either voluntary liquidation, or amalgamation with other businesses in order to strengthen their position. This decision was imposed on the firms against their will not by the direct competition of other firms who were more successful in promoting their sales, but by consumers' behaviour, which was neither encouraged by the industry, nor welcomed by it.

Some manufacturers failed to adapt themselves to the new situation. Others were more adaptable, but even so there was enough room for the

1) A letter from the liquidator of the firm to which a questionnaire was sent. Date of letter, 8th February 1967. (I do not mention the name of the firm following the request of the liquidator).

initiative of small boutiques in London and other big urban centres, which are neither individual fashion houses nor agents of an established ready-made clothes industry.¹⁾

One of the methods by which big firms tried to overcome the difficulties deriving from the unpredictability of the market is the Trial Line of new designs. The Trial Line is intended to explore the market before deciding on producing the new design in mass. A small number of copies of the new design is sent to selected shops and the decision is made on the basis of the consumers' response. One of the firms using this method is Marks and Spencer. But although Marks and Spencer were not among the firms who produced "way out" designs they often find that their new design was "miss" rather than "hit". In summer 1966 Marks and Spencer tried four new "Trial Lines". One of them did not sell well at all, and another sold well only in the West End. Therefore the firm decided not to continue these two lines. Only two of the four lines sold well enough to justify their further production.

The instability of the industry had also a bearing on our research. In the course of our study questionnaires were sent to 870 firms listed in the "fashion and Clothing Index for the Years 1964-66". More than 300 firms could not be traced at the address registered in the index, while others answered that the firm was either in liquidation or amalgamated with other firms. It seems that most of the firms which could not be traced

1) For example, "Associated Fashion Designers of London", "Fashion House Group of London". See p.

went through a similar process in earlier months.¹⁾

This instability in the industry, during a period when British fashion on the whole flourished and acquired a leading position in determining young people's fashion all over the world, indicates a phenomenon that is not consistent with the assumption that the industry is the source of all changes in fashion. The evidence is too limited in time and scope to draw a general conclusion from it, yet the data appear to suggest that in the Britain of the 60's the demand for fashionable garments is the outcome of changes in patterns of consumption which cannot be attributed solely to promotion on the part of the manufacturer. This new pattern, which is directly related to the phenomenon of Mass Fashion, was not ignored by many of the interviewed designers. The responses to the speed of change and the availability of fashionable garments at relatively low prices and the inclination towards more uniformity in clothing, showed that the designers are sensitive to the patterns of behaviour of their clientele. These processes are bound to have a feedback on the position of the designer himself as "the man in the middle" between the manufacturer and the consumer. This position, in fact, induces the designer to be responsive to market situation in order to succeed in his occupational role. Thus the designer's position of "the man in the middle" both enables him to observe the changes caused by the development of Mass Fashion and makes him dependent on them.

1) See p.

S u m m a r y

1. The designers' attitude towards their own occupation reflects a "dual orientation" which finds its expression in artistic aspiration on the one hand and an emphasis on commercial success on the other.
2. While the designers tended to appreciate mostly artistic qualities such as originality, creativity and taste, they also expressed their awareness that the success of the designer is measured by commercial criteria. Thus there was a discrepancy between the ideology of the occupation which often affects the designers' self-image as individuals and their perception of the market, which implies a commercial orientation on their part.
3. There were differences of opinion among the designers with regard to the question of "mass market orientation" as against "selected group orientation". The ratio between answers expressing the two views was about 0 : 5 .
4. There was a similarity between the distribution of answers regarding the designers' orientation as to their intended and ideal clientele.
5. It can be inferred from the designers' response to an open-ended question about intended and ideal clientele, that their attitudes towards their clientele reflect an attempt to reconcile the ideology of the occupation with the requirements of the market. This tendency was also observable in the designers' view on the clientele's considerations when buying new garments.

6. The "dual orientation" of the designers is expressed also in the "Code of Ethics" of the Designers and Production Managers. Nevertheless, it is emphasized that "showing a spirit of cooperation with the success of the business" is in the last resort the sole aim of the members of the occupation.

7. Designers tended to see changes in fashion as an outcome of an interaction between the demands on the part of the clientele and the initiative of designers and communicators. Only few designers considered promotion of the manufacturers as a major source of changes in fashion.

8. The fashion magazines and press were thought by most designers to be the most important channels of mass media which affect the spread of fashion. As to the effect of opinion leaders, there was a strong inclination to emphasize the role played by teenagers.

9. Most designers tended to think that there are different fashions for different social classes and age groups. At the same time a majority of the designers did not think that there is a connection between economic position, social class and young age groups on the one hand, and being fashionably dressed on the other. It appears from the answers to open-ended questions that in expressing this view they meant that there is no necessary connection of this kind.

10. Some of the designers who thought that there were different fashions for different classes, nevertheless mentioned that the impact of class on fashion tends to diminish. On the other hand, there were references to the increasing role played by age groups in this respect.

11. The prevailing view among the designers was that mass production promotes interest in fashion and makes it available to new sectors of the population.

12. Opinions among the designers varied as to the effect of mass production on the standards of fashion. While some designers claimed that mass production lowers the standard of fashion and makes it more uniform, others maintained that it enriches fashion and even has a stimulating effect on the Haute Couture.

13. Many designers mentioned the reduction of price of fashionable goods and the acceleration of the pace of changes in fashion among the effects of mass production on the clothing market.

14. The acceleration of the pace of change confronted producers with problems of adaptation and many firms went through processes of liquidation and amalgamation as a result of the pressure thus created.

15. There were very few differences of attitudes among the 131 designers who answered the close-ended questionnaires and the 26 designers who were interviewed in depth on the basis of the open-ended questionnaire.

CHAPTER IV

Fashion in the 60's - The Outlook of the Communicator

The fashion designer has been described as the man in the middle, but in fact there is another middleman who mediates between the designer and his potential clientele.¹⁾ This man is the communicator - whose job it is to deliver the message of fashion to the consumer. This function is fulfilled mainly by the mass media - in particular television and the press. Television appears to play an important role in this process of communicating new ideas in matters of taste and fashion to the wider public,²⁾ but the detailed designs must still be communicated by the press. Only in the press can the potential buyer find the detailed information which she needs, in order either to buy the outfit in the case of ready-made clothes, or copy it if she is a client of a private dressmaker.

1) See above ch. 2.

2) Although several studies on the effect of television on people's attitudes and behaviour were made in recent years, no established theory about the mechanisms by which this influence of television is exerted has been developed.

See: Klapper, J.T., The Effects of Mass Communication, Illinois, 1961; Klapper, J.T., "What do we know about the effect of mass communication", Public Opinion Quarterly, winter 1957-58, pp. 453-479; Halloran, J.P., The Effect of Mass Communication with Special Reference to Television, Leicester, 1965, pp. 11-39.

The role of the press as a medium in the context of the clothing market can be inferred from statistics about the expenditure of clothing manufacturers on advertising. The statistics indicate that clothing manufacturers prefer the press to television in this respect. While manufacturers of women's and children's clothing spent £ 1,141,794 in 1967 on advertising in the press, they spent only £ 71,135 on advertising on TV.¹⁾ It seems, therefore, that manufacturers regarded advertising in the press as more effective than advertising on television.

But not every reader of a fashion magazine, or of a fashion section in a newspaper, is a potential buyer; many women are interested in fashion simply out of curiosity. Nevertheless, even women who follow the fashion news for enjoyment only have an influence on fashion by constituting a public sensitive to changes in style and design. Some are even entertained by following new developments in fashion. Women who follow fashion trends might influence fashion in two different ways. On the one hand they are likely themselves to play the role of communicator, spreading information among women. On the other hand their interest in fashion might in the long run result in an increase in purchases even if it has no immediate effect.

In spite of the position of mass media, their influence on fashion is rather limited. It is conditioned both by the availability of innovations which originate with the designers, and by the predisposition of

1) Advertizing, December 1967, p. 10.

readers who are responsive only to some changes while not to others. Studies of mass communication emphasize that such communication is more likely to reinforce existing attitudes than to convert people to entirely new attitudes.¹⁾ This hypothesis may be applied to spheres like politics, rather than to fashion, where change is inherent in the process itself. Nevertheless, the fundamental idea on which this hypothesis is based can be applied to fashion as well, since in fashion, too, predisposed attitudes play an important role in determining response to innovation. In the case of fashion the communicator has to "cash in" on the demand for new styles and designs as well as on cultural and social predispositions that affect the success or failure of any particular designs.

The Self-Image of the Fashion Editor

The problems of communication of innovations in fashion to the general public were discussed with editors of fashion magazines and of fashion sections in women's magazines, and the daily press.²⁾ The

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- 1) Klapper, J.T., op.cit., The Effect ...; Kriesberg, M., "Cross Pressure and Attitudes", Public Opinion Quarterly, No. 13, April 1949, pp. 5-16.
 - 2) The journalists interviewed included the fashion editors of the following magazines and newspapers: Vogue, Harper Bazaar, Honey, Ambassador, Tatler, Flair, Vanity Fair, Modern Woman, She, Women Journal, Women Sunday Times, The Daily Telegraph, the Daily Mail, Evening News; (See appendix D).

interviews which sometimes took the form of a conversation were conducted on the basis of an open-ended questionnaire. This open-ended questionnaire served as a guide for interviews although in many cases the conversation embraced more issues than the questionnaire. In other cases not all the questions included in the questionnaire were touched upon in the conversation.

The questions were of two different kinds. The theme of some of them was fashion journalism, while others dealt with fashion as such. The distinction between the outlook of the fashion journalist and his own occupation and his views about the subject matter of his writing, became apparent when the responses of the fashion editors to the questions put to them were analyzed. The structure of the questionnaire itself was similar to that of the top designers' open-ended questionnaire. It involved the same categories of question. There were general questions, questions regarding the diffusion of fashion, the clientele, influences and processes, self-image, and the balance of rewards. But the questions were different, since the orientation of the fashion journalist differs from that of the designer. The journalist's clientele are his readers, who are not necessarily identical with the consumers of fashion products. The self-image of the fashion editor is essentially that of a communicator. Yet by exercising their power to select and recommend fashion, editors are bound to have some impact on fashion itself. These features of fashion journalism were taken into consideration in the process of constructing the questionnaire, as well as in the analysis of the fashion editors' responses. These interviews indicated that the

attitudes of the fashion editors are characterized by a less pretentious image of their role than that of the designers. The fashion editors appear to hold a rather modest view of their own contribution to the process of diffusion of fashion. Furthermore, fashion editors' views appear to be more uniform than those of the designers. They appear to have a wider common ground of agreement among themselves on fashion in general, the process by which it is created and the spread and the role of the different participants in these processes, including themselves. The way in which the fashion editors conceived their own role can be interpreted in terms of sociological theories about the role of the communicator. It is characteristic of the editor's self-image that it is very similar in its main features to the concept of the communicator as elaborated by sociologists.

The fashion editors were inclined to admit that their opinions about fashion, their criticism and recommendations had only a limited effect on their readers.¹⁾ "The 'good' fashion magazine is one that confirms its readers' views and presents practical garments", was the answer given by one editor to the question: "What do you think is the function of a good fashion magazine?" The same line of thought is

1) See: Lazarsfeld, P.F., Berelson, B., The People's Choice, 1948; Lazarsfeld, P.F., Merton, R.K., "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action", in Rosenberg, Bernard and David Manning White (eds.), Mass Culture, pp. 457-473.

followed by another editor who thinks that the function of fashion magazines is "To keep in mind the reader, and to keep in mind also what will, and what is going to, appeal to them." This kind of attitude demands a rather modest self-image and the avoidance of pretentious objectives, and it is apparent in the answers of editors who emphasized that the function of their magazine was "not to dictate, but to guide".

This unpretentious self-image is also demonstrated in the answer to the question: "Do you see your magazine or section as a fashion critic, or fashion promoter, or just a source of information?" A typical answer to this question was "Largely fashion information, the trends are already laid down, it is up to us to state in the best way possible what these trends are. Whether they are promoted will depend on whether the readers know of the new trends." No less typical is the readiness to admit that the selection of information is influenced by the opinion of readers, as well as by the opinion of editors. In general, most of the editors emphasize the information aspect rather than that of promotion, although they claimed at least some degree of promotion. As one of them said: "Mostly information, slightly criticism ... implied criticism is used."

Hence the role of the newspaper was generally summarized as "a mirror, slightly larger than life", to use the phrase of the editor of one of the popular women's magazines. It is not surprising therefore that some editors even state that "We are not trying to educate the

public in good taste", and that the concept of education is wrong because it "presupposes the perfect taste of the educator". Even editors who claimed that their magazines are playing an educational role were careful not to over-emphasize this point and made statements such as: "I think it can educate from various forms of bad taste", "Good taste is generally innate", or "We try to gear taste, by constant repetition or certain standards".

The general theme of the influence of the readership on the editor's policy, a theme consistent with sociological studies of the function of mass media also appears in answers to other questions. When asked about the effect of the personal taste of the editor on the content of his magazines, one editor answered: "One is influenced more by the readership of the magazine". Another editor maintained that "My personal taste is itself guided, which thus becomes less personal".

The best expression of this interaction between the fashion magazine and its readers is perhaps to be seen in the answer of the editor who compared the fashion magazine to a "mirror slightly larger than life". The answer given by the same editor to the question "Do you think that fashion magazines can change the attitude of people towards fashion?", was: "Fashion magazines preach to the converted - only those interested in fashion buy fashion magazines, but they can be influenced subtly. If clothes on the right wavelength are shown they can be popularized, but we cannot popularize the wrong clothes". In other words, magazines can

modify attitudes but cannot convert.¹⁾

The awareness on the part of the fashion editors that their effectiveness as promoters or educators is conditioned by the predispositions of their readers, does not mean that they do not recognize the possibility of influencing attitudes within the limitations imposed on them by the situation. Moreover, some of the answers also reveal an understanding of the subtle mechanism by which opinion can be modified, and in certain cases even changed.²⁾

It is significant that in this respect the editors' statements correspond to sociological research in communication. In studies of the role of the journalist, sociologists of mass communication emphasize this role of the journalist as a "gatekeeper" who lets in certain items of information while excluding others.³⁾ Selection is therefore the mechanism by which the press shapes readers' opinion.

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- 1) See: Lazarsfeld, P.F., Berelson, B., op.cit.; Lazarsfeld, P.F., Merton, R.K., "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action", in Rosenberg, Bernard and David Manning White (eds.), op.cit., pp. 457-473.
 - 2) Schramm, W., "How Communication Works", in The Process and the Effect of Mass Communication, Urbana, 1954.
 - 3) White, D.M., "The Gate Keeper - A Case Study in the Selection of News", in Dexter, L.A., and White, D.M. (eds.), People, Society and Mass Communication, pp. 160-171, New York, 1964; Gieber, W., "News is What Newspapermen Make it", Ibid., pp. 173-180; Schram, W., Mass Communication, Urbana, 1960.

This emphasis on the selectivity of information as a mechanism of influencing people is characteristic of the self-image of many editors. One editor, for example, claims that she is to a certain extent a "fashion critic". According to her own view she is performing this role by "not using certain things; We don't try to tell readers what is no good, but only to show them what is the best". Another editor says: "Implied criticism is used. We don't use the extreme modern style, for example".

The same idea of criticism, by implication, is expressed by a third editor who speaks of himself as "critic by implication, by selecting the best". The rather moderate self-image of the fashion editor compared with that of the designer calls for an explanation. One possible explanation is suggested by fashion editors themselves, who were asked whether in a sense, they are in a better position than the designer to predict which models will succeed and which models will fail. "The fashion editor has a wider view than the designer", is the claim repeated by several editors. One fashion editor who believes that she and her colleagues have a "more overall view" than designers and manufacturers claims: "They only see their own collection. Jockeys cannot tell the outcome of the race as well as the spectator". Another editor explains that creative designers are often "narrow" and hence "only with great experience does their outlook widen". A similar opinion about designers is expressed by an editor who said: "They are too close to it, and they cannot get outside their wavelength". This opinion is

re-elaborated by another: "Often the designer and the producer are too much concentrated in their own sphere of making, creating and producing fashion. We have a wider and longer vision of trends and this, in our opinion, can go far in deciding what the public will or will not like."

While the fashion editors who compare themselves to the designer tend to emphasize the potentialities of their position as observers,¹⁾ other editors who had the manufacturers rather than the designers in mind were less confident about their own superiority in predicting the success and failure of models. In fact, most of the editors who mentioned the manufacturer in their answers, tended to regard him as a better judge of public taste. "The producer knows what sells, we know what is good, but it may not sell"; "Manufacturers are more certain what the public may like, something which I consider outdated but which the manufacturers will still be producing".

A more technical explanation of the advantages of the manufacturer over the journalist was given by one editor who stressed the role of experts other than journalists. "Market research and analysis help the manufacturer", she said, explaining her opinion that fashion editors are in no better position than the manufacturer to predict the acceptability of new models. The fashion editor is not expected to be more than a communicator, who operates in an almost exclusively feminine domain.

1) It is noteworthy that while the editors of women's fashion sections and magazines in Britain are almost exclusively women, designers may be men as well as women.

This suggestion is supported, to a certain extent, by the image of the designers in the eyes of the fashion editors, and is expressed in the latter's answers to the question: "What part would you say in the process of formation of fashion is played by the designers?" Most of those answers do not fail to stress the creative and personal element in the designer's role. "Boutiquish, more personal for the future"; "most important -- as the artist in art"; "the designer gives the basic ideas"; "designers have ideas"; "architects in building a house"; "they have the ideas, they have the feeling". These are some of the answers which illustrate the image of the designer in the eyes of most fashion editors. This image leaves enough room for the functioning of other agents, whose role is to modify the ideas and "creativity" of the designer, i.e. the manufacturer, the market researcher and the fashion editor.

The role of the manufacturer in modifying the designer's idea was mentioned by several of the editors who answered the question: "What part is played by the ready-made producers?" "They influence designers towards productibility and saleability"; "Producers change ideas for production and sales"; "The manufacturer has to dilute the designer's idea"; "He is very sceptical". Such were a few of the references to the manufacturer's role in the answers of fashion editors. The common denominator of all these answers is the inclination to assume the existence of an inherent division of functions between the designer and the producer. The designer is the creator of ideas, while the producer

represents the limitations imposed by the market. The outlook of the first is assumed to be primarily artistic, while that of the latter is regarded as essentially commercial.

The general concept of the process of diffusion of fashion which can be inferred from the editors' answers is also indicative of the position of the fashion editors themselves. As communicators, they are not directly involved in the exchange which takes place between manufacturers, designers and consumers. Their involvement in the process of diffusion of fashion is indirect, and the success and failure of a particular model or style has very little influence on their position. Thus they preserve a kind of independent view which cannot be found among the more directly interested participants in the process of the creation and diffusion of fashion.

The Fashion Journalist and His Readers

The fashion editor is a relatively detached observer, inasmuch as his statements of attitudes concern the role of the participants in the exchange which takes place between manufacturer, designer, and consumer. On the other hand, the fashion editor is directly involved in another exchange in which he is an interested party, i.e. the exchange between readers, journalists and owners of newspapers. The answers of fashion journalists concerning their own professional mode of operation and their position vis-à-vis the reader should not therefore be taken at their face value.

This difference between the fashion editor's position with regard to fashion, and his position with regard to fashion journalism is significant. It can possibly account for the fact that, to a certain extent, the fashion editors (when asked about the part played by fashion magazines in the formation of fashion) expressed in their answers a belief that fashion magazines do affect the formation of fashion. This answer may be regarded as not entirely consistent with their lack of ambition to promote fashion as such. It seems as if the editors attribute more influence to their magazines than they claim to possess.

This ostensibly paradoxical position can be expressed in the awareness of the effect of selected information on the consumer, regardless of the question of whether the information is intended to promote new designs. As one fashion editor explains: "Our section is information, but this information is geared to the trends in fashion and as such we may change the attitudes of readers, but this is not consciously done." This approach can be traced in the answers of other editors as well. "If we introduce a new style, this will often inevitably change the mind of many readers. However, those who change have usually an open mind to fashion". This last reference to the predisposition of readers, as a factor which conditions the effect of fashion journalism, appears in other answers as well: "Readers are positive, the magazines may help change but it cannot create change". In a certain case, one editor even admits an inverse direction of communication. Answering the question: "Does your magazine or section change the attitudes of the

readers towards fashion?", she said, "No, the readers change our content".

Most answers of fashion editors to questions about the role of their magazines expressed the view that they did not regard themselves as promoters or educators. Nevertheless, when they spoke about their magazines, most of them tended to regard them as rather influential.

This discrepancy may be interpreted as indicating that the fashion editors have a much more definite view of their readers as potential fashion consumers, than they have of their own role and the manner in which it affects the readers.

When asked who their readers were and what these readers looked for in the fashion press, fashion editors tended to speak in general terms, often reflecting their own self-image rather than a realistic knowledge of their market. To the question: "Have you any idea who are the readers of your magazine or your section?", the typical answers were: "All women", or "everybody", or "all classes from the rich to the poor girl", or "all people", to the extent that some of the editors qualifying this all-embracing image of their readers tended mainly to speak in terms of age. "Younger people of 17-22 are the majority of readers of magazines", "The older women may look at a magazine but they don't have the interest of younger women", "Angled at the young but read by older women, often they flick through without buying magazines", "Aimed at the 20-25 age group but has a surprising number of older women". This readiness to elaborate to a certain

extent in terms of age is not followed by the same tendency with regard to class. In this respect editors preferred to believe that their readers included "All classes from the rich to the office girl", "Any woman who has her hair done at the hairdresser's".

Some of the editors preferred to refer, not to the actual readership they were asked about, but to the readership at which the magazines aim. These editors produced answers such as "depends on the magazines; each aimed at a certain group", or "each magazine likes to think it has its own readership level". Only one editor of a fashion section in a daily newspaper clearly qualified its readership, both in terms of class and age, and expressed his belief that his section is read by "A wider section of the middle class, but not very young". Another editor, this time of a magazine, was the one only to talk in terms of regions and claimed that "glossies are read especially in the South of England".

The tendency to refer to age differentiation rather than to class differentiation is in tune with the general ideological trends in Britain in the 1960's.¹⁾

One inclination of the respondents to project their own attitudes on to the readers, is traced in the answers to the question: "What are the readers looking for in magazines?" The answers to this question reveal that many editors would prefer that their magazine or section satisfy demands of the readers which are not confined to "shopping service",

1) See ch. II.

and "providing information about fashion". One editor stated that what readers want was no less than "to improve themselves" and explained: "They identify the modern girl as themselves and by this improve their own image". Another editor thought that his readers are "looking for assurance and confidence".

The motives which were mentioned in several answers were: "Entertainment" and "Escape". "Escape", according to one definition, is "looking for the outfit that will make women look as they want to be". Some of the editors also referred to the function of the magazine as a guide to buyers, but this is not surprising, since providing information is supposed to be the main function of any newspaper. But it is apparent from the answers that most editors would like their readers to enjoy reading their magazines or the fashion sections as a "piece of journalism" and not only as a source of information. They would not perhaps go as far as one of them who said that the readers "are not looking for anything, but are attracted to read", but neither would they agree with the only one who believed that his readers were (almost) looking for information alone.

In this respect it can be said that the fashion editors' reference group is situated in the realm of journalism rather than in the realm of fashion. This is also apparent from their career pattern. Most of the fashion editors interviewed did not come to fashion journalism from the world of fashion; all of them were career journalists and most of them saw their future in journalism, though not necessarily fashion journalism. Fashion journalism is therefore a channel of professional

mobility for women journalists, some of whom are not overly enthusiastic about remaining in the area for an extended period.

The editors' notion about their readers can be compared with objective data about the composition of the readership of fashion magazines. In drawing conclusions from such comparisons, however, it is important to bear in mind some qualifications regarding the various attitudes of different categories of readers. For example, some discrepancy between journalists' estimates of their audience and the actual audience can be explained as the result of a tendency on the part of the editors to take into consideration only the people who buy the magazines, and not the total readership, which is reflected in the readership survey made by ^{the} International Publishing Corporation.¹⁾ As one of the market researchers who participated in the making of this survey asserts: "The figures you have obtained from the IPC survey are the measures of numbers of readers, and if you compare these with the circulation figures of the magazines you will find a vast number of 'readers per copy'. The buyers of the magazines are more clearly defined and show less skewed characteristics than the total readership."²⁾ The difference between the total readership and the people who buy the magazines has a special significance regarding the "class of readers of magazines which have aspirations to higher quality.

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- 1) National Readership Survey, published by the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, London 1964-1965.
 - 2) Mr. B. Allt - The Marketing Division of Management Company International Publishing Corporation.

An assessment of the readership, based on the circulation figures only, is likely to reinforce the image of the magazines in the eyes of their editors as relatively high class magazines, while in fact the actual readership may be much more diverse. The market researcher mentioned above explains: "To put it in another way, the distinct pattern of purchasers is progressively diluted each time the middle class publication gets passed down the social scale, and each time the working class publication gets passed up the social scale. Editors probably think more in terms of the kinds of people who buy the magazines than in terms of the total readership". In the context of the spread of information about fashion, the total readership can be regarded as a more reliable indicator than the circulation figures. However, it is worthy of mention that different categories of readers might have different attitudes towards the magazines. There is probably a difference in attitude to a publication between that of a person who buys it and that of a person who sees it by chance in the waiting room.

Nevertheless, according to the evidence of the research, the situation is not characterized by a simple dichotomy between people who buy the publication and those who read it by chance. These are only the extreme ends of the continuum. As the above researcher maintains: "It is probably more realistic to think of a magazine-interested group, and within this, of a fashion magazine-interested group. People who are interested in magazines will buy some for themselves and get others from friends, often in exchange for their own. In many cases they know they can get it from a friend, and we have the case where quite often a reader

will pick as her favourite a magazine which she doesn't buy, and not pick a magazine she does buy. It is true that there are a number of people who only see magazines in the very chance circumstances of waiting rooms, etc., but there are probably not a great many of those if we think of magazines as a whole."¹⁾ The readership of magazines which specialized in fashion and those which do not specialize are not necessarily the same. Therefore it is preferable to examine the readers of the two groups of magazines separately according to age and class.

Table 30

Readership of magazines by age

	Percent of women readers by age groups						
<u>M a g a z i n e s</u>	<u>16-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>36-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55-64</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
A. Specializing <u>in fashion</u>							
Vogue	25.4	18.3	18.2	17.7	12.8	7.6	100
Honey	55.7	11.1	12.7	14.9	4.1	11.5	100
Flair	32.5	16.0	18.4	18.4	10.9	4.8	100
Vanity Fair	31.1	22.2	20.7	14.1	7.5	4.4	100
B. Not Specializing <u>in fashion</u>							
She	28.0	22.3	18.5	19.3	6.6	5.3	100
Housewife	13.5	18.2	22.7	19.6	13.6	12.4	100
Woman	21.0	16.5	16.9	17.4	14.4	13.8	100
Woman's Journal	13.2	17.4	18.6	21.2	14.4	15.2	100

Source: National Readership Survey, October 1964-June 1965, The Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, London 1965.

¹⁾ Mr. B. Allt, Ibid.

The figures indicate that the readership of the magazines which specialize in fashion is relatively younger than that of the magazines which do not specialize in it. The age group of 16-24 is the largest single group of the readers in all the magazines which specialize in fashion. In one case, namely that of Honey, more than half of the readership belongs to this group. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that this magazine specializes in fashion for younger people, while the other three magazines included in this survey are geared to the general female public. But even for the latter three between a quarter and a third of the readers are younger women under 25. The table indicates that younger people are more interested than other age groups in magazines which specialize in fashion. This finding can be interpreted either as a result of more interest in fashion news among these groups, or as an expression of an attitude towards fashion which regards it as essentially an entertainment, or even a kind of escapism. Perhaps the combination of these two possible interpretations might provide a sufficient explanation of this distribution of fashion magazine readers.

The distribution of the readers of the two kinds of magazines according to class is as follows:

Table 31

Readership of magazines by class

<u>Magazines</u>	<u>Upper & Middle Class</u>	<u>Lower Middle Class</u>	<u>Skilled Workers</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>A. Specializing in Fashion</u>					
Vogue	24.2	26.9	32.1	16.8	100
Honey	23.3	19.8	40.0	16.9	100
Flair	23.4	26.5	33.9	16.2	100
Venety Fair	22.7	26.1	34.3	16.9	100
<u>B. Not Specializing in Fashion</u>					
She	24.8	28.4	28.7	18.1	100
Housewife	27.1	25.3	29.3	18.3	100
Women	11.6	19.7	38.7	30.0	100
Woman's Journal	31.2	30.6	25.2	13.0	100

Source: National Readership Survey, October 1964-June 1965, The Institute of Practitioners in Advertizing, London 1965.

The readership figures show that the majority of the readers of the two kinds of magazines are middle class. Yet they also indicate that the magazines, and especially those which specialize in fashion, are very popular among the working class. Moreover, looked upon from the viewpoint of status rather than that of class, we may say that magazines which specialize in fashion are mostly read by lower middle class and

skilled workers. There is also a considerable number of readers from the upper middle class, while unskilled workers are clearly underrepresented among the readers. This tendency is less marked with regard to the magazines which do not specialize in fashion. Among these there is at least one - "Woman" - which is a typical working class magazine with only 30% of middle class readers. The interviews with the editors of magazines which specialized in fashion showed that they assumed that their readership was composed mainly of middle class women and it seems that the fashion magazines are written and edited with middle class readers in mind. Yet all figures show that there is a considerable number of working class women among the readers of the fashion magazines, mostly from skilled workers' families. This is most apparent in the case of Honey where they make up 40% of the total readership. This considerable number of working class readers can be interpreted as reflecting both the increased interest in fashion among the working class and the role of the fashion magazines as a form of entertainment and even escape. If this interpretation is correct, the class distribution of the readership of fashion magazines does not necessarily correspond to the class distribution of consumers in the fashion market. In other words, reading fashion magazines is undoubtedly an indication of interest in fashion, but not necessarily an indication of being a buyer of fashionable goods. Thus we should distinguish between the clientele of the fashion journalist as readers and the clientele of fashion designers as consumers of fashionable goods.

Journalists' Views on Fashion

We have seen that the fashion journalists conceived their role as that of a channel of communication which publicizes changes in fashion rather than one which promotes certain styles and innovations. In this respect, the fashion journalists' perception of their role concerns the process by which fashion is spread rather than the process by which it is created. Thus it is not surprising that most of the fashion journalists interviewed had definite views on the ways by which changes in fashion are spread. One aspect of the spread of fashion is the mere conveyance of information about innovation in the field. Most fashion journalists maintained that it was the newspapers and magazines, and to a lesser extent, television which were the most important agencies that fulfil this essentially cognitive role.

A second aspect of the spread of fashion mentioned by most of the fashion editors is that of identification through imitation. In this respect, too, the fashion journalists put the emphasis on a mechanism which reflects the impact of mass media - the influence of pop idols: "Film stars once led fashion, now it is model girls and pop stars, magazines and television. The imitation of idols is now very important, as the same clothes are quickly available in the shops", said one fashion editor. "Today pop groups for the young, magazines for the older women", said another.

Some of the observations of the fashion editors were related to the social stratification aspect of the spread of fashion. One editor,

for example, maintained that "In the past fashion originated by the Couture was copied by the middle classes from the top fashion magazines and moved down the social scale. Now it is spread through channels of mass media and is quickly available in the shops". A similar view was held by another editor: "It starts with an idea - from Paris for example - from a designer. It goes into production, is shown by the magazines, and is seen in the shops; the fashion becomes familiar." An interesting observation in this respect is that of the fashion editor who referred to the feedback of the consumers of mass produced fashion to the Haute Couture fashion. This editor said that fashion is spread in two ways: "... from Haute Couture to little girls ..., but also in reverse - the skinny little sweaters went from the little girls to Jaeger to Haute Couture. Jersey, first used by ready-to-wear designers, is now a common Haute Couture material". The connection between "current young fashion and discothèque-type pop culture" was also mentioned in this context.

The general picture which emerges from the response of the fashion editors to the questions about changes in fashion thus seems to be compatible with the proposition about the prevalence of Mass Fashion in the fashion market in the 60's. Moreover, at least some of the editors expressed the view that this pattern of the spread of fashion represented a relatively new trend which is a consequence of the availability of ready-made fashionable goods in the market, and of the influence of the mass media. Changes in fashion are communicated by the mass media, and the fashion editors participate in this process. But the fashion editors

emphasized that it was not because of publicity that changes in fashion occur. Most of them attributed changes in fashion to the interest of manufacturers in selling their goods, or the demand of the consumers, or both. One of the editors who referred to both sources of change called the latter source "change for the sake of change", while the first was referred to in the phrase: "Industry pushes for changes". There were differences of opinion among the editors as to which of the two sources of change is the most important. A minority expressed the view that the economic factor, "to keep the industry healthy", "to keep couturiers and manufacturers in business", plays the more important role, while the majority appeared to agree with the fashion editor who said: "The basic changes are due to changes in outlook and patterns of behaviour. Economic pressures reinforce social forces towards change." Explaining what the social forces are, most of the fashion journalists referred to a demand for change on the part of consumers. "People just like changes", "It is a portrayal of how people live", "Women are bored when changes are boring", are typical answers which put the emphasis on the fact that people like changes. The fashion journalist were asked not only to explain the mere occurrence of changes in fashion, but also to answer the question: "What makes a dress fashionable?" In answering this question several editors referred to "conformity" as a basic factor in this respect. "It is fashionable when it is in line with the current feeling and with the publicity", said one editor. "Following a recognized trend", called it another. Some editors associated conformity aspects of fashion with "new ways of thinking" and even contrasted it

with the fashion of the past, mainly when "years ago it was quality" that made a dress fashionable. The awareness that the social meaning of fashion is changing was even more emphasized in answer to the question whether there are different fashions for different social classes. Here the typical answers were: "Not any more", "much less", "this is diminishing", "in 10 years this has faded", "this has changed within the last 3-4 years". Thus the main difference was between those who were categorical, like the editor who said "no, not now", and those who were more careful, saying: "Yes, but less so than they were". But the common denominator of almost all answers was that the role played by class in the world of fashion is diminishing, and that the phenomenon of different fashion for different social classes was emphasized much more in the past. Some of the answers linked this diminishing role of class with the increasing role played by age groups. "Differences depend more on age than on class", said one editor. "Amongst the young no distinction at all", said another. Some of the answers associated the change in the role of class with the inclination towards conformity and with the fact that "uniformity is creeping in". Moreover, several editors even attributed the change in the role of class directly to the influence of mass production, and claimed that there used to be fashion for different social classes "until the use of mass production". The association between mass production and the lessening of the difference between classes in respect of fashion, and the tendency towards uniformity, were emphasized even more clearly in the answers to the question concerning the effect of the mass-produced dress industry on fashion.

"It destroyed class differences" and raised the standard generally", said one editor. "It creates general uniformity and on the other hand gets prices down", said another. There was general agreement among the editors that the main impact of the mass-produced dress industry, in this respect, was to expand the influence of fashion to sections of society which were not fashionably dressed before. "Fashion was narrower, before mass production only a few women were fashionable", said one editor. "Fashion is more attainable and better distributed, fashion is not localized, either to one class or one area, and is much cheaper", said another. "Mass produced dress industry enables far more women to dress better", "It is a service to the public" and is the "only way to change fashion", "All classes now can be fashionable", were some other expressions of the same idea. Some of the editors also referred to another effect of mass produced dress industry; they maintained that: "It accelerated changes in fashion", since it enables "very quick spread of fashion". All the elements which were mentioned by the different respondents were summed up in the answer of the one who said: "Bringing ready-to-wear fashion to the markets has created a love of experiment. The cheapness of ready-to-wear enables people to discard clothes, has made fashion faceless, classless, has created a general fashion, especially for the young."

Summary

1. Fashion journalists play the most important role among the communicators who convey information about innovations in fashion to the consumers. This is apparent in particular when the expenditure on advertising of clothing in the press is compared with that on television.
2. The assumption of communication theories that the mass media reinforce existing attitudes rather than converting people to entirely new attitudes is applicable to the sphere of fashion as well as to other spheres involving the diffusion of innovation.
3. The self-image of the fashion journalist interviewed in the course of the research appears to be consistent with the concept of the communicator's occupation developed by students of mass communication. The fashion editors see themselves primarily as a channel for the spread of information and not as educators or promoters of new ideas.
4. In spite of their rather modest self-image, fashion editors are aware that they have some influence on the market as a result of their ability to select information.
5. The reference group of the fashion editors is the journalist profession, and not the world of fashion.
6. The readership of the fashion magazines and the fashion sections of the daily press is not identical with the potential consumers in the clothing market. Consequently it can be said that the reading of fashion magazine and fashion sections satisfies additional readers' demands beside the guidance of potential buyers.

7. The image of the readers of the fashion magazines and fashion section in the eyes of the editors is not always consistent with the objective data about the readership and reflects in part a bias rooted in the self-image of the journalists' occupation. On the other hand, the bias deriving from the self-image of the journalists has a limited impact on their observations about the world of fashion since their occupational ideology is concerned primarily with their role as journalists.

8. The prevalent view among fashion editors was that the most important agencies in spreading information about innovations in fashion are daily newspapers and magazines and only to a lesser degree television.

9. Most fashion journalists mentioned identification with popular idols as an important mechanism in the promotion of innovations in fashion.

10. Several fashion editors expressed the view that the increasing role played by the mass media in the process of the spread of fashion is associated with a shift of emphasis in the world of fashion from Haute Couture to mass produced garments.

11. Most fashion editors expressed the view that changes in fashion are the consequence of the combined effect of the demands of consumers who want change and the interest of industry. There was also a tendency to say that it is conformity that makes a dress fashionable.

12. The prevalent view among fashion editors was that the impact of class on fashion is diminishing while the importance of age differences is increasing. Quite a few fashion editors associated these trends with the increasing role played, in their view, by the mass produced dress industry.

13. Some of the fashion editors expressed the view that the combined effect of mass production and the mass media accelerated fashion changes.

CHAPTER V

The Consumer and the Clothing Market

Fashion is both a cultural phenomenon and a process of socio-economic exchange. In the context of this study the spread of fashion is considered from the viewpoint of the second aspect of fashion rather than from the first. Hence this study is bound to focus primarily on the role of the consumer who is in a key position with regard to the whole socio-economic process. All the other participants in the spread of fashion are in the last resort oriented towards the consumer. The much discussed question of the will of the consumer confronts the economist with the need to turn to other disciplines, mainly sociology and social psychology, in order to deal with patterns of behaviour which the economic discipline fails to explain in its own terms. Yet the discussion of the question has been dominated by the economic approach. In his criticism of the economic approach, the British sociologist T. Burns maintains that: "... in the case of consumer's behaviour where economists' interests have been dominant almost throughout"¹⁾, the exchange relationship between the disciplines of economy and sociology "has been very one sided. The literature of consumer studies has been written almost entirely by economists, with sociological contributions either derived by

1) Burns, T., "The Study of Consumer Behaviour -- A Sociological View", European Journal of Sociology, July-December 1966, p. 314.

economists from the currency of ideas put into circulation by sociologists, or supplied ad hoc by survey research. In either case consumer studies are directed towards testing economic hypotheses, amending economic theory, or filling in information needed to establish the limits of variables on the existence of constants."¹⁾ Some economists, notably Pareto, have tried to avoid the difficulties derived from the limitation of the economic approach by developing models which consider the consumer's choice as given and try to relate the demand for different commodities to each other in terms of the consumer. The motivational aspect of consumer choice, which can be neutralized in the context of the study of demand for different products, also emerges as a problem in another sphere of economic thought where it cannot be eliminated from the economic models in any easy way. But since Keynes developed his theory about the importance of effective demand in determining the state of modern economies in terms of inflation, the attention of the economists has been directed to social and psychological factors which are involved in the propensity to consume as against the propensity to save. Keynes tried to study saving and consumption in terms of marginal propensity to consume and marginal propensity to save, and claimed that when real income is increased, consumption will not increase by an equal absolute amount. Keynes admitted the influence of other factors on consumption and saving, but he did not explore these.²⁾

1) Ibid.

2) Keynes, J.M., op. cit.

More interesting for sociologists in general and sociologists of fashion in particular, from this point of view, was Duesenberny's challenge to Keynes which drew attention of economists to the demonstration effect, i.e. the fact that the consumption behaviour of one individual is not independent of that of other individuals as Keynes apparently assumed. Empirical research concerning the question of whether people with high incomes will have proportionately larger savings than people with lower income, as Keynes assumed, or a similar ratio, as Duesenberny assumes, does not provide a decisive answer to this question and appears to support the assumption that in this respect there are different patterns of behaviour in different societies, groups and periods.¹⁾ The difficulty in incorporating the motivational element into economic theory has resulted in an attempt on the part of the economists to turn either to psychology or to social psychology in order to find the answer to this question.

Milton Friedman, for example, has emphasized the importance of taste, together with its concomitant social variations, in determining the ratio of consumption to permanent income.²⁾ Social factors also play a role in studies of economic behaviour which are based on the assumption that empirical studies of attitudes and buying patterns can

1) Duesenberny, J.J., Income Saving and the Theory of Consumer Behaviour, Cambridge, 1949.

2) Friedman, M., A Theory of the Consumption Function, Princeton, 1957.

contribute more to the understanding of the consumer's choice than universal assumptions about rational economic behaviour. The social psychologist, G. Katona, who is a typical representative of this approach, avoids any generalized theory of consumption behaviour, preferring to explain consumption in terms of attitudes, income level and other variables without trying to derive a more abstract model.¹⁾

Most economists preferred to explain the consumer's choice in psychological rather than sociological terms.²⁾ The reasons for this inclination on the part of most economists to turn to psychology and social psychology rather than to sociology in their search for "non-economic variables" are related to their interest in the economic discipline itself.

"The economist", says J.N. Morgan, "is likely to think of group behaviour as a mere summation of individual behaviour, responding to the same forces, and with little sociological reinforcement".³⁾

The approach of the economists has been followed by market researchers and advertisers, who have tried to apply the psychological theory of motivation in studies aimed at promoting the sales of certain

1) Katona, G., Psychological Analysis of Economic Behaviour, New York, 1951.

2) Bekman, Maynard, Davison, op. cit.

3) Morgan, J.N., The Economic Viewpoint in Family Research, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1964, p. 5.

commodities. This has been popularized by advertisers such as Dichter, who pretended to develop a technique of appealing to the "hidden" wishes of the consumer, a concept to which they attached the pretentious title of "motivational research".¹⁾

One of the consequences of the emphasis on psychological variables is the inclination to overlook the impact of differential group behaviour on patterns of consumption. On the other hand, the impact of social differentiation on consumer behaviour can be accounted for by the introduction of sociological hypotheses; as T. Burns put it, sociologists are concerned with the "patterned distribution of rights and privileges, duties and obligations in society".²⁾ This sociological approach emphasizes the role played by social differentiation in conditioning the behaviour of individuals in various spheres of activity including consumption. Consequently, the discrepancies between the economic hypotheses about the balance between spending and saving in 'absolute income' and findings about the different patterns of spending of different groups in society should be interpreted in terms of social "pressure towards conformity with certain norms of consumption". In other words, the sociological study of consumer behaviour inevitably ends up with several profiles of consumers with different motivation according to criteria

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- 1) For a popular presentation of the theories of the motivational research see: Packard, V., The Hidden Persuader, Pocket Book Inc., New York, 1957, p. 19.
- 2) Burns, T., op. cit., p. 318.

of class, age, ethnic groups, education, and ecological background. Such studies are necessarily more complicated and more expensive than those which are based on general deductions about a generalized individual in a certain society, who is supposedly motivated by common traits, whether universal or ethnocentric. The sociological approach is therefore more complicated, both because it deals with groups rather than with abstract individuals, and because it cannot provide a generalized characteristic of consumers which is intended to apply, if not to any social context, at least to a specific period and culture regardless of the internal differentiation among the consumers.

It is noteworthy that in recent years market researchers have been more and more inclined to incorporate sociological data in their surveys. Differentiation by age and sex are regarded as self evident, and differentiation by class is more and more taken into consideration, if not in the analysis at least in the planning of the sample.¹⁾

In fact, the attempt to interpret consumer behaviour in sociological terms can be linked with an established sociological tradition. Most notable in this respect is the contribution made by T. Veblen to the understanding of individual behaviour in competitive market society with his concept of 'conspicuous consumption'.²⁾ Within this tradition there are also several works dealing with modes and articles of consumption as

1) Nystrom, P., Marketing Handbook, New York, 1954.

2) Veblen, T., op. cit.

status symbols, notably Erving Goffman's "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life", and "Status Symbols". Goffman's notion of the usurpation of status symbols, together with his classification of status symbols, have already contributed to the sociological study of stratification and can also contribute to the study of patterns of consumption.¹⁾

The concept of conspicuous consumption and status symbols makes it possible to link group affiliation with the motivational factors which effect the market behaviour of individuals.

The use of these concepts enables us to explain the differential demand for certain commodities by referring to non-economic variables associated with "patterned distribution of rights, privileges, duties and obligations in society", i.e. with social stratification.

Of course the non-economic factors associated with the social structure cannot in themselves account for the demand for certain goods in the market, they only add another dimension to the study of effective demand.

Thus it is useful to follow Liebenstein's distinction between "functional" and "non functional" demand and focus the sociological attention on the second category.²⁾ The notion of functional demand as used by Liebenstein means "that part of the demand for a commodity which

1) Goffman, E., The Presentation, op. cit.; Goffman, E., Status Symbols, op. cit.

2) Liebenstein, H., "Band-Wagon, Snob and Veblen Effects in the Theory of Consumer Demand", Quarterly Journal of Economics, Cambridge, Mass., May 1950.

is due to the qualities inherent in the commodity itself".¹⁾

Non-functional demand, on the other hand, is "that portion of the demand for a consumers good which is due to factors other than the qualities inherent in the commodity".²⁾

According to Liebenstein's classification there are three kinds of non-functional demands:

- (1) External Effect in Utility - related to the assertion of social status.
- (2) Speculative - related to speculative economic considerations.
- (3) Irrational - related to cultural and psychological motives.

The second category - "speculative" - can be interpreted in economic terms, the third - "irrational" - is rooted in cultural and psychological factors. On the other hand, concepts such as "status symbols" and "conspicuous consumption" are most relevant to Liebenstein's first category of "non functional" demand, i.e. External Effect in Utility.

In fact, Liebenstein himself refers to such status consideration in his sub-classification of these effects, which are according to him three:

The Band-Wagon Effect, the Snob Effect and the Veblen Effect. By Bandwagon Effect Liebenstein means: "The extent to which the demand for a commodity is increased due to the fact that others are also consuming the same commodity".

1) Ibid., p. 188.

2) Ibid.

Snob effect means "the extent to which the demand for a consumer's good is decreased owing to the fact that others are also consuming the same commodity". Veblen effect means "the extent to which the demand for a consumer's good increases because it bears a higher rather than a lower price".¹⁾

As we see, the first and the third categories referred to social factors which raise the value of a commodity for consumers, while the second effect makes the consumer's good less valuable from this point of view. In fact Liebenstein's classification is only an attempt to elaborate on Veblen's concept of conspicuous consumption, but it shows clearly the potentiality of an analysis of the demand for certain commodities on the basis of their meaning in terms of social stratification. The classification of "non-functional" effect on consumption is relevant to the study of fashion as a mode of clothing behaviour. The demand for clothing is affected by both qualities inherent in the commodity and "non-functional" factors. Such factors are in fact the essence of the mode of clothing behaviour known as fashion.

"Non-fashion" behaviour does not necessarily imply "functional" demand. On the other hand the notion of fashion implies that the demand for clothing items is affected to a certain degree at least by external effects such as Band-Wagon Effect, Snob Effect or Veblen Effect. Since "non-fashion" behaviour is not included in the scope of

1) Ibid., p. 188.

our study, the question whether the demand for clothing which is not affected by fashion is predominantly functional demand, or not, cannot be answered on the basis of our data.

On the other hand, our study of the consumer is clearly intended to identify the External Effect in Utility, of fashionable goods, both in the context of Elite Fashion and that of Mass Fashion. Moreover, since the response to fashion adds a new source of demand which does not exist in "non-fashion" behaviour, and this additional source of demand is "non-functional", it seems probable that the demand inspired by "fashion behaviour" is less "functional in Liebenstein's terms than the demand which is indifferent to changes in fashion. The "non-functional" attributes of the demand for fashionable goods are directly related to the social structure in general and stratification in particular. It is only in the context of a stratified society that notions such as the Band Wagon Effect and the Snob Effect and the Veblen Effect have any meaning. In other words, the affiliation to a social group in a stratified society is linked with fashion behaviour through the External Effect in Utility.

The concept of conspicuous consumption implies that differential patterns of consumption, based on a group affiliation, might enable people to place a person somewhere in the social map. This assumption is applicable to clothing consumption and, by the same token, to clothing behaviour in a wider context. The theoretical link between the consumption aspect of clothing behaviour and the status value of

clothing is provided by the concept of "appearance" as developed by social psychologists.

"In appearance, their selves are established and mobilised. As the self is dressed, it is simultaneously addressed, for whenever we clothe ourselves, we dress 'towards' or address some audience whose validating responses are essential to the establishment of our self."¹⁾

So wrote G. Stone; this approach to appearance, as a way of establishing one's self, is in the social context associated with the notion of status symbols and thus related to stratification: "The establishment of identity, value and mood by appearances represents the person as there, stratified or assigned a particular distance, and rapt or engrossed."²⁾

Through the concept of appearance, the Veblen Effect acquires a concrete personal meaning. The purchases of consumption goods is translated into a conspicuous status symbol through its use by the individual asserting his status by means of appearance. This additional dimension of the concept of conspicuous consumption is particularly applicable to clothing behaviour in general and fashion as a mode of clothing behaviour in particular. Appearance in terms of

1) Stone, G., op. cit., pp. 101-102.

2) Ibid., p. 100.

clothing is a status symbol directly associated with the demand in the clothing market. This applies among other things to the adherence to fashion which is one of the modes of appearance. In this way the individual desire to dress in a certain style in order to assert his status becomes an economic factor linked with social stratification.

Yet to the extent that appearance plays the role of a status symbol, this status symbol is vulnerable to usurpation. In this context Goffman's concept of usurpation of status becomes relevant to consumer behaviour.¹⁾

The desire of people to improve their status by appearance can be satisfied by consumption. In this context the notion of usurpation of status can be applied to groups as well as individuals. A change in the patterns of consumer behaviour in certain groups in society might be rooted in the status aspiration of these groups. When a change in the status aspiration of a certain stratum of society leads to the adoption of status symbols associated with other groups, such behaviour might lead to a reduction in the value of status symbols to other groups. In this respect, the spread of certain patterns of conspicuous consumption does not secure the fulfilment of the aspiration to acquire a higher status by a change in appearance. In this respect, the sociological study of consumption will benefit from following T. Burns' formula, according to which the sociologist dealing

1) Goffman, E., Status Symbols, op. cit.

with consumer's behaviour "is above all concerned with the identification of the contemporary social structure and with those elements or principles of the social structure which have changed or are in the process of changing".¹⁾ The diffusion of new patterns of consumption is thus associated with social change. This applies in particular to the adoption of certain consistent modes of behaviour which has a continuous effect on consumption. For example: the responsiveness to innovations, which is most important in the context of fashion, is a mode of behaviour associated with social group affiliation, which implies certain patterns of consumer behaviour. Since these studies tend to put the emphasis on differentiated responsiveness to communication by innovations as a result of group affiliation, they make it possible to show how some groups of society acquire certain patterns of consumption and retain them over a period.

The Consumer Sample

Our study does not deal with the consumer in general, but with the consumer in the defined context of clothing behaviour in general, and fashion behaviour in particular. Consequently the different theories on the non-economic variable affecting consumption are relevant to our study only inasmuch as they are reflected in a particular sphere of consumer behaviour. Yet, since this sphere of consumer behaviour

1) Burns, T., op. cit., p. 314.

is directly associated with people's appearance, which in turn tends to be influenced by status considerations, it is apt to be highly conditioned by group affiliation. Consequently our probe of the consumers' outlook is focused on two main issues. The first concerns the consumer position in the context of the clothing market in general, and the market for fashionable clothes in particular. The second concerns the consumer's approach to clothing and fashion in the context of her perception of society and her own position in it.

The prob~~e~~ was based on the responses of 589 consumers interviewed to questions put to them in an essentially close-ended questionnaire with few open-ended questions.¹⁾ Most of the questions referred to the behaviour of the consumer as a buyer of clothing and to her perception of the process through which clothes in general and fashionable clothes in particular are distributed. Some of the questions also dealt with the role of communication in this respect.

A different category of questions was that which dealt with the connection between fashion and different criteria of social differentiation such as class, age group, economic position, marital status and residence.

The research was carried out in three English urban centers. The three centers were: London, Liverpool and Brighton. The choice of London

1) See Appendix E.

was obvious as it is both a metropolitan area - the biggest concentration of population in Britain and the place where the leading fashion designers in England live and work. Moreover, the period during which the research was carried out was the mid-60's period in which the so-called London Look in dress emerged.

The choice of Liverpool was based on different considerations. Liverpool is one of the main cities of the north of England, it is an industrial city which had a considerable impact on the emergence of so-called Pop Culture in the mid-sixties.

Brighton was chosen mainly because of social and economic considerations - a seaside resort in the south and a town with a relatively high proportion of middle class among its population.

The differences in the size of the population of the three cities were taken into consideration only in part. In order to avoid having too small a sample of consumers in Brighton and Liverpool they are over-represented in our sample as compared with London.

Thus 288 were interviewed in London, 183 in Liverpool and 118 in Brighton.

The respondents were instructed how to fill in the questionnaire by interviewers of the Courtauld Market Research Division. The sample of each town was chosen by the statistician of the Courtauld Market Research Division, on the basis of the same method by which the samples for Courtauld's own market research studies are chosen. The choice

took into consideration the class and age composition of the population of these towns, as well as statistical considerations regarding the size of the population in each cell, in order to ensure a meaningful result. Thus, for example, the upper middle class is over-represented in the sample. The criteria that were taken into consideration in the choice of the sample were three: region, class, age group. The criteria of marital status and employment were not taken into consideration in the selection of the sample, but since the respondents were asked to state marital status and whether they were employed or not, it was also possible to compare the responses of the married and unmarried women, students, working women and housewives.

The distribution of the sample according to class in the three towns was:

Table 32

London sample, class* distribution

(numbers, percentages)

		<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percent- ages</u>
Class A	(higher managerial and professional - upper middle class)	57	19.7
Class B+C ₁	(lower managerial and administrative middle class and skilled and supervisory non-manual lower middle class)	91	31.7
Class C ₂	(skilled manual working class)	62	21.7
Class D	(semi- and unskilled manual working class)	55	19.0
Class E	(residual, pensioners and casual workers)	23	7.9
Total		288	100.0

* For the discussion of the division into class groups see
below p. 197 to p. 201.

Table 33

Liverpool sample class distribution

(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percent- ages</u>
Class A (higher managerial and professional -- upper middle class)	17	9.3
Class B+C ₁ (lower managerial and administrative middle class and skilled and supervisory non-manual lower middle class)	79	43.6
Class C ₂ (skilled manual working class)	37	20.3
Class D (semi- and unskilled manual working class)	38	20.8
Class E (residual, pensioners and casual workers)	11	6.0
T o t a l	182	100.0

Table 34
Brighton sample, class distribution
(numbers, percentages)

		<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percent- ages</u>
Class A	(higher managerial and professional - upper middle class)	13	11.0
Class B+C ₁	(lower managerial and administrative middle class and skilled and supervisory non-manual lower mi- middle class)	40	34.1
Class C ₂	(skilled manual working class)	30	25.4
Class D	(semi- and unskilled manual working class)	23	19.4
Class E	(residual, pensioners and casual workers)	12	10.1
T o t a l		118	100.0

Table 35

London sample, age distribution
(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
15 - 19	77	26
20 - 24	58	20
25 - 29	19	7
30 - 39	61	21
40 - 49	44	15
50 - 59	25	9
60 +	5	2
T o t a l	<u>289</u>	<u>100</u>

Table 36

Liverpool sample, age distribution

(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
15 - 19	57	30
20 - 24	43	24
25 - 29	21	12
30 - 39	26	14
40 - 49	27	15
50 - 59	9	5
60 +	0	0
Total	<u>182</u>	<u>100</u>

Table 37

Brighton sample, age distribution

(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
15 - 19	36	31
20 - 24	27	23
25 - 29	11	9
30 - 39	18	15
40 - 49	18	15
50 - 59	8	7
60 +	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	118	100

Table 38

Sample distribution according to class
in London, Liverpool and Brighton
(numbers, percentages)

<u>Class</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
A	89	15.1
B+C ₁	209	35.6
C ₂	129	21.9
D	116	19.6
E	46	7.8
<u>T o t a l</u>	<u>589</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table 39

Sample distribution according to age groups
in London, Liverpool and Brighton
(numbers, percentages)

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
15 - 19	168	28
20 - 24	129	22
25 - 29	51	9
30 - 39	104	18
40 - 49	89	15
50 - 59	43	7
60 +	5	1
<u>T o t a l</u>	<u>589</u>	<u>100</u>

Table 40
Sample distribution according to marital status
in London, Liverpool and Brighton
(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Married	335	57.0
Unmarried	239	40.5
Widowed	15	2.5
T o t a l	589	100.0

Table 41
Sample distribution according to women employment
in London, Liverpool and Brighton
(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Housewives	209	35.4
Students	87	14.7
Working women	293	49.9
T o t a l	589	100.0

While the definitions of marital status, employment and age group are easily definable, the definition of class is problematic.

There are several possible criteria for distinction between social classes. In most British studies, social class is defined in terms of occupation. The classification on the basis of occupation follows the example of the "Census Authority" which divides the population into the following categories: Upper Middle Class - professional and similar occupation, e.g. civil service administrative officers, secretaries and registrars of companies, ministers of religion, lawyers, doctors, professional engineers; Middle Class - intermediate occupations, e.g. farmers, retailers, local authority officers, pharmacists, teachers; Skilled Working Class - skilled occupations; Working Class - partly skilled occupations and unskilled occupations.

The division into class on the basis of occupation is justified by students of British society on theoretical as well as on practical grounds. "Social stratification in British society is almost synonymous with occupational classification", say P. Oldman and R. Illsley in their article "Measuring the status of occupations".¹⁾

"There are good reasons why this should be so. As a determinant of the source of income it affects an individual's class position in the socio-economic structure. As a determinant of income, it influences the individual's consumption possibilities and life style, thereby contributing to his status position. It also determines certain degrees

1) Oldman, O., Illsley, R., "Measuring the status of occupations", The Sociological Review, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 53-72. March 1966.

of power over others, both in the work situation and in the social area. It is further related to a status dimension in that people ascribe prestige directly to an occupation by virtue of its functional significance, and by the amount of skill, training and knowledge they believe to be associated with it." The authors also maintain that "there is now a considerable body of empirical evidence that shows a high correlation between an index of occupation and other indices of social position".¹⁾ The occupational criterion was also advocated by J. Hall and P. Caradog Jones in their article: "Social grading of occupation".²⁾ In their article they show that there is a high degree of consensus about the social grading of occupation. The division into classes on the basis of occupation is also used by the Research Services who have adopted the classification of D.C. Marsh in his book "Changing social structure of England and Wales, 1871-1961", and by Kahan, Butler and Stokes in their article "On the analytical division of social class".³⁾

1) Ibid., p. 53.

2) Hall, J., Caradog Jones, "Social grading of occupations", British Journal of Sociology, 1950, pp. 133-163.

3) Kahan, M., Butler, D., Stokes, D., "On the analytical division of social class", British Journal of Sociology, 1966, pp. 122-132. Marsh, D.C., Changing Social Structure of England and Wales, 1871-1961, 1966.

The latter suggest a modification in the class category used by the Research Services which takes into consideration the distinction between two subgroups of the skilled workers.

Our sample did not follow the Research Services Division exactly, as we added together the two categories of lower managerial and administrative class with the skilled and supervisory non-manual class (B and C₁ categories in the Research Services Classification).

Moreover, in comparing the responses of the different class groups to the questionnaire we disregarded the rather small group of class E, residual, state pensioners, and casual workers.

<u>Kahan's Label</u>	<u>Research Services Label</u>	
I	A	Higher managerial and professional
II	B	Lower managerial and administrative
III	C ₁	Skilled and supervisory non-manual
IV		Lower middle class
V	C ₂	Skilled manual
VI	D	Unskilled manual
VII	E	Residual, state pensioners, casual workers.

Another question associated with the distinction of class is where class is taken into consideration, that of the respondent or that of the head of the household. In our study we follow the practice of most British studies which regard the class of the head of the household

as the basis for the definition of the individual's class. Thus married women are taken to belong to their husbands' class, while the class of a single woman is determined either on the basis of her parents' class if she still lives with them, or according to her own occupation if she lives on her own.

'Excitement' vs. 'Economy'

The clothing habits of the consumers are bound to have an impact on demand in the clothing market. In this context, clothing behaviour which reflects the influence of fashion can be expected to result in increased purchases. Thus the degree to which fashion plays a role in the consideration of buyers in different strata of the population is likely to have an impact on the value of the consumption of clothing garments. Fashion is an aspect of clothing behaviour which has an impact on different patterns of consumer behaviour. It relates to questions such as the reasons for buying new clothes, the degree to which the wardrobe is planned in advance, and the motivation behind impulsive buying.

The first question put before the consumers referred to their motives for buying new clothes.

Table 42

Motives for buying new clothes

(numbers, percentages, in order of preference)

<u>M o t i v e s</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>2</u>		<u>3</u>	
	<u>Num- bers</u>	<u>Per- centages</u>	<u>Num- bers</u>	<u>Per- centages</u>	<u>Num- bers</u>	<u>Per- centages</u>
Old clothes worn out	183	32	65	11	87	16
Boredom with old clothes	244	42	151	27	86	16
Seen by other people in one's old clothes	31	5	102	17	111	20
Old clothes no longer fashionable	82	14	188	33	132	24
Desire for clothes simi- lar to those of one's friends	5	1	11	2	24	5
Desire to be attractive to men	38	6	59	10	105	19
T o t a l	<u>583</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>576</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>545</u>	<u>100</u>
Unknown	6		13		44	

From the viewpoint of a study focused on the impact of fashion it is interesting that 42% gave as a first reason the answer "Because I am bored with my old clothes". Thus the most popular answer put the emphasis on the desire for change which is supposed also to be one of the

explanations for the appeal of fashion.¹⁾ Only a smaller percentage of respondents, 32 percent, claimed to buy new clothes because their old clothes were worn out. Other answers were: 14% "Because my old clothes are not fashionable any more"; 6% "Because I want to be attractive to men"; 5% "Because other people have seen me in all my old clothes"; 1% "Because I want similar clothes to my friends". The same set of attitudes is also traceable in the choice of the second reason. The most popular second given reason for buying fashionable goods was "Because my old clothes are not fashionable any more". This answer, like the reference to boredom, indicates that buying clothes is not primarily motivated by material necessity. The motive of being bored was mentioned by 27% out of the 58% who did not give it as their first motive. Another 16% mentioned it as their third motive. Hence no less than 85% of the respondents mentioned being bored as one of their three main motives for buying clothes.

Each of the answers represents a particular outlook on fashion. It is therefore possible to accept the answers as the representing general motive for buying clothes and to refer in our analysis to these motives.

The answer "because my old clothes are worn out" represents the 'economy' or 'utility' motive in clothes purchasing.¹⁾ The answer

1) The meaning of the term 'utility' in this context should not be confused with its usage in the context of either economic theory or psychological decision making theory, nor has it much in

"Because I am bored with my old clothes" represents the notion of buying as a source of 'Excitement'. The response "Because other people have seen me in all my old clothes" represents the "status" aspect of the demand for fashionable articles. The reply "Because my old clothes are not fashionable any more" represents the 'Conformity' aspect of fashion. "I want similar clothes to my friends", puts the emphasis on 'Imitation', and the answer "I want to be attractive to men" refers to the 'Sex' motive.

The extent to which non-economic considerations affect the demand for women's clothing can also be inferred from the answers to other questions beside the questions of the motives for buying new clothes.

One of these questions was the question "Do you sometimes buy new clothes because you feel like it?".

(Ftn. cont'd from previous p.)

common with the philosophical usage of the term. The term is used here in a narrower sense which combines connotations of 'economy' on the one hand, and 'instrumental' on the other, and perhaps also of 'use value' in the Marxist sense. It is also associated with the use of 'utility' during the Second World War, in describing standard wartime products. It denotes an emphasis on durability, usefulness and low price and disregard of style and fashion. The term 'economy' on the other hand is clearer but its usage in this context involves some sacrifice of meaning for the sake of clarity.

Table 43

Inclination towards impulsive buying
(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Often buys impulsively	132	23
Sometimes buys impulsively	378	64
Never buys impulsively	79	13
T o t a l	589	100

No less than 64% of the consumers interviewed sometimes buy new clothes for reasons which are clearly non-economic, and 23% do so often.

The distribution of responses to the question about planning of wardrobe in advance was as follows:

Table 44

Planning wardrobe in advance
(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Planning in advance	147	25
Planning for special occasions	108	18
Planning of casual clothes	18	3
Not planning at all	316	54
T o t a l	<u>589</u>	<u>100</u>

53% of all respondents do not plan their wardrobe at all, while only 25% plan their wardrobe.

The profile of the typical consumer which can be derived from the answers to the three questions mentioned above is clearly that of a woman whose demand for clothing is determined by social and psychological needs rather than by considerations of economy. Yet the data concerning the buying motivation on the part of the average consumer are still of a limited sociological significance, as it is impossible to draw conclusions from them about the behaviour and attitudes of different social groups and to compare this with one another. Such conclusions can be only drawn from the breakdown of the data on the basis of several social criteria.

The distribution (according to age) of answers to the question "Why do you usually buy new clothes?" reveals some significant differences between age groups. If we focus on the first reason given by the consumers and ignore the answers of the second and third preferences, the differences between the age groups are as in the following table.

Table 45
Motives for buying new clothes, distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Economy motive	22	25	28	42	42	42
Excitement motive	48	47	41	35	36	35
Status motive	5	5	4	4	6	7
Conformity motive	17	14	17	11	12	9
Imitation motive	2	0	2	0	1	0
Sex motive	6	9	8	8	2	7
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	169	128	49	101	89	43
Unknown	0	1	2	3	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 29.96 \quad p > 0.01$$
$$p > 0.05$$
$$p < 0.10$$

The table shows that there are variations in the correlation between age and motivation for buying new clothes. The most obvious conclusion concerns the most popular responses representing the 'economy' and the 'excitement' motive. It is clear that the older the consumer, the more likely she is to wear her old clothes till they are worn out. The opposite is the case of the 'excitement' motive, the older the woman, the less importance does she attach to this motive, a motive typical of modern mass consumption society. It is also noteworthy that these two contrasting motives are the most popular by far. The lowest percentage of each of them (between the ages 15-19 in the case of 'economy', and between 30-40 in the case of 'excitement') represents the attitudes of many more consumers than the highest percentage of consumers mentioning any other alternative. Hence the difference in attitudes depending upon age is mainly represented by the contrasting trends of these two motives. Yet it is impossible to infer from these data whether the difference represents a change of attitudes during the years or reflects the difference in the period of socialization of the different age groups, i.e. the fact that younger consumers are already products of "the affluent society".

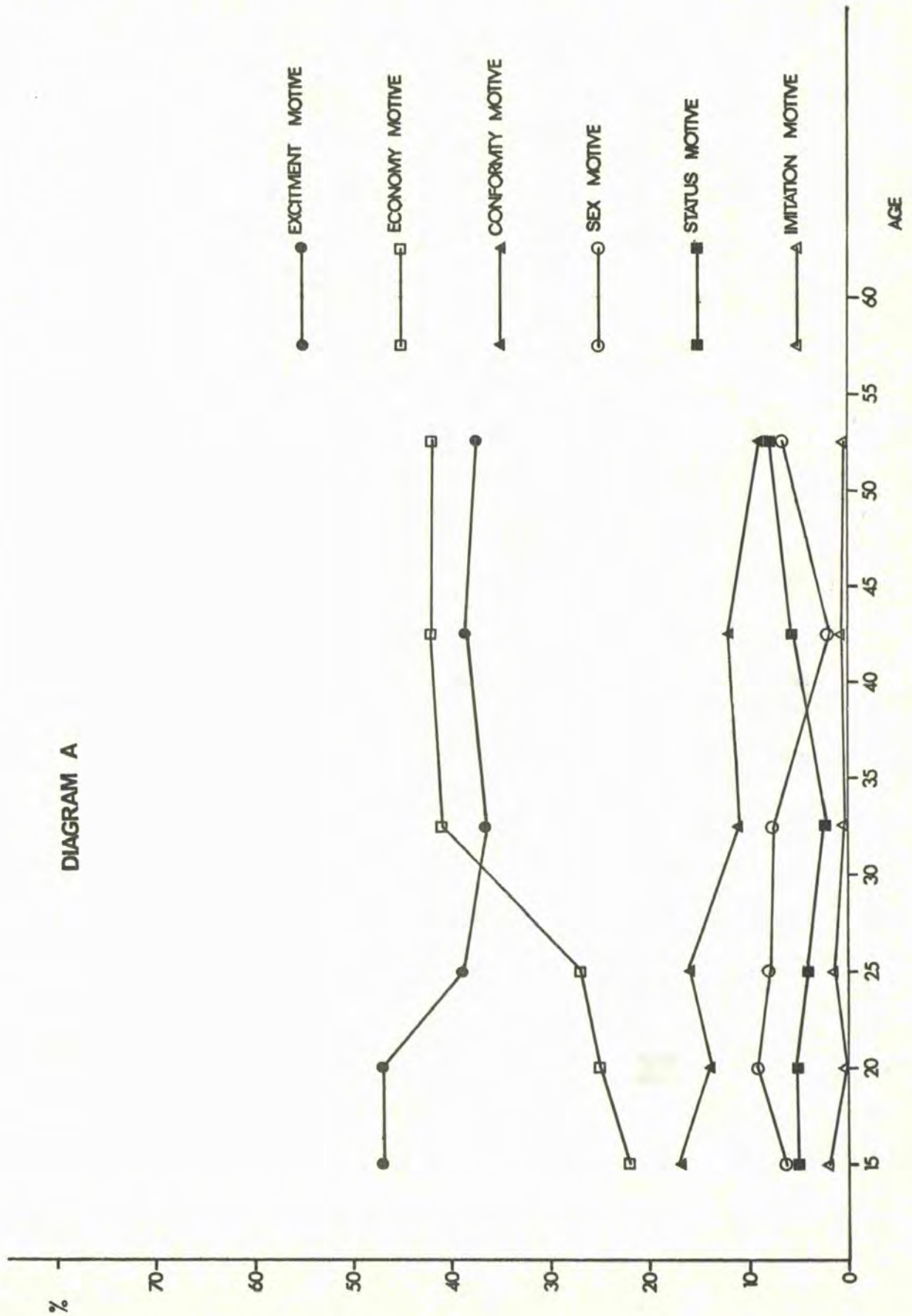
The third in popularity among the consumers is the 'conformity motive. Although the trend of the curve representing this motive is not as clear as that of the curves representing the two more popular ones, it appears that its popularity tends to diminish in older groups. The popularity

of this motive slumps to a minimum between the ages of 40-50, and then in the 50-60 age group rather surprisingly increases and reaches the same level as in the age 15-19 group. Perhaps the interpretation of this curve could best be left to the psychologists!!

The 'status' motive is less popular than one would expect, and its curve reveals a slight tendency to rise in older age groups. The importance of the 'imitation' motive, at least as a primary influence in buying fashionable goods, seems to be so small as to be negligible, while its curve does not indicate any clear trend.

The trend of alternative answers in terms of proportions is illustrated in the following diagram A, in which each curve represents a motive mentioned above, i.e. 'economy', 'excitement', 'status', 'conformity', 'imitation' and 'sex'.

DIAGRAM A



The breakdown of the data according to age group reveals a statistically significant correlation between age and motivation in buying new clothes. The correlation of motives and social class as demonstrated by the following table is much less marked.

Table 46

Motives for buying new clothes, distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Economy motive	33	31	35	26
Excitement motive	36	42	45	39
Status motive	6	5	4	8
Conformity motive	16	16	10	16
Imitation motive	2	2	0	0
Sex motive	7	4	6	11
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	115	127	205	89
Unknown	1	2	4	0

$$\chi^2 = 7.840 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

It appears that the two most popular motives, that of 'economy' and that of 'excitement' are less correlated with the ^{social} class factor than with the age factor.

Another division which cuts across distinctions is that between housewives, working women and students.

Table 47

Motives for buying new clothes, distribution by women's employment
(percentages)

	<u>Housewives</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Working Women</u>
Economy motive	41	22	35
Excitement motive	37	53	34
Status motive	3	6	4
Conformity motive	14	12	8
Imitation motive	1	0	3
Sex motive	4	7	16
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	207	87	284
Unknown	2	0	9

$$\chi^2 = 17.806 \quad p > .01$$

$$p > .05$$

$$p < .10$$

The figures indicate that housewives are more economy minded than either students or working women, but the 'economy' consideration is still the more prevalent answer among working women. There is no significant difference between housewives and working women with regard to the 'excitement' and 'status' motives. On the other hand, there is a clear difference between the proportion of consumers who mentioned the 'conformity' motives in these two groups: only about 8% of the working women compared with 14% of the housewives.

With regard to the 'sex' motive, only 4% of the housewives indicated this motive as compared with not less than 16% of the working women and 7% of the students. The most interesting group of the three is that of the students. This group's attitude to fashion represents the clearest example of clothing consumption which is not motivated by 'economy' considerations but by the drive to innovate in order to satisfy a need for 'excitement'. In this respect the student is the 'ideal consumer' from the point of view of the promotion of fashionable garments. Youth provides a partial explanation of the attitudes of students which fit into the pattern of the consumer in a High Mass Consumption society. The proportion of students who mentioned the 'excitement' factor as the most important motive for buying new clothes is higher than that of any age group in the distribution of the sample according to age (see Table 45). This attitude on the part of some students cannot be explained by economic affluence, as it is reasonable to assume that many working girls can afford to spend more money on clothing than many of the girls defined as students. In this respect they can be regarded as more open to innovation, and in a way, even as bearers of change.

Table 48

Motives for buying new clothes, distribution by marital status
(percentages)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Economy motive	38	22
Excitement motive	38	49
Status motive	4	6
Conformity motive	13	15
Imitation motive	1	1
Sex motive	6	7
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	328	238
Unknown	7	1

$$\chi^2 = 17.3 \quad p < .01$$
$$p < .05$$

The distribution of answers according to marital status reveals that the attitudes of unmarried women are similar to those of students, but the emphasis on excitement is slightly less marked.

Impulsive and Calculated Buying

The distribution according to social class is not significantly correlated with the distribution of answers about motives for buying new clothes. Not so the distribution according to age group and marital status, which have been found to be significant. It appears that the consumption of fashionable garments is much less of a status symbol than a pattern of socio-cultural behaviour associated with a need for 'excitement' in modern mass society. From this point of view we can distinguish between the consumption of clothing in general, and the consumption of fashionable articles as such. The more established women are, and the more concerned with domestic responsibilities, the less likely that they will be responsive to innovation in fashion which appeals to the need for change. It is the young women, the unmarried women and the girl students, who are in the position of 'moratorium'¹⁾, who can be regarded as the 'model' consumers of fashionable garments.

These conclusions are supported by the consumers' answers to other questions which were associated with their motivation for buying clothes. One of these questions was: "Do you sometimes buy new clothes because you feel like it?". The percentage distribution of the answers according to age groups showed that younger people were more inclined towards impulsive buying than older people.

1) See: Erickson, E., "Identity and lifecycle", Psychological Issues, vol. 1, No. 1, 1959.

Table 49

Inclination towards impulsive buying, distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Often buys impulsively	29	21	27	17	16	26
Sometimes buys impulsively ,	62	70	57	71	60	55
Never buys impulsively	9	9	16	12	24	19
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	168	129	51	104	89	43
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 22.108 \quad p > .01$$
$$p < .05$$

Even more marked is the effect of marital status on impulsive buying.

Table 50

Inclination towards impulsive buying,
distribution by marital status
(percentages)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Often buys impulsively	19	28
Sometimes buys impulsively	65	63
Never buys impulsively	16	9
T o t a l	100	100
N	333	239
Unknown	2	0

$\chi^2 = 9.048$ $p > .01$
 $p < .05$

While only 19% of the married women admitted to often buying clothes because they felt like it, no less than 28% of the unmarried belonged to this category of persistent impulsive buying. On the other hand, 16% of the married women never buy because they feel like it, compared with only 9% of the unmarried women. Yet it is noteworthy that the most popular answer in both groups was "sometimes", and this answer was given by almost the same percentage of consumers in each of the two groups, 65% among the married and 63% among the unmarried.

The distribution of answers according to class also reveals some interesting differences of attitude.

Table 51

Inclination towards impulsive buying, distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Often buys impulsively	23	23	18	31
Sometimes buys impulsively	63	60	70	56
Never buys impulsively	14	17	12	13
T o t a l	100	100	100	100
N	116	129	209	89
Unknown	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 8.31 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

In spite of the established lack of significance in general of the differences between classes in their answers to this question, it is still noteworthy that the upper middle class is more inclined towards impulsive buying than the other classes.

Unlike the distribution of answers to the question concerning motivation and impulsive buying, the distribution according to age in

answer to the question "Do you plan your wardrobe in advance?" did not reveal any clear trend.

Table 52

Planning of wardrobe in advance, distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Planning in advance	28	19	18	23	26	40
Planning for special occasions	18	20	21	14	19	21
Planning casual clothes	4	1	6	5	3	0
Not planning at all	50	60	55	58	52	37
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	168	129	51	104	89	43
Unknown	1	0	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 14.126 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

It is almost impossible to offer any plausible explanation for the distribution of answers in the above table. It seems that very young people and older people are more inclined to plan their wardrobe in advance than middle-aged people. More than half the women in every age group except the 50-59 do not plan their wardrobe in advance and the and the differences between the various groups are not marked. Only

in the group 50-59 is there a strong inclination to plan wardrobes in advance, with only 37% not doing so. On the other hand, the distribution of answers according to class appears to indicate some difference in the behaviour of consumers in various class categories.

Table 53

Planning of wardrobe in advance, distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Plans wardrobe in advance	14	22	26	39
Plans for special occasions	17	15	20	22
Plans casual clothes	2	5	4	2
Does not plan wardrobe at all	67	58	50	37
T o t a l	100	100	100	100
N	115	129	209	89
Unknown	1	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 26.3954 \quad p > .01$$
$$p < .05$$

It is noteworthy that the upper middle class are more inclined than other class categories to claim that they are planning their wardrobe in advance. At the same time they are also more inclined to state that they often buy impulsively. A

possible explanation for this contradiction is the fact that the number of upper middle class women who often buy impulsively is big only in comparison with other classes. Moreover, the percentage of upper middle class women who do not plan their wardrobe at all is bigger than the percentage of women of the same class who are inclined to buy impulsively - 37% as against 31%.

It is possible that the upper middle class women who do not plan their wardrobe in advance can afford impulsive buying more than women of other classes who are in the same position with regard to planning in advance.

It can be concluded on the basis of this table that the higher the class status of women, the more they are inclined to plan their wardrobe in advance. Working class people of lower status and apparently also of lower income groups, are much less likely to plan their wardrobe than skilled workers. The latter are less likely to do so than the lower middle class women. But the lower middle class consumers, in their turn, are still not as inclined towards planning as women who belong to the upper middle class category. Even the middle categories do not affect the consistency of this distribution of attitudes.

Impulsive buying and unplanned buying are related to the question of non-economic variables which affect the clothing market. Impulsive buying does not necessarily imply responsiveness to fashion, but to the extent that women are responsive to fashion, they can be expected to buy impulsively more frequently than women who are indifferent to fashion.

A similar connection exists between responsiveness to fashion and the planning of the wardrobe in advance. Although there is a seasonal element in fashion cycles, the purchase of clothing to satisfy motives associated with fashion such as the 'excitement' motive implies less planning than purchases subjected to 'economy' considerations. Therefore there is likely to be a correlation between impulsive buying and the lack of planning on the one hand, and responsiveness to fashion on the other.

Any purchase involves two decisions - firstly, to buy, and secondly, what to buy. The questions put so far dealt primarily with certain aspects of the first step, i.e. the decision to buy new clothes. But the choice between alternatives such as the emphasis on 'economy' versus the emphasis on 'excitement', has also to be made when the actual buying is taking place. Therefore the question "What things do you take into account when buying new clothes?" is not identical to the question of the specific motivation for making the special purchase, although it can be considered complementary to it. In answering the question "What things do you take into account when buying new clothes?" the consumers were asked to choose not more than two of four alternative answers offered them: Cost, quality, the fashion, and classic (not affected by changes in fashion). The distribution of the answers given was as follows:

Table 54

Types of considerations affecting purchase of clothes
(numbers, percentages)

<u>Suggested consideration</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Cost	349	31.1
Quality	384	34.2
Fashion	270	24.0
Classic (not affected by change in fashion) ¹⁾	118	10.7
T o t a l	1,121	100.0

N = 589

The answers indicate that 'quality' and 'cost' are the most frequently referred-to considerations for buying clothes, and choice of style plays a smaller role. The distribution of the answers to the above question according to age groups was as follows:

-
- 1) The term 'classic' is a jargon term used both by designers and women consumers. This term implies that a certain garment is not subject to changes in fashion and remains in circulation for many years, for example the so-called 'Chanel Suit'.

Table 55

Types of considerations affecting purchase of clothes,
distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Cost	34	32	29	32	29	28
Quality	28	36	32	36	41	41
"Fashion"	32	26	28	20	19	15
"Classic"	6	6	11	12	11	16
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	324	241	97	197	171	80

$$\chi^2 = 120.5196 \quad p < .01$$
$$p < .05$$

While there is a little difference between the ages with regard to references to the 'cost' consideration, the 'quality' aspect tends to play a bigger role in the responses of older consumers. Even more marked is the contrast between the 'fashion' answers and the 'classic' answers. The first is most popular among the youngest consumers, and the least popular among the oldest. The latter roughly represents the opposite trend. This contrast between the trends of the 'fashion' and 'classic' answers is in accord with the assumption that the 'economy' consideration is much more marked in older age

groups, while the younger consumers are more concerned about fashionable clothing.

A complementary trend can be inferred from the distribution of answers according to marital status.

Table 56

Types of considerations affecting purchase of clothes,
distribution by marital status
(percentages)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Cost	31	32
Quality	37	31
"Fashion"	20	30
"Classic"	12	7
T o t a l	100	100
N	628	458

$$x^2 = 27.143 \quad p < .01$$
$$p < .05$$

The above data show clearly that single girls are much more interested in having a fashionable appearance, while wives attach more importance to economy in their behaviour as consumers.

Unlike the distribution of answers according to age and marital status, the distribution according to class does not indicate marked differences which can be interpreted satisfactorily.

Table 57
Types of considerations affecting the purchase of clothes,
distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Cost	35	31	32	29
Quality	32	34	34	35
"Fashion"	23	24	25	22
"Classic"	10	11	9	14
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	220	242	395	170

$$\chi^2 = 4.8015 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

The pattern which evolves from these responses is similar to the pattern that characterizes the answers to the questions regarding the motivation for buying new clothes. Both in making her decision to buy, and in deciding what to buy, the consumer faces, among other considerations, the basic dilemma of choosing between the considerations related

to the 'excitement' motive and those related to the 'economy' motive.

In this respect our data show that the bearing of the age factor and marital status factor on the preference concerning this dilemma is more marked than the effect of class, although the latter too is not negligible.

The question regarding the motives for buying new clothes and the considerations taken into account in selecting the chosen garments, relates indirectly to responsiveness to fashion. The answers to this question reflect the impact of fashion on the demand for clothing, but this effect cannot be expressed in strictly quantitative terms. Only the category of 'fashion' in the last question refers directly to fashion. About half (270) of the women in the sample mentioned 'fashion' as one of their two main considerations in selecting the chosen garment. Thus it appears that the responsiveness to fashion is widely spread among the urban population in England, although considerations of cost and quality still play a more important role in guiding the demands for clothing garments.

Responsiveness to Fashion

It is worthwhile to tackle the question of responsiveness to fashion from another angle, that of attitudes towards fashion as such. The fact that the existence of fashion is taken for granted by manufacturers, designers, communicators and consumers, does not in itself imply that the consumers welcome the need to adapt to fashion. In

order to answer the question as to what extent the consumers accept willingly the existence of fashion, the consumers in our sample were asked to express their opinion about the possibility that fashion might stop changing. The question put to them was:

"Suppose fashion stopped changing, would you be: a) happy, b) indifferent, c) unhappy?"

The answers reflected a considerable degree of internalization of the norms governing fashion as a mode of social behaviour.

Table 58
Consumers' attitudes towards hypothetical situation
in which fashion stops changing
(numbers, percentages)

<u>Type of response</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Happy	49	8
Indifferent	270	46
Unhappy	270	46
T o t a l	589	100

The data indicate that only 8% of the women in the sample would be content if fashion stopped changing and would be happy to live in a world in which people are not exposed to the influences of frequent

changes in the style of their clothes. The rest of the consumers were divided into two equal groups answering 'indifferent' and 'unhappy'.

It is more difficult to say which approach accounts for the attitudes of the indifferent: are they people who possibly conform to the norm of their social environment, or people who do not care about fashion anyway? Probably the group of the 'indifferent' is not homogeneous and is composed of people with different approaches towards fashion as a mode of behaviour. The attitudes towards changes in fashion can be expected to be influenced by the social characteristics of people in terms of class, occupation, marital status and age. Thus nearly half the consumers welcomed the continuous change associated with fashion, as against only 8% who regard changes in fashion as a burden. The breakdown of answers provides some interesting data in this respect.

One of the conclusions that can be drawn from the following distribution of answers according to the different strata in society is that class affiliation has little if any bearing upon the inclination to be unhappy if fashion stopped changing.

Table 59

Consumers' attitudes towards hypothetical situation
in which fashion stops changing, by class
(numbers, percentages)

<u>Type of response</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Happy	10	9	9	6
Indifferent	52	47	43	46
Unhappy	38	44	48	48
T o t a l	100	100	100	100
N	115	128	209	88
Unknown	1	1		1

$$\chi^2 = 3.8482 \quad p > .01$$

$$p > .05$$

More marked is the association between employment and attitudes towards a hypothetical situation in which fashion stops changing.

Table 60

Distribution of attitudes towards hypothetical situation in which
fashion stops changing, by women's employment
(numbers, percentages)

<u>Type of response</u>	<u>Housewives</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Working Women</u>
Happy	7	9	14
Indifferent	51	33	51
Unhappy	42	58	35
T o t a l	100	100	100
N	209	87	290
Unknown	0	0	3
$\chi^2 = 18.660$ $p < .01$ $p < .05$			

No less than 14% of the working women would approve of a situation in which fashion stopped changing, compared with an overall average of 8%, while only 35% of the same group would regret such a situation (compared with an average of 46% for the whole).

The distribution of answers according to age groups indicates that more young people than older ones would be unhappy if fashion stopped changing. However, there is no consistency in the response trend of those who claimed that they would be happy if such a thing were to take place.

Table 61

Distribution of attitudes towards hypothetical situation
in which fashion stops changing, by age
(numbers, percentages)

<u>Type of response</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Happy	6	10	8	12	7	9
Indifferent	38	47	35	48	54	60
Unhappy	56	43	57	40	39	31
T o t a l	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	168	128	51	103	89	43
Unknown	1	1	0	1	6	0

$$\chi^2 = 20.0849$$

$$p > .01$$

$$p < .05$$

The attitudes which explain the distribution of answers according to age are probably also responsible for the distribution of answers according to marital status.

Table 62

Distribution of attitudes towards a hypothetical situation
in which fashion stops changing, by marital status
(numbers, percentages)

<u>Type of response</u>	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Happy	10	6
Indifferent	51	37
Unhappy	39	56
T o t a l	100	100
N	333	239
Unknown	2	1

$\chi^2 = 19.5471$ $p < .01$
 $p < .05$

The differences between the unmarried and married women are traceable in all the three categories of responses. More married women than unmarried ones would be happy if fashion stopped changing, and the number of married women who would be indifferent is larger than of those who would be unhappy, while the situation with regard to married women is the reverse. These differences between married and unmarried women can be attributed to the effect of the economic burden of providing for the married women's families. The response of the consumers about the

hypothetical situation in which fashion stopped changing also reflected regional differences.

Table 63

Distribution of attitudes towards a hypothetical situation
in which fashion stops changing, by regions
(numbers, percentages)

<u>Type of response</u>	<u>London</u>	<u>Liverpool</u>	<u>Brighton</u>
Happy	5	7	19
Indifferent	48	40	51
Unhappy	47	53	30
T o t a l	100	100	100
N	286	182	118
Unknown	2	1	0

$$\chi^2 = 29.2913 \quad p < .01$$
$$p < .05$$

The regional distribution of answers, regarding attitudes towards hypothetical situations in which fashion stops changing, confirms the proposition that London and Liverpool are far more fashion conscious than Brighton. In London only 5% would be happy if fashion stopped changing, in Liverpool 7%, while in Brighton no less than 19%. The

proportions of those who answered 'unhappy' were 47% in London, 53% in Liverpool, and only 30% in Brighton. The relatively high degree of fashion consciousness in London and Liverpool as compared with Brighton, can be interpreted as associated with the role of London as a centre of fashion designing in Britain, and with the impact of Liverpool on the emergence of youth culture in Britain in the 60's.

The attitudes of the respondents toward a hypothetical situation in which fashion might stop changing can be interpreted as a reflection on responsiveness to fashion in society. The existence of responsiveness to fashion in general is a necessary condition for the spread of new models and styles in fashion but it is not a sufficient condition. The spread of innovations in fashion is also dependent on the consumers' reaction to particular changes. Fashion consciousness in itself, and even a favourable attitude towards fashion in general, do not necessarily imply readiness to accept too frequent changes and to follow each innovation which is regarded as fashionable at a given moment. Thus, the existence of favourable attitudes towards fashion does not in itself ensure the success of any new design which appears in the market. In other words, the adaptability of the consumers to changes in fashion is limited, and probably differential, even if they are in principle responsive to fashion. The degree of responsiveness to fashion is affected by the availability of purchasing power, associated with the rising standard of living as well as by the evolution of the ready-made clothing industry, which enables women with relatively modest means to follow changes in fashion. In this respect, too, the 'excitement' motive and the 'economy' motive appear to contrast with each other.

The ability to respond to frequent changes in fashion is dependent on the ability to behave in a 'wasteful' way from the viewpoint of pure 'economy' considerations. Women who would not like to see fashion stop changing are probably 'excited' by the continuous change in styles and design. But the degree to which such responsiveness can find its expression in terms of market behaviour is conditioned by economic factors as well as by the availability of information about recent innovations. Such information is provided by the channels of communication through which potential buyers can learn about new fashions.

The Effect of the Mass Media

The theory of mass communication distinguishes between two different kinds of channels of communication. There are the formal channels of the mass media, television and the cinema, and there are the informal channels based on primary relations and the influence of people, who play the role of opinion leaders.¹⁾ One of the questions concerning the spread of fashion is what role is played by the various channels of communication in promoting new styles and models. The consumers in the sample were asked to state whether they thought they were influenced by magazines, and whether clothes they saw on television or at the cinema

1) Berlson, B.R., Lazarsfeld, P.F., Voting, Chicago, 1954; Ford, R.J., "The Primary Group in Mass Communication", Sociology and Social Research, 1954, pp. 152-168; Katz, E., Lazarsfeld, P., Personal Influence, Chicago, 1955; Katz, E., "The Two Step Flows", Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring 1957, pp. 61-78.

gave them some ideas of what clothes to buy. Although the question about the influence of the different channels of mass communication were presented in a different form, they can be regarded as comparable to one another.

In the case of magazines, the question referred to the influence of magazines on the consumers in buying new clothes, while in the case of television and cinema the formulation of the question was somewhat different as the consumers were asked whether clothes they see on T.V. or at the cinema give them some ideas of clothes to buy. But of course deriving ideas from television and cinema reflects the influence of the mass media.

Table 64

The influence of mass media on purchases of clothes
(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Magazines</u>		<u>Television</u>		<u>Cinema</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Influenced	303	51	178	33	107	18
Not influenced	286	49	392	66	468	80
Undecided	0	0	8	1	14	2
T o t a l	589	100	578	100	589	100
Unknown	0		11		0	

The table shows that a very small majority of 51% thought they were influenced by magazines. An even lower percentage, 33%, maintained that they were influenced by television. But the respondents still believed that television played a much larger role than the cinema as a source of ideas. This is actually not surprising; attendance at cinemas has tended to drop in recent years because of the influence of other forms of entertainment and many cinema halls have been converted into dancing halls.¹⁾

It is possible that the influence of television is larger than that which is reflected in the consumers' answers. These answers refer only to the direct and conscious influence and probably only partially convey the indirect impression which affects people when they are buying new clothes.

Thus the 33% of consumers who thought that television gave them some ideas may be those who were conscious of the influence of television, while other women could have been influenced by television without realizing it.

Therefore in interpreting the above figures it is necessary to take into consideration that the answers reflect the awareness of the influence of mass media on part of the consumers rather than the actual influence itself.

1) See Johns, E.A., op. cit., p. 137.

More information about the manner in which television plays a role in the spread of fashion can be derived from answers of consumers to our open question about the particular programmes which gave them ideas about clothing. The influence of pop culture was evident in the frequent mention of the pop programmes such as "Top of the Pops", "Ready, Steady, Go", "Cathy MacGowan Programme", "Juke Box Jury", etc. Some other women mentioned the news in general and fashion news in particular. A third category of programmes was the popular series, among them programmes dealing with a) the social milieu of the upper middle class (e.g. The Power Game), which focus on the social life of business executives; b) adventure and espionage series with a flavour of high life (e.g. The Avengers, The Baron, etc.). The fourth category mentioned in many answers was advertisements on Independent Television.

While almost every consumer in Britain can be regarded as a television consumer, it is noteworthy that, at least in part the influence of television is similar to the influence of what people see around them. In this respect television only reduces the time needed for people to be informed about changes in fashion in the main centres.

The breakdown of the consumers' statements regarding the influence of mass media shows that the distribution of consumers' responses varies according to the criteria of social differentiation.

Table 65

The influence of magazines on purchases of clothes,
distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Influenced	58	51	45	52	46	44
Not influenced	42	49	55	48	54	56
Undecided	0	0	0	0	0	0
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	168	129	51	104	89	43
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 5.3871$$

$$p > .01$$

$$p > .05$$

$$p < .10$$

Table 66

The influence of television on purchases of clothes,
distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Influenced	36	33	25	28	28	23
Not influenced	62	66	73	71	71	75
Undecided	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
T o t a l	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	165	127	51	101	86	43
Unknown	3	2	0	3	3	0

$$\chi^2 = 4.3928 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

Table 67

The influence of cinema on purchases of clothes,
distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Influenced	20	24	18	16	8	19
Not influenced	78	73	80	82	88	79
Undecided	2	3	2	1	3	2
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>99</u>	<u>100</u>
N	165	128	49	100	85	42
Unknown	3	1	2	4	4	1

$$\chi^2 = 21.7710 \quad p > .01$$
$$p < .05$$

The distribution of answers about the stated influence of the press, by age, shows that older people are less inclined to state that they are influenced by magazines.

This tendency is consistent with the figures about the readership of fashion magazines, which shows that the readership of magazines which specialize in fashion is relatively younger than that of magazines which do not specialize in fashion (see table 30). Both our data and the

readership survey appear to indicate a greater interest in publications about fashion by younger people than by older people.

Therefore the data provided by the readership survey appear to correspond to our data despite the fact that they do not reflect at all the reading of fashion sections in the daily press.

The distribution of answers to the question about the influence of television does not show a statistically significant difference between the different age groups. On the other hand, such a difference is evident in the case of answers to the question about the influence of the cinema. Younger people between the ages of 15-19 are more inclined than are older people to state that clothes they saw in the cinema gave them some ideas about what clothes to buy. This is compatible with the cinema going habits of people in general. These habits are reflected in the survey of Cauter and Downham on Derby.¹⁾ This survey indicates that the group which goes to the cinema most frequently is that composed of working class people between the ages 16-24.

Differences between classes in statements about the influence of the mass media are less marked than differences in age.

1) Cauter, T., Downham, J., The Communication of Ideas. A Study of Contemporary Influences on Urban Life, London, 1954.

Table 67a

The influence of magazines on the purchase of clothes,
distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Influenced	49	53	52	55
Notinfluenced	51	47	48	45
Undecided	0	0	0	0
T o t a l	100	100	100	100
N	116	129	209	89
Unknown	0	0	0	0

$$x^2 = 0.7072 \quad p > .01$$

$$p > .05$$

Table 69

The influence of television on the purchase of clothes,
distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Influenced	38	36	30	20
Not influenced	62	62	69	77
Undecided	0	2	1	3
T o t a l	100	100	100	100
N	106	126	206	86
Unknown	10	3	3	30

$$\chi^2 = 9.4696 \quad p > .01$$

$$p < .05$$

Table 69

The influence of cinema on the purchase of clothes,
distribution b-y class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Influenced	16	19	19	21
Not influenced	84	77	79	76
Undecided	0	4	2	3
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	105	126	206	86
Unknown	11	3	3	3

$$\chi^2 = 0.7059 \quad p > .01$$

$$p > .05$$

The variations among social classes with regard to the question about the influence of the press were statistically not significant. Yet, although on the whole this is not significant, it appears that women who belong to the unskilled working class categories are slightly less inclined to say that they are influenced by magazines than the other groups. It is noteworthy that this group is according to readership surveys also less inclined to read magazines in general and

magazines which specialize in fashion in particular. 83 - 4% of the readership of magazines which specialized in fashion, for example, is composed of women readers who belonged to either the middle class, or the skilled working category, as against 16 - 7% of women in another class category, including unskilled workers.¹⁾ The proportion of unskilled worker households in the population in the early 60's is about 25%²⁾, and about 8% of the households in Britain were included in the residual category which includes casual workers, state pensioners, etc. (class D).

Unlike the case of the distribution of the answers to the questions about the influence of television and cinema by age group, the distribution of answers by class is significant only with regard to television and not significant with regard to the cinema.

The proportion of respondents who claimed that they were influenced by television is highest among unskilled workers and lowest among the upper middle class. Moreover, the table reflects a consistent trend: the higher the status of the consumer, the less she is inclined to claim that clothes on television give her ideas about what clothes to buy.

These results might be related to the different television viewing habits of the different class categories. The BBC Audience Research

1) See table 31.

2) Rayner, J., op. cit., p. 9.

Survey of Listening and Viewing¹⁾ showed, for example, that the average television weekly viewing hours of working class adults in mid-Winter 1967 was 16.6 as compared with 14.3 of the lower middle class and 12.8 of the upper middle class. The corresponding figures for mid-Summer of the same year were 13.3 hours, 12.0 hours and 10.4 hours respectively.

The distribution of answers according to marital status does not reflect statistically significant differences between the married and unmarried women.

Table 70
The influence of magazines on the purchase of clothes,
distribution by marital status
(percentages)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Influenced	50	55
Not influenced	50	45
Undecided	0	0
T o t a l	100	100
N	335	239
Unknown	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 1.0013 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

1) The BBC Audience Research Survey of Listening and Viewing, 1967.

Table 71

The influence of television on the purchase of clothes,
distribution by marital status
(percentages)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Influenced	29	33
Not influenced	70	65
Undecided	1	2
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	335	239
Unknown	0	0

$$x^2 = 1.2672 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

Table 72

The influence of cinema on the purchase of clothes,
distribution by marital status
(percentages)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Influenced	16	21
Not influenced	82	76
Undecided	2	3
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	335	239
Unknown	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 1.8228 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

Despite the lack of statistical significance in the tables it is still noteworthy that in all these tables a higher percentage of unmarried women than married women answered that they were affected by mass media. This consistency might reflect a slightly higher exposure of the unmarried women to mass media, or a higher degree of fashion consciousness on their part.

The distribution of the answers according to regions does not appear to reflect statistically significant differences between London, Liverpool and Brighton.

Table 73

The influence of magazines on the purchase of clothes,
distribution by regions
(percentages)

	<u>London</u>	<u>Liverpool</u>	<u>Brighton</u>
Influenced	48	56	53
Not influenced	52	44	47
Undecided	0	0	0
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	288	183	118
Unknown	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 2.8861 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

Table 74

The influence of television on the purchase of clothes,
distribution by regions,
(percentages)

	<u>London</u>	<u>Liverpool</u>	<u>Brighton</u>
Influenced	31	33	28
Not influenced	67	66	72
Undecided	2	2	0
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	288	183	118
Unknown	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 0.8064 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

Table 75

The influence of cinema on the purchase of clothes,
distribution by regions
(percentages)

	<u>London</u>	<u>Liverpool</u>	<u>Brighton</u>
Influenced	20	15	18
Not influenced	79	82	78
Undecided	1	3	4
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	238	183	118
Unknown	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 1.9338 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

Informal Channels of Communication

The mass media channels are not the only media through which fashion information reaches the consumer. Informal communication, information which is passed from one person to another in face to face relationships, certainly plays an important role in affecting decisions about clothing. In fact almost half of the consumers stated that they consulted other people when buying a piece of clothing, and consultation is one of the ways of conveying information from one person to another. Women might for example imitate their friends, neighbours etc., without consulting them. Yet, in consultation, unlike in imitation, other people are directly involved in the consumer's decision making.

Table 76
Consumers' consultation with other people
when buying a piece of clothing
(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Consulting	272	46
Not consulting	317	54
T o t a l	589	100

Those who answered "yes" to the above question were asked to state whom they consulted, from the following alternatives: Your family, your friends, your friends at work, your neighbours. They were asked to indicate not more than two alternatives.

Table 77
People consulted
(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Family	207	59.1
Friends	119	33.9
Friends at work	22	6.2
Neighbours	3	0.8
T o t a l	351	100.0

The inclination on the part of the consumers to consult others can be seen as indicating a degree of consciousness about their appearance. In this respect differential inclination to consult other people is likely to be correlated with differential fashion consciousness. However, our data show that the proportion of teenagers who consult other people about buying new clothes is more than double the proportion of women between the ages 50-59.

Table 78

Consulting with other people when buying a piece of clothing,
distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Consult	61	51	39	36	34	30
Do not consult	39	49	61	64	66	67
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	169	129	51	104	89	43
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 29.9046 \quad p < .01$$
$$p < .05$$

The greater inclination on the part of younger women to consult other women is consistent with the proposition that they are more concerned about their clothing. But the differences between younger and older age groups in this respect can also be interpreted as associated with the life style of young people in general and teenagers in particular. There is an indication of this in the effect of age on answers to the follow-up question which was put to those who answered that they consult other people. The question was: "Whom do you consult?". Most older people tended to consult their families. Teenagers on the

other hand mentioned friends more often than family. Other young age groups such as the 20-24 groups were more inclined to answer "family", but a considerable number still pointed to "friends".

Table 79
People consulted, distribution by age
(numbers)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Family	38	39	18	34	27	11
Friends	39	28	6	10	5	3
Friends at work	9	5	0	1	0	1
Neighbours	0	0	0	1	0	5
T o t a l	86	72	24	46	32	20

Teenagers are considered to be much more peer group oriented than older people and therefore they are more likely to consult other friends. In the context of conformity oriented teenage fashion, consulting with other people is one of the mechanisms which facilitate the spread of information about the latest fashion.

The proportion of younger people who claim to consult their friends as compared with older people might reflect not only fashion consciousness but also a higher degree of readiness to involve their friends in their

considerations. A similar pattern emerges from the breakdown of the data according to marital status.

Table 80
Consulting other people when buying a piece of clothing,
distribution by marital status
(percentages)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Consult	37	58
Do not consult	63	42
T o t a l	100	100
N	335	239
Unknown	0	0
$\chi^2 = 9.3651$ $p < .01$ $p < .05$		

Although married women have their husbands to consult, they are much less inclined than unmarried women to consult anyone. Only very few married women stated that they consulted friends, friends at work, or neighbours. Those who did say that they consulted other people tended to consult their families. On the other hand, among unmarried women there was more mention of friends at work than of family.

Table 81

People consulted, distribution by marital status
(numbers)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Family	113	90
Friends	24	91
Friends at work	3	19
Neighbours	2	0
T o t a l	142	200

The response distribution according to employment reflects a trend similar to that of the breakdown by age and marital status. Students are much more inclined to consult other people than either housewives or working women, and working women are slightly more inclined to consult other people than housewives.

Table 82

Consulting other people when buying a piece of clothing,
distribution by employment
(percentages)

	<u>Housewives</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Working women</u>
Consult	39	68	44
Do not consult	61	32	56
T o t a l	100	100	100
N	109	87	293
Unknown	0	0	0

$\chi^2 = 20.8385$ $p > .01$
 $p > .05$

Students, like unmarried girls and younger people, are relatively more inclined to consult their friends than are housewives. Working women, too, are more inclined to consult friends and friends at work than are housewives, but not to the same degree as students.

Table 83

People consulted, distribution by employment

(numbers)

	<u>Housewives</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Working women</u>
Family	74	43	88
Friends	16	40	61
Friends at work	0	2	20
Neighbours	1	0	2
T o t a l	91	85	171

Unlike age and marital status, class does not appear to be associated with consumers' statements concerning consultation with other people when buying new clothes.

Table 84

Consulting other people when buying a piece of clothing,
distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Consult	46	50	43	47
Do not consult	54	50	57	53
T o t a l	100	100	100	100
N	116	129	209	39
Unknown	0	0	0	0

$$x^2 = 1.2408 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

Another informal channel of communication which might promote the spread of innovation in fashion is that of local opinion leaders.¹⁾ Studies of communication, especially in small groups, have attached considerable importance to the example of people whose prestige among their friends makes them influential in their own circle. Some conclusions concerning the role played by opinion leaders can be inferred

1) See: Katz, E., "Two Step Flow", op. cit.

from responses to the question "Have you ever started a fashion for something new among your friends?", and especially from the breakdown of the response distribution according to age, class, employment, marital status and region. Some women can be expected to exaggerate their role as bearers of change among their friends, but "yes" answers to this question, although they may be biased and subjective, are still indicative since they reflect either the real situation or the prestige attached to the role of opinion leader. Women who pretend to start a fashion for something new among their friends either have done so or have an aspiration to do so.

Table 85
Starting new fashion among friends
(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Have started	120	20
Have not started	469	80
T o t a l	589	100

The figure 20% of women who say that they played the role of opinion leaders at least on one occasion, is not a very high proportion if we take into consideration the fact that the definition "among your friends" can be interpreted by the respondents as referring to a small

circle of close friends. In fact it is the essence of communication through opinion leaders that such opinion leaders operate through personal face to face relationships with their immediate friends and neighbours. The opportunity to inspire people can be expected to vary among different age groups as a consequence of the variation in life styles.

Table 86

Starting new fashion among friends, distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Have started	31	16	29	14	15	7
Have not started	<u>69</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>93</u>
T o t a l	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	169	129	51	104	89	43
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 24.6120 \quad p < .01$$
$$p < .05$$

It is not inconceivable that fewer women in the older age groups have managed to start a fashion among their friends during the many years they have been buying clothes, than younger people who have only

recently become consumers. The frequent change in fashion is a relatively new phenomenon characteristic of the young people of the new generation, and teenagers in particular. But even if young people are only more pretentious, their answers still demonstrate the competitive atmosphere which induces them to try, successfully or unsuccessfully, to play the role of pacemakers.

The distribution of responses of unmarried women is similar to that of women of younger age, while married women tend to answer the question in a similar manner to that of older women.

Table 87
Starting new fashion among friends,
distribution by marital status
(percentages)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Have started	17	26
Have not started	83	74
T o t a l	100	100
N	335	239
Unknown	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 7.8064 \quad p < .01$$
$$p < .05$$

The breakdown according to employment follows a similar pattern to that of the breakdown according to age and marital status. Among the three groups of students, housewives and working women, the students are the most inclined to state that they have started a new fashion among their friends, while housewives are the least inclined.

Table 88
Starting new fashion among friends,
distribution by employment
(percentages)

	<u>Students</u>	<u>Housewives</u>	<u>Working women</u>
Have started	29	14	20
Have not started	71	80	80
T o t a l	100	100	100
N	209	87	293
Unknown	0	0	0

$\chi^2 = 9.0628$ $p < .01$
 $p < .05$

The distribution of answers according to class does not indicate significant differences between classes.

Table 89
Starting new fashion among friends,
distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Have started	18	17	21	22
Have not started	82	83	79	78
T o t a l	100	100	100	100
N	116	129	209	89
Unknown	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 1.4144 \quad p > .01$$

$$p > .05$$

An important question regarding the spread of fashion is the manner in which people decide whether or not a piece of clothing is fashionable. The major difficulty in answering this question is that the same people get their information from more than one source. The press, window shopping, television, and even seeing people in the street, are all possible ways of becoming informed about what is "going on" in fashion. Yet it is not impossible to draw some conclusions from the answers of people as to how they decide whether a piece of clothing is fashionable. This question was put to consumers in the

sample, who were asked to indicate not more than two of six alternatives: "After seeing it on television"; "After seeing it worn by young girls"; "After seeing it in magazines"; "After seeing it in a shop window"; "After my friends told me"; "After having decided what I want". The two most popular answers were: "After seeing it in magazines" and "After seeing it in a shop window". The least popular answers were: "After my friends told me" and "After seeing it on television".

Table 90

Making of decision that a dress is fashionable

(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
After seeing it on television	42	5.5
After seeing it worn by young girls	136	17.8
After seeing it in a magazine	269	35.3
After seeing it in a shop window	271	35.8
After my friends tell me	43	5.6
T o t a l	761	100.0

The answers show that the press and direct impressions through window shopping, and to a certain extent, looking at people in the street, were the most popular answers.

The responses of the consumers in the sample to the questions about the effect of formal and informal communication show that younger people are more inclined than older people to say that they are affected by both formal and informal channels of communication. Thus the extent that people's statements can be regarded as a guide to their behaviour, younger people appear to be relatively more exposed to the influence of mass media and to that of friends and opinion leaders than their elders. The position of married women vis à vis unmarried women, and of students and working women vis à vis housewives, is similar to that of younger women vis à vis older women. Class appears to be relevant only with regard to formal communication through mass media. More middle class people than working class people tend to state that they are influenced by the press, while more working class people say that television influences their choice of clothes.

There are two possible interpretations of these differences among groups in the degree of exposure to communication as reflected in the respondents' own statements.

One possible interpretation is that certain groups are more concerned about their clothing than others, and thus predisposed to respond to the influence of the mass media, friends and opinion leaders. The other interpretation is that these groups are more exposed to the effects

of communication itself and their apparently intense consciousness of their appearance is only the consequence of the effects of communications.

It is impossible on the basis of the answers of the consumers to our questions to decide between these two interpretations.

However, both interpretations suggest that there is an association between the exposure to communication about fashion on the one hand and fashion consciousness on the other.

The spread of innovation in fashion via the mass media implies an inevitable degree of uniformity. The same model is seen in the magazines or on television by many people all over the country and affects their choice as consumers. In this respect, too, mass produced fashion cannot be individually oriented. Each garment is likely to be produced in many copies and advertising in the mass media is intended to promote the sale of many identical garments. This effect of the mass media is complementary to that of mass production itself, which implies production in series. The styles which developed as a consequence of such combined mass effect inevitably cause many fashionably dressed women to wear similar or even identical garments. In this respect the situation of the two women wearing similar dresses at a party can be expected to evoke feelings different from those associated with the many anecdotes rooted in the social milieu of Haute Couture. Thus, instead of responding to the situation in anger and embarrassment, women attuned to greater uniformity are more likely to be either indifferent or amused in such circumstances.

Therefore the following question was put to the women in our sample: "Suppose you go to a party and see your friend wearing the same dress as you, would you be: angry, embarrassed, indifferent, happy that she has a similar taste, amused, any other reaction". The answers elicited confirmed that embarrassment and anger are by no means the most prevalent reaction.

Table 91
Reaction to similarity between woman's own dress
and her friend's at a party
(numbers, percentages)

<u>Type of reaction</u>	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Anger	46	8
Embarrassment	122	22
Indifference	78	14
Satisfaction	50	9
Amusement	277	47
T o t a l	573	100
Unknown	16	

The data show that the attitudes of most respondents reflects an acceptance of the uniformity which characterizes mass produced and mass communicated fashion.

Social Characteristics and Fashion

The consumers' views and perception like those of the designers and communicators are meaningful not only in the context of market behaviour and the spread of innovations of fashion, but also in that of stratification, and status symbols as a conditioning factor in clothing behaviour. The stratification of society is linked with fashion behaviour through the role played by appearance in asserting people's status.

In fact the study of the impact of people's image of society and their status aspiration in their use of modes of appearance as status symbols is rooted in an established sociological tradition, associated with the names of T. Veblen, H. Mead, G. Stone, Liebenstein and others.¹⁾

In this study the consumers in our sample were asked two sets of questions regarding the association between differentiation in society and the way women are dressed as seen by them. The first set of questions referred to fashion explicitly and were formulated as follows: "Is there any connection between being fashionably dressed and being better educated; being young; having money; and social class". The second set of questions put the emphasis on appearance. The consumers were asked: "Can you tell a woman's education; age; economic position; social class, by the way she is dressed?" Both sets of questions aimed at finding out women's images of fashion in a social context. The first concerns the consumers' views and their perception of the effect of stratification on fashion. The second has focused on

1) See pp. 180-181.

the impact of appearance as a kind of social identity card which makes it possible for people to place a person somewhere on the social map.¹⁾ In this respect a socio-psychological dimension is added to the question of the connection between social stratification and clothing behaviour.

Table 92

Consumers' view on the connection between social characteristics
and being fashionably dressed
(numbers, percentages)

	<u>E d u c a t i o n</u>		<u>E c o n o m i c</u> <u>p o s i t i o n</u>		<u>A g e</u>		<u>C l a s s</u>	
	<u>N u m -</u> <u>b e r s</u>	<u>P e r c e n t -</u> <u>a g e s</u>	<u>N u m -</u> <u>b e r s</u>	<u>P e r c e n t -</u> <u>a g e s</u>	<u>N u m -</u> <u>b e r s</u>	<u>P e r c e n t -</u> <u>a g e s</u>	<u>N u m -</u> <u>b e r s</u>	<u>P e r c e n t -</u> <u>a g e s</u>
Connected	73	12	143	41	251	43	148	25
Sometimes connected	108	18	141	24	111	19	130	23
Not con- nected	405	70	205	35	227	38	308	52
T o t a l	586	100	589	100	589	100	586	100
Unknown	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0

1) See: Stone, G., op. cit., pp. 101-102.

Table 93

Identification of social characteristics by the way women are dressed
(numbers, percentages)

	<u>E d u c a t i o n</u>		<u>E c o n o m i c</u> <u>p o s i t i o n</u>		<u>A g e</u>		<u>C l a s s</u>	
	<u>N u m -</u> <u>b e r s</u>	<u>P e r c e n t -</u> <u>a g e s</u>	<u>N u m -</u> <u>b e r s</u>	<u>P e r c e n t -</u> <u>a g e s</u>	<u>N u m -</u> <u>b e r s</u>	<u>P e r c e n t -</u> <u>a g e s</u>	<u>N u m -</u> <u>b e r s</u>	<u>P e r c e n t -</u> <u>a g e s</u>
Identifiable	164	28	236	40	302	34	236	40
Not identifiable	370	63	293	51	338	58	293	51
Undecided	55	9	56	9	45	8	56	9
T o t a l	589	100	584	100	585	100	584	100
Unknown	0	0	5	0	4	0	5	0

The answers to the two sets of questions reflect a certain similarity between the replies to questions about the connection between different criteria of social differentiation and being fashionably dressed on the one hand, and answers to the questions regarding the ability to identify group affiliation in terms of those criteria. The answers to both sets of questions show that the respondents were least inclined to relate education to fashion. Class, too, was thought by most consumers as neither connected with "being fashionably dressed", nor identifiable by the way women are dressed. The majority in the case of class was smaller than in the case of education. With regard

to age there was discrepancy between the distribution of responses to the question about the connection between social characteristics of fashion and the distribution of answers to the question of identification through appearance. Women were more inclined to think that age is not identifiable by appearance in clothing though that there is a connection between age and being fashionably dressed. In the case of economic position, there was a similarity between the proportion of those who regarded economic position as being connected with being fashionably dressed, and the proportion of those who thought that it is possible to identify women's economic position by the way they are dressed. But there was a difference between the answers to the two questions in the number of those whose response was negative. The difference can be interpreted as a consequence of the different formulation of the question, which enabled the respondents to chose the answer "sometimes", to the question on the connection between social characteristics and being fashionably dressed.

It is, however, noteworthy that the majority of women did not think that any of the social characteristics are identifiable by the way women dress. The more abstract of the two sets of questions on the connection between social characteristics and fashionable dress are more likely to relate to the respondent's perception of fashion in the context of British society. Moreover, this set of questions is more related to the subject of our study since it directly refers to fashion. This question was put not only to consumers, but also to the designers

and communicators. Therefore the distribution of answers to this set of questions appears to be more meaningful in the context of our study. The respondents' views about the connection between the different criteria of social differentiation and being fashionably dressed reflect their perception of fashion in a social context. In this respect it is worthwhile to ask the question to which extent their answers differ according to their own social position.

The breakdown of the answers according to the respondents' class show that there is little difference between answers in this respect.

Table 94

Consumers' view on the connection between being better educated
and being fashionably dressed, distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Connected	12	12	13	12
Sometimes connected	13	17	20	26
Not connected	75	71	67	62
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	115	128	308	89
Unknown	1	1	1	0

$\chi^2 = 6.5037$ $p > .01$
 $p > .05$

Table 95

Consumers' view on the connection between having money
and being fashionably dressed, distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Connected	41	53	38	36
Sometimes connected	14	22	30	19
Not connected	45	25	32	45
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	116	129	209	89
Unknown	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 24.9676$$

$$p < .01$$

$$p < .05$$

Table 96

Consumers' view on the connection between being young
and being fashionably dressed, distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Connected	43	49	40	44
Sometimes connected	11	17	23	15
Not connected	46	34	27	41
T o t a l	100	100	100	100
N	116	129	309	89
Unknown	0	0	0	0

$$x^2 = 10.9344 \quad p > .01$$

$$p > .05$$

Table 97

Consumers' view on the connection between social class
and being fashionably dressed, distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Connected	24	24	27	27
Sometimes connected	16	22	24	27
Not connected	60	54	49	46
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	115	128	308	89
Unknown	1	1	1	0

$$\chi^2 = 5.066 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

The only significant difference was found in the distribution of answers to the question about the connection between having money and being fashionably dressed. Working class women in general and women from skilled working class households in particular were more inclined to see a connection between having money and being fashionably dressed than middle class women. On the other hand, there were few differences between the respondents of different class categories with regard to questions on the connection between being fashionably dressed and age,

education and social class. It appears that different classes in our sample reveal a similar distribution of views on fashion in a social context.

The respondents' age, like class affiliation, does not appear to make much difference with regard to the distribution of answers concerning the connection between criteria of social affiliation and being fashionably dressed.

Table 98

Consumers' view on the connection between being better educated
and being fashionably dressed, distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Connected	14	8	14	10	11	27
Sometimes connected	22	17	16	20	18	12
Not connected	64	75	70	70	71	61
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	167	129	50	103	89	43
Unknown	1	0	1	1	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 13.01444 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

Table 99

Consumers' view on the connection between having money
and being fashionably dressed, distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Connected	42	37	29	46	47	44
Sometimes connected	25	26	29	28	16	16
Not connected	33	37	42	26	37	40
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	168	129	51	104	89	43
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 12.75 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

Table 100

Consumers' view on the connection between being young
and being fashionably dressed, distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Connected	49	42	33	42	37	42
Sometimes connected	21	16	20	14	21	21
Not connected	30	42	47	44	42	37
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	168	129	51	164	89	43
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 11.761 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

Table 101

Consumers' view on the connection between social class
and being fashionably dressed, distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Connected	21	19	25	36	30	24
Sometimes connected	26	26	24	14	19	17
Not connected	53	55	51	50	51	59
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	168	129	51	104	89	43
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 16.15 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

The absence of differences in the distribution of answers on the various age groups and classes does not reflect a consensus, since the replies do reveal differences of opinion among individuals. Thus the only conclusion that can be drawn from the breakdown of the data is that these individual differences of opinion do not appear to relate to attitudes shared by a particular class or age group.

Answers on the connection between social characteristics and being fashionably dressed relate to both the respondents' view on social stratification and their approach to fashion. In order to cast more light on these relationships, the respondents were asked in open-ended questions to explain their answers to each of the four questions concerning the connection between social characteristics and fashion. The consumers' explanation to the question on class and fashion show, that only a minority of those who referred to the question of class conceived of class purely in economic terms, while the majority regarded class differentiation as a socio-cultural phenomenon. Those who reflected the proposition that being fashionably dressed is connected with class usually argued that "nowadays" class does not matter. On the other hand, those who tended to associate class with fashion took one of three forms which we shall call: (a) the "economic"; (b) the "circumstantial", and (c) the "intrinsic".

(a) The "economic" explanation - consumers who attributed the link between class and fashion to the association between class and economic position.

(b) The "circumstantial" explanation - consumers who believed that the differences between the classes can be explained by the effect of leisure and a more intensive "social" life; usually associated with belonging to more privileged groups.

(c) The "intrinsic" explanation - consumers who associated being fashionably dressed with better taste deriving from better education as an expression of intrinsic cultural standards.

The most extreme expression of the claim that class has no bearing on fashionable dress was that "there is no such thing as class". But most of the explanations along this line were not so extreme. The majority of women adopting this attitude expressed it with some qualification. Some referred to the alleged change in attitudes towards class and emphasized the "nowadays" aspect. "Because class has less meaning than it used to have". Others only dissociated class from fashion without referring to other spheres of social life. "Because not everybody has dress sense regardless of class". Some made both qualifications - "When dressed up social class does not count today". There were even a few who maintained that there is still an association between being fashionably dressed and class, but this association is blurred where younger people are concerned: "If you are young, whatever the class, you wear the current fashion".

In general the answers of those who did not attach importance to class as a determining factor in attitudes to fashion reflected a disregard for conspicuous status symbols such as difference in dress. Attitudes towards class differentiation in general in answers concerning the association between class and fashion are reflected in the replies of those women who thought that such associations do exist. It is apparent from some of the answers which attributed the association to economic reasons, that some women tend to be apologetic about not being as well dressed as women who are in a better economic position. For example, "Young people in higher classes usually have their parents to help them out with clothes so that they can change often". Or "Usually higher

social classes have more money and can dress in fashion and good quality". Or again, "Anybody with means can be fashionably dressed".

The social and cultural explanations of the effect of class on fashion were given by women from all classes. The main distinction between the two categories is between the "circumstantial" and the "intrinsic" explanations. The "circumstantial" explanations tended to be more technical. They attributed the fact that women of upper classes are better dressed to their having more leisure and being more occupied with social activities which demand more attention to appearance. In this respect "circumstantial" explanations have something in common with economic ones. They do not regard women of upper classes as better in any social or cultural sense, but only as being in a more advantageous position because of having more opportunities to go out than persons belonging to lower classes. On the other hand, the "circumstantial" explanation and the "economic" explanation have a common emphasis on style of life rather than on the narrower aspects of the amount of money available. Therefore the consumers whose answers conveyed the "circumstantial" attitudes can be regarded as a middle category between those who referred to economic explanations and those who attributed the differences between classes to "intrinsic" qualities. These characteristics are traceable in some typical consumer replies. "People in the upper classes mix more socially, go around in society that dresses fashionably" is one of the stereotyped answers which embodied the "circumstantial" explanation. There is an inclination to believe that "people often dress in accordance with the people they mix with", or "because you mix

with people socially you compete with them". These three answers given by three consumers taken together reflect a rather comprehensive image of the woman with higher status. She moves in a society where she is expected to keep up with other women in the same class, and is therefore likely to ensure that her appearance suits her social position. There is no hint that this upper class woman is culturally or educationally better equipped to fulfil her social role.

The third group of consumers who associated class with being fashionably dressed tended to attribute "intrinsic" value to upper classes, which were supposed by them to have, among other things, better taste. They maintained that "Women of higher social class are educated to good taste", and that "Social class gives you a sense of refinement, it shows in what you are". From the viewpoint of women who accepted this "intrinsic" view on the connection between class and fashion, any attempt at status usurpation is superficial and likely to fail. As one commented: "Sometimes a person looks extremely well dressed and fashionable until she speaks, and then ...". Unlike in the case of the connection between class and being fashionably dressed, there were few variations among the respondents' answers to the question on the connection between having money and being fashionably dressed. In fact there were two main views with regard to this question. One held by those who thought that there is a connection between having money and being fashionably dressed, and the other held by those who tended to deny any such connection.

The main theme of consumers' answers who believed that being fashionably dressed is not connected with having money, was that of the "democratization" of the market as a result of the availability of fashionable clothing at reasonable prices. The only variation in this group of answers was provided by those women who added to it the emphasis that even having money does not guarantee good taste.

The availability of fashionable goods at reasonable prices was not denied by most consumers, who maintained that there is still a connection between having money and being fashionably dressed. Their main argument was that people with limited means cannot afford to follow the rapid changes which characterize fashion in recent years. In fact, those who associated being fashionably dressed with having money and those who claimed this association did not exist, tended to refer to two different characteristics in the fashion market during recent years. These two characteristics are firstly the fact that "one can dress cheaply and fashionably nowadays", "If you have dress sense you don't need all that money", and "fashionable things are so cheap and can be made"; and, secondly, "unless one has a lot of money one cannot keep up with all the changes". These two observations on the part of consumers can be regarded as complementary to each other, in spite of the fact that they were provided by consumers who disagreed about the actual association between being fashionably dressed and having money itself.

The question concerning the significance of having money, on fashionable attire, refers to the socio-economic aspect of stratification, while the socio-cultural aspect of stratification can be expected

to be reflected in the replies regarding the connection between being fashionably dressed and education. This is consistent with the whole pattern of consumers' attitudes as expressed in answers to our questionnaire: namely, that women see less connection between being fashionably dressed and education, than between being fashionably dressed and class, having money or being young.

The rather small minority who believed that there is a connection between education and being fashionably dressed maintained that education implies a more refined taste; "Education and good dress sense go together", maintained one consumer. "Education helps to develop dress sense", claimed another. The claim that education could "sharpen your dress sense" is sometimes accompanied by an argument which refers to professional women in particular: "Better educated people often have better jobs, therefore more money, and can afford to be more fashionably dressed". But these views were held by only a few consumers, while the majority did not accept the association between education and dress sense and claimed that "taste in clothes is not governed by education", and that "fashion is a question of dress sense not education". The image of the young as "pacemakers" in the sphere of fashion is traceable in the explanation given by consumers who associated fashionable dress with being young. "If the younger set didn't keep up with fashion, manufacturers would go out of business; it is the younger set who make the fashion in my opinion", said one woman. "It is more the younger people who wear and advertise the new fashion. They actually make and kill fashion", said another.

Those who thought that youth and fashionable dressing are associated supported their answers either with "economic" reasons, i.e. it is the teenagers who have the money, or with "circumstantial" reasons, i.e. the style of life of the young entails fashionable dressing, or with "intrinsic" reasons, i.e. fashionable dressing suits younger girls with good figures. On the other hand, those who did not associate the fashionable with being young, maintained that fashionable dressing is a matter of taste, which is not dependent on age.

Many consumers associated the connection between age and fashion with the fact that nowadays teenagers have money. "The whole atmosphere is addressed to the teenagers because they have the money these days", maintained one consumer. Another wrote, "young people generally have the means to be fashionably dressed, when they are older they may wish to be fashionably dressed, but don't have the money". The repetition of similar statements in many answers appears to indicate an awareness on the part of women that the relative affluence of younger people in Britain involves a change in British society, with far reaching consequences in their style of life, including the spread of fashion consciousness. "Most young people are very fashion conscious, they spend a large part of their income on buying all the latest ideas in clothes", noted one consumer. "Most young people go out of their way to wear the new fashion", was another expression of the same idea. Certain answers included remarks on the attitudes of younger people towards fashion. "Most young people run with the crowd, and therefore keep in fashion regardless of suitability", said one woman, and another tried to suggest

a sociological interpretation of the same phenomenon. "Younger people tend to follow the fashion, it is a rebellious attitude they take towards rules, and regulations and domestic ties".

Similar observations which associated the life style of the young with a strong inclination to follow changes in fashion are included in many answers. In certain replies emphasis was placed on the fact that "younger people are more interested in the opposite sex and are thus very dress conscious". Sometimes the "economic" and the "circumstantial" explanation for the association between youth age and fashion consciousness was combined in the same answer, such as: "The majority of young people are slaves to fashion and are the ones who have the money to spend on clothes". The "economic" and the "circumstantial" explanations are associated with the contemporary British scene, the "intrinsic" explanations elucidate the relationship between being fashionably dressed and being young, thus emphasizing the aesthetic qualities of youth, namely their figures, which are more suited to fashionable clothing. "Up to a certain age any woman can dress fashionably", claimed one answer. "Young people usually have a better figure", said another. Yet even the emphasis on the figures of young people is in certain cases associated not with fashion in general, but with the particular feature of modern fashion. "Only younger people can wear today's fashion", and "very way out fashion should only be worn by the young", or "young people can wear the mod", are several examples of this approach. Even the mini skirt was mentioned in this context. "Some fashions are unsuitable for middle aged women, for example the mini skirt". The theme of many answers was that

young people nowadays conform to general patterns of taste in fashion, rather than assert their individuality. "Young people tend to dress in complete uniformity", mentioned one answer. "The young feel they have got to belong and to dress the same as the crowd", stated another. In certain cases this feature of the life style of young people was mentioned in contrast to the behaviour of the older generation. "Younger people try to dress fashionably ... to avoid being an odd man out. Older people dress in what suits them as individuals more often". The same point in a more personal manner was made by another consumer: "Once you are over 26 you stop caring about what everyone else wears and dress to suit your personality".

Social Status and Appearance

Two more questions which were intended to trace consumers' view on social stratification in the center of clothing behaviour focused on the association between social status and appearance. The first question was: "Sometimes it is said 'Clothes maketh the man (or woman)', do you agree?". The second question was: "Do you think that a woman can improve her social position by being better dressed?" The distribution of answers to these two questions was almost identical.

Table 102

Attitude towards: "Clothes make the man (or woman)"

(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Agreed	414	70
Disagreed	146	25
Undecided	29	5
T o t a l	589	100
Unknown	0	0

Table 103

Improvement of social position by being better dressed

(numbers, percentages)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
Possible	414	70
Impossible	154	26
Undecided	21	4
T o t a l	589	100
Unknown	0	0

The concept of status symbol is implicit in the question: "Do clothes make the man?". It is therefore apparent that a clear majority of women in the sample thought that clothes signified status. Moreover, the same proportion of respondents believed that a woman can improve her social position, i.e. her status, by being better dressed.

This belief is meaningful from another point of view as well. It indicates that most of the consumers did not conceive of social position as given but regarded it as something that can be improved by adopting a mode of appearance usually associated with higher status. In this respect the answer to the second question shows that the inclination on the part of most respondents to associate appearance with status does not imply an image of rigid class differentiations based on ascription. On the other hand, the link between status and appearance was conceived by the consumers as enabling women to acquire higher status by being better dressed. The proposition that people tend to associate appearance in terms of clothing with status, was supported by the answers to the questionnaire with two qualifications: a) better dressing does not necessarily imply fashionable dressing; b) status does not necessarily imply ascribed status.

There are very few differences between age groups regarding their answers to the questions whether clothes make the man, and "can a woman improve her social position by being better dressed?"

Table 104
"Clothes make the man", distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Agreed	63	66	84	76	75	72
Disagreed	29	30	12	20	24	23
Undecided	8	4	4	4	1	5
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	168	129	51	104	89	43
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0

$\chi^2 = 14.93$ $p > .01$
 $p > .05$

Table 105

Improvement of social position by being better dressed
distribution by age
(percentages)

	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-29</u>	<u>30-39</u>	<u>40-49</u>	<u>50-59</u>
Possible	65	68	75	73	72	77
Impossible	27	28	25	26	26	23
Undecided	8	4	0	1	2	0
T o t a l	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	168	129	51	104	89	93
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 4.8462 \quad p > .01$$

$$p > .05$$

On the other hand, marital status appears to be substantially significant with regard to "Clothes make the man", and insignificant with regard to "Can a woman improve her status by being better dressed?"

Table 106
"Clothes make the man", distribution by marital status
(percentages)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Agreed	78	61
Disagreed	19	31
Undecided	3	8
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	335	239
Unknown	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 19.7819 \quad p < .01$$
$$p < .05$$

Table 107

Improvement of social position by being better dressed,
distribution by marital status
(percentages)

	<u>Married</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>
Possible	71	70
Impossible	27	25
Undecided	2	5
T o t a l	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
N	335	239
Unknown	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 4.4764$$

p > .01
p > .05

The data on the effect of class on replies regarding the improvement of status by being better dressed and 'clothes make the man', does not reveal meaningful differences.

Table 108

"Clothes make the man", distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Agreed	70	75	72	67
Disagreed	21	22	26	26
Undecided	9	3	3	7
T o t a l	100	100	100	100
N	116	129	309	69
Unknown	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 2.6964 \quad p > .01$$
$$p > .05$$

Table 109
Improvement of social position by being better dressed,
distribution by class
(percentages)

	<u>D</u>	<u>C₂</u>	<u>B+C₁</u>	<u>A</u>
Possible	69	70	73	70
Impossible	28	26	23	29
Undecided	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
T o t a l	100	100	100	100
N	116	129	309	89
Unknown	0	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 0.7072 \quad p > .01$$

$$p > .05$$

A marked difference between the different categories is indicated by the data concerning the distribution of answers between housewives, students and working women.

Table 110
"Clothes make the man", distribution by employment
(percentages)

	<u>Housewives</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Working Women</u>
Agreed	79	46	76
Disagreed	18	46	23
Undecided	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>
T o t a l	100	100	100
N	209	87	293
Unknown	0	0	0

$$\chi^2 = 34.3 \quad p < .01$$

$$p < .05$$

Table 111
Improvement of social position by being better dressed,
distribution by employment
(percentages)

	<u>Housewives</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Working Women</u>
Possible	73	60	71
Impossible	26	33	24
Undecided	1	7	5
T o t a l	100	100	100
N	209	87	293
Unknown	0	0	0
$\chi^2 = 11.05$			$p > .01$ $p < .05$

The answer of students to the question whether "clothes make the man" are noteworthy. In contrast to every other category of answers only a minority of students believed that "clothes make the man". Agreement with this assumption was expressed by only 46% of the students as compared with 79% of the housewives and 76% of the working women, with an average of 70% in the whole sample. The difference between students and other groups of society is less marked in regard to improving social position by better dressing, but it still indicates the same trend, i.e.

students are less likely to associate status with the way people dress. They may believe that education ought to be a more important criterion in determining status than clothes, and this attitude could affect their answers, although the question refers to the actual situation rather than to its evaluation.

A fashionably dressed woman is undoubtedly conscious of her appearance, but consciousness of appearance in terms of clothing is not necessarily associated with adherence to fashion. Moreover, there are modes of clothing behaviour with status connotations beside adherence to fashion. Several terms describe different modes of clothing behaviour in women conscious of their appearance. Discussion of the connection between modes of appearance and social status in interviews with top designers and fashion editors, revealed that people acquainted with the professional language of the clothing industry could not suggest a general term which would cover all forms of appearance with status connotations. During the interviews, top dress designers and fashion editors referred to several images of appearance-conscious women, each of which connotes certain status attributes. Some designers and fashion editors maintained, that the fashionable woman is still the most general term used in the profession. But they also claimed that terms such as "the elegant woman", "the smartly dressed woman", "the 'with it' woman", represent different images of appearance-conscious women. Moreover, discussion of these semantic problems with top designers and fashion editors made it clear, that in their view, the different images were related to different components of status associated with different social groups.

Following this discussion, a question about the four images associated with the four terms was included in the consumers' questionnaires. The consumers were asked in an open-ended question: "How would you describe: The smartly dressed woman, the elegant woman, the fashionable woman and the 'with it' woman."

The consumers' responses appear to support the proposition that each of the four terms relates to a distinct image, in the sense that many women attribute similar features to each one of the four terms respectively. While each of the four terms represents a coherent image in itself, there are clear differences which distinguish one image from another.

The following selected quotations are representative of consumer replies:

The smartly dressed woman

- wears fairly simple, classic clothes;
- neat and clean, takes extra care with accessories;
- plain and simple style of dressing;
- dresses to suit each occasion, neat appearance;
- attention to detail in dressing;
- neat, does not necessarily spend a lot on herself, but goes to a lot of trouble;
- in fashion, but not kinky;
- takes pride in clothes;
- wears something that suits her figure.

The elegant woman

- tall and slim, model clothes, expensive matching accessories;
- slim, nicely tailored clothes;
- a woman with a natural flair for dressing;
- tall, poised and beautifully dressed;
- model type woman about 25-30 - Baroness Thyssen type;
- wears clothes that suit her, plus grace and femininity;
- sophisticated, charming, but not overdressed;
- always looks charming with a particular style of her own;
- immaculate make-up and hair, poise;
- always dressed exactly to suit herself;
- tall, slender, carries herself well.

The fashionable woman

- always tries to wear contemporary fashion;
- keeps up with changes;
- keeps in tune with modern ideas, constantly changing wardrobe;
- always looks nice, doesn't wear extreme fashions;
- very experimental, eye-catching styles;
- dresses according to whatever is in, without being ridiculous;
- very smart, up-to-date styles;
- reads magazines and dresses accordingly.

The 'with it' woman

- a woman in the age group 15-20 who wears the latest trends;
- follows the latest gimmicks;
- kinky clothes;

- the younger set with mini skirts and daring colours;
- "mod" in all things - a sheep in fashion;
- right scruffy;
- looks like "Honey";
- geared to the very latest, way out clothes;
- follows the trend of a group rather than general fashion;
- she is ahead of fashion.

"Neatness" and "simplicity" are the features most frequently referred to in the response to the question about "the smartly dressed woman". It appears that the image of "the smartly dressed woman" is essentially that of a woman conscious of her appearance, but who attempts to avoid being too conspicuous. Some of the features associated by the respondents with "the smartly dressed woman" appear to remind us of certain attributes of the middle class in general and the lower middle class in particular, as described by sociologists who dealt with the self-image of different classes. The lower middle class was described as "concerned with respectability, pedantic and puritanical". Moreover, this concern with respectability was conceived as the "means of putting social distance between themselves and the working class".¹⁾ Such a similarity (however remote) between the image of "the smartly dressed woman" as viewed by consumers in our sample, and certain attributes of the middle class self-image, might be relevant to the assertion of class

1) Raynor, J., op. cit., p. 87.

affiliation through appearance. However, the evidence is by no means sufficient to justify any definite conclusion in this respect.

The features associated by consumers with elegant women differed from those associated with the smartly dressed woman. I.e., for "the elegant woman" there is more emphasis on "grace", "charm", "sophistication", "style" and a "natural flair for dressing". Aristocratic associations were mentioned, such as: Baroness Thyssen type.

As for the smartly dressed woman, the image of the elegant woman is not entirely devoid of class connotation. But in the latter case, the features referred to by the respondents, such as "grace" and "natural flair", are connected with the image of the upper classes, rather than with that of the lower middle and working classes. It is natural that the image of the tall slim woman - repeated many times in the answers - was conceived by E. Goffman as a status symbol associated with the upper classes.¹⁾

The image of the fashionable woman appears to be associated above all with the idea of change as an inherent characteristic of fashion. The fashionable woman is described as "keeping up with changes", "in tune with modern ideas", "up-to-date". But on the other hand, she is also thought to be "smart" and "not wearing extreme fashion". The emphasis is on modernity rather than on any other outlook. Thus the image of

1) Goffman, E., op. cit., Status Symbols.

the fashionable woman does not appear to bear a specific connotation associated with social stratification.

The idea of change is inherent also in the image of the "with it" woman, as reflected in the answers of the women in our sample. But the "with it" woman - unlike the fashionable woman - is conceived as inclined towards conspicuous behaviour, which finds its expression in an indiscriminate adoption of the latest styles. It is noteworthy that many respondents referred to a specific group of the population in their description of the "with it" woman, and that this was always the younger group.

Most relevant (to our study) among the four images of the dress conscious woman, is that of the fashionable woman. Not only because the study concerns primarily the phenomenon of fashion, but also because this image directly relates to changes in style and design which create a demand for clothing. The fashionable woman is expected to follow such changes in order to be up-to-date. But the fashionable woman, in the view of the consumers, responds to changes originating in industry rather than stimulate change herself.

The designers and communicators when asked why changes in fashion occur, were inclined to think that consumer demand plays an important role in inducing fashion changes. This view was apparently not shared by most consumers. Only a minority among the respondents referred to boredom on the part of the consumers as one of two reasons why changes in fashion occur which they were asked to mention.

The availability of money is another source of change mentioned by the respondents, which is associated with the consumer. But many more consumers referred to industry as a source of change. Among the latter, more women mentioned the designer than the manufacturer.

Table 112
Consumers' explanation for changes in fashion
(numbers, percentages)

<u>Source of changes</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Women get bored with their clothes	229	18
Women have more money to spend on clothing	162	13
Industry stimulates changes	354	28
Paris stimulates changes	100	7
Designers stimulate changes	403	32
T.V. stimulates changes	40	2
T o t a l	<u>1,288</u>	<u>100</u>

The respondents were thus more inclined to believe that industry stimulates change in fashion than to attribute this role to themselves. It appears therefore that in the consumers' eyes innovations in fashion are seen as given. In this view the fashionable woman is responsive to changes in fashion rather than stimulating it by her demand. On the

other hand, many designers and journalists appear to put more emphasis on the role of consumers' demand in stimulating changes and to think that industry is in fact responding to this demand. It is impossible on the basis of our study of subjective views to decide which of these views represent a better judgement of the reality in the fashion market. It is, however, noteworthy that some economists who studied the women's fashion market in recent years are more inclined to focus their attention on consumer-demand.¹⁾ "The Economist" even expressed the view, that as a result of changes in fashion "the textile industries in Britain and United States are now in a state of mounting neurosis, and this latest move [changes which took place in the 70's] is enough to send them to a psychiatrist's couch".²⁾

1) See ch. II.

2) The Economist, November 21, 1970.

S u m m a r y

1. Fashion is one of the factors which effect the consumer's choice and thus play a role in determining the ratio of consumption to permanent income. In this respect fashion is one of the components of effective demand which cannot be interpreted in purely economic terms.
2. The impact of fashion on the consumer's choice has sociological as well as psychological implications. It is sociologically meaningful because its impact on the market is associated with differential group behaviour.
3. The study of the socio-economic implications of fashion is rooted in an established sociological tradition. In this context the aspects of conspicuous consumption and status symbols provide a link between the sociological and the psychological aspects of appearance.
4. The different theories concerning the economic variables affecting consumption are relevant to our study in so far as they are reflected in consumers' demand in the clothing market in Britain. The main relevant issues in this respect are the consumer's position in the context of the clothing market and the consumer's approach to clothing and fashion in the context of his perception of society and his own position in it.
5. This study is based on the responses of 589 consumers to questions put to them in an essentially close-ended questionnaire supplemented by a few open-ended questions. The criteria that were taken into consideration in the choice of the sample were region, class and age group; but, in our analysis of the answers the distribution of the sample according to

marital status and employment was also taken into consideration.

6. The criterion of class was based on the occupation of the head of the household.

7. The distribution of answers in the sample to a question regarding motives for buying new clothes showed that 42% referred to "boredom with their old clothes" (excitement motive) as their first motive, as against 32% who referred to "old clothes worn out" (economy motive), and 26% who mentioned other motives. The latter included those who referred to either "status motive", or conformity motive, or imitation motive, or the "sex motive".

8. The distribution of the answers of the consumers by age showed that younger women were relatively more inclined to refer to the "excitement motive" as compared with older women, more of whom referred to the "economy motive". The answers of married women reflected a similar pattern to that of older women, while those of unmarried women were distributed in a similar way to those of younger women. Class did not appear to have any substantial impact on the distribution of answers.

9. According to the consumers' own evidence only a small minority of them never buys impulsively and the majority does not plan its wardrobe in advance. These findings are consistent with the inclination to refer to the "excitement motive" as the most popular motive for buying clothes.

10. Quality and cost are the most frequently referred to considerations for buying new clothes, while the choice of style plays a smaller

role. Young consumers are more inclined than older ones to refer to style considerations, while the latter refer more frequently to quality.

11. The answers of the consumers to a question about their attitudes towards hypothetical situations in which fashion stops changing, showed a considerable degree of acceptance of the norms governing fashion as a mode of social behaviour. A few women only stated that they would be happy if fashion stopped changing. The rest of the respondents were divided equally between those who said that they would be unhappy and those who claimed that they would be indifferent. The distribution of answers according to age showed, that more young women than older ones said that they would be unhappy if fashion stopped changing. The same can be said about unmarried women compared with married women. On the other hand there was no significant correlation between the distribution of answers to this question and class. Furthermore, consumers in Brighton were much more inclined to say that they would be happy if fashion stopped changing as compared with consumers in London and Liverpool.

12. The distribution of answers to a question about the influence of mass media on purchases of clothes indicates that according to the consumers' own statements, magazines are the most influential mechanism in this respect, and cinema the less influential. Television appears to be less influential than magazines but more so than the cinema. Younger people are more inclined than older people to say that they are influenced by the mass media.

13. Almost half the consumers in the sample maintained that they were in the habit of consulting other people when buying new clothes. The majority of those who consulted other people mentioned persons in the family rather than friends and neighbours. Younger women and unmarried ones were much more inclined to consult other people than older and married women.

14. One fifth of the consumers claimed that they had started new fashions among their friends. Younger women and unmarried women were more inclined than older women and married women to claim that they had started new fashions among their friends. The distribution by answers did not reflect significant differences between classes in this respect.

15. According to the respondents' own evidence, the press, direct impression through window shopping and, to a lesser extent, looking at young girls in the street are the main channels through which innovations in fashion are conveyed to them.

16. Only less than a third of the consumers in the sample said that they became angry or embarrassed as a result of a similarity between their own dress and that of their friends at a party. The majority on the other hand claimed that they would be either amused or indifferent or even satisfied in such a situation.

17. Most of the women in the sample did not think that there was a connection between education or class and being fashionably dressed. On the other hand, most of the respondents expressed the view that there was some connection between economic position and age and being fashionably

dressed. In this respect there were no statistically significant differences in the distribution of answers of women of different classes and age groups.

18. In answers to open-ended questions, consumers who thought that there was no connection between class and being fashionably dressed, tended to emphasize that nowadays class does not matter any more. The minority who thought that class was connected with being fashionably dressed supported their view by either economic explanations (availability of means), or circumstantial explanations (more intensive social life), or intrinsic explanations (better taste associated with better education).

19. Consumers who believed that fashion was connected with having money maintained that people with limited means cannot afford to keep up with rapid changes in fashion. On the other hand, those who denied the existence of such connection emphasized the process of the "democratization" of the market which had come about as a result of the availability of fashionable clothing at reasonable prices.

20. The majority of consumers who thought that there was no connection between education and being fashionably dressed felt that dress sense is not dependent on education. On the other hand, those who thought that education was connected with fashionable dressing claimed that education implies a more refined taste.

21. Consumers who associated fashion with being young tended to refer to the young as the pacemakers in the sphere of fashion. But those who

did not associate being fashionably dressed with being young maintained that fashionable dressing is a matter of taste which was not dependent on age.

22. More than two thirds of the consumers in the sample thought that clothes signify status. The same proportion of respondents believed that a woman can improve her social position by being better dressed.

23. The answers of the consumers to open-ended questions showed that they related the terms "smartly dressed woman", "elegant woman", "fashionable woman", and "'with it' woman", to distinct images which they had of each term respectively. The features associated with the "smartly dressed woman" were neatness and simplicity. The features attributed to the "elegant woman" were grace, charm and sophistication. While the "fashionable woman" was described as a woman who follows changes in fashion but not in an extreme manner. The "'with it' woman" was conceived as inclined towards conspicuous behaviour which finds its expression in an indiscriminate adoption of the latest fashion.

24. The consumers in the sample were more inclined to believe that industry and designers stimulated changes in fashion, than that changes in fashion occur as a result of the demand on the part of the consumers themselves.

CONCLUSIONS

Our study was designed to answer several questions regarding fashion in Britain in the 60's.

In order to analyse the role played by fashion in the clothing market we distinguish between Mass Fashion and Elite Fashion as two different modes of clothing behaviour which both reflect responsiveness to innovations in style and design. On the one hand we asserted that there is a third mode of clothing behaviour - Non-Fashion - which is indifferent to changes associated with the idea of fashion.

With this distinction in mind we suggested that the pattern of behaviour referred to as Mass Fashion accounts for most innovations in style and design of clothes in Britain in the 60's. On the basis of this assumption we also suggested certain hypotheses concerning the characteristics of the fashion market dominated by Mass Fashion.¹⁾

The study was originally intended mainly to test these hypotheses, but as its scope was broader, the data appear to enable us not to confine our conclusions to the questions covered by the hypotheses. Thus, only some of our conclusions will focus directly on the hypotheses, while others will touch upon questions not directly related to them.

Our first hypothesis was: Clothing behaviour in Britain in the 60's tends to be fashion oriented. The available objective data about the

1) See pp. 51-53.

clothing market in Britain do not relate directly to the impact of fashion, but responsiveness to fashion may be one of the factors which account for the increase in consumer expenditure on clothing in general and women's outer clothing in particular. In the absence of sufficient objective data, we have no other choice but to try to find out whether the observations of fashion journalists, fashion designers, and consumers interviewed in the course of the study are consistent with the first hypothesis. Our data show that the prevailing view among the designers was that mass production in the clothing market promoted interest in fashion and makes it available to new sections of the population.

It is noteworthy in this respect that a considerable number of designers thought that the first considerations of their clientele when buying new garments was fashionable design, and that the most popular answers among the designers to the question about their ideal clientele were the "modern fashionable woman" and the "woman with good taste". The consumers were thus conceived by a considerable number of designers as fashion oriented. The views of the consumers themselves appear to confirm these views. Boredom with old clothes (excitement motive) is, on the basis of the consumers' own evidence, the most prevalent first motive for buying new clothes. Moreover, only few women in our sample said that they would be happy if fashion stopped changing, while many more women stated categorically that they would be unhappy if fashion stopped changing.

The second hypothesis was: Fashion in Britain in the 60's tends to be age group directed more than class directed. This hypothesis is supported by both objective and subjective data. Surveys of the clothing market in Britain show clearly that the 15-29 age group of consumers plays a bigger role than other age groups in the clothing market and that their share of total population expenditure on clothing far exceeds their proportionate number in the population. Social scientists who studied the teenage spending habits related them to the development of youth culture which they did not regard as class oriented, although influenced by working class aesthetics. It is also evident that working class affluence facilitates the development of new spending habits including an increased expenditure on clothing.

Increased expenditure on clothing among working class families and the role played by teenage expenditure in the clothing market is interpreted by market researchers and sociologists alike as related to the phenomenon of fashion. This view is also held by the fashion designers interviewed. Many of them expressed the view that fashion is becoming less class oriented and more age group oriented. This was also the prevailing view among the fashion journalists, some of whom referred in this context to mass production fashion as one of the causes of the diminution in the importance of class with regard to clothing expenditure. It is noteworthy that in their observations of the market both dress designers and fashion journalists referred not only to the situation which is reflected in our broader social hypotheses, but also to changes which in their view reflect trends in the clothing market. Some of the consumers' responses to our questions can

also be interpreted as reflecting an association between age and fashion orientation; for example, younger consumers were more inclined to refer to the excitement motive for buying new clothes than older women. On the other hand, class did not have any substantial impact on the distribution of answers to the question about motives for buying new clothes. Younger women were also more inclined than older women to say that they would be unhappy to see fashion stop changing. Furthermore, they were also more inclined to claim that they had started new fashions among their friends. With regard to class it is also noteworthy that the consumers, like the designers and communicators, tended to think that nowadays there is no longer any connection between class and being fashionably dressed. The consumers also thought that a woman can improve her status by improving her appearance, and that it is rather easy to do so because of the availability of fashionable clothing at reasonable prices.

The third hypothesis was: Mass Fashion is disposed towards uniformity, and the consumers' response is not oriented at the presentation of their individuality. The element of uniformity in mass produced fashion is in fact the inevitable result of technological production conditions. But the question is whether the consumers approve of this consequence of production in big series. Both dress designers and fashion journalists expressed the view that mass produced fashion tends to be uniform. On the other hand, there were differences of opinion among them about the evaluation of this process. While some of the designers and journalists claimed that uniformity implies a lower standard of fashion, others

mentioned that one of the consequences of this uniformity was an accelerated pace of change.

The spread of innovations in fashion through the channels of mass communication was mentioned by both dress designers and journalists as associated with the inclination towards uniformity in fashion. Noteworthy in this respect is also the imitation of pop idols by young consumers, which was described by some of the observers as an important channel through which innovations in fashion are conveyed.

The attitudes of the consumers themselves reflected an acceptance of the implications of uniformity of mass produced fashion. This attitude accounts for the distribution of answers to questions about a hypothetical situation in which two women at a party wear similar dresses. Only less than a third of the women in the sample said that they would be angry or embarrassed if such a thing happened to them, while the majority thought they would be either amused or indifferent or even satisfied if this occurred.

The fourth hypothesis was: The Mass Fashion market tends to be anonymous and unpredictable as to the response of the consumers to each individual innovation.

The available evidence indicates that the acceleration of the pace of change in fashion confronted producers with problems of adaptation. The unpredictability of the consumers' choice combined with the need for frequent changes were seen by many firms as an unacceptable burden which caused them to go into liquidation or to amalgamate. Further evidence of

the unpredictability of the market is the failure of Trial Lines of firms such as Marks and Spencer.

The unpredictability of the market also finds its expression in the designers' answers about the successful designer. In this respect it is noteworthy that most designers expressed the view that the success of a designer is measured by his commercial success. This response of the designers also reflected a belief in the fact that their success is dependent upon the ability to predict the response of the consumer to their innovations.

The fashion journalists, from their respective point of view, put more emphasis than the designers on the interest of the industry itself in frequent changes in fashion. But they, too, did not fail to mention the effect of the demand on the part of the consumers in this respect. The view which attributed the success or failure of innovations in fashion to the unpredictable response of the consumers is consistent with the consumers' own evidence regarding their market behaviour. Worth mentioning in this context are the consumers' response to the question about impulsive buying. Only a small minority among the women in the sample reported that they never bought impulsively.

The fifth hypothesis was: The interaction between the different participants in the process of the diffusion of fashion is conditioned by differences in their respective concept of their part in the process and patterns of communication between them.

The responses of the dress designers, the fashion editors and consumers to similar questions put to them show that each of the groups has its respective point of view about fashion, both in the context of the clothing market and in the broader social context. The designers' attitude reflects a dual orientation, deriving from artistic aspiration on the one hand, and the dependence on success in the market on the other hand. The ideology of the occupation implies a self-image of the dress designer as an original, creative individual, while the designers' perception of the market leads them to put strong emphasis on the need to be sensitive to the consumers' demand and respond to it. On the other hand, our study of the consumers' attitude indicates that the women in the sample were inclined to believe that changes in fashion are stimulated by industry and the designers rather than by the demand on the part of the consumers themselves. From the viewpoint of the consumer, fashion and changes in fashion are conceived as given and the consumers thus appear to have only the choice to accept or to reject them. Most consumers are not fully aware of the fact that their rejection or acceptance determines the fate of each innovation in fashion.

The gap created by the discrepancy between the viewpoint of the designer and manufacturer on the one hand, and that of the consumer on

the other, is partly bridged by the communication media. The mass media in general and the press in particular convey the intentions of the designer to the consumers and in part also guide the consumer in her decision. This guidance is based partly on a process of selection on the part of the communicators who decide which innovations should be reported to the public and how. In this respect it is noteworthy that the fashion journalists conceived their role as that of a channel for the spread of information rather than that of educators or promoters of new ideas. This occupational self-image is explained by the reference group of the fashion journalists which appears on the basis of their own evidence to be journalism as a profession rather than the world of fashion.

Both objective data, the observations of designers and fashion journalists and the views of the consumers indicate that the most important channel of communication by which innovations in fashion are conveyed to the consumers is the press. This does not mean that the readership of the fashion magazines is always composed of potential buyers looking for guidance. The data provided by the study of the consumer show also that the spread of information about innovations in fashion is not confined to the formal channels of communication, and opinion leaders too play a role in this respect.

While the different participants in the process of the creation and spread of fashion have different perceptions of the manner in which the clothing market operates, they have similar views about the role of fashion in the broader social context. There was a considerable degree of agreement among dress designers, fashion editors and women consumers

about the spread of the influence of fashion to new groups in society, about the diminution of the influence of class as a factor in clothing behaviour and about the role of young consumers as the pace makers of fashion. Yet, the differences between the views and perceptions of the designers and fashion journalists about the clothing market are more likely to affect the spread of fashion than the agreement about the role of fashion in a broader social context.

Failure on the part of the designers and manufacturers to understand the motives of the consumers in buying new clothes may affect the degree of their success in responding to the consumers' demand.

The formulation of our hypotheses reflects the limitation imposed upon the study by the fact that it was carried out in a certain short space of time. Consequently it was impossible to identify change by comparing behaviour and attitudes at different points in time. Thus the hypotheses referred to the situation as it was in the period of the research. Nevertheless, the data gathered during the course of the study appear to include certain indications that enable us to draw some conclusions which relate to change and process as well. Most significant in this respect are the objective data provided by market surveys which compare the expenditure on clothing items by different social groups each year. This survey supports the proposition that expenditure on clothing tends to increase and that this increase reflects in particular the bigger role played by young consumers.

The observations of the consumers themselves are less reliable than expenditure surveys. Yet we cannot ignore the fact that dress designers, fashion journalists and women consumers alike ^ebelieve that fashion is increasingly influenced by the mass produced clothing industry and that this process is associated with the diminution in the impact of class on fashion on the one hand and the increasing impact of the younger consumers on the other.

The observations, subjective as they are, are complementary to the indications provided by the market surveys. Thus the observations of dress designers, fashion journalists and consumers and the findings of the market surveys are consistent with the impressions given by the authors of memoirs and descriptive books on fashion that there is a shift of emphasis from individually oriented Haute Couture fashion to the mass produced clothing industry as the main source of innovations. in fashion.

The data appear to suggest that the situation in the clothing market in Britain in the 60's, and the attitudes of dress designers, producers and consumers towards fashion are associated with economic and social processes which resulted in the spread of the pattern defined by us as Mass Fashion. Yet the significance of the prevalence of Mass Fashion does not depend on the proposition that it is a consequence of social change. The concept of a distinct pattern of clothing behaviour which can be referred to as Mass Fashion in itself adds a new dimension to the study of fashion. This new dimension is relevant to each of the four sociological and socio-psychological approaches to fashion: the diffusion of

innovations approach, the social differentiation stratification approach, the collective behaviour approach, and the approach concerned with the meaning of fashion for the individual. The main concern of the sociologists who tackled fashion from the angle of the diffusion of innovations has been the manner in which innovations in fashion are communicated and spread. Unlike Elite Fashion, Mass Fashion is likely to be communicated mainly by the mass media, and indeed our data show that formal channels of communication play an important role in conveying innovations in fashion to the consumers. The circulation of magazines which specialize in fashion, and the fact that daily newspapers have found it necessary to introduce fashion sections which appear at least once a week, reflect the demand for information about fashion.

As we have pointed out, an interest in fashion is not necessarily connected with purchases of fashionable clothing items. Yet it is not without significance that the circulation of fashion magazines is not confined to one social group, and that at the same time women from all strata of society tend to claim that the press plays an important role in affecting their clothing purchases. Moreover, the women consumers were also inclined to say that the press and window shopping were the main channels through which innovations in fashion are conveyed to them. These statements on the part of the consumers are correlated by the impressions of the dress designers and fashion journalists. It also appears from the consumers' responses that the role played by informal channels of communication such as opinion leaders in the context of Mass Fashion is not entirely unconnected with the role played by the mass media. Even a woman who has

started a new fashion among her friends is, in mass market conditions, dependent on garments which are already available in the market. Unlike the case of the Elite Fashion market, the information about innovations in fashion cannot be conveyed to the public without the use of the mass media. The potential buyers of a new mode are spread all over the country and do not belong to a narrow social clientele. Thus the informal channels of communication cannot substitute the formal ones but only complement them. In this respect there is a connection between the diffusion of innovations in fashion and the social stratification conditioning of responsiveness to fashion.

The ^{study}~~structure~~ of fashion from the viewpoint of the stratification and social differentiation approach puts the emphasis on the social status implications of fashion. Fashion can serve as a status symbol only to the extent that there is a differential responsiveness to fashion in different social groups. Such a differential responsiveness based either on a differential sensitivity or on economic considerations was the essence of Elite Fashion. Mass Fashion on the other hand is bound to be more evenly distributed among different strata of society. The profits of the producer of series of fashionable models are dependent on the size of the market; the more identical items the producer succeeds in selling, the bigger his profits are expected to be. Thus the producers of mass produced fashionable clothes who are interested in the promotion of their products are by the same token interested in the spread of fashion to new strata in society.

To the extent that the producers of Mass Fashion garments only copy designs originating in the Haute Couture the result is "depreciation" of the status value of the model or, in other words, a "Trickle Effect". But this is not the case when new models are designed for the mass produced clothing industry itself. In such case it is impossible to speak about "Trickle Effect" and "depreciation", and the situation is rather that of "democratization" of fashion in the sense that Mass Fashion is devoid of a status connotation. The mere fact that firms engaged in production of garments for the mass market employ dress designers indicates that new designs do not necessarily originate in Haute Couture. Moreover, even some of the top designers interviewed for our study are working for industry and not only for Haute Couture.

The "Democratic" fashion appears to affect not only the clientele of the designers but also their attitudes. Not only was the prevailing view among the designers that mass production promotes interest in fashion among new sections of the population, but many of them also expressed the view that mass production enriches fashion and has a stimulating effect on Haute Couture. References to an alleged democratization of fashion were also included in the answers of the fashion journalists and consumers. The views of the latter are the most important in this respect, since the status value of being fashionably dressed is dependent on people's reaction to other people's appearance. In this respect the fact that most of the women did not think that there was a necessary connection between class and being fashionably dressed is meaningful. The attribution of status value to fashionable clothes is not dependent on actual differences in

appearance among different social groups, but on people's acceptance of such differences a symbolizing class differentiation. The inclination on the part of the women in our sample to maintain that fashion is devoid of class connotation, can, therefore, be interpreted as reflecting a prevalent attitude which is associated with the spread of fashion. The availability of garments at relatively low prices provides an opportunity for women of different strata of society to be fashionably dressed, and this is apparently exploited above all by the younger consumers. Worth mentioning in this context is also the fact that the majority of the consumers thought that a woman can improve her status by being fashionably dressed. Thus fashion is still conceived by the consumers as signifying status, but Mass Fashion makes it impossible to monopolize the status value attributed to fashion. It is also impossible to identify a woman's social class by her clothing. In other words, our data appear to show that appearance in terms of clothing is no longer a reliable indication as to people's class affiliation. If this assertion is correct we might relate this implication of Mass Fashion to an inclination towards status inconsistency, that is to say, towards a different emphasis on various components of status in different social situations.

In such a case, a society in which Mass Fashion has a considerable impact on women's clothing behaviour will be a society in which it is difficult to identify at first sight people's class. In such a society the identification of women's class affiliation would probably involve more refined symbols than appearance in terms of clothing.

The collective behaviour approach to fashion is characterized among other things by the distinction between fashion and fad. In this respect the characteristics of Mass Fashion which are reflected in the data gathered for our study had many elements in common with fad as conceived by students of collective behaviour. As a result of frequent changes in style referred to by both dress designers and fashion journalists the designs of Mass Fashion tend to be ephemeral like fads. The accelerated pace of change is also one of the factors responsible for the unpredictability of the women's clothing market. This unpredictability confronts manufacturers and designers with difficulties in adjusting to the demands of the consumers and induces some manufacturers to liquidate their firms or amalgamate with other firms. Thus the manufacturers and the designers have to take into consideration the fad characteristics of Mass Fashion. The concept of collective behaviour also suggests that there is a strain which underlies collective behaviour and promotes changes. The strains associated with Elite Fashion are rooted on the one hand in the desire to prevent usurpation of status symbols and on the other hand in the fear of a loss of prestige by individuals as a result of a failure to follow changes in fashion. Our study of consumers' attitudes did not reflect particular concern on the part of women about usurpation of status symbols as far as Mass Fashion is concerned. On the other hand, there are some traces of a strain associated with the acceptance of the norms governing fashion behaviour which entails the demand to be "in fashion". This kind of strain may also be responsible for the inclination towards impulsive buying, and with some of the features of the teenage fashion which finds its expression in the image of the "with it" woman.

Another angle from which the phenomenon of fashion can be examined is that of its meaning for the individual. The Symbolic Interaction theory maintains that people convey their identity through appearance. According to this concept fashion is one of the means by which people assert their identity in a social context. This approach to appearance corresponds to that of 70% of the women in our sample who agreed that "clothes maketh the man", and that a woman can improve her status by being better dressed.

But the sociological implications of the Symbolic Interaction approach depend to a considerable extent on the ability to relate people's identity to their group affiliation and, through group affiliation, to social stratification. In this respect the responses of the women in our sample were less conclusive. About half the women in our sample thought that it was impossible to tell women's class and economic position by the way they were dressed, as compared with 40% who believed that class and economic position are identifiable through clothes and about 10% who were undecided. Even fewer women in our sample thought that education and age are identifiable through appearance. It seems, therefore, that although the women in our sample were inclined to believe that "clothes maketh the man", most of them did not think that women's social characteristics are identifiable at first sight, perhaps because they thought that a woman could improve her position merely by being better dressed. It seems that in a society in which Mass Fashion prevails, differential clothing behaviour does not appear to people as related to social stratification. However, our data suggest that the respondents conceive the way women are

dressed in differential terms. This is reflected in the existence of four distinct images of the "Smartly dressed woman", "Elegant woman", "Fashionably dressed woman", and "'With it' woman".

A second approach which focuses on the meaning of fashion for the individual is the approach associated with the name of Simmel. According to this approach the phenomenon of fashion is characterized by a tension between the aspiration to uniformity and the aspiration to individual differentiation. Moreover, each of these two aspirations is conceived as reflecting social forces which affect the individual's relations with his society. The dependence of Mass Fashion and products in big series in itself implies that it puts less emphasis on assertion of the individuality of the consumer than Elite Fashion. This by-product in Mass Fashion and of the promotion of its spread through channels of the mass media is reflected in the data on which our study is based.

In this respect, it is noteworthy that most of the consumers interviewed in our sample complied with the uniformity consequences of Mass Fashion as reflected in the answers to the question about two women wearing the same dress at a party. The fact that the majority of the respondents said that they would be either amused or indifferent or even satisfied in such a case, indicates that they do not regard fashion primarily as a means of asserting their individuality, but rather as an expression of conformity with the prevailing style in their social environment.

Another aspect of the meaning of fashion for the individual which is not covered by either the Symbolic Interaction approach nor Simmel's approach, is that of the role of fashion as a form of entertainment. Worth

mentioning is the distribution of the answers in our sample to the question regarding motives for buying new clothes which showed that more women referred to the Excitement Motive as their first motive for buying new clothes, than any other motives including the Economy Motive, the Sex Motive, the Status Motive, the Conformity Motive and Imitation Motive. It is also noteworthy that the inclination to refer to boredom with old clothes, that is to say that Excitement Motive, was most marked among young and unmarried women. The role played by boredom with old clothes provides a possible explanation for the demand for frequent changes of style and design which characterizes the clothing market dominated by Mass Fashion.

As our study focused primarily on Mass Fashion, much of our data concerns this mode of clothing behaviour rather than those which come under the heading of Elite Fashion and Non-Fashion. Yet our data show clearly that although Mass Fashion appears to prevail over the other two modes of clothing behaviour, it is by no means dominating the whole clothing market. The influence of Haute Couture in Britain in the 60's is rather limited, but it is not negligible; at the same time there are still sections of the population which claim to be indifferent to fashion. Thus the analysis of the three modes of clothing behaviour has more than purely historical significance. It touches upon different modes of behaviour which co-existed in the period when our study was carried out, although one of them, that of Mass Fashion, appeared to be the main source of innovations in the style and design of women's clothing. Therefore it is worth while to compare the three modes of clothing behaviour in their different contexts, that of individual attitudes of consumers, that of the interaction between buyers and sellers in the market, and that of the symbolic expressions of status

differences. There are many possible variables which are relevant to the comparison between the three modes of fashion behaviour in the three above mentioned contexts. Our study and the theoretic analysis of the literature about fashion and clothing behaviour enable us to identify and examine some of these variables. The variables on which our comparison is based are classified according to the relevant contexts of analysis in the table below.

List of Variables

A. Individual Attitudes

1. Attitudes towards variations among individuals.
2. Motives for clothing purchases.

B. Interaction Between Buyers and Sellers in the Market

3. Quantity of identical garments.
4. Designers' relationship with clientele.
5. Channels for spread of information about fashion.
6. Frequency of changes in design.
7. Degree of predictability of the market.

C. Symbolic Expression of Status Differences

8. Degree of emphasis on status differences.
9. Relative conspicuousness of class and age group.
10. Identifiability of group affiliation.

The comparison among the three modes of clothing behaviour on the basis of these variables represents a synthesis of (a) conclusions drawn from data obtained in the course of an empirical study; (b) information

derived from the available literature about fashion and the clothing market, including historical studies of fashion, memoirs and market research surveys; (c) inferences from propositions deriving from the theories about fashion. Thus the table below should be looked upon as an attempt to construct a classifying scheme which sums up the basic contention of our thesis.

Schematic Comparison of the Modes of Clothing Behaviour in Three Contexts

Contexts of analysis	Individual Attitudes	Interaction between buyers and sellers in the market	Symbolic expression of status differences
Modes of clothing behaviour			
Elite Fashion oriented	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Assertion of individuality. 2. Primarily status motivated. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Production of single garments or small series. 4. Personal contact between designers and clients. 5. Spread of information about innovations mainly through informal channels of communication. 6. Seasonal changes in design. 7. High predictability of the market. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. High emphasis on status differences. 9. Class more conspicuous than age group. 10. Group affiliation is identifiable.
Mass Fashion oriented	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Uniformity. 2. Primarily Excitement motivated. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Production in large series. 4. No personal contact between designers and consumers. 5. Spread of information about innovations mainly through formal channels of communication. 6. Very frequent changes in design. 7. Low predictability of the market. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Low emphasis on status differences. 9. Age group more conspicuous than class. 10. Group affiliation not easily identifiable.
Non-Fashion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Neutral as to the individuality vs. uniformity dilemma. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Production in large series. 4. No particular role for the designer. 5. Innovations irrelevant. 6. Changes in design irrelevant. 7. High predictability of the market. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. No emphasis on status differences. 9. Neither class nor age group conspicuous. 10. Group affiliation irrelevant.

Since the scope of our study was too limited to enable us to examine all these contentions on the basis of empirical data, the above schema should be treated as no more than an heuristic one. A much more comprehensive research is needed in order to confirm the contentions made by us and to suggest a model more coherent and applicable than our schema.

* * *

APPENDIX AQuestionnaire to Fashion Designers
(Close - Ended)

Please tick in the appropriate boxes

Name

Age Group:	Under 20	_____
	20-30	_____
	30-40	_____
	40-50	_____
	50+	_____

Education:	No qualifications	_____
(The highest	O Level	_____
you have ob-	A Level	_____
tained)	Art College	_____
	University	_____

Name of the establishment where you work

.....

A. General Questions

-
1. Do you think there is such a thing as national fashion (e.g., English fashion, French fashion, etc.)?
- Yes ☐
- No ☐
-
2. Do you think there are different fashions for different social classes?
- Yes ☐
- No ☐
-
3. Do you think there are different fashions for different age groups?
- Yes ☐
- No ☐
-
4. Which is the best explanation for changes in fashion?
- Society is changing ☐
- Women get bored with their old clothes ☐
- Women have more money to spend ☐
- Industry demands changes ☐
- Designers stimulate changes ☐
- Mass media stimulate changes ☐
- Other explanations ☐
-

-
5. What do you think is the most important factor in spreading fashion:

Cinema

T.V.

T.V. idols

Fashion magazines

Teenagers

People with good taste

Others

B. The Clientele

6. When you design a garment who are you mainly designing for?

Everywoman

Miss Average

Teenagers

Younger women

Middle-aged women

The modern fashionable woman

Women with good taste

Wealthy women

Others

7. Why do you design for this particular group?

(Please write beside the most important reason (a), (b) beside the next, and (c) beside the next).

Because they like changes _____

Because they have better taste _____

Because they have a flair for fashion _____

Because they are "with it" _____

Because they have better figures _____

Because it is easier to produce _____

Because it is the firm's policy _____

Other considerations _____

8. If you were in a position to design clothing

for whoever you wanted to, who would you design for?

Miss Average _____

Everywoman _____

Teenagers _____

Younger women _____

Middle-aged women _____

The modern fashionable woman _____

Women with good taste _____

Others _____

Why?

Because they like changes

—

Because they have better taste

—

Because they have a flair for fashion

—

Because they are "with it"

—

Because they have better figures

—

Because it is easier to produce

—

Other reasons

.....

-
9. Do you think there is any connection between
being fashionably dressed and a woman's economic
position?

Yes

—

No

—

In what way

.....

-
10. Do you think there is a connection between
being fashionably dressed and a woman's social
class?

Yes

—

No

—

In what way

.....

-
11. Do you think there is any connection between
being fashionably dressed and being young?

Yes

—

No

—

In what way

.....

-
12. What do you think your clientele are looking for
when they buy a new garment? (Please write (a)
beside the most important consideration,
(b) beside the next, and (c) beside the next).

Quality of the garment

—

Simplicity of the garment

—

Good cut

—

Good value for money

—

Interesting design

—

Fashionable design

—

Something different to what they have had before

—

Clothes that are not affected by fashion

—

Other reasons

.....

-
13. Personally, would you prefer to design for a
limited selected group or for a mass market?

Mass market

—

Selected group

—

Why?

.....

-
14. When you are designing a model can you tell
whether it will be a success or a failure?

Yes

—

Sometimes

—

No

—

-
15. Obviously some of your models have failed to
sell; can you explain why they failed?

Wrong timing

—

Too extravagant

—

Difficult to produce from technical point of view

—

Too expensive

—

I haven't any failures

—

Other reasons

.....

C. Self Image

16. Do you look on your profession as an art or craft?

Art _____

Craft _____

Both _____

17. What are the most important qualities a designer needs? (Please write (a) beside the most important quality, (b) beside the next, and (c) beside the next).

Originality _____

Creativity _____

Taste _____

Technical ability (ability to cut, sew, etc.) _____

Ability to adjust the model to the mass market _____

Ability in public relations _____

Courage _____

Luck _____

Other reasons

.....

18. Who is the successful designer?

The "Artist" _____

The publicly recognized _____

The commercial success _____

19. Do you think that you have a style of your own?

Yes

—

No

—

D. Influences

20. Where do you as a designer get your ideas?

Paris

—

T.V.

—

Cinema

—

Magazines

—

Art books

—

Museums

—

Theatre

—

Travelling round the world

—

Observation of people

—

My own inspiration

—

21. What effect would you say the mass production
dress industry has on fashion as a whole?

.....

.....

.....

Thank you for your co-operation

R.T. Horowitz

Department of Sociology,

The University, Leicester.

APPENDIX BQuestionnaire to Fashion Designers
(Open -- Ended)A. GENERAL QUESTIONS

1. What would you say fashion is?
2. What makes a dress fashionable?
3. Do you think there is such a thing as national fashion?
(e.g. English fashion, French fashion, etc.).
4. Do you think there are different fashions for different age groups?
5. What effect would you say the mass produced dress industry has on fashion?
6. Can you explain why changes in fashion occur?

B. DIFFUSION OF FASHION

7. How would you say fashion is spread?
8. What do you think is the most important factor in spreading fashion?
9. What part do you think the mass media play in spreading fashion?
10. Do you think there is any connection between trends in dress fashion and trends in art or music or architecture?

C. THE CLIENTELE

11. When you design a garment, who are you designing for?
12. Why this particular group?
13. Do you find it is a good idea to create a model for a particular group?
What are the advantages?
What are the disadvantages?
14. Do you ever try to modify your designs and make them appeal to other groups?
15. Do you think it is a good idea to create a model for a wider population?
What are the advantages?
What are the disadvantages?
16. Which would you personally prefer: designing for a selected group or designing for the wider public?
17. Do you design for "Miss Average" or for a wider range of sizes?
18. How would you describe the "well-dressed woman"?
19. Do you think there is any connection between being fashionably dressed and a person's economic position?
20. Do you think there is any connection between being fashionably dressed and being young?
21. Do you think there is any connection between being fashionably dressed and a person's social class?
22. Would you say that a woman improves her social status by being better dressed?

23. It is sometimes said that "the clothes make the man". Would you say this is true of women?
24. Do you think that different social groups have different approaches to fashion?
Why is this so?
25. Would you say there was any difference between your approach to fashion and the approach of your clientele?
26. What would you say your clientele are looking for when they buy a dress?
27. What would you like them to look for?
28. What do you think is the most important thing in a dress?
29. When you are making a model, can you tell whether it will be a success or a failure?
30. Obviously, some of your models have failed. Can you explain these failures? (Give some examples).

D. INFLUENCES

31. Where do you as a designer get your ideas from?
32. Do you ever visit museums or art galleries or read art books?
What do you gain from these?
33. Do you read fashion magazines?
What influence do you think they have on your models?
34. Do you ever go to fashion shows? How often? Where? England, abroad? If so, where?
35. What would you say had the greatest influence on your design?

- 36. How much do other members of your family influence your work?
- 37. How much does the work of other designers influence your work?

E. SELF IMAGE

- 38. What in your opinion makes a designer a success?
- 39. What are the most important qualities of a successful designer?
- 40. What in your opinion makes a designer unsuccessful?
- 41. How do you look at your profession - as an art or as a craft?
- 42. In what ways is it an art and in what ways is it a craft?
- 43. What do you think are the most important skills a designer needs?
- 44. Do you think that there is any difference between designers of Haute Couture and designers of ready made clothes?
What differences?
- 45. When you are designing what are the main things you take into consideration? (Function values, aesthetic values, cost etc.).
- 46. Do you feel that you have a style of your own?
- 47. Do you tend to work on variations on a certain line or a certain style, or do you change your style from season to season?

F. THE PROCESS

- 48. Can you describe to me step by step how you go about designing a dress?
- 49. Do you work by yourself or with a group?
- 50. How does the group operate?

51. Do you think group work is a good idea?
52. What are the advantages?
What are the disadvantages?
53. What kind of difficulties do you meet when you are designing?
54. Does availability of materials have much effect on your design?
55. Does availability of accessories have much effect on your designs?
56. Do you take colours of materials into account when you are designing?
57. Do any of these difficulties arise because you work with the kind of work you do?
58. Would you say there was any difference between the design as you visualised it and the garment as it is realized?

G. THE BALANCE OF REWARDS

59. Why did you choose designing as a career?
60. What would you say are the best things about working as a designer?
61. What would you say are the worst things about it?
62. Would you make the same choice again?

APPENDIX C

London Association of Clothing Designers & Production Managers

Syllabus 1966-1967

Code of Ethics

The Federation of Clothing Designers and Production Managers in adopting this Code of Ethics, desires to set forth principles for the guidance of each member to maintain integrity, fair dealing, efficiency and mutual benefit.

1. Our Profession is an honourable one and we must maintain a high standard.

2. In our organisation we have the means of benefiting the clothing industry, and each member is required to meet each problem with a view to furthering the welfare of the Federation.

3. We must keep ourselves well informed, maintain an active and open mind towards new and progressive ideas, and serve the best interests of all by a willing exchange of ideas and suggestions, thus further advancing and developing the clothing industry.

4. We must not speak disparagingly of any Colleague's ability, nor of his product, but accord him the courtesy we feel that we are entitled to from him.

5. Unjust and dishonest practices shall be condemned and opposed by concerted action.

6. In our relations with our employers, we must manifest an interest in the business equal to their own, showing a spirit of co-operation with the success of the business as our sole aim.

7. We must conduct our affairs in order to aid in maintaining the welfare of the entire clothing industry.

8. The direct or indirect sale of patterns by designers is designated unfair, and no member of the Federation shall in any manner indulge in such practice.

9. The Federation urges that wherever possible written contracts for employment shall be made for the mutual benefit of all parties.

10. The adoption of this code by the Federation of Clothing Designers and Production Managers places an obligation on all its members to sincere and faithful performance of the rules of conduct here set down.

APPENDIX DQuestionnaire for the Fashion Editor

(Open - Ended)

Background Information

Year of establishment

Circulation

Editor

Name

Age group: 18-25

25-35

35-50

Education

Previous occupation.

A. General Questions

1. What would you say fashion is?
2. What makes a dress fashionable?
3. Do you think there is such a thing as national fashion?
(e.g. English fashion, French fashion, etc.).
4. Do you think there are different fashions for different social classes?
5. Do you think there are different fashions for different age groups?
6. What effect would you say the mass produced dress industry has on fashion?
7. Can you explain why changes in fashion occur?

B. Diffusion of Fashion

8. How would you say fashion is spread?
9. What do you think is the most important factor in spreading fashion?
10. Do you think there is any connection between trends in dress fashion and trends in art or music or architecture?

C. The Clientele

11. Who do you think are the readers of fashion magazines (or fashion sections in women's magazines)?
12. What do you think the readers of fashion magazines (or fashion sections) are looking for?
13. Have you any idea who are the readers of your magazine (or your section)?
14. What do you think that the readers of your magazine (or section) are looking for?
15. Is your magazine (or section) intended for women in general or for a specific group, or specific profession?
16. How much does knowledge of your readership affect the content of your section?
17. Is there any difference between the readers of various fashion magazines (or sections) and their social status? In what way?
18. Is there any difference between the readers of various fashion magazines (or sections) and their economic status? In what way?
19. Is there any difference between the readers of various fashion magazines (or sections) and their education? In what way?

20. Is there any difference in the way designers, producers, dress-makers are looking at fashion magazines? In what way?
21. What do you think influences your readers most: photographs, sketches, articles, advertisements?
22. Are different people influenced in a different way by photographs, sketches, articles, advertisements?
23. Do you try in your magazine to create an image of the fashionable woman?
24. Why do you try to create an image of fashionable woman?
25. Why do you not try to create an image of fashionable woman?
26. Generally speaking, what is distinctive in your magazine (or section)?

D. Influences and Processes

27. How is your fashion magazine (or fashion section) made up? Can you describe step by step?
28. Who are involved in the process of making the fashion magazine or fashion section?
29. Who makes which decisions?
30. Does the editor of a fashion section in a women's magazine enjoy the same amount of freedom as the editor of a fashion magazine?
31. From where do you take your material for publication? (Describe)
32. How do you make regular contacts with producers? What kind of contact? (Describe)
33. Have you regular contacts with a designer? What kind of contact? (Describe)

34. Have you regular contacts with boutiques? What kind of contacts? (Describe)
35. Do you try to discover new designers, new boutiques?
36. How often do you go to fashion shows?
37. Do you read other fashion magazines (in English as well as in other languages)?
38. Do you work in cooperation with other fashion magazines, or women's magazines?
39. What are the advantages of working together with other magazines?
40. What are the disadvantages of working together with other magazines?
41. How do you decide what new style is about?
42. How do you decide what is fashionable and what is not?
43. Obviously you cannot present everything in your magazine or section. What are the criteria of selection?
44. Do you select according to the same criteria sketches, advertisements, photographs and articles?
45. Is there regular proportion in your magazine (or section) of photographs, sketches, advertisements and articles?

E. Self Image

46. What do you think is the function of a good magazine (or good fashion section)?
47. How would you describe the successful magazine (or section)?
48. How would you describe the unsuccessful magazine (or section)?

49. Do you see your magazine (or section) as a fashion critic and fashion promoter or just fashion information?
50. How can fashion magazines (or sections) educate the public for good taste?
51. How much does your personal taste influence the content of your magazine?
52. Do you think that fashion magazines (or fashion sections) can change the attitudes of people towards fashion?
53. What would you prefer to present, exclusive models or models that have already been accepted and are produced in large-scale industry?
54. What are the advantages and disadvantages of presenting exclusive models?
55. What are the advantages and disadvantages of presenting models that have already been accepted and produced on a large scale?
56. Do you think that in a sense you are in a better position than the designer and the producer and you can predict better than they what models will be a success and what models will be a failure?
57. Has it ever happened that you predicted that a new style was going to be a success and afterwards it was a failure?
58. What part would you say in the process of formation of fashion is played by designers?
59. What part is played by the ready-made producer?
60. Does the small dressmaker have any role in the process of formation of fashion?

61. What part do you think is played by fashion magazines in the formation of fashion?
62. Does your magazine or section change the attitude of the reader towards fashion?
63. Do you think that in principle there is a difference in functions between fashion magazine and fashion sections in women's magazines? What difference?

F. The Balance of Rewards

64. Why did you choose fashion journalism as a career?
65. What would you say are the best things about working as a fashion journalist?
66. What are the worst things about it?

APPENDIX EUniversity of LeicesterDepartment of SociologyProcesses of Formation and Creation of Fashion in Great BritainQuestionnaire for the Consumer

Case Number

Cols. 1-3 _ _ _

1. Why do you usually buy new clothes? Here is
a list of reasons: (show to subject)

1. Because my old clothes are worn out
2. Because I am bored with my old clothes
3. Because other people have seen me in all
my old clothes
4. Because my old clothes are not fashionable
any more
5. Because I want similar clothes to my friends
6. Because I want to be attractive to men

(Interviewer: please write in the squares
below the numbers corresponding to first,
second and third most important reasons).

First reason

Col. 4 _

Second reason

Col. 5 _

Third reason

Col. 6 _

2. Do you plan your wardrobe in advance?

- a) I plan my wardrobe in advance — 7/0
- b) I plan my clothes for special occasions
only — 7/1
- c) I plan my working clothes only — 7/2
- d) I do not plan my wardrobe at all — 7/3
-

3. Do you sometimes buy new clothes because you
feel like it?

- a) Often — 8/0
- b) Sometimes — 8/1
- c) Never — 8/2
-

4. Do you have a special budget for clothes, or
does your spending vary from time to time?

- a) I have a special budget for clothing — 9/0
- b) I do not have a special budget for
clothing — 9/1
-

5. What part of your income did you spend on
clothing last year?

- a) Less than a quarter — 10/0
- b) A quarter — 10/1
- c) A half — 10/2
- d) More than half — 10/3
- e) Don't remember — 10/4
-

6. Do you usually consult other people when you
buy a piece of clothing?

___ 11/0

(Only put tick in square if 'yes').

7. (If the answer to 6 is yes), Who?

a) Your family

___ 12/0

b) Your friends

___ 12/1

c) Your friends at work

___ 12/2

d) Your neighbours

___ 12/3

(Please tick not more than two)

8. How often do you read fashion magazines or
fashion sections in women's magazines?

a) Often

___ 13/0

b) Sometimes

___ 13/1

c) Never

___ 13/2

9. Which magazines or fashion sections?

a) Annabelle

___ 14/0

b) Flair

___ 15/0

c) Harpers Bazaar

___ 16/0

d) Honey

___ 17/0

e) Modern Woman

___ 18/0

f) Petticoat

___ 19/0

g) She

___ 20/0

h) Vanity Fair

___ 21/0

i) Vogue

___ 22/0

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------|
| j) Woman | ___ 23/0 |
| k) Woman's Own | ___ 24/0 |
| l) Woman's Realm | ___ 25/0 |
| m) Woman's Journal | ___ 26/0 |
| n) Women's section in the dailies | ___ 27/0 |
-

10. How often do you buy fashion magazines?

- | | |
|--------------|----------|
| a) Often | ___ 28/0 |
| b) Sometimes | ___ 28/1 |
| c) Never | ___ 28/2 |
-

11. Which magazines do you buy?

- | | |
|--------------------|----------|
| a) Annabelle | ___ 29/0 |
| b) Flair | ___ 30/0 |
| c) Harpers Bazaar | ___ 31/0 |
| d) Honey | ___ 32/0 |
| e) Modern Woman | ___ 33/0 |
| f) Petticoat | ___ 34/0 |
| g) She | ___ 35/0 |
| h) Vanity Fair | ___ 36/0 |
| i) Vogue | ___ 37/0 |
| j) Woman | ___ 38/0 |
| k) Woman's Own | ___ 39/0 |
| l) Woman's Realm | ___ 40/0 |
| m) Woman's Journal | ___ 41/0 |
-

12. Do you think magazines influence you in buying
your clothes? (Only tick in square if 'yes'). 42/0

13. Do clothes you see on TV give you some ideas of clothes to buy?

a) Yes 43/0

b) No 43/1

c) Don't know 43/2

14. (If 'yes' to 13) What particular programmes)

(Interviewer: ignore the squares. Just write the name or names of programmes below)

..... 44/0

..... 44/1

..... 44/2

..... 44/3

..... 44/4

..... 44/5

..... 44/6

..... 44/7

..... 44/8

..... 44/9

15. Do clothes you see at the cinema give you some ideas?

a) Yes 45/0

b) No 45/1

c) Don't know _____ 45/2

16. Do you ever start a fashion for something new
among your friends? (Only tick if 'yes') 46/0

17. Where do you mainly buy your clothes?

(a) Everyday clothes

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| a) Chain stores | <u> </u> 47/0 |
| b) Department stores | <u> </u> 47/1 |
| c) Small dress shops | <u> </u> 47/2 |
| d) Boutiques | <u> </u> 47/3 |
| e) Mail order catalogues | <u> </u> 47/4 |
| f) Home sewn | <u> </u> 47/5 |
-

17.

(b) Special occasion clothes

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| a) Chain stores | <u> </u> 48/0 |
| b) Department stores | <u> </u> 48/1 |
| c) Small dress shops | <u> </u> 48/2 |
| d) Boutiques | <u> </u> 48/3 |
| e) Mail order catalogues | <u> </u> 48/4 |
| f) Home sewn | <u> </u> 48/5 |
-

18. What things do you take into account when
buying new clothes?

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| a) Cost | <u> </u> 49/0 |
| b) Quality | <u> </u> 50/0 |
| c) In fashion | <u> </u> 51/0 |
| d) 'Classic' (is not affected by change in
fashion) | <u> </u> 52/0 |

(Please tick no more than two)

19. Different people are dressed differently. Do you think it is because: (show list to respondent)

1. Some people have more money than others.
2. Some people have a better education than others.
3. Some people are younger than others.
4. Some people are more interested in clothes than others.
5. Some people go out more than others.
6. Some people have better taste than others.
7. Some people are more creative than others.

(Interviewer: write in square below the numbers corresponding to first, second and third most important reasons).

First reason	Col. 53	—
Second reason	Col. 54	—
Third reason	Col. 55	—

20. How do you decide whether a piece of clothing is fashionable?

- | | | |
|--|---|------|
| a) After seeing it on T.V. | — | 56/0 |
| b) After seeing it worn by young girls | — | 56/1 |
| c) After seeing it in a magazine | — | 56/2 |
| d) After seeing it in a shop window | — | 56/3 |
| e) After my friends tell me | — | 56/4 |
| f) After having decided what I want | — | 56/5 |

(Tick not more than two)

21.

(a) Is there any connection between being fashionably dressed and being better educated?

- a) Yes — 57/0
b) Sometimes — 57/1
c) No — 57/2
-

21.

(b) Why? (Interviewer: ignore squares and just write reason or reasons below)

- 58/0
— 58/1
— 58/2
— 58/3
— 58/4
— 58/5
— 58/6
— 58/7
— 58/8
— 58/9
-

22. Can you tell a woman's education by the way she is dressed?

- a) Yes — 59/0
b) No — 59/1
c) Don't know — 59/2
-

23.

(a) Is there any connection between being fashionably dressed and having money?

- | | |
|--------------|--------|
| a) Yes | — 60/0 |
| b) Sometimes | — 60/1 |
| c) No | — 60/2 |
-

23.

(b) Why? (Interviewer: ignore squares and just write reason or reasons below).

- | |
|--------|
| — 61/0 |
| — 61/1 |
| — 61/2 |
| — 61/3 |
| — 61/4 |
| — 61/5 |
| — 61/6 |
| — 61/7 |
| — 61/8 |
| — 61/9 |
-

24. Can you tell a woman's economic position by the way she is dressed?

- | | |
|---------------|--------|
| a) Yes | — 62/0 |
| b) No | — 62/1 |
| c) Don't know | — 62/2 |
-

25.

(a) Is there any connection between being fashionably dressed and being young?

- a) Yes — 63/0
b) Sometimes — 63/1
c) No 63/2 63/2
-

25.

(b) Why? (Interviewer: ignore squares and just write reasons or reasons below)

- 64/0
— 64/1
— 64/2
— 64/3
— 64/4
— 64/5
— 64/6
— 64/7
— 64/8
— 64/9
-

26. Can you tell a woman's age by the way she is dressed?

- a) Yes — 65/0
b) No — 65/1
c) Don't know — 65/2
-

27. How would you describe:

a) The smartly dressed woman?

.....
.....
.....

b) The elegant woman?

.....
.....
.....

c) The fashionable woman?

.....
.....
.....

d) The 'with it' woman?

.....
.....
.....

27a. Is there any connection between social class
and being fashionably dressed?

- | | |
|--------------|---------|
| a) Yes | — 2.6/0 |
| b) Sometimes | — 2.6/1 |
| c) No | — 2.6/2 |
-

Why? (interviewer: ignore squares
and just write reason or reasons below)

— 2.7/0
— 2.7/1
— 2.7/2
— 2.7/3
— 2.7/4
— 2.7/5
— 2.7/6
— 2.7/7
— 2.7/8
— 2.7/9

27b. Can you tell a woman's social class by
the way she is dressed?

a) Yes — 2.8/0
b) No — 2.8/1
c) Don't know — 2.8/2

Card number

2 Col. 80

28. Sometimes it is said 'Clothes maketh the man'
(or woman). Do you agree?

a) Yes — 66/0
b) No — 66/1
c) Don't know — 66/2

29. Do you think a woman can improve her social position by being better dressed?

- a) Yes — 67/0
b) No — 67/1
c) Don't know — 67/2
-

30. Suppose you are going to a party and see your friend wearing the same dress as you, would you be:

- a) Angry — 68/0
b) Embarrassed — 68/1
c) Indifferent — 68/2
d) Happy that she has similar taste — 68/3
e) Amused — 68/4
f) Any other reaction — 68/5

(Tick only one)

31. Do you think changes in fashion occur because:

- a) Women get bored with their old clothes — 69/0
b) People have more money to spend — 69/1
c) Manufacturers cause changes — 69/2
d) Paris stimulates changes — 69/3
e) Designers stimulate changes — 69/4
f) TV stimulates changes — 69/5
g) Other reasons — 69/6
-

32. Suppose fashion stopped changing, would

you be:

- | | |
|----------------|--------|
| a) Happy | — 70/0 |
| b) Indifferent | — 70/1 |
| c) Unhappy | — 70/2 |
-

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