

# The Countercultural Influence on American Youth Fashion — Indian Styles Appeared in American College Fashion —

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미국청년 복식에 나타난 반문화의 영향에 관한 연구  
— 미국대학 복식에 나타난 인도스타일을 중심으로 —

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### Abstract

본 연구는 1960년대 미국의 청년층에 의해 일어난 반문화적인 현상으로 인식되어온 동양문화의 도입, 특히, 인도문화가 청년문화 전반에 끼친 영향과 더 나아가 이러한 환경변화가 미국대학복식에 미친 영향을 알아보고자 하였다. 1960년대 미국청년문화에 나타난 인도 문화의 영향은 철학, 종교, 대중음악 등 다방면에서 보여졌으며, 또한 복식의 형태에도 반영되었다. 복식학자들에 의한 단편적인 추론에만 그쳤던 이러한 복식의 현상을 본 연구는 문헌조사에 의한 객관적이고 과학적인 연구방법을 이용하여 입증하고자 시도하였다. Washington, D.C.와 San Francisco/Berkeley 지역에 위치한 7개의 대학교에서 1960년 부터 1975년 사이에 발행한 대학신문에서 연구자료를 수집하여, 체계적인 자료수집 및 분석을 위한 연구방법으로 사회과학분야에서 주로 사용되어 온 Content Analysis Method를 이용하였다.

Content Analysis Method는 예비연구(preliminary study)의 결과를 기초로 인도 복식의 영향을 받은 미국대학복식의 형태를 크게 의복(clothes), 장신구(accessories), 직물(fabrics) 등의 3개 category로 분류하여, 다시 13개의 subcategory(kurta, midriff top, Nehru jacket/suit, Indian shirt/blouse/smock/dress, sari, Indian jewelry, Indian sandal, Indian scarf, Indian bedspread, Indian embroidery, Indian print, madras, tie-dye)로 세분하였다. 복식의 형태에 의한 분류 외에도, 대학신문의 광고나 기사에 실린 내용을 인도복식이 미친 영향의 정도를 알아보기 위하여 Attribution information을 3 category(originated, attributed, connotated)로 분류하여 조사하였다. 더불어, 같은 문헌에 나타난 인도에서 도입된 4개의 주된 종교(Transcendental Meditation, Hare Krishna, Yoga, Divine Light Mission)의 빈도도 조사하였다.

본 연구의 결과는 13개의 각 인도복식스타일(Indian style)의 Frequency(빈도), Attribution, Duration(기간)의 내용을 포함하는 표로 요약되었다. 또한, 연도별로 Indian style이 나타난 빈도의

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합계와 연도를 축으로 하는 막대그래프를 작성하고 이 그래프에 Attribution Category의 내용도 함께 볼 수 있도록 정리하였다. 대학복식에 나타난 인도의 영향은 여성복식과 남성복식에 있어서 서로 유사점과 차이점이 보이는데, 인도의 영향이 여성복식에 있어서 그 빈도가 더 높고, 종류가 더 다양함을 볼 수 있다. 여성복식에 있어서는 12가지의 다양한 인도복식스타일이 나타났으며, 그중 가장 많이 보이는 스타일은 Indian Shirt/Blouse/Smock/Dress이며, 그 뒤를 이어 Madras, Indian Jewelry 등을 볼 수 있다. 남성복식에 나타난 7가지의 스타일 중에는 Madras가 가장 빈도가 높으며 그외의 스타일들은 그 빈도가 매우 낮음을 볼 수 있다. 인도의 영향의 정도 (Attribution Categories) 있어서는 여성과 남성복식 모두에 있어서 인도에서 직접 수입된(originated) item이 각각 전체의 90%와 81%를 차지하여, 인도복식의 영향은 받았으나 미국내에서 제작된(attributed and connotated) item 보다 훨씬 더 많은 수를 보였다.

인도복식스타일이 가장 많이 보여지는 시기(peak period)는 여성과 남성복식에 있어 모두 1968년에서 1971년 사이로 공통점을 보였다. 이러한 결과는 미국 청년 문화에 전반적으로 나타났던 반문화적 현상과 동일한 시기로서, 이는 사회 현상이 복식에도 반영되고 있음을 알 수 있다. 또한 같은 시기의 대학신문에 나타난 인도에서 도입된 4개의 종교 역시 1960년대 후반 부터 그 빈도가 증가하여 1970년에 최고의 빈도가 나타남으로서 앞의 결과를 뒷받침해 주고 있다. 본 연구에서는 Washington, D.C.와 San Francisco/Berkeley 지역의 대학신문만을 연구자료로 사용하였으나 앞으로는 새로운 연구 자료의 발굴과 연구대상을 타 지역으로 확대시킴으로서 미국내 전체의 청년복식에 대한 이해를 증가시킬 수 있을 것이다.

## I. Introduction

Each historical period leaves its visual evidence in the costume styles reflecting the changes in social and cultural environment of the times. For this reason, understanding the changes in social and cultural environment is essential in analyzing fashion. In the nineteen seventies, Horn (1975) and Sproles (1979) agreed on four kinds of social change which typically have a great impact on fashion change: (1) modernization and advances in technology, (2) demographic trends and abundance and diffusion of wealth, (3) new social opportunities and increased leisure, and finally (4) changing sex roles or improved status of woman. In addition to these factors, social change in the sixties was often characterized by youthful rebellion against traditional values and symbols of adult society as shown in their interest in Eastern religions and philosophy. The fashions which reflect these social changes in the sixties include unisex styles, emphasis on youth fashion, and exotic styles such as styles adopted from Indian costume. Thus, this study concerns

Indian influence on American youth culture and fashion in the sixties and early seventies.

The objectives of this study were to identify the Indian styles appeared in college fashion and their possible relation to the Indian influences on American youth culture as a countercultural phenomenon from 1960 to 1975. Some costume researchers have identified some of the Indian styles which appeared among youth during the sixties and have speculated the extent to which they were related to the cultural change of the same time period. However, there has not been any systematical research done on this subject using documents as primary sources. Therefore, this study attempted to investigate this research topic by using actual documents of the period, university newspapers, as primary sources. A content analysis method was used to analyze the data obtained from the primary sources.

## II. Youth Counterculture and Its Influence on Fashion

The nineteen sixties was often characterized as a decade of rebellion, counterculture, and as a period

of youth. Roszak (1969) claimed that a counterculture was formed in Western society by the youth of ages between fifteen and thirty. And they were experimenting with alternatives in dress, in social mores, in living arrangements, in politics, and in values and religion, and this social phenomenon was often characterized by the term "counterculture" (Glock and Bellah). Counterculture was defined as "an alternative culture that differs from the predominant American culture, or from what is commonly referred to as the establishment" by Judah (1974). As the post-World WarII "baby boom" grew older, the median age of the population declined, beginning in 1950 (Behling, 1985); and by the sixties young people became a large segment of the population. America's youth counterculture dated from the early sixties and persisted for about a decade (Bash, 1982). The more specific period of youth counterculture was from 1964 to 1974, according to Leventman (1982). Thus, this study was done on the period of from 1960 to 1975, which was intended to cover the youth countercultural period broadly.

Youth culture encompassed a number of phenomena in the literature including hippies, flower children, Krishna People, drug culturalists, The Rock Music Complex... (Bash, 1982). Some of these youth phenomena in the sixties were subcultural as they developed their own style in dress. O'Neil (1971) noted that counterculture's influence on fashion was nearly as great as on rock music.

The fashions of the sixties have been associated with the youth revolution, counterculture, or hippie movement by many researchers (Ewing, 1974; Dorner, 1974; Horn, 1975). According to Harris and Johnston (1974), the hippie dress came out of America and marked the arrival of a new class, the youth, in power. And it had a considerable influence on the world of fashion by the end of the sixties (Kemper, 1977). Furthermore, Nunn(1984) noted that the young people who showed an interest in the

culture of India often dressed in Indian costumes found in Indian shops.

### III. Indian Influence on American Youth Culture and Fashion

The Indian influence in the sixties had an effect on the American youth culture in many ways - the adoption of Indian music, religions, philosophies, and also dress. There were mainly three groups of people who introduced young Americans to Indian culture and philosophy during the sixties: intellectuals, musicians, and religious leaders.

#### 1. Intellectual Leaders

Intellectuals such as AlanWatts and poet Allen Ginsberg were among those whose writings played leadership roles in the underground subculture in the sixties (Kornbluth, 1968).

Alan Watts introduced Hinduism to the countercultural youth (*The Rolling Stone*, February 24, 1968, p. 9) and became a cult figure to the American youth. Allen Ginsberg was a poet who was also interested in Hinduism, especially the Hare Krishna Movement. He participated in the hippie gathering called "Human Be-In" on January 14, 1967 in San Francisco (*Newsweek*, February 6, 1967, p. 92) leading the crowd in a Hare Krishna swami chant. Alan Watts and Allen Ginsberg introduced Eastern religions to the American youth while lecturing in many colleges and universities. They adopted Indian clothing styles such as long white tunic like a kurta and beads. They were often seen in the media wearing these costume with their young followers around them. It can be speculated that there was a possible influence of these intellectuals wearing Indian costume styles on the countercultural youth in their way of clothing.

#### 2. Musicians

Popular music such as folk music and rock and roll music had a considerable effect on the

American youth culture of the sixties. Popular musicians' interest in Indian religions was frequently covered by mass media and it was widely imitated by the American youth. Especially, the Beatles whose music contributed greatly to the youth culture have incorporated Indian elements into the American musical form of rock and roll. In the late sixties, the Beatles travelled to India to study the techniques of Transcendental Meditation with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, the founder of the International Meditation Society (*The Rolling Stone*, May 25, 1968, p. 6) Their party also included Donovan and Mia Farrow (*The Rolling Stone*, May 11, 1968, p. 4; *Newsweek*, February 5, 1968, p. 45). One of the Beatles member, George Harrison, studied Indian music from Ravi Shankar, the famous Indian sitarist (Norman, 1981). Besides the Beatles, the Beach Boys (Miller, 1980) and Rolling Stones (*Newsweek*, December 18, 1967, p. 67) also followed the Indian guru, Maharishi Maheshi Yogi.

Another aspects of Indian influence can be found from Indian music played by Indian players with instruments such as sitar, tambora, and tabla. Indian musicians toured university campuses in America in the sixties and early seventies. Ravi Shankar, in particular, made many appearances during the late sixties. These Indian music players always appeared with Indian costume on in the mass media.

The rock groups, the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, became fashion leaders during sixties. They led the fashion of the late sixties among the young with ethnic costumes. The popularity of the Beatles in particular helped expose the public to a change in length of young men's hair from a crew cut in the fifties (Wilcox, 1958) to a Beatle haircut, a long bob for men, brushed forward toward the eyes- in the sixties (Anspach, 1967; Roach and Eicher, 1973). The influence of Indian religions on these musicians was shown in their manner of dress (Dowley, 1983; Stokes, 1980; Yorke, 1976). Fans of these musicians,

consisting mostly of the young, imitated their way of dressing by adopting Indian costume styles.

### 3. Religious Leaders

During the sixties, many Americans were attracted to ideas derived from the tradition of Eastern religions. According to Cox (1977), a large number of people were involved in these Eastern religions to an extent unprecedented in American religious history. These religious and philosophical traditions included Hinduism from India, Tibetan Buddhism, and Zen Buddhism from Japan. Many religions derived from the Hinduism in India were established in the United States in the sixties.

Some of the major Hindu-related religions or philosophies embraced by American youth in the sixties were the Transcendental Meditation (often called TM), the Hare Krishna movement, the Divine Light Mission by Maharishi Ji, and many Yoga centers (Cox, 1977; Ellwood, 1979; Glock and Bellah, 1976).

The Transcendental Meditation was founded by guru Maharishi Mahesh Yogi in 1958. He based his teaching on Vedanta, the Hindu philosophy. The guru's organization, known as the Spiritual Regeneration Movement, has established centers in the United States (*Time*, October 20, 1967, p. 86). In the late sixties and early seventies, some universities including University of California, Los Angeles, and Harvard University, offered courses in the theoretical and practical aspects of TM. The Hare Krishna Movement started when Hindu swami, A.C. Bhaktivedanta founded International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) in 1966. (Daner, 1975). During the late sixties Bhaktivedanta was seen giving lectures, dancing, and chanting with his devotees, who included counter-cultural leaders such as Allen Ginsberg and Timothy Leary and rock bands such as the Grateful Dead and Big Brother and the Holding Company (Daner, 1974).

The Divine Light Mission founded by Maharaj Ji from India first appeared in the United States in 1971. By 1973, about fifty thousand Americans, consisting mainly of eighteen-to-twenty-three year olds, followed this religion from India (Christopher, 1975).

The followers of these Indian religions and philosophies introduced Indian costume, Indian music, and Indian culture in general. In particular, the followers of the Hare Krishna Movement adopted full Indian dress including dhotis for men and saris for women exactly like the Hindu counterpart (*Newsweek*, April 1, 1974, p. 68).

#### IV. Research Method

##### 1. Selection of Primary Sources

The primary sources used to collect information on college fashion were campus newspapers published at universities in the areas of Washington, D. C. and San Francisco/Berkeley. University newspapers were used as primary sources for this study because countercultural fashion magazines directed only to youth did not exist from this period.

The Washington, D.C. and San Francisco/Berkeley metropolitan areas were selected to represent the youth culture in the United States for the time period from 1960 to 1975. Many researchers agreed that the leadership of youth culture took place in the San Francisco/Berkeley area in the sixties (Cavan, 1972; O'Neil, 1971; Perry, 1970; Smith and Luce, 1971; Stickney, 1971). Therefore, this place was chosen as an excellent source for information. The Washington metropolitan area was chosen because this was one of the major cultural centers in the United States, and also because it, like San Francisco/Berkeley, is home to a considerable number of universities. The university newspapers used included the *Daily Californian* from University of California at Berkeley, the *Foghorn* from University of San Francisco, the *Golden Gater* and the

*Phoenix* from San Francisco State University, the *Diamondback* from University of Maryland, the *University Hatchet* from George Washington University, the *Hoya* and the *George Town Voice* from Georgetown University, *Tower* from Catholic University of America.

##### 2. Content Analysis Categories

Content analysis was employed for systematic data gathering. The frequency of appearance of Indian costume styles was counted with predetermined categories. The content analysis categories consisted of specific classes of Indian styles were identified, defined, and grouped into three categories and thirteen subcategories. The object descriptions were analyzed and categorized into three groups according to the apparent origin of the style.

###### 1) Identification of Indian Styles

Preliminary investigation of primary sources for the sixteen-year period from 1960 to 1975 indicated that Indian styles can be categorized into three groups—clothes, accessories, and fabrics. These groups can be divided further into thirteen subcategories as follows:

Clothes—Kurta; Midriff Top; Nehru Jacket/Suit; Sari;

Indian Shirt/Blouse/Smock/Dress;

Accessories—Indian Jewelry; Indian Sandal; Indian Scarf;

Fabrics—Indian Bedspread; Indian Embroidery; Indian Print; Madras; Tie-dye.

The definitions and descriptions of thirteen subcategories were compiled in order to make an orderly recording of frequency for content analysis.

###### 2) Description of Content

Description of each illustration and advertisement was analyzed and categorized into one of three groups: originated, attributed, or connotated. Operational definitions were developed as follows:

*Originated*: An object was categorized as

"originated" in India if the description overtly stated that it was imported from India. A style was also considered to have originated in India if the description indicated that it was a "genuine or authentic" Indian object. In those cases, the name of importer was recorded in the content analysis instrument form.

*Attributed:* An object was considered "attributed" to India if the description stated that it was in the Indian style. An object was also considered attributed to India if an Indian term was used in the name of object, as in the case of the Nehru jacket. When the object was categorized as "attributed" to India, the name of manufacturer or retailer was recorded.

*Connotated:* An object was labeled "connotated" to India if the object showed apparent Indian influence and the description suggested Asian origin, using terms such as Eastern, exotic, or oriental. The difference between "attributed" and "connotated" styles is that in the former the connection was present in the verbal content, while in the latter the Indian influence was conveyed visually only. All objects connotated to India were assumed to have been made in the United States, and the names of retailer or manufacturer were recorded.

### 3) Indian-related Religions Appeared in the University Newspapers

The names of Indian-related religions found in the advertisements or articles in the university newspapers for the entire period were counted and recorded in order to document another important aspect of Indian influence on the youth culture. From the preliminary studies, it was found that there were four major Indian-related religions: Transcendental Meditation, Hare Krishna Movement, Yoga, and Divine Light Mission.

### 3. Data Collection

The unit of analysis was a single costume style illustrated or described in an advertisement or an article in the university newspapers. Since the

sample size was reasonably large but manageable, it was not necessary to reduce the size of data through further sampling. All issues covering the time period from 1960 to 1975 were used to collect the data.

The content analysis instrument was developed to gather data and to record information using the content analysis categories. This instrument provided identification information about the illustration or advertisement, which periodical it was from, the name of the object, the sex of the intended wearer, the name of the clothing item, and one of the categories based on the description originated, attributed, or connotated.

Most of data obtained consisted of advertisements containing verbal descriptions as well as illustrations, mostly drawings rather than photographs. The total number of 390 illustrations and advertisements of costume objects were used in the study.

## V. Results and Discussion

### 1. Indian Styles Appeared in the University Newspapers

The data was summarized in terms of the total frequency of Indian styles, their attribution, and the duration of each style for different sex (Table 1). The results of the study were arranged by using seriation analysis ordering the frequency of each style chronologically for the entire period. In this way, the sequence of development or evolution of each style was examined. The results of an overall seriation were presented in the form of bar graphs, which show the total frequency of Indian styles for each year and the attribution information (Fig. 1). Madras was excluded from this seriation and plotted separately because the frequency far exceeded the scale in proportion to other styles. In addition, the preliminary study showed that madras

Table 1. Summary of Results in Women's and Men's Fashion

Sex	Styles	Number of Frequency	Attribution (%)*			Duration
			O	A	C	
Women's	Madras	58	84	16	0	1960~65
	Indian Bedspread	26	100	0	0	1961~75
	Indian Sandal	7	100	0	0	1963~70
	Sari	14	100	0	0	1965~66
	Midriff Top	3	33	0	67	1965~72
	Indian Jewelry	29	100	0	0	1965~73
	Indian Scarf	1	100	0	0	1966
	Indian Shirt/..**	67	91	7	2	1966~75
	Indian Print	7	100	0	0	1968~72
	Indian Embroidery	15	0	20	80	1970
	Tie-Dye	5	0	20	80	1970
	Kurta	6	100	0	0	1970~72
		(Total: 238)				
Men's	Madras	128	84	16	0	1960~67
	Indian Sandal	7	100	0	0	1963~70
	Indian Shirt/..**	4	50	50	0	1966~68
	Indian Print	1	100	0	0	1968
	Tie-Dye	4	0	0	100	1970
	Kurta	6	100	0	0	1970~72
	Nehru Jacket/Suit	2	0	100	0	1968
		(Total: 152)				

\*O: Originated; A: Attributed; C: Connotated

\*\*Indian Shirt/Blouse/Smock/Dress

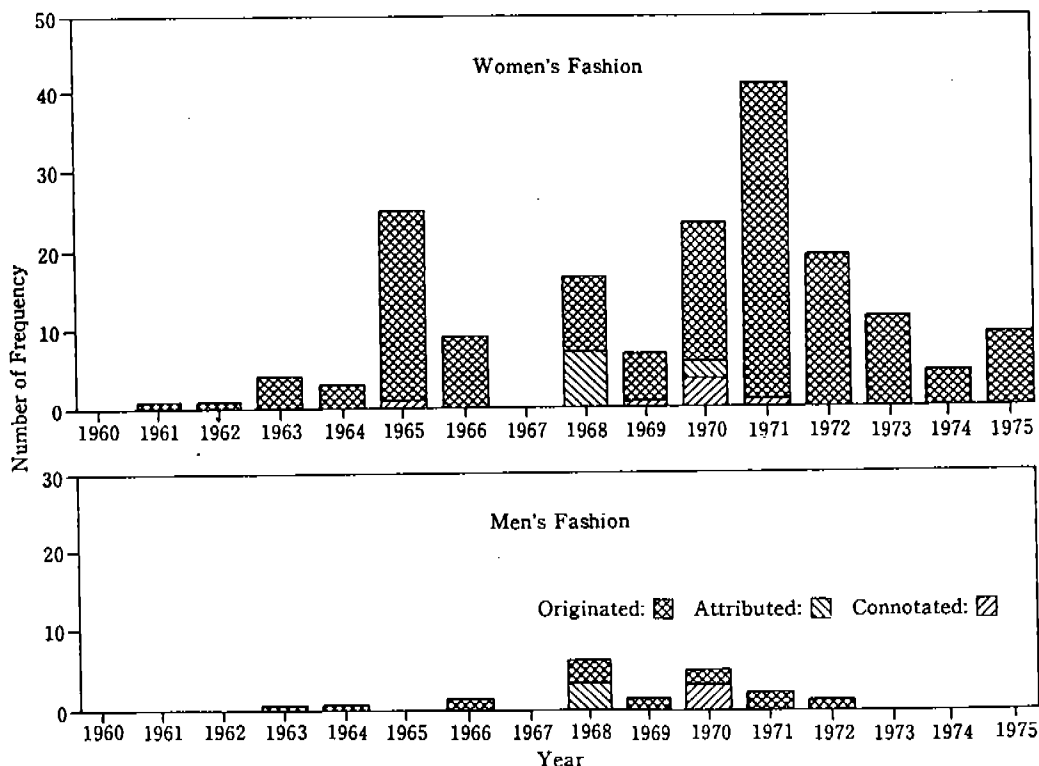


Fig. 1. Overall Seriation of Total Frequencies and Attribution of Indian Styles

appeared frequently in the late fifties and it remained popular through the first half of the sixties. Therefore, this style may not be related to the Indian influences which emerged after 1965.

As shown in Table 1, twelve styles were found in women's fashion and seven styles in men's fashion. If madras is excluded, the total frequency of Indian styles found in women's fashion was over 7 times that of men's fashion. Styles shown both in men's and women's fashion were Indian sandal, Indian shirt/blouse/smock/dress, Indian print, madras, tie-dye, and kurta. Styles shown only in women's fashion were Indian embroidery, Indian jewelry, Indian scarf, sari, and midriff top. Nehru jacket/suit was shown only in men's fashion. As seen from the list, Indian influence was more prevalent in women's fashion during the time period studied in every aspect of costume, including clothes, fabrics, and accessories. The most frequent styles appearing in women's fashion were the Indian shirt/blouse/smock/dress, which showed a consistent occurrence for the relatively long period from 1966 to 1975.

The distinctive trends were observed generally in the two time period: the first period was from 1960 to 1965, before the youth countercultural phenomenon in the sixties began, and the second one was the late sixties and early seventies, from 1966 to 1975. The introduction of styles unique to these two time periods may have been unrelated to each other.

Most styles began to appear after 1965; only three styles; madras, Indian bedspread, and Indian sandal - began in the early period, between 1960 and 1963. The styles appeared chiefly in the late sixties and early seventies-Indian shirt/blouse/smock/dress, Indian print, Indian embroidery, kurta, and tie-dye -may be more directly related to the Indian-oriented youth countercultural behavior which emerged during the same period.

As shown in the overall seriation (Figure 1), although a considerable fluctuation in the total

frequency was noted over a given period of time, the peak periods of Indian influence in women's fashion were shown in 1965, 1968, and 1971. There was a slight peak in men's fashion from 1968 to 1970. This suggests that some Indian styles already existed during the early sixties, they became more frequent in the late sixties due to the potential influences from the youth counterculture's interest in Indian culture.

Of a total 238 items found in women's fashion, 90 percent originated in India and the remaining 10 percent consisted of attributed or connotated items. The similar result was found in men's fashion, in which 81 percent of the items originated in India. Figure 1 shows the highly-concentrated imported items found for the entire period. Therefore, the simple level of authenticity was perceived in the styles adopted by college fashion. The styles were very similar or identical to the original Indian styles such as kurta and Indian bedspread imported from India.

## 2. Indian-related Religions Appeared in the University Newspapers

An effort was made to investigate the possible connection between the Indian costume styles associated with the youth counterculture and Indian religious influences. There were four main Indian-related religious groups-Transcendental Meditation, Hare Krishna Movement, Yoga, and Divine Light Mission which appeared in the university newspapers in the Washington, D.C. and San Francisco/Berkeley areas. The results obtained from the entire period from 1960 to 1975 are shown in Table 2.

References to most Indian-related religious groups began to appear in 1967; the exception was the Divine Light Mission, first appeared in 1974. Among them, Transcendental Meditation appeared the most frequently. The total frequency of these religious groups increased gradually from 1967 to



Table 2. The Indian-related Religions Appeared on the University Newspapers

Year	TM		HK		Yoga		DLM		Total
	W	S	W	S	W	S	W	S	
1960~66	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	4
1968	5	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	10
1969	8	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	13
1970	13	7	1	2	0	0	0	0	23
1971	5	9	1	2	0	1	0	0	18
1972	1	5	0	1	3	0	0	0	10
1973	10	5	0	1	1	0	4	0	37
1974	25	6	0	1	1	0	4	0	37
1975	15	6	0	1	0	5	1	0	28

TM: Transcendental Meditation, HK: Haro Krishna Movement, DLM: Divine Light Mission

W: Washington D.C. Area, S: San Francisco/Berkeley Area

1975 with some fluctuations in between. This time period coincides with the peak of appearance of Indian styles in college fashion.

## VI. Summary and Conclusions

This study was conducted to identify Indian styles appeared in American college fashion and their relation to Indian influences on American youth culture, which was considered as a part of the countercultural phenomenon of the sixties. The method employed to achieve these objectives of the study was a content analysis using university newspapers as primary sources.

Content analysis was performed to gather the data on Indian styles appeared on college fashion as well as the data on Indian-related religious groups. The total of 390 items of Indian styles were obtained with a content analysis instrument developed to classify information on each item into three categories of clothes, accessories, and fabrics and subcategories of thirteen styles, sex of intended wearer, and its origin category. Thirteen subcategories included kurta, midriff top, Nehru jacket/suit, Indian shirt/blouse/smock/dress, sari, Indian jewelry, Indian sandal, Indian scarf, Indian bed-

spread, Indian embroidery, Indian print, madras, and tie-dye. Attribution information was categorized into three groups according to verbal descriptions of each item: originated, attributed, and connotated.

The results of the content analysis indicated that the wide appearance of Indian styles in American college fashion supported the idea that fashion change during this period accompanied a concurrent change of social environment. These new, unconventional styles reflected the social disturbance of the sixties, often characterized as a counterculture, which altered the lifestyles of the youth.

The extent of Indian influence on men's and women's college fashion showed both similarities and differences. Similarities were noted in their period of peak frequency and attribution, whereas difference were recognized in the variety of styles and total frequency.

The time of strong influence of youth counterculture and its interest in Indian culture was concentrated in the United States during the time period between 1960 and 1975, with its climax around late sixties. This corresponded to the time of maximum popularity of Indian influences ob-

served in American college fashion, from 1968 to 1971. And also, the frequency of the Indian related-religious groups increased during the time period from 1967 to 1975. This time period coincides with the peak appearance of Indian styles in college fashion. Therefore, this study supports the belief that the American college fashion in the sixties reflected the contemporary social movements of the young, often considered as a countercultural phenomenon.

While this study can not claim to be representative of the full spectrum of the youth in the sixties, it is suggested that future research might find different kinds of primary sources which might represent the specific social class more appropriately. Countercultural youth other than college students, which would be mainly less educated youth, may have provided more precise insight into their behavior. Also, the university sources representing other regions of the United States might increase knowledge concerning clothing behavior of the youth nationwide.

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