THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JUNIOR WEAR INDUSTRY 1926-1930

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by
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And hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the debate over the “junior” size category in the social cultural context of the 1920s. Through analysis and interpretation of articles that discussed this transition found in *Women’s Wear Daily* from 1926 through 1930, this research clarifies when the concept of “junior is a size, not an age” began and how it affected the fashion industry. The results of this research establish that “junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, pp. 3 and 16) which, although not stated explicitly, could be implied as early as February 4, 1926 in *Women’s Wear Daily*. The search for the definition of “junior” led to the emergence of a new size category that has grown, evolved, and maintained a strong presence today in the ready-to-wear apparel market.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The junior size category was a popular topic of discussion among apparel industry members in the latter part of the 1920s. Industry members believed it was important to define the meaning of the term “junior” and for whom the apparel should be designed and sized. In the beginning, the discussion appeared drawn out and inconclusive. The social and cultural environment of the 1920s, however, led to the realization that in order to define “junior,” it must emerge in its own category instead of as a subset of the juvenile apparel industry. This study examines the debate over “junior” in the social cultural context of the 1920s.

Understanding the development of the junior apparel category is important because change in dress is one significant method of documenting social and cultural changes in society. Hamilton (1987) states “dress is a cultural subsystem, based on technological, social structural, and ideological components … As a cultural subsystem, dress is a dynamic, interacting system, unbounded by time and space, that articulates directly with the larger cultural systems in which dress operates” (p. 1). Dress then can be understood by examining the interactions between people’s beliefs, how they are socially classified, and the impacts of technological developments.

During the 1920s, daily life in the United States was changing and innovations were being produced to help people with daily activities. One of these advancements was production of the ready-to-wear clothing industry which brought about many changes in the way clothing was sized. At this time, there were several size categories to fit a small female figure, including children’s and misses sizes. By the mid 1920s, the junior miss
size was developed to fulfill demand for clothing to fit the in-between female figure.

In the 1920s, women were becoming liberated. They were more active not only in politics due to women’s suffrage, but in workforce, home, sex, dress and appearance. All of these factors played a role in how women were viewed in society. The convergence of the rise of the ready-to-wear industry, women’s beliefs, changing values and roles in society made the emergence of a new sizing system possible. It also benefitted the promotion of “junior is a size, and not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, pp. 3 and 16) because it illustrates the change in women’s beliefs.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines junior as, “Designating something intended for children or young people; also applied to a product, device, etc., that is smaller than the normal size.” It also states that on January 15, 1927, the term junior was used in describing a “Junior Miss Frock” in Vogue. Although the Oxford English Dictionary mentions the concept of “junior is a size, not an age” in 1948, with a mention of it being discussed a few years earlier, this exact concept is found much earlier in Women’s Wear Daily (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, pp. 3 and 16).

This research focuses on the development of junior fashions from 1926 through 1930 to interpret articles found in Women’s Wear Daily that discuss the need for changing the concept of junior apparel to appeal to not only the junior girl but also women of all ages that fit this category. This research clarifies when the concept of “junior is a size, not an age” began and how it affected the fashion industry. The objectives of this study were to:

1. discuss the role and development of junior apparel in the fashion industry of the time period between 1926 and 1930;
2. explore the discussion of the development of the sizing system of junior apparel; and

3. analyze and interpret the social and cultural effects of the development of junior apparel to understand why it happened between the years 1926 and 1930.

The results of this research establish that “junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, pp. 3 and 16) which, although not stated explicitly, could be implied as early as February 4, 1926 in Women’s Wear Daily. The article entitled New Junior-Miss section in Chicago Supplies Latest Vogues to Young Girl (February 4, 1926) states that, “the departments cater to the young girl of the junior and misses’ ages, and also to the women of smaller figure who affects the youthful type of apparel”(p.51). Later articles further solidified this new concept of junior apparel in relation to size.

The search for the definition of “junior” led to the emergence of a new size category that has grown, evolved, and maintains a strong presence today in the ready-to-wear apparel market. Understanding the factors leading up to and during its development will aid in revealing the social and cultural changes of the time. The development of junior apparel has not been researched, and creating a clear picture of its development will enhance our understanding of this time period and how junior apparel changed the fashion industry.
CHAPTER 2
METHOD

The technique used to study this data and understand the chronology of the development of junior wear industry from 1926 through 1930 was content analysis. There are a wide variety of definitions to describe this process. Neuendorf (2002) defined content analysis as “the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics” (p. 1). Jo Paoletti (1982) defined content analysis as “a procedure for producing quantitative data from verbal or nonverbal communications” (p.14). In an article discussing the content analysis process, its issues, and research that used it, Kassarjian (1977) summarizes content analysis as “scientific, systematic, quantitative, and generalizable description of communication content” (p. 10).

Content analysis can be used to examine a wide variety of topics including human interaction, word usage, or how people are portrayed in images, among others (Neuendorf, 2002). Although content analysis is not specifically defined in the study of historic costume, it is widely used. Paoletti (1982) discussed the application process to the field of history of costume in a 1982 article found in the *Clothing and Textile Research Journal*.

In the article entitled, *Content Analysis: Its Application to the Study of the History of Costume*, Paoletti (1982) goes through the content analysis process using two historic costume examples. After the research objective or question has been established, a systematic order of steps were taken as follows:
1. Choosing sources is established to provide information needed to satisfy the objective. It is essential that a large sample be used and purpose known when conducting content analysis.

2. Determining the unit of analysis that can be verbal (i.e. a paragraph, sentence, or key word) or nonverbal (i.e. a picture or photograph). A combination of both communications is advantageous. In both cases, the units of analysis should be comparable in form.

3. Manifest/explicit and covert/implicit content is deciphered. This process of designing a chart of categories aids in objective allocation of information instead of open-ended note taking.

4. Defining instrument categories means developing topics of discussion through analyzing the data. This should not be done before looking through the data, however, there are situations in which defining these categories earlier is necessary. For example, if the researcher is not an expert sometimes it is better to adapt a previous test instrument. Paoletti (1928) stresses that this would be useful in the study of historic costume, so that researchers use the same terminology consistently.

5. Choose the appropriate level of quantification so the information can be converted into useful data. The information categorized is turned into either descriptive data or statistically analyzable data, with the latter being the more preferable conversion method. (Paoletti, 1982, pp. 14-17)
Although these are the steps that Paoletti (1982) describes, there are other methods of content analysis. Neuendorf (2002) developed a content analysis flowchart consisting of nine steps as follows:

1. **Theory and rationale** is the objective or research question to be answered. It states what content to be examined.

2. **Conceptualization** consists of the variables selected and how they are defined in the study.

3. **Operationalization** is the unit of data used for analysis. This could be looking through archives, observations, interviews, surveys or a combination of data.

4. **Coding schemes** explain how data is to be coded using a codebook that defines the variables and their definitions.

5. **Sampling** is the process of limiting the content to be examined, such as years or pages.

6. **Training and pilot reliability** can be summarized as working with another coder to go through the variables to ensure each is defined appropriately. An independent coding test is conducted to test the reliability of variables. The codebook may be redefined at this time. Once the codebook is finalized, the coding process begins.

7. **Coding** is process of planning all the data into instrument categories.

8. **Final reliability test** is calculated.

9. **Tabulation and reporting** is the tabulation of data and reporting of the findings. (Neuendorf, 2002, pp. 50-51)
Kassarjian (1977) did not design a method of content analysis. He did, however, conduct a summary of what researchers thought distinguished this process. Through his research, Kassarjian (1977) found that the content analysis researchers he studied believed that there are three distinctive characteristics: objectivity, systemization, and quantification. Objectivity means that the study is not based on opinion of the researcher and helps to ensure that the study could be replicated with similar results. Systemization is the process by which the study is conducted to ensure each element is examined in the same way. The last characteristic, quantification, is the use of quantitative methods to determine findings and interpretation. (Kassarjian, 1977)

There are some issues with the use of content analysis such as: research bias, reporting only specific elements in communication, and difficult to consider theoretical perspectives. These issues lead to problems with reliability (Kolbe & Burnett, 1991). To avoid issues with reliably a systematic approach to recording content must be taken (Neuendorf, 2002).

**Theory and rationale for the study of junior sizing**

At the turn of the last century, society was moving from home production to ready-made clothing (Burman, 1999; Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2002; Payne, Winakor, & Farrell-Beck, 1992). By 1920 women’s ready-to-wear clothing was thriving due to improvements in garment production and resources (Kidwell & Christman, 1974). At this time, there were several sizing systems to fit a female figure: women’s, misses, and juvenile size category. The juvenile size category was broken down into several sizing systems: infants’, children’s and junior. In 1926, there was an article discussing these juvenile fashions as part of the “Third Annual Show of United Infants’, Children’s and
Junior Wear League” (Style progress in design established in children's and juniors’
fashion revue, 1926, p.1). This article suggests that junior wear was established at least
by 1923. In another article from October 26, 1928, “Miss B. Hoover, of the H. Leh& Co.
Department store of Allentown, PA,”(p. 5) mentions that, “In her 15 years buying
juniors’ wear,” (p. 5) which dates junior wear in existence since at least c. 1912 (Special
department seen as means for big volume, 1928). However, through this research, it was found
that sometime between 1926 and 1930 the meaning of the junior size category became
more defined. In 1926, junior wear was still classified with juvenile wear, but people in
the industry began to discuss for whom this apparel was made and should be geared
towards. In March 1926, a group of coat and dress manufacturers formed a group entitled
“The Junior Group” to promote junior wear solely as its own category (Junior group to
push type specialization, 1926, p. 1). By the end of the decade, the junior wear discussion
lead to a classification all on its own, for females with a particular figure.

This study focused on the definition of the term “junior” in order to establish a
timeline of the development of the junior wear industry solely as its own category versus
part of the juvenile size category. Analyzing the definition of junior during the time
period of 1926 through 1930 clarifies when the concept of “junior is a size, not an age”
(Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, pp. 3 and 16) was developed as well as the
impact it had on the fashion industry. It emphasizes the change in the junior size category
as part of a larger social and cultural change in society. The research objectives of the
study were as follows:

1. discuss the role and development of junior apparel in the fashion industry of the
time period between 1926 and 1930;
2. explore the discussion of the development of the sizing system of junior apparel; and
3. analyze and interpret the social and cultural effects of the development of junior apparel to understand why it happened between the years 1926 and 1930.

**Conceptualization**

In one of my undergraduate classes at *Fontbonne University*, I researched the junior wear industry in St. Louis. This project intrigued me and I wanted to learn more. This project grew into my senior capstone project. From this research, I believed that St. Louis was the origin of the junior size category that dated back to the 1930s. I wanted to take this topic further to learn more about the St. Louis Fashion Industry and its role in the development of the junior size category. The current research began because I wanted to put the St. Louis material into the context of the junior wear segment of the fashion industry nationwide.

*Women’s Wear Daily* was chosen as the source of data collection because it is the trade publication of the fashion industry since its inception in 1910. I initially decided to examine the period between 1930 and 1960 because my St. Louis Junior Market paper concluded that the St. Louis Industry was one of the leaders in the nation during this time.

After doing a systematic search for articles, I found an interesting topic stating “junior is a size, not an age” (*Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear*, 1928, pp. 3 and 16). While I was almost finished looking through the requested 40 years of this publication, I had reason to believe that this concept was found earlier than 1930. I examined the years from 1926-1930 of *Women’s Wear Daily*. In the articles collected from 1926-1930, I found that the junior sizing category was often discussed in terms of whom “junior wear”
was meant to cater to, as well as much discussion concerning size measurements of junior wear.

After doing this research, I decided to focus my thesis on the junior industry from 1926 through 1930 in order to understand the target market of the junior size category and how that size system was developing separate from sizing systems for female adults or children. I decided to begin looking at articles in 1926 due to an article found in the 1930s placing the origins junior wear industry back to this date.

Procedure

Sixty volumes of *Women’s Wear Daily* spanning five years were analyzed for relevant articles. Each issue of *Women’s Wear Daily* was divided into sections by an index, similar to a traditional newspaper. The sections examined for relevant articles were: major headlines and those headed, “dresses”, “business”, and “juniors’ wear”. However, I did look at the other sections as well, just not as closely as these four. I focused on these sections for four reasons. First, I chose major headlines because anything that is new and important in the industry is typically found in this section. Secondly, “dresses” was chosen because prior research showed that junior dresses were the most popular of junior garments manufactured. Next, “business” was analyzed because the junior wear industry is a business and this section looked at the business aspects of the industry, including the junior market. It included information on new manufactures and retailers in the industry. Lastly, the “juniors’ wear” section’s sole purpose was to inform readers about news in the junior wear industry.

Specific articles were identified and articles collected when they discussed: junior sizing, development of the junior size category, or who “junior” wear caters to. Relevant
articles were scanned or copied, depending on the physical condition of the volume in which it was found. After all the articles were collected, they were organized chronologically.

Since I collected the articles based on the discussion of the “junior”, I came up with four initial variables. The four initial variables selected were junior wear based on size, junior wear based on age, junior wear based on size and age, and the development of the junior wear industry in general. However, I kept an open mind in case other variables were found in the data and to ensure there were no reporting biases.

At this time, I created a spreadsheet to organize the data. The examination process consisted of reading the articles, writing pertinent statements on the vertical axis, and the date of article on the horizontal axis. Upon reaching fifty different relevant categories, I reexamined the statements to find topic similarities that led to more defined instrument categories. I then reexamined the articles to ensure that my variables encompassed all the ways in which “junior” was defined. I used the following variables to code the data: girl, in-between, miss, woman, debutante/college girl, grown-up, any age, style, type, attitude, “junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, pp. 3 and 16), proportion, fit, measurements, and size. At this time, I developed a coding book. If the data discussed these variables, they were classified into that respective variable. If an article discussed a variable, then a one was placed into the cell that corresponded to the particular variable and date. If the variable was not discussed on the date, a zero was entered into the cell.
Procedure for checking reliability

While many of the categories were determined prior to analyzing the data, the final instrument categories were determined after examining the explicit information several times. Those categories were then used to classify the rest of the articles. Upon completion of the articles, I reexamined the categories and data with a committee member to ensure proper classification and modified the categories then re-categorized the data accordingly. The final instrument categories were defined as follows:

1. Miss: “A girl of from about 10 to 17 years of age,” which is the original definition of this term according to the Oxford English Dictionary (2008).
2. Debutante/College Girl: “A female appearing for the first time before the public or in society” (Oxford University Press, 2008) or a girl attending college.
3. Woman: Females ages 18 and up.
5. Type: This category defines junior apparel; as its own classification, separate from children’s, misses, and women’s.
6. Attitude: Junior apparel is an attitude, specifically for females who are youthful in thought.
7. “Junior is a size, not age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, pp. 3 and 16): This phrase noted in some way. For example, “Junior is a size, one producer said, and doesn’t represent any particular age, in answering the query. ‘What is meant by junior?’ ” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear,
1928, pp. 3 and 16) or “ ‘...The very reason that the junior departments have been successful in the majority of stores is due to the fact that they sell junior wear to anyone who fits into them, thereby catering to all women of any age, provided they are small in size.’ ” ("Junior" term much abused says factor, 1928, p. 9)


9. Size: “Group of sizes according to age and/or body types of consumers or a system that suggests to consumers the suitability of a garment for their body dimensions” (Brown & Rice, 2001, p. 424).


**Final Coding**

I examined the articles one last time and finalized them by date into categories located on a spreadsheet.

**Tabulation**

To analyze articles in each of these categories, the number of articles per year was entered into a spreadsheet, and then graphed for frequency. This was used to understand what topics were being discussed and how often. I used the tabulation to understand when the debate over the term “junior” became more commonly discussed.

The tabulation was used to understand the terminology used to describe “junior” and which variables were discussed together. In addition, a chronological discussion of the historical context of the junior wear industry from 1926 through 1930 was used to tell
the story of the junior size category during this time period. Understanding what was discussed and how often it appeared led to a better understanding of what the term “junior” meant and the notion of “junior is a size, not and age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, pp. 3 and 16). This research enhances our knowledge of the junior wear industry when it was trying to separate itself from the juvenile image it had prior to the late 1920s into its own sizing category.

Limitations

Even though the method of content analysis guided this study, there are several limitations. First, I examined forty-four years of Women’s Wear Daily. I originally began looking at forty years from 1930-1960, but I found an interesting topic of “junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, pp. 3 and 16) that required me to look at 4 more years. There is human error involved with going through this number of issues, page by page. Another limitation is that some books were so old that they fell apart when I was paging through them. In these circumstances, I was unable to look at some articles on these pages. My last limitation is in the coding process. Coding articles into different categories is subjective, even though I went through intercoder reliability. Consequently due to this it is hard to get the same result twice. However, the same broad conclusion can be made regarding the content of the articles. Lastly, since the books were frail, someone had to either photocopy or scan the articles for me. Some of these were hard to read, therefore, sometimes it was hard see all of the words in an article.
In the 1920s, the junior size category, which was once housed under the juvenile wear industry, was classified solely on its own. This change in the junior sizing category was brought about by many changes in society, specifically changes in female attitudes, ideals, body shape, dress, and freedom. In the 1920s, females’ place in society was less restrictive and they had more freedom than ever before. Women gained the right to vote in 1920, which inevitably gave them more social opportunity (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007; Kyvig, 2002). “Some women practiced law, voted, held political, judicial, and civic office; some women managed capital, explored the globe, held the highest academic degrees possible; some women smoked in public and others flaunted their sexuality on the silent screen, belonging to no man” (Cott, 1987 p. 7). Now females had a new financial freedom, which led to consumption of consumer goods, such as ready-made clothing and beauty products (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007; Kyvig, 2002). While these activities were only performed by a small percentage of women, the fact that any woman was performing in this way was proof that the ideal of “woman” was changing (Cott, 1987).

These changes taking place in the 1920s brought about changes in dress. Perrot (1994) stated, “the forms and functions of dress vary according to circumstances, sex, class, or social role, and consequently everything influenced by these factors varies in the same way” (p. 13). This quote discusses how clothing, demographic variables, and socio-cultural factors affect each other. Clothing serves as a way to make inferences about a person’s identity and their role in society. The early part of the twentieth century brought
about a drastic change not only in the way females dressed, but their role in society. In this section, I will examine the social and cultural aspects of the early twentieth century to establish why the 1920s was a viable time for the development of junior wear fashions.

Demographics of 1920s Society

Of the 106 million people living in the United States in 1920, 49% were females and 51% were males. Females between the ages of 10-14 accounted for 10.2%, those between ages 15-19 years of age accounted for 9.2%, females age 20-24 accounted for 9.2%, and those between ages 25-29 accounted for 8.8% of the female population.

Compared to the census of 1910, the number of females in each of these age categories was rising. (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1933) As of 1920, the population median age was 25 and “two-thirds the population was 35 or younger” (Kyvig, 2002, pp. 10-11). The “average life expectancy was just over 53.6 years for men, 54.6 for women” (Kyvig, 2002, p. 11). “Just over 60 percent of people over the age of 15 lived as married couples, while 36.9 percent of males and 29.4 percent of women remained unmarried” (Kyvig, 2002, pp. 11-12). Household income varied greatly during this time.

“A small elite varied very well, and a significant middle class lived comfortably. Most Americans, however, lacked sufficient household income to live more than a modest and insecure existence. Between one-third and two-fifths of the entire American population could be classified as poor even by the modest standards of time” (Kyvig, 2002, p.12).

In 1920, women gained the right to vote that provided a new social opportunity for women (Kyvig, 2002). When the men came back from World War I, they took their service and industrial jobs back from women; however, there were more office positions available for educated women such as working in banks, real estate, libraries, and social work (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). “Almost 79 percent of working women in 1920
were single” (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p. 56). Many young women typically worked before marriage and before children. It was possible for women to be part of the workforce due to new technologies that aided chores around the house, including new food breakthroughs and household appliances. Women were also able to plan for children with the use of birth control (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). Other females needed to work to provide for their families. Divorce rates were “16.5 per 100 marriages in 1929, almost doubled from 1900” (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p. 57). This sharp increase in divorce can be attributed to the accumulation of greater freedom, increased number of women working outside the home, more educated females, and individual independence than that of 1900.

*Ideal Female Form*

The woman’s ideal figure was changing in the early twentieth century to “a slender, less massive and hieratic figure” (Perrot, 1994, pp. 189-190). This change in stature led to clothes being worn closer to the body to show off this new shape. Due to this new style of clothing, women began growing more aware of their appearance, henceforth began taking care of themselves better. (Perrot, 1994)

After World War I there was a growing concern about cleanliness and appearance. The government was researching nutrition and diet more than ever before. They began educating society on proper nutrition of minerals, vitamins, and balanced meals. As this idea began to grow, so did society’s feelings toward a slimmer figure. While in the past, women of economic status didn’t care about weight, now they were dieting to fit into this new ideal body image (Brumberg, 1997; Kyvig, 2002). Females were more concerned with their physical self versus the internal self because of the
media’s portrayed image of females (Brumberg, 1997). Brumberg (1997) states, “because of the introduction of many new kinds of cultural mirrors, in motion pictures, popular photography, in mass-market advertising in women’s magazines, as well as on department store counters and in dressing rooms, most women and girls began to subject their face and figure due to more consistent scrutiny” (p. 70). The pressure of attaining this new slimmer body shape in media that was in media was affecting everyday life of women. Due to the new pressures in the 1920s, dieting was considered “fashionable game” (Brumberg, 1997, p. 119). Females of all ages were making an effort to attain this new slim shape. “Teenage girls made systematic efforts to lower their weight by food restriction and exercise. Although the advice on “slimming” and “reducing” was usually directed at adult women, college and high school girls also dieted” (Brumberg, 1997, p. 99). Women and girls, who used to eat whatever they desired, now focused on their outward appearances and began restricting their diet. This new slender figure correlated with changes in fashion at this time.

*Ready-to-Wear Industry and Consumer Culture*

Before the rise of the ready-to-wear industry that began in the 19th century for men, most women’s garments were still being produced at home. “Clothing was an important vehicle for social acceptability and success; learning how to sew made it possible for many girls, regardless of economic or social class, to conform to a middle-class ideal” (Burman, 1999, p. 313). At this time, girls were instructed on attention to detail in making their clothing to ensure that home sewn products did not resemble “a home orientated look” (Burman, 1999, p. 313).
By 1920 many women stopped making clothing at home for themselves and their children and began buying mass-produced garments instead (Kyvig, 2002). This change was due to the availability of more styles of clothing for females at a more reasonable price than ever before. This was achieved by mass production and the availability of goods through catalog merchants, such as Montgomery Ward and Sears Roebuck. Women now had money to purchase these ready-made items mainly due to working outside the home and, at the same time, were forced to purchase these ready-made garments due to the time commitment of working outside the home (Burman, 1999). The production of mass-produced garments allowed all people, regardless of class, to look as though they were equals (Kyvig, 2002). This also allowed women to spend more time involved in social activities rather than sewing garments at home.

At this time, the ready-to-wear industry was in full swing. There was an abundance of resources, including fabric in all different textures, colors, and patterns (Yellis, 1969; Kidwell & Christman, 1974). There were also more sewing machines and better methods for cutting layers of fabric that made production virtually unlimited (Kidwell & Christman, 1974).

One of the most influential reasons for the rise of ready-to-wear industry was the innovation that women came in sizes and clothing was being developed specifically for these sizes (Yellis, 1969). The ready-made garments industry allowed women to dress in up-to-date fashions (Yellis, 1969). These newer fashions tended to be adopted first by young adults. Students were next in line to adopt these new ready-to-wear fashions and demanded more of these clothes because they did not want to have to wear the same item two days in a row (Kyvig, 2002).
Another reason for the success of the ready-to-wear industry was a change in American values and the role of women. Society was changing from a farm based economy to that which depended on manufacturing, retailing, and commerce. This resulted in more free time outside the home and people with more money, which allowed individuals to consume more goods than past generations. Consumerism was now one of the main focuses in society (Welters & Cunningham (eds), 2005, p. 2). “Since the end of the First World War, modern societies have experienced a constant increase in consumption of cosmetics, an extraordinary democratization of beauty products, and an unprecedented vogue for make-up” (Lipovetsky, 1994, p. 112). This is one example of how the change in beliefs and values affected consumption. Women began to care more about their appearance and fashion, thus they purchased clothing since it was ready-made as well as items to perfect their beauty. Girls became consumer leaders of ready-made items, as they did not want to wear the same garment two days in a row. They demanded a variety of clothing in different colors, styles, fabrication, and sizes (Kyvig, 2002). The “definition of teen years as a special phrase of life emerged in early twentieth century” (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p. 57). At this time, there were belief and value conflicts between young people and their elders (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007).

With the proliferation of garments and the need to stay in fashion in the twenties, the turn of the century through the 1920s marked what Lizabeth Cohen (2003) calls the “first wave consumer movement”(p.21). The middle-class was growing and they had more time and money to spend (Cohen, 2003). Wages were rising and work week hours were declining (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). People were becoming more concerned
with having the newest of everything including clothing, especially brand named goods (Cohen, 2003).

Name brand goods were being advertised though mass communications of radio and print media (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). These goods were being advertised though magazines, newspapers, specialty stores, and mail order catalogs informing people about the new changing styles. At this time, there were more magazines in production in the United States than any other country, (Kidwell & Christman, 1974) including tabloids and trade journals such as Women’s Wear Daily (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). Advertising mass appeals rose from “400 million in early 1920 to 2.6 billion in 1929” (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007, p. 60).

Another aspect that increased consumption was customer service. For the first time, department stores were teaching their associates how to sell. There were numerous trade journals that provided the latest news and activities in a particular industry. For example, Women’s Wear Daily was established in 1910, when it was called Women’s Wear. It was not until 1927 that the name became Women’s Wear Daily. This trade publication updated retailers and manufacturer’s on news and activities in different aspects of the textile and apparel industry. There were also roughly 2,000 trade associations (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007).

Fashions

Between the turn of the century and the end of the 1920s, women’s fashion went through several changes. Women’s clothing changed from frilly, feminine, with layers of fabric to masculine, playful, and simplistic. Girl’s clothing emulated women’s clothing, as women’s clothing changed, so did girl’s clothing. The female population at this time
was young. Females at this time had a new found freedom that they expressed overtly. Since females were young and free they felt the need for clothing that represented their new liberation.

**Girls Fashions**

Girl’s clothing barely changed from the 1890s until 1910, with changes mainly affecting only details. However, around 1910, women’s clothes began to change, with shorter hemlines and narrower skirts becoming more popular. This change also affected clothing styles for young girls, bringing about a split in styles between older and younger girls. Six to 10 year old girls would wear more updated version of something that a four year old would wear and a girl of 10 to 16 would wear something similar to her mother’s apparel but with fewer details and that was less revealing (Rose, 1989).

**Women’s Fashion**

By the early to mid 1920s, fashion for women was also changing to reveal more skin. Hemlines were raised and emphasis was placed on beauty. Lighter flexible garments for the busy, athletic women yielded practicality (Yellis, 1969). “The simplification in clothing in the 1920s, the elimination of gathers and frills in favor of restrained, clean lines, was a response to this new idea of lightness and energy drawn from sports” (Lipovestsky, 1994, p. 62). Lipovetsky (1994) stated that the masculine woman of the 1920s corresponded perfectly with the cubists because the fashions are “purification of forms and the rejection of decorative” (p. 63). These two influences were seen in the Flapper.

Flugel quoted in Yellis (1969) stated that,

“The term “flapper” originated in England as a description of girls of the awkward age, the mid-teens. The awkwardness was meant literally, and a girl
who flapped had not yet reached mature, dignified womanhood. The flapper ‘was supposed to need a certain type of clothing- long, straight lines to cover her awkwardness- and the stores advertised these gowns as ‘flapper dresses’ (p. 49). It was in postwar America that these gawky, boyish flappers became the aesthetic ideal” (Yellis, 1969, p. 40).

However, he did note that not every young girl was a Flapper and that the Flapper was not consistent in dress and was not only for the immature girl. The Flapper was described as, “the new, fashionable figure was slender, long-limbed and relatively flat chested. American women of all ages donned the short, popular chemise dress that was the uniform of the flapper in the 1920s” (Brumberg, 1997, p. 99).

This change in dress from the frills and lace of the Gibson girl to the Flapper signified a change in Western ideals including lifestyles (Yellis, 1969). The Gibson Girl resembled mature, matronly, and femininity, whereas the Flapper signified single, playful, and boyish. This youthful, playfulness was the image of the 1920s (Payne, Winakor, & Farrell-Beck, 1992; Yellis, 1969). Although this was only a change in dress, a change in dress signified underlying changes within society.

The Flapper was a considered a modern girl of this time, wearing dresses shorter than ever before and even displaying women’s legs (Payne, Winakor, & Farrell-Beck, 1992). Flappers were fashion innovators who were not only young females and older teens, but they were unmarried women in their twenties (Farrell-Beck & Parsons, 2007). The garment proportion of the flapper was different than previously made women’s garments. “The bust and hip measurements of the ideal figure were only four to five inches larger than the waist measurement. The shoulders were natural, not emphasized” (Payne, Winakor, & Farrell-Beck, 1992, p. 570). These proportions made the
manufacturing of women’s garments easier because there were seven sizes that would fit almost half the adult females in the country (Yellis, 1969).

**Foundation Garments**

Foundation garments that were used in previous decades were being revolutionized at the beginning of the twentieth century. Through this evolution the corset became the girdle and in the late teens bras were starting to be worn by women. The history of the bra shows that adult women were the first market and the maturing girl were the second market. If a family had the money, girls would wear the ready-made foundations. Eventually there was a transition from home-made to mass-produced foundations along with other garments (Brumberg, 1997).

Between 1906 and 1917, foundation garments were being sold though all the established retail outlets (Farrell-Beck & Gau, 2002). The bra specific garment was designed to slim and flatten the chest. Soon after this emergence they were designed to shape and control the breasts (Brumberg, 1997). While this was the case, training bras for teens were developed in the 1920s (Farrell-Beck & Gau, 2002). The maturing girls moved into adult sized bras when they were developed enough to wear them.

**Going into the 1930s**

During the Depression, consumer spending declined. Garments that were previously purchased were being mended at home (Burman, 1999). Women who once were emancipated were now reverting to garments that were frilly and feminine in nature (Yellis, 1969). Although they are not as restricted as previous garments, like the turn of the century, they were a step back from the more revealing and playful clothing of the 1920s. These liberated women were not seen again until the onset of World War II.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research is important to gaining a better understanding of the impact of the junior size category and was primarily to investigate the introduction and or meaning of the junior apparel category. Although industry members could not decide on one specific definition of what “junior” means, this research was primarily done to investigate the introduction and meaning of the junior size category. It is important to understand why the 1920s were a viable time for the discussion of the “junior” size category separating itself from the juvenile wear industry. This chapter has several objectives. First, is to give a broad overview of this research project. The second objective is to give an overview of the frequency of variables discussed from 1926 through 1930 in Women’s Wear Daily with additional evaluation of each variable in the appendix. Lastly this research gives a chronological discussion of “junior” as defined by industry members with an analysis of the social and cultural forces behind this discussion.

Researching the junior size category consisted of an examination of 44 Women’s Wear Daily articles from 1926 through 1930. This was done for several reasons; first to understand the development of the junior wear industry during this time, second to define the term “junior” and the promotional strategy of “junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear 1928, pp. 3 and 16), and finally to explore the ways in which the junior sizing system was developed.

The articles chosen for further evaluation were selected based on whether the articles discussed the following: junior sizing, development of the junior size category or who “junior” wear caters to. The variables determined as describing “junior” apparel are
as follows: “miss”, “debutante/college girl”, “women”, “style”, “type”, “attitude”, “junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear 1928, pp. 3 and 16), “fit”, “measurements”, “size”, and “size proportion”. The articles were classified into these categories to analyze which topics were discussed most often in relationship to the junior size category.

Throughout this five year span, there were only sixteen separate months in which articles were found defining “junior”. The results of my findings show that “miss” was discussed more than any other variable when industry members were trying to decide to whom “junior” apparel is meant to cater. However, this was not always the case. Other variables commonly used when discussing this industry were “style”, “size proportion”, and “women”. Table 1 is a bar graph that shows the total number of times each variable was discussed during this five-year span. These variables are discussed independently and in relationship to each other in the Appendix.

Table 1

Total number of times each variable was discussed
Table 2 is a line graph that shows the concentration of the articles over this five year span. In 1926 there were 4 articles and in 1927 there were 2 articles discussing the junior size category. By 1928, there were a total of 22 articles and in 1929, 14 articles discussed the junior size category. By 1930, only 2 articles were found discussing the junior size category. It is important to note that the majority of the articles were found from October 1928 through February 1929 (Table 2). A total of 31 out of the total 44 articles were found between these dates.

The fluctuation of articles in 1926, 1927, and 1930 could have occurred due to a few possible reasons. The data source of original Women’s Wear Daily magazines are in poor condition and some of the articles may have been lost due to illegibility and missing pages. Another reason for variation could relate to the selection of headings chosen for
primary data collection which include "dresses," "business," and "juniors' wear." These sections were chosen as they were identified as optimal for the inclusion of information on junior wear. It appears that in 1926, the junior sizing category was trying to break away from its former juvenile image and further study could reveal more information on junior wear in the children's, infants and juvenile section of the publication. Few of the articles in 1926 and 1927 referenced defining junior apparel and the growth in this category, which could explain a decline in the amount of new information. By 1930, an economic downturn could account for the limited number of articles during this year and the reason that few articles referenced its possible definition or growth in this size category.

Chronological Discussion

Women’s Wear (Daily) had a junior wear section in 1926 that was designated for girls ages 13 to 17. At this time junior clothing was an extension of the juvenile size category. While the juvenile section dates back into the teens, my research focuses on the time period beginning in 1926 when junior began to emerge as its own classification (Special dept. seen as means for big volume, 1928). By the end of September 1926 this age designation was no longer incorporated on the top of the junior’s wear section in Women’s Wear (Daily), hence, it was no longer defined by the fashion industry as a part of juvenile apparel category. At this time, the discussion of what “junior” meant began to develop among members in the industry.

By 1926, the debate over what the term junior meant had begun to catch the attention of many in the retailing industry. Junior wear was produced in sizes 11-17. A group of junior coat and dress manufacturers formed a group called “The Junior Group”
(Junior group to push type specialization, 1926, p. 1) to emphasize the importance of the junior and to encourage separate junior wear departments. At this time, the group defined junior as a particular type that was different from misses and children’s (Junior group to push type specialization, 1926). “The Junior Group” concept stated that any female figure could be a junior if they were youthful in figure and life ("Junior group" wishes to establish specific meaning of term "junior", 1926). In 1927, a buyer believed that a “tremendous volume of business could be done in this section if there were more designers who realized that the junior is a type rather than an age” (Retail buyers emphasize need for further understanding of junior type, 1927, p. 5). This statement suggests that this junior buyer desired others to focus on the fact that the junior size category has its own unique characteristics such as styling details, size proportion, and sizes.

Another article in 1927 mentioned that, “those manufacturers who specialized in junior sizes about five years ago are today in the children’s wear business, which serves to indicate the growing tendency to becoming slimmer” (Finds big demand for junior sizes, 1927, p. 35). Brumberg (1997) and Kyvig (2002) both cited changes in female’s attitudes regarding their appearance. They noted that females began to diet and focus on their size to obtain the new fashionable slender figure. This article also stated,

“ ‘Many American women who only a few years ago patronized the women’s and misses' departments for their wearing apparel have shown a tendency for reducing, have become slimmer and youthful in thought, and are today wearing junior sizes to a large extent,’ according to a prominent manufacturer of junior apparel in this market” (Finds big demand for junior sizes, 1927, p. 35).

This particular manufacturer believed that anyone could be a junior as long as their attitude reflected the junior image of youthfulness. However, a coat manufacturer in July
1928 felt that the junior size category was a particular age versus a size. “The junior size range from the ages of 13 to 19. One manufacturer reports a consistent demand for size 11 in the junior line, and says many buyers are beginning to ask for this type in their orders” (Savor junior wear as part of G.R.A. show, 1928, p. 31).

Two months later,

“Mrs. Majorie Marriott, head designer for Hugh A. Schroeder & Co., Inc (who is to resign on Oct. 1), ‘It is not just exactly the junior modes that the ultimate consumer is looking for, but the type of garment that can be worn by the real junior-missy type of women, and that does not have to be classified in the juvenile or children’s sizes’ ” (Sees call for sophisticated junior dresses, 1928, p. 6).

Marriott reflected the idea that the junior should be its own classification without the image of children’s and juvenile wear affecting its success. That in order for this particular classification to gain strides, it needs to be in its own section and to focus on its unique attributes. If this is done then anyone can wear as long as it as long as are the right sizes and have the right attitude. When interviewed, she believed that retailers want the “ ‘type of dress that can fit the elder type of women, who is built along these sizes’ ” (p.6).

The first article between 1926 through 1930 that discussed measurements was League Gives Size Data on Junior Wear from October 18, 1928. The notion of the article was the difference between the junior and miss’s garments, “in bust measurements, hip measurements, waist, length of waist in back and width across the shoulders” according to the League chart (p. 11). These measurements were complied by “Style Research Bureau of the Union Women’s Wear League of America” (p. 11).

While discussion on measurements was heating up, so was the discussion of which manufacturers were concentrating on this size category of apparel. Misses’ manufacturers were not only making misses’ apparel, but junior apparel as well, which
confuses the buyer to which merchandise they are purchasing (Junior buyer urges greater specialization, 1928). Miss Miller, of Hochschild, Kohn & Co., stated that,

“‘There is a substantial difference between the two. The sophisticated type of junior girl cannot wear the type of garment made by the misses' manufacturer and expect to get fit and style.’” (Junior buyer urges greater specialization, 1928, p.11).

Misses manufacturers making junior wear confuses the buyer to which merchandise they are really getting. This fact made it difficult to clarify the sizing of the junior size category.

By October of 1928, the debate regarding the junior size category was in full force. Mrs. L. Booth, of Mandel Brothers believed that

“The junior wear department today represents a style barometer for the ready-to-wear sections in the store, as it is this type of girl that is first to grasp the new style changes and demand them at retail establishments” (Buyer sees juniors as style factor, 1928, p. 3).

Just like the Flapper of the time, junior wear caters to that fashion forward female. She also found that

“from experiences with customers at the store that the latest style trends in apparel are generally called for by the type of girl that is in the high school and college age and represents the sophisticated junior type” (Buyer sees juniors as style factor, 1928, p. 3).

She also found that although this section is fashion forward in nature, “…woman who is short and youthful in figure, despite her age,” (Buyer sees juniors as style factor, 1928, p. 3) are taking a liking to this section.

On the same page as this article, another article discussed the importance of fashionable merchandise for these forward thinking females. They also discussed in particular the size 11 garment.
“There has been increased buying activity because of the change in attitude of the 12 to 16 year old girl, who no longer responds to the fashions set by children’s coat makers, but who want a garment designed for her. The 12-to16-year old girl, who is diminutive in build, in associating with the girl who is larger in stature, seeks a type of garment that fits in conformity and style with those worn by the latter” (Call size 11 important in junior lines , 1928, p.3).

The article entitled, Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear also from October 22, 1928, discussed the issues that were raised in a junior wear meeting regarding “the meaning of junior wear, as far as sizes, types, and other details are concerned” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, p. 3). In that meeting the question “What is meant by the junior?” (p. 16) was posed. One producer mentioned that “junior is a size and doesn’t represent any particular age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, p. 16). Another person mentioned that the, “…junior garment is meant for the growing girl and is very much separated from the infants’ and children’s age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, p. 16). The result of this meeting was that there was still not a unanimous decision on what exactly the term “junior” meant. Mosssohn, executive chairman of the United Women’s Wear League, discussed forming a committee to ask industry individual about ‘what the junior meant’.

In this meeting, however, there were discussions about where buyers purchase their junior wear.

“Frank Baum, of Baum & Katz, chairman of the meeting, declared that approximately 75 percent of junior wear buyers in this country purchase their merchandise from misses’ houses, which is detrimental to the junior wear business. Junior houses, in turn, are endeavoring to sell their products to the misses’ buyers, he said, thus creating a conflicting condition in the market” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, p. 16).
Another meaning stated by Means, buyer of the junior wear Department at New York Offices of S. M. Goldberg Chain Stores, was,

“the small type of women is what the junior section is intended for and caters to. This does not mean, she adds, that the growing girl who wears a junior garment should be neglected in order to cater to this small missy demand” (Says "junior wear" implies many types, 1928, p. 20). She also pointed out that “the word ‘junior’ bears no relationship to any specific age” (Says "junior wear" implies many types, 1928, p. 20).

This article also mentions how important it is to separate junior from the girl’s and children’s departments because the women do not want to be associated with that type of apparel.

In another article from October 1928 a buyer points out that featuring children’s and junior wear together is a mistake due to a difference in customer.

“It is her opinion that junior’s apparel belongs in a separate shop by itself, in view of the fact that today the girl of 15 and 17 years of age and the woman of 40 or 50 can wear the merchandise that is classified as juniors’” (Sees big change in children's and junior size, 1928, p. 9).

In a different article on the same page, another buyer believes that the junior wear industry could grow even further if manufacturers would “‘specialize and offer style innovations that the misses’ houses are today showing’” (See trend to sophisticated junior styles, 1928, p. 9). She also noted that when selling this apparel “type” (p.9) not “age” (p. 9) should be the selling point and a junior show would be help this industry (See trend to sophisticated junior styles, 1928).

Some answers were studied by a committee of the “Junior Wear League” which was organized in 1928. Merchandise managers and junior wear buyers pointed out that

“The difficulty, it was explained, is that the junior garments are made apparently for the sole use of the girl who is at an awkward age, whereas this type of garment, if it were fashionable enough, would be purchased eagerly by elderly women of small, slight stature. Many customers of
junior apparel are advanced in years but small and slight in figure, and if the style of the garments were more like the misses’ styles they would sell more readily” (Local shops define term ‘junior wear’, 1928, p. 9).

In another article from October 25, 1928, a buyer of prominent store in New York, thought “The term gives the customer the idea that she is buying in a kindred department, whereas it is intended for the young debutante and college girl” (Calls "junior wear" name a misnomer, 1928, p. 9).

“In her 15 years of buying juniors’ wear, Mrs. B. Hoover, of the H. Leh& Co. department store of Allenton, Pa., says she has found the junior section one of the most progressive departments in the store, both from the standpoint of style and as a volume builder. Mrs. Hoover has seen the junior wear division go through many changes in the last few years, and believes the industry is still in its infancy. There is room for improvement, on part of both the manufacturer and retailer, she thinks” (Special Dept. Seen as Means for Big Volume, 1928, p. 5).

Then she discussed how the department was separated from children’s wear several years earlier and customers in her town are more educated on the junior size category. She concludes by stating that the right kind of merchandise is necessary for continued improvement (Special dept. seen as means for big volume, 1928).

Another buyer believed that

“ ‘Juniors’ wear indicates a type, and not an age, asserts the buyer for a leading Fifth avenue store. It can also readily stand for a size, she says, but it is best when not advertised as such. The buyer or salesgirl selling the junior apparel to the consumer should stress that the marking on the garment indicates a size and not the age of the person. If the store can establish this fact in the minds of the customer it will cater to a much greater clientele, this buyer believes. ‘They young matronly women,’ she adds, ‘far from the ages of 13 to 17, is coming to the junior department for her apparel. This fact alone should justify the buyer in not featuring the age in talking junior sizes. The petite woman and the sophisticated debutante do not like to be classified as juniors because, in their mind of some customers, the word ‘junior’ implies the younger type or girl, and the growing girl today is getting away from this idea.’ ” (Buyer sees junior as a type, not age, 1928, p. 12)
A Cleveland buyer mentioned that

“‘The small girl who is too small for misses’ sizes and yet who wants to youthful styling and good fit has become the regular customer in a junior department who caters to her needs. Both manufacturers and retailers have made the mistake of jumping from the 14 in children’s size garments to the 14 in misses’ but we find by having an ample and smart collection of 11’s, 13’s, 15’s, and 17’s we are bridging the gap and taking care of the girls who must have alterations if they buy in misses’ departments’” (Sees juniors neglected by stores, mfrs., 1928, p. 9).

It is pointed out that the “junior is both a type and size” (Sees juniors neglected by stores, mfrs., 1928, p. 9) and “youthful styling and good fit” (Sees juniors neglected by stores, mfrs., 1928, p. 9) are necessary. This Cleveland buyer points out that manufacturers who make misses garments and mark them with junior tags are not helping this size classification. Also mentioned is the need for size standardization in junior size garments, 11 to 17(Sees juniors neglected by stores, mfrs., 1928). Another article on the same page discussed the opinion of Mayer of Mayer “Chic”. This person believes that the term “junior” is misused.

“‘Junior wear is merely a name to impress the young miss that junior wear styles have been created for her expressly, and makes the girl out of her teens, as well as the slight and short woman, look youthful and yet dignified. The very reason that the junior departments have been successful in the majority of stores is due to the fact that they sell junior wear to anyone who fits into them, thereby catering to all women of any age, provided they are small in size’” ("Junior" term much abused says factor, 1928, p. 9).

One producer thought that a list of questions regarding junior apparel should be distributed throughout the country in order to decipher what exactly is meant by junior (Juniors' lines distinct from misses' advised, 1928). On the same page, Wm. Loweth & Co., resident buyers found that the junior dress department caters to

“‘the young miss or deb type, and the young-appearing small women, who wish to remain youthful’ and that this department must be ‘stocked
with the right kind of merchandise and adjoining the dress section should work out successfully” (Favor junior dress values over misses', 1928, p. 2).

The buyers in Chicago felt that junior and misses’ garments needed variation in sizing. They believed,

“That the junior garment is a size proposition first and foremost is the preponderant among buyers of juniors’ wear in Chicago stores. Size 11, 13, 15, and 17 should be as different in proportions from the misses’ sizes as they are from the square-cut children’s size” (Chicago shops see junior as size problem, 1928, p. 8).

They also had an idea of who the ‘junior’ is meant to cater to and the garment details of this apparel.

“ ‘Although the junior garment is one properly intended for the young girl who is becoming style-conscious. It is often the best possible choice for slim women of all ages,’ says the assistant at Mandel Brothers. ‘The styles are practically the same as those for misses, and while we do, of course, stress youthfulness, consider the truism that youthfulness is the prime requirement in apparel for women of all ages today’ ” (Chicago shops see junior as size problem, 1928, p. 8).

Therefore, Chicago buyers believed that fit was the distinguishing factor between junior wear and that of children’s and misses’ (Chicago shops see junior as size problem, 1928).

Whereas in St. Louis, Liberman of Stix, Baer & Fuller, felt that “ ‘the buyer does not buy to type, as she should, but to size, and the result of this practice is that any junior department run on these principles necessarily conflicts with the misses’ department’ ” (Customer is buying size, says factor, 1928, p. 10). He also thought that clarity of what “junior” means and how it is different from misses’ needs to solved in order for this market to be successful (Customer is buying size, says factor, 1928).
In December 1928 the United Women’s Wear League released two articles listing junior size measurements compared to misses’ and the other article compared girls to show the difference in bust, waist, and hips (Complete size figures for juvenile wear trade issued, 1928; Move to adopt standard measurements called forward step by junior trade, 1928). The second article discussed adopting standard size measurements and eliminating the size 11. The vote was to take place in February 1929 by members of the wholesale and retail trade.

Another article from December discussed the views of Kolbert of the company Kolbert. Kolbert stated “The short lengths, snug-fitting hips and the discarding of the corset have made it possible for the junior form to become the standard for the modern miss, he declares” (Sees junior trend due to changing mode, 1928, p. 7). Kolbert then goes on to discuss the change that has been seen in the junior industry.

“‘Junior sizes originally were intended for the girl classified in the in-between stage. It still holds good as far as size is concerned. The girl has also changed, but has adopted the stylish missy garment for her present apparel. This only makes a double demand on the junior sizes made in missy lines and styles’” (Sees junior trend due to changing mode, 1928, p. 7).

In a discussion on the expansion of the junior size category in 1928, buyers and merchandisers felt that “the junior type or growing girl is looked upon as a barometer of style. Whenever something new is brought out in the way of fashion the junior girl is the first to demand it, buyers declare” (1928 trade expansion was far reaching, 1928, p. 8).

More discussion on junior sizing was taking place until the official vote in February 1929. L. Bogen of the company L. Bogen mentioned that “The official size figures for juniors and misses, he adds, emphasizes the fact that the junior miss form is neither a child’s measurement nor a grown-up flapper” (Lauds sizes adopted by standards...
bureau, 1929, p. 8). Then he went on to discuss the need for defining the term “junior” or change it so that there will no longer be problems regarding who the “junior” size category caters to and sizing of this merchandise. In the same article the Bureau of Standards in Washington D.C. examined the differences between junior and misses’ sized garments (Lauds sizes adopted by standards bureau, January 9, 1929, p. 8).

In the meantime, while waiting for the size standardization vote, businesses were continuing to discuss the term “junior”. A manufacturer from Cleveland believed consistency in the term “junior” was needed. He declared,

“‘We’ve kept the term juniors alive for a great many years, but usually qualifying it by the more explanatory terms in-betweens, petite, small women’s and the like. But in the meantime, we developed our college classification—which use to be called high school. When you consider that the college group is really the more youthful in styling and in sizing. It would seem more consistent to switch the name juniors over here and find another name for the group thus robbed. Little women’s would be pretty close, but not, as we conceive it, exactly right. In-betweens is nearer right, perhaps, but has it the qualities of universal trade and consumer acceptance?’” (Discuss meaning of term "junior", 1929, p. 49)

Another article from January 1929 mentions styling details of garments from a leading junior manufacturer, “the 12 and 15 year old girl is unwilling to wear juvenile apparel that carries with it the girlish touch, but insists upon the more sophisticated junior idea” (Size 11 held stimulant to junior sales, 1929, p. 41). This article also mentions that the smaller junior sizes, specifically size 11 should be strictly for juniors.

“‘This does not necessarily mean that the small miss should not be fitted in the junior section,” he adds, “but this thought should suggest to the merchandise manager that the smaller sizes in the junior range must, by reason of their build, be strictly juniors if modeled from one of the tried junior resources’” (Size 11 held stimulant to junior sales, 1929, p. 41).

Chalk of LaSalle Girl & Junior Coat Corp. felt that “The junior size of today and tomorrow is a distinct size and shape and buyers are coming to realize it” (Call junior size
distinct trade feature, 1929, p. 18) and that junior sizes have nothing to do with misses’ sizes (Call junior size distinct trade feature, 1929). Whereas,

“ ‘We have learned from experience that the girl of the junior type prefers being associated with a department that carries clothes for elders to entering one that caters to children and juveniles,’ says Miss Daniels. ‘If the girl is of missy type and wants a garment that will make her look more youthful, she can easily be fitted in juniors’, and if she feels that she would like to appear older, she can buy the misses’ lines in the same department’ ” (Sees value in mixing junior, misses’ lines, 1929, p. 43).

Cleveland Buyers said, “These departments cater to small women, school girls, stenographers and others of youthful and small appearance who wear sizes 13, 15, and 17” (Cleveland junior buyers in N.Y. market, 1929, n.p.).

On February 19, 1929, an article discussed an advertisement from February 18, 1929. It stated,

“Hahne & Co., of Newark, in an advertisement yesterday stressed the popularity of the junior miss as a size and not an age. The advertisement treats the junior in an unusually humorous manner. The caption reads: ‘Whoopie…! I’m a Junior Miss.’ It then goes on to explain this type in the following manner: ‘Don’t be Victorian, Little One, being your age is out—it’s being your size that counts. Everybody knows that junior miss departments sell clothes for Sweet Sixteens like you…but here’s the big story: I’ve discovered I’m a junior miss in size and spirit even though it’s so alleged I’m past the age of indiscretion’ ” (‘Size that counts,” says Hahne’s, Newark, 1929, p. 34).

The Department of Commerce asked the industry to adopt commercial standards, since the measurements were approved by the United Women’s Wear League. They asked that patterns be standardized and if approved will take effect by January 1, 1930. (Dress patterns submitted for Mfrs. approval, 1929, p. 12)

Although these commercial standards were agreed upon (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1944), the discussion of who “junior” wear caters to and the variation in sizing between misses’ and juniors was still discussed. Silverman of Jos. Silverman Co.
opinion is “there is a wide difference in the garments sold to the girl who is attending high school or college and the woman in her 40s not withstanding that they both require the same size” (Says junior dept. caters to 3 types, 1929, p. 5). Then he goes on to say, “The woman is paying more attention to her figure today, and it is chickness and youthful styling that count most” (Says junior dept. caters to 3 types, 1929, p. 5). Lastly,

“ ‘There must be a different style catering to the high school girl, the college girl, and the small sized women in the up-to-date junior section. The manufacturer, as well, should concentrate his line in the order to meet the needs of these three types of customers that he is reaching through the retail channels’ ” (Says junior dept. caters to 3 types, 1929, p. 12).

A buyer mentioned, “‘The junior and the junior miss are not the same. One cannot wear the garment that is worn by the other. Their names and description may be alike, but their fit differs in both cases’ ” (Buyer rates fit above all in selecting cloths for juniors, 1930, p. 8).

In April 1930, Saks Fifth Avenue adopted new size measurements. These new measurements included the size 11 garment and were standardized in conjunction with the Style Research Bureau of the United Women’s Wear League of America. The League felt that since new measurements were needed due to new style changes in apparel for females (Saks-5th ave. effects new junior sizes, 1930).

Interpretation and Conclusion

The 1920s was a time of change for females. Key changes in the movement of women at this time included gaining the right to vote and achievement of working in coveted positions in the workforce, which led to changes of female attitudes and ideals (Farrell-Beck &Parsons, 2007; Cott, 1987; Kyvig, 2002). While it should be recognized that the percentage of women who fully used these newfound freedoms were small, the
importance of these changes was that women could no longer be included within one group or classification (Cott, 1987). Females were also being influenced by mass media and felt compelled to keep up their appearance through dieting, beauty, and fashion (Brumberg, 1997). This “new women” demanded new youthful fashions that were made specifically for her. The accumulation of these conditions made it possible for the changes in the female sizing system and the need for an increase in mass production like never before.

Along with this change in female social liberty, there was a great deal of discussion on the junior size category from 1926 through 1930 in Women’s Wear Daily, the trade publication of the fashion industry. This size category was originally housed under the juvenile and children’s wear industry; however the new female of the 1920s demanded clothing sizes and styles specifically for her. With this in mind, industry members believed junior wear needed to be classified on its own without association to the childish image. Prior to this change in classification, teenage girls (debutantes) were part of the children’s size category and college women were part of the miss’s size clothing. However, the body type of these females was no longer that of a child, but was not yet ready for the mature miss’s apparel. While this evolution of the term “junior” was taking shape, industry members were trying to define what it exactly means to be a “junior”.

While there was much debate over the term “junior”, several general ideas of a “junior” emerged. Some industry members that believed that the junior size category was meant for a growing girl and concentrated on this as the promotional focus. These members believed that this apparel should be separated from its prior childish
classification because growing girls do not want to be classified as such due to their developmental changes. Some industry members believed that the junior size category was specifically for the high school and college girl and it should be promoted as such. This idea held true in that businesses developed college shops in their stores to sell junior apparel. Other members believed that this apparel was for females of all ages who fit into this slight, slender figure and were in accordance with the junior image, young and playful.

By the end of the decade there was still no unanimous decision on what the term “junior” meant and to whom this apparel is meant for or a clearly defined standard sizing system. However, it had become clear that junior apparel was to be marketed toward females of a certain proportion and attitude and not just an age. Because of these findings, “junior” could be referenced by the phrase “junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, pp. 3 and 16), which by the Oxford English Dictionary was not found frequently until 1948.
Researchers throughout time have noted the importance of the 1920s female to the fashion industry. Lipovestsky (1994) stated, “After the young woman of the 1920s, it was unequivocally the young girl who now found herself on a pedestal as the prototype of fashion” (p. 92). Perrot (1994) felt that the junior wear industry had a particular impact on the fashion industry and there was a particular place and person this apparel was meant for. He stated:

“Juvenile dress situates itself so forcefully between adult and children’s styles that it encroaches below and above its age bracket, covering not only adolescents, but also adults and young children alike. Like the bourgeois suit donned by aristocrat and proletarian in his Sunday best, “junior” styles now shape and crystallize new representations, notably those of a prestigious adolescence, which is experienced as a promotion for the child to enter and a disgrace for the adult to leave. Linked to the postwar demographic surge and the extensive market it created (Feuillet & Vasseur cited in Perrot, 1994, p. 199), the phenomenon has led children to adopt, in miniature, the appearance of adults who are themselves “juvenilized.” In fact, clothing established and reinforced-by making it visible- the social and cultural conflict between an interminable adolescence and the indefinitely postponed maturity, a moral and political conflict between the “young” and the “old” (p. 189).

To further understand the importance and cultivation of the junior sizing category, research needs to be conducted from 1910 through 1925. This will lead to a more thorough understanding of how the junior size category developed as part of the infants, children’s and juvenile industry as well as when it started to separate itself from this image. An examination of the 1930s through the present is also needed to realize how this sizing system has changed throughout the past century and what other impacts it has made on cultural and societal forces. Through my research I found that certain cities, including New York and St. Louis, were known as junior apparel centers. An
examination of these cities and how they relate to the junior wear industry is necessary as well.

Also from this data, an article can be composed based on the actual size measurements obtained and a comparison of them. As a continuum from this research project the junior size category from 1910 through 1925 in Women’s Wear (Daily) needs to be examined to see how this category grew out the juvenile industry. This research will provide a further understanding of how this industry has changed. The sections that should be specifically examined and interpreted for relevant articles are the sections labeled “children’s”, “misses”, “dresses”, “juniors”, and major headlines. Another topic that should be pursued is an analysis of the actual size measurements to see how sizing has changed since the inception of the junior size category. Lastly, a study of the St. Louis Junior Market, along with other junior wear centers, specifically their origins, labels, development, and how it became a junior wear leader as well as its eventual decline.
REFERENCES


Buyer sees juniors as style factor. (1928, October 22). *Women's Wear Daily*, p. 3.


Call size 11 important in junior lines. (1928, October 22). *Women's Wear Daily*, p. 3.


Complete size figures for juvenile wear trade issued. (1928, December 3). *Women's Wear Daily*, p. 11.


Discuss meaning of term "junior". (1929, January 15). *Women's Wear Daily*, p. 49.


Favor junior dress values over misses'. (1928, November 1). *Women's Wear Daily*, p. 2.


League gives size data on junior wear. (1928, October 18). *Women’s Wear Daily*, p. 11.


Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear. (1928, October 22). *Women’s Wera Daily*, p. 3 and 16.


1928 trade expansion was far reaching. (1928, December 31). *Women's Wear Daily*, p. 8.


Saks-5th ave. effects new junior sizes. (1930, April 1). *Women's Wear Daily*, p. 31.


Sees value in mixing junior, misses' lines. (1929, February 5). *Women's Wear Daily*, p. 43.


"Size that counts," says Hahne's, Newark. (1929, February 19). *Women's Wear Daily*, p. 34.


“Miss” was described as “a girl of from about 10 to 17 years of age” (Oxford University Press, 2008), which is the original definition of this term. “Miss” was found in articles from 1926 and then again in 1928 and early 1929 (Table A1). However, after March of 1929, this term was not used in describing the junior size category. October 1928 is the month in which the most articles were found discussing “miss”. This was during one of the five months in which most articles regarding the junior size category were located. During that five month span, 22 of the total 29 “miss” articles or 75 percent of the articles that discussed “miss” as a definition of “junior” were identified.

Table A2
“Debutante/College Girl” was described as “a female appearing for the first time before the public or in society” (Oxford University Press, 2008) or a girl attending college. “Debutante/College Girl” was found in articles from 1926 and then again in 1928 and early 1929 (Table A2). However, after March 1929, this term was not used in describing the junior size category. Out of the 17 total articles featuring “debutante/college girl”, 13 were found from October 1928 and February 1929.

Table A3

|-------|--------|----------|---------|--------------|------------|--------|--------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|-----------|---------|----------|--------|--------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|---------|--------|-----------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|---------|--------|-----------|

“Women” was described as females ages 18 and up. This variable was found every year except in 1930 (Table A3). October 1928 contained the most instances of “women” discussed. During the five month span of October 1928 through February 1929 13 of the 18 articles originated. If the variable “women” was discussed, it was in relation to either “miss”, “debutante/college girl” or both. There was only one instance when it was discussed solely on its own.

Since the variable “women” is discussed with the variable “miss” or “debutante/college girl” or both, it can be concluded that in these discussions of whom “junior” is catered to that “junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, p. 3 and 16). However, there are only nine specific articles that discuss
“junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, p. 3 and 16) (Table A4). In each of instances “miss”, “debutante/college girl” or both were referenced as well.

Table A4

The “junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, p. 3 and 16) variable was checked if this phrase was noted in some way (Table A4). For example, “Junior is a size, one producer said, and doesn’t represent any particular age, in answering the query. ‘What is meant by junior?’ ” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, p. 3 and 16) or “‘...The very reason that the junior departments have been successful in the majority of stores is due to the fact that they sell junior wear to anyone who fits into them, thereby catering to all women of any age, provided they are small in size’” ("Junior" term much abused says factor, 1928, p. 9). This variable was only noted in 2 months, October 1928 and February 1929 which is when the majority of articles were collected. This does not mean that “junior is a size, not an age” could not be implied earlier, but the phrase was not noted.
The most interesting finding in terms of who the junior apparel is designed for is the relationship between the variables “miss”, “debutante/college girl”, “women”, and “‘junior is a size, not an age’” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, p. 3 and 16) (Table A5). There were 13 instances in which “miss”, debutante/college girl” and “women” were referenced in the same article. Although only two of these times, “junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, p. 3 and 16) was discussed. However, since these three variables were discussed in relation to who the junior size category is made for, it can be implied that in all 13 instances “junior is a size, not an age” (Mfrs. debate meaning of junior wear, 1928, p. 3 and 16).
The next variable is “attitude.” Junior apparel is an “attitude” was defined for females who were youthful in thought. Ten articles discussed “attitude” (Table A6). This term was discussed sporadically until March 1929, then not at all. However, this variable was discussed with more frequency between October 1928 and February 1929. There were a total of six articles during this month span.

Nine of the articles that mentioned “attitude” also mentioned “women”, which means that women who were youthful in thought were one of the requirements for someone wearing junior apparel (Table A7).
The next variable “style” was defined as “the cut and other identifying characteristics of a garment” (Brown & Rice, 2001, p. 425). There were a total of 21 articles about “style” (Table A8). “Style” was discussed in two months in 1926, one month in July 1927 and then again from September 1928 through March 1929. The last month discussing “style” was October 1929. In October 1928 and January 1929, there were 6 and 4 articles respectfully in which, most of the articles linking “style,” a defining characteristic of junior wear, were found. However, just like the other variables, 14 out of 21 most articles were located between October 1928 and February 1929.

Table A9
“Type” was defined as junior apparel as its own classification, separate from children’s, misses, and women’s. There were 13 articles that recognized “type” (Table A9). “Type” was discussed in the two months I found articles in 1926, July 1927, and then in two months in 1928 and 1929. During the time in which most articles were identified, October 1928 through February 1929, “type” was only discussed in six articles. “Type” was not a highly discussed variable in terms of defining the junior size category.

Table A10

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When type was referenced in an article, it was typically mentioned with “style” (Table A10). Out of the 13 “type” articles, ten included “style”. Typically in these instances industry members were referred to the junior size category as a particular “type” in relationship to “style”.

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The “fit” variable was defined as “how well the garment conforms to the three-dimensional human body” (Brown & Rice, 2001, p. 415). There were a total seven articles that referenced “fit” (Table A11). “Fit” was discussed in October and November of 1928, again in May and October of 1929 and, lastly in February 1930. In these months it was common to find fit only discussed in one article, with the exception of October 1928. However, 1928 has the most articles that discussed the junior size category, so it is reasonable that three “fit” instances were found during this month. The variable “fit” was somewhat of an outlier in that it appears that it was not referenced with in any sort of pattern with other variables.
There were a total of nine articles that listed measurements (Table A12). “Measurements” was checked if the article listed actual size measurements. Eight out of nine of these articles were located between October 1928 and February 1929. The other was found in April 1930. Five of these articles had the measurements listed in a table format while some compared them to other sizing categories.

Table A13

Twenty-two total articles discussed “size” (Table A13). “Size” was classified if the sizing system was discussed. The “size” discussion greatly increased between October 1928 and February 1929, to incorporate 16 articles. After February 1929 the incorporation of size diminished back to a single reference in three individual months. Then only two other months with one instance each discussed “size”. However, the variable “size proportion” was highly discussed in relationship to “size”.
The last variable, “size proportion” yielded a total of 20 results (Table A14). Size proportion was identified if an article discussed bust, waist, and hip measurements. The discussion on “size proportion” really began to escalate in October 1928. Sixteen articles emerged from October 1928 through February 1929 at the same time when “size” was a topic of discussion. However, “size proportion” continued to be a topic of interested through 1930.

Table A15

There were five instances in which “measurements”, “size”, and “size proportions” were found in the same article (Table A15). These articles incorporated
information in a table format comparing the sizes either to each other or another sizing category.