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THE FATHER'S ROLE IN RELATION TO THE
CLOTHING OF FARM FAMILIES

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
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Athelene Schoid
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This is to certify that the

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The Father's Role in Relation to the
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THE FATHER'S ROLE IN RELATION TO THE CLOTHING
OF FARM FAMILIES

By

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The role of the father in relation to the clothing of the family was selected for this study because the writer felt a widespread neglect or indifference as to the masculine viewpoint concerning family clothing. Reason for this seeming oversight may be that educational programs in clothing, whether pertaining to individual or family clothing, have been planned and taught by women and for the main part have been limited to feminine participators. Evidence of this will be found in school curricula and programs of Federal agencies such as the Agricultural Extension Service. The result has been greater emphasis on clothing for women with minimum emphasis on men's attitudes, preferences or interest in clothing.

Evidence of the changing concept of clothing, its meaning and use, is indicated by an awakening interest in clothing on the part of men. They are more articulate in complaints, quality differences, interest in new fabrics and the aesthetic aspects of their own clothing. Social change resulting from recent wars have brought about new practices in the home. Husbands are participating in homemaking activities to compensate for time spent by the wife working outside the home. As men's contacts with family clothing problems have increased, so has their interest and contributions.

That men and boys function in family clothing practices can hardly be refuted for they, too, are the wearers of clothing as well as members of the family group. In fact Linton states that:

Membership in the unit [family] entails upon the individual specific rights and duties with regard to other members and also a series of rather clearly defined attitudes.¹

Considering the sociological implications of the above statement this undeveloped area of the ways and the extent in which the masculine members function or influence family clothing behavior seems worthy of consideration.

The father was the member of the family selected for this study because as a parent his role is well defined and his position in the family is one of significant influence. The term "role" refers to the actual performance of his function as husband and parent. Thus the present study was designed to investigate the character and extent of his interest and participation in the area of family clothing.

The specific objectives may be stated as follows:

1. To determine the father's attitude with reference to financing family clothing expenditures.
2. To become acquainted with his actual participation in the clothing activities of the family such as planning, buying and care.
3. To determine to what extent he influenced the clothing practices of family members regarding clothes worn and purchases made.
4. To learn his attitude toward practices of family members in terms of their planning, purchasing, care and use of clothing.

¹ Ralph Linton, The Study of Man. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., p. 152, 1936.

5. To become acquainted with his awareness regarding the social value clothing has for himself and his family.
6. To determine to what extent he is aware of the reactions members of his family have toward his personal clothing as well as his own reactions.

In objectives one through five the reactions are directed from the father toward the individual family members or the family as a unit. Only objective six inquired into the reactions on the part of family members toward the father. In either case the role of the father is established according to his interpretation.

Inasmuch as the writer of this study is an extension clothing specialist, the farm family was selected as the medium for investigation. Exploratory work of this nature could contribute to a better understanding of the clothing problems of rural families.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

As there are no specific research projects reported in literature on the father's role in the area of family clothing this review will deal with the interaction of socio-psychological factors as evidenced by the father's role in relation to clothing the family and with the definition of terms.

In defining the term "role", authors of social studies¹ are in general agreement that it represents the dynamic aspect of a status. Status, in turn, is defined as a position in a particular pattern accompanied by rights and duties.

To clarify confusion which has developed pertaining to the use of the word "role" Walter Coutu (10) makes a distinction between role-playing and role-taking. Role-playing refers to performing the functions of the role. It involves behavior, performance, conduct, overt behavior. Role-playing is a strictly sociological concept in which one does not pretend anything, is not related to social distance, and means acting like oneself. Role-taking, on the other hand, refers to mental or cognitive or empathic activity, and is a strictly psychological concept in which one pretends he is another person. It is significantly and necessarily related to social distance. In this study the use of the word "role" refers to role-playing on the part of the father.

¹ Ralph Linton, op. cit., p. 114; W. F. Guburn, Sociology, Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1940, p. 307. John Gillin, The Ways of Men, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. 1948, p. 304.

The family unit as used in this study conforms to the definition given by Burgess and Locke (9).

A group of persons united by the ties of marriage, blood, or adoption; constituting a single household; interacting and communicating with each other in their respective roles of husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister; and creating and maintaining a common culture.¹

A number of statements made by F. H. Allen in an article on the "Dynamics of Roles as Determined in the Structure of the Family" (1) are considered of significant importance to quote. The family structure is

. . . the indispensable unit of all social organization throughout the history of man. The family gains this dynamic significance for human nature because, in its functioning, a setting is provided for the definition and conservation of human differences given objective form in the different but related roles of father-mother-child, the basic roles in any culture.

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Roles had a more fixed status in primitive cultures. . . . The modern parent has more freedom to define his own way of living the role. Consequently he gains a different feeling of responsibility and of individual ownership for what is achieved.²

Similarly Burgess and Locke state that familial roles are almost inevitable in a state of flux in a changing and culturally heterogeneous society such as our modern American society. Thus many time-honored roles have been made obsolete.³

1 E. W. Burgess and H. J. Locke. The Family, New York: American Book Co., 1945, p. 8.

2 F. H. Allen, "Dynamics of Roles as Determined in the Structure of the Family", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 12: 1942, pp. 127-8.

3 E. W. Burgess and H. J., op. cit., p. 515.

The father's role in the American family, according to Geoffrey Gorer, (19) has been one of rejected authority ever since the birth of the nation. The more successful the immigrant father was in turning his children into Americans, the less important he became as a model and guide. However, the immigrant mother was not rejected, so she became the dominant parent in the family.

Data resulting from a study made by the Research Bureau of America (14) of both male and female college students investigating the influence of the family, school and church upon the child, re-enforces Gorer's viewpoint about parental authority. Fifty-seven percent of the group interviewed stated their mothers had more to say about their upbringing, whereas only twenty-seven percent indicated that the father had more to say than the mother. Fourteen percent divided parental authority equally between father and mother. Nearly one-half of the children who came from mother-dominated families expressed the wish that their father have more authority; whereas almost none of the children from homes where the father's authority outweighed that of the mother, expressed desire for a change. The adolescent seemingly wants the father to regain some of his lost status.

That "little is known about what fathers usually do for their children in the home"¹ was the conclusion Pearl Gardner reached after surveying literature on "fatherhood". She made this survey preparatory

¹ Pearl L. Gardner, "A Survey of the Attitudes and Activities of Fathers", Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology, 63: 1943, p. 17.

to two studies dealing with father-child relationships. In the first study (16) three hundred fathers were interviewed for the purpose of investigating the nature of their various activities and attitudes in relation to their parental duties in the home. Results showed the father-hood pattern to be

one in which material provision was taken for granted, companionship and understanding were emphasized, discipline and obedience were decreasing in importance, and character traits were important but not evaluated.¹

Three findings of Gardner's study bear a relationship to this study.

She found fathers were relatively impartial in their affections. Forty-eight percent teased their children in rather unwholesome ways two-thirds of the time. Eleven percent performed routine activities in dressing and undressing the children.

The second study by Gardner (17) dealt with parental attitudes from the standpoint of the children. A questionnaire was given three hundred eighty-eight children in the fifth and sixth grades. Results showed that both boys and girls "disliked the same things in their father, namely punishment, general irritability, poor adjustment with the mother, and absence from home." They "desired similar things, such as an allowance, more money, more freedom to play and go to shows, and more conversation with father."² In regard to the father's teasing, the girls objected somewhat less than the boys: due, in part, to the fact that for the girls

1 Ibid., p. 30.

2 Pearl L. Gardner, "An Analysis of Children's Attitudes Towards Fathers", Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology, 70: 1947, p. 26.

his teasing was more often a way of showing affection. In the case of services children often required of their parents, the father was preferred for fixing a broken toy and as a source of money.

Two trends in family ritual of interest to the present study were shown by Bossard and Boll (3) in their comparison of autobiographies of individuals living between 1880-1917 and university students born since 1917. These autobiographies show family present-giving has increased numerically and in formality. Father-child appointments were developing into a ritualistic schedule. Both are seen emerging as a result of the decrease in the amount of time family members are at home together.

The role of clothing in family relationships was studied by Mrs. Bernice King (23). Four generalizations have a bearing on this study. They are quoted below:

The role of clothing for the individual is affected by one's early environment and training and childhood experiences, frequently affecting the practices and attitudes of parents in dealing with their children.

The rights and privileges in the free choice of their own clothing without parental interference is a significant factor in parent and child relationships, but significantly more important for the teen-age parent relationship.

A pattern of fear of ridicule and shame reflected in clothing standards and concept of adequacy is consistent through all sex and age groups.

Clothing as such is not so much a cause of family controversy as an expression of a more fundamental maladjustment.¹

1 Bernice King. "A Study of the Role of Clothing in Family Relationships in Twenty-five Selected Families". Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Michigan State College: p. 115, 1949.

Dr. George W. Hartman (21) of Columbia University has said that no one can question that clothing has been, is, and presumably always will be both a prominent personal problem and a major social issue. He also feels that clothing behavior is a neglected but permanent part of educational and social psychology.

As early as 1917 Dr. George Van Ness Dearborn (11) likewise emphasized the psychological value of clothing in these words:

. . . one's clothes are one of the important things that intervenes between the individual personality and his environment, and . . . life itself in a sense is a reaction of an individual to his environment.¹

The relation of clothing to one's environment has been further developed in an article by Ernst Harns (20). He states:

When we consider the human being in this cultural world . . . his dress is not only the one [cultural form] which is physically closest to him but also that which most immediately and most intimately expresses his relation to his environment.²

It is on [the psycho-sociological level] that the individual makes use of dress in order to fit into his environment. . . . emotion plays its part in the process of adjustment, by which the dress is designed to suit the environment and the individual. And the intellect also participates, to direct the actual choice of what is correct for given circumstances.³

In her study on social participation Dorothy Dickins (12) has referred to clothing as a type of consumer's goods which is not primarily used for "physical welfare" but rather "psycho-social welfare". She has

1 George V. N. Dearborn. "The Psychology of Clothing", Psychological Monograph No. 112, Princeton, N. Y. and Lancaster, Pa.: Psychological Review Co., 1916, p. 4.

2 Ernst Harns, "The Psychology of Clothes", American Journal of Sociology, 44: 1936, p. 239.

3 Ibid., p. 247.

suggested that social participation be used as a criterion for determining scientific minimum standards in clothing. In another article (13) she further states that clothing is important in the level of living of a family because one of the main reasons given by low-income families for not attending club meetings, church and the like is not having appropriate clothing. Young girls in the low income families suffer especially from clothing considered inferior by one's associates.

The above illustrates that part of the "Theory of the Leisure Class" advanced by Veblen (32) in which he states that "the serviceability of consumption as a means of repute, as well as the insistence on it as an element of decency; is at its best in those portions of the community where the human contact of the individual is widest and the mobility of the population is greatest." He refers directly to the clothing of rural people in stating "so it comes, that the American farmer and his wife and daughters are notoriously less modish in their dress, as well as less urban in their manners, than the city artisan's family with an equal income."¹

Studies by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (7,8) show that the pattern of family spending for clothing is higher in farm families up to about the seventeen hundred dollar income level at which point they were equaled and at high levels surpassed by the corresponding expenditures of non-farm families.

¹ T. Veblen. The Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: The Modern Library, 1934, p. 67.

Studies of family clothing supplies made by the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics in 1948-50 (5,6) showed a comparison of the clothing owned and purchased by urban and farm families. The wardrobe of the rural husband and wife was less than that of the city husband and wife, probably because of the lower incomes of farm families and of difference in type of occupation. City men owned half again as much clothing as the farm men, and city women owned nearly fifty percent more clothing than the farm women. Likewise farm families purchase less clothing during a year than the city families. Farm husbands purchased one-fourth less; farm wives, one-third less; and farm boys and girls purchased one-fifth less than their city counterparts. Farm families also bought less expensive clothing than did the city families. Farm husbands paid prices about eighty-two percent as high as those paid by city husbands. Their wives paid prices only about seventy percent as high as those paid by city wives. There was less difference between the prices paid for rural and urban children's clothing than the difference between those paid by farm and city families for adult clothing.

In the book "America's Needs and Resources" Dewhurst and Associates (33) give the following reasons in accounting for lower clothing expenditures in rural communities: (a) the different and cheaper type of clothing required for work on farms; (b) the generally lower income levels of farms; (c) the result of more home sewing in farm households; (d) less competitive spending in farm communities; and (e) the saving patterns of farm families.

That the difference in fashionableness of clothing in rural and urban communities is decreasing has been commented upon by E. Sapir and Helen Everett Meiklejohn. Sapir (30) states that were it not "for the necessity of exploiting accumulated stocks of goods these fashions would penetrate into the remotest corners of rural America even more rapidly than is the case."¹ Meiklejohn (27) says that no longer can "slightly outmoded goods be disposed of in the small towns and villages as advantageously as formerly. The country cousin, the subject of mirth in our mother's generation, has become almost indistinguishable from her city relatives."²

Inasmuch as the father's part in family clothing deals with the various family members it was deemed advisable to include a brief review of the major clothing studies pertaining to the psychological and sociological meaning clothing has to individual members of the family.

J. C. Flugel conducted his study "On the Mental Attitude of Present Day Clothes" (15) by use of questionnaire in connection with a British broadcasting program. Answers from fifty-five men and seventy-seven women showed a greater dissatisfaction with men's clothing than women's in respect to excessive weight and amplitude, to greater bodily restriction and to the relatively colorlessness of the garb. A distinct majority were opposed to a uniform as national dress and favored work clothes being attractive.

1 E. Sapir. "Fashion". Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. 6: 1931, p. 143.

2 Helen Everett Meiklejohn. Section VI. "Dresses--The Impact of Fashion on a Business". Walton Hamilton and Associates, Editors. Price and Price Policies. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938, p. 325.

A companion study was made by Eva Macaulay (26) on the attitudes of children toward dress. One hundred twenty-two girls and one hundred eighty-three boys between the ages of six and fifteen years were asked three subjective questions. Their answers regarding party clothes revealed that the desire for brilliantly colored and highly ornated garments decreased with increasing years, and design became more important. Among young adolescents the wish to display the body was in conflict with their sense of modesty. For everyday wear the younger children suggested clothes that would not show dirt, and those over eleven years of age suggested bright and cheerful-looking clothes. Strong dislikes were expressed for stiff and unyielding clothes, and woolens that scratch, tickle and are too hot.

The clothing study made by Elizabeth Hurlock (22) was devised to find the motives which guided people in their subjection to fashion and its changes. One thousand four hundred fifty-two individuals in high schools and colleges answered the questionnaire. Findings which directly or indirectly relate to the present study are: (a) More people dress for their own sex or both sexes than for the opposite sex alone. (b) Adolescents dressed to please their own sex, while adults wanted to please both. (c) Adolescence proved to be the period of life in which clothes assume greatest importance. (d) To the majority dress is not used as a symbol of the financial status of the wearer nor is fashion followed so as to appear equal to those of high status, or to give the impression that they are people of leisure. (e) Becomingness of colors is more important to women while for men usefulness and cost are considerably more dominate.

(f) Both select their clothing to bring out their best features, but twice as many women as men use clothing to cover certain defects.

(g) The desire for novelty was the most important motive in bringing about change in fashion. (h) Girls wanted to avoid criticism and boys

wanted to avoid appearance of poverty. (i) The presence of friends or strangers is necessary to stimulate an interest in one's appearance.

For boys and girls, friends proved to be more influential; and strangers, for men and women.

Activity of fashion choice was the focus of attention for the clothing study made by Estelle DeYoung Barr (2). She gave her questionnaire to a group of three hundred fifty-four college students, dress-makers, costume designers and adults not technically interested in clothing. Results showed conformity to the dress of the group to be the most common and universal motive. Desire to be beautiful was closely related. Comfort was likewise considered very important, whereas less importance was given to the desire to express personality. A negative attitude was expressed toward dressing to appear properous.

Silverman's study (31) was devised to find out what high school girls think about clothing and appearance. As the age range coincides with the "teen-age girl" stipulation in the composition of the family in this study findings are of special interest. Results are based on three hundred seventy-three questionnaires. Girls, regardless of whether they are twelve or eighteen years of age, attach considerable significance to clothing and appearance. They are interested in what constitutes attractiveness and in finding out what is fashionable. Appearance to them is

subject to change at the will of the individual. Desire for approval was a factor influencing their selections. Items that did not allow the girls to express individuality tended to be rejected. Most of the girls wanted their clothes to appeal to boys, to conform to their father's taste, to represent a compromise between their own and mother's preferences, and to be approved by their friends.

There is a widespread notion that women buy most of men's clothes and that the man who wears them has little to say about their selection. The study "Men's Preferences Among Selected Clothing Items" (4) indicates that only in the case of robes and pajamas do men select less than half of the garments they wear. Men showed the highest degree of independence in buying extra trousers. Almost four in five men said they selected these garments themselves. Likewise three-fourth of the men selected most of their business shirts. This latter figure was somewhat less for men in the rural North. Regarding the purchase of socks, underwear and sport shirts six in ten men made their own selections. This data is based on 2,508 interviews and represents the preferences of all men sixteen years old and over in the United States.

METHODS AND PROCEDURE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The personal interview was selected as the method for collecting data as it was highly desirable to obtain the father's opinions in respect to certain clothing inquiries without his having discussed or received suggestions from other family members. This method also insured more accurate and adequate information, a better sampling of the general population, and high percentage of returns.

In the construction of the interview schedule three types of questions were used. The dichotomous questions were designed to elicit a response of "yes" or "no", often to be followed by an explanatory reason. Open-end questions were employed to give the respondent free latitude in his responses and multiple choice questions were used to express degrees of opinions.

As this study investigates a previously unexplored area of family clothing it was deemed advisable to obtain an over-all view of the father's role rather than to develop specific information within a more limited scope. Thus the schedule was designed to include the various family functions as they are manifested in clothing behavior.

The father interacts with other family members in various roles in which clothing plays a part. He may function in any or all of the following ways. He may provide the money, be the purchaser or be a recipient of clothing. He may assist with or counsel regarding clothing. He may be

a disciplinarian or teacher/trainer. He functions both as an individual user of clothing and as benefactor of his family's clothing. The interview schedule was planned to cover these roles as well as to secure expression of his interest in and satisfactions resulting from these interactions.

The schedule composed of sixty-six questions related to family clothing expenditures, purchases, care, home sewing, health-safety factors, clothing gifts, the importance of fashion as well as social values of clothes for himself and his family. Questions were designed to cover sociological, psychological, physiological, economic and aesthetic aspects of clothing. The arrangement of questions within the schedule followed no obvious order, although those pertaining to a particular phase were grouped, when possible, to assure continuity of thinking. Ease of transition was of paramount consideration in setting up the interview schedule.

The first three questions were designed to orient the father's thinking toward family clothing. "Buying" was selected to introduce the schedule as it was thought men would have more concrete information regarding this phase of clothing. Inversely, questions which sought attitudes were placed toward the end. Throughout, questions were asked which pertained to his own clothing so that he would think of himself as a member of the family group.

The interview schedule underwent two revisions. Four initial pre-test interviews yielded major revisions. A second pre-test included five cases which yielded results dictating minor changes in the schedule. Finally three additional pre-test interviews using the revised schedule

demonstrated its adequacy. Eight of the twelve pre-test interviews duplicated the conditions stipulated in the sampling. The schedule required an anticipated twenty-five to thirty minutes to administer.

The thirty interviews for this study were secured between July 6-20, 1951. Following each interview the responses given were fully amplified before proceeding to the next interview. The interviews were made upon first contact only with none secured by previous appointment. The father was interviewed alone except in three cases when small children were around for part of the time.

SELECTION OF THE COUNTY

Hillsdale County located in the central section of the lowest tier of southern counties in Michigan was selected for this study. Selection was made upon the advice of members of the Department of Sociology and Agricultural Extension Service. Factors determining this choice were:

1. High rural population compared to urban.
2. Ethnic group of early American stock.
3. Sufficient number of farms to insure adequate sampling.
4. Location within hundred mile radius of East Lansing.
5. Previous surveys conducted in the county by Michigan State College.
6. County considered representative of rural life in southern Michigan.

SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE

The stipulations set-up for drawing the sample required that the family live on a farm, be actively engaged in farming, and earn at least

three-fourths of their income from this source. The composition of the family would consist of father and mother residing in the home, a teen-age son and teen-age daughter with a variable of three other children.

The selection of families of this composition assured a sufficient number of years during which the fathers had more or less established patterns of behavior regarding family clothing needs and practices. It also encompassed the adolescent years of both a son and daughter, the period in which clothes assume their greatest importance to the individual.

The school census provided the names of all rural families within the county, their addresses, family size, and age and sex of the children. A county-wide directory furnished information regarding the father's occupation. Both sources were used in conjunction for listing families meeting the sample requirements. As the 1951 school census was nearing completion at the time the sampling was drawn, the records were checked as the completed township reports came into the office of the County Superintendent of Schools. Any case discrepancies were checked in the County Extension Office, the Office of County Treasurer and county insurance company. This procedure reduced to five the number of families which later had to be eliminated because of incomplete or incorrect information.

One hundred eighteen cases constituted the total number of families in the county from which the thirty families were to be selected. Tippett's numbers, a standard instrument for drawing a random sampling was used to make the selection. Use of the table necessitates that the population be known and numbered. As a case number, 1 to 118 for this study, appeared in the first three digits of the five digit numbers in the table that

case would be used in the sampling. For example the first five useable numbers as they appeared in the table were 06743, 08046, 02769, 02033 and 03271; meaning first interview was family number 67, second, number 88, etc. This procedure was followed until the required number of interviews were obtained.

Inasmuch as the information provided did not indicate the portion of the income earned from farming it was recognized there would be further elimination. Twenty-nine such contacts made could not be used for the following reasons; fifteen lived on farms but were not engaged in farming; five had supplementary incomes; and the others had either moved or the home had recently been broken by divorce, desertion or death of one parent. Two refusals were encountered.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The initial questions in the interview schedule were designed to orient the father's thinking toward clothing problems of the family. They showed awareness on his part to the fact that members of the family varied in their degree of interest in clothes. More thought their daughters had greater interest and half as many indicated his wife. Only two mentioned his son as most interested in clothes.

In response to how he would spend a hypothetical hundred dollars for clothing his family, the majority indicated purchase of dresses and shoes. When asked how he would spend this amount of money on clothes for himself the general response was to purchase a good outfit for dress if he did not already have one. However, those who had a good outfit did not wish additional dress clothes. Regardless of dress clothes, all wanted a sufficient quantity of work clothes.

Presentation of the main findings of this study follows the sequence of objectives as outlined in the statement of the problem and includes a type determination study of the father roles.

FINANCING FAMILY CLOTHING

The fathers' attitudes concerning the financing of family clothing expenditures are derived from questions 21-23, 27 and 28.

On the whole, clothing was considered a cash commodity. Twenty-seven families paid for clothing by cash or check. Only three families used charge accounts and a reluctance toward the use of charge accounts was

evident. Twenty-four fathers indicated money spent for clothing came from a general family fund and was made available to those family members who were old enough to purchase clothing for themselves. In sixteen cases family members asked the father for money, and in four he was not asked. In one case either he or his wife was asked. Three did not indicate how money for clothing expenditures was handled. No mention was made of a general family fund in three families where the father was asked for money for the purchase of clothing. One father both handled the money and purchased the clothing. Two wives were mentioned as supplying the money for family clothing purchases; in one case the source was personal income and in the other from earnings of poultry products. In half the families an individual member(s) purchased part of his clothing from his own personal allowance or earnings.

The amount of money fathers wished their families to spend for clothing in relation to what they were currently spending would remain the same for twenty-one families. However, two different attitudes were expressed; fifteen indicating satisfaction and six tolerance of clothing expenditures. Four indicated that they would prefer their families spend less, but two qualified their statement by adding "if not depriving them." Four fathers wished their families could afford to spend more.

In response to the question concerning family records of clothing expenditures, four fathers said records were kept. Twenty-five answered in the negative and one did not know. In the four families where records were kept one knew the exact amount, one had a general idea while one did

not know. In the one family where the father kept the accounts, expenditures for clothing had not been totaled.

In general, the pattern of behavior for financing family clothing expenditures was a strongly expressed feeling that clothing purchases be paid for with cash, that the money used for clothing purchases belonged to the entire family and that total expenditures should not be reduced. Fathers neither assisted in making decisions nor knew the total expenditures for family clothing. This lack of participation on the part of fathers plus their apparent satisfied attitude toward financing family clothing needs reflects the finding of Pearl Gardner (16) in which "material provision" was taken for granted.

PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY CLOTHING

Fathers' participation in the clothing activities of the family are expressed in questions 4, 5, 8-11, 37, 38, 43 and 48.

The four planning and purchasing activities shown in Table I indicate a relatively low degree of participation on the part of the fathers.

TABLE I
PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING AND PURCHASING ACTIVITIES

Activity	Yes		No	Others
	regularly	Occasionally		
Consulted regarding purchases	5	12	12	1*
Shopped with family members	7	5	17	1**
Assumed responsibility for purchasing	-	9	21	-
Purchased on own initiative	-	9	21	-

* Totally indifferent

** Used to

The seventeen fathers consulted about clothing purchases expressed satisfaction with the extent to which they were consulted. The occasional consultation regarding planning or purchase ordinarily concerned infrequent purchases and cost, or pertained to some specific item. Of the twelve fathers who were not consulted, only one said he would like to be. He said he would like to help in developing his family's taste in clothing. Reasons given for not wanting to be consulted may be summarized by their not wanting the responsibility or that they thought the responsibility belonged to the wife or that they credited the individual family members with knowing what they wanted.

Specific items of clothing most likely to be purchased when the fathers shopped with his family were dresses, suits, coats, and shoes. However, items might range from a "bathing suit to shoes" as one father expressed it.

The fathers who assumed no responsibility in buying clothing items for the family said they would rather not.

The wife, daughter(s), and son(s) shared alike as recipients of clothing items purchased by the father on his own initiative. In all cases, he said that the family was pleased when he purchased and brought clothes home for them. This activity showed fathers were impartial, as did the study made by Pearl Gardner (16).

The majority of fathers had clothing needs of the family in mind as they "window shopped" and looked through mail order catalogues. From five to thirteen fathers engaged in each of six other activities which

expressed their interest in meeting family clothing needs. These activities are listed below in Table II.

TABLE II
ACTIVITIES RELATED TO FAMILY CLOTHING NEEDS

Activity	Number of Fathers
Looked at clothing in mail order catalogues	27
"Window shopped"	26
Listened to LH clothing demonstrations	13
Watched "clothing ads" in newspapers	11
Listened to clothing comments on the radio	9
Watched style shows on television	8*
Read newspaper/magazine articles on clothing	6
Attended LH style shows, but no other kind	5

* Seven homes had television

In both kind and frequency the father's participation in family clothing chores was limited (see Table III).

TABLE III
PARTICIPATION IN ROUTINE ACTIVITIES

Activity	Yes			As needed	No
	Regular	Frequent	Occasional		
Assisted with family laundry	4	4	8	-	14
Repaired sewing machine	-	-	-	18	12
Helped dress, undress children	5	5	15	-	5

Assistance in care of clothing, related to the family laundry. "Regular" assistance implied year around or assistance in the winter months. "Frequent" help usually referred to emptying the wash water while "occasional" indicated carrying the basket of wet clothes. Reasons given by the fathers for not helping more in the care of clothing varied with such comments as "too lazy", "the children help" or "have other work to do". A second activity concerned the repair and operation of the sewing machine. Cleaning and oiling, repair of the electric cable or belt, adjustment, and general overhauling were the jobs enumerated. In two cases the father had rebuilt the sewing machine. Half of the husbands who did not repair the machine said "the wife does that". In most cases help in dressing or undressing the children was necessarily retrospective.

Generally speaking, fathers gave as well as approved the practice of giving clothing as gifts. Eight gave money for clothing purchases. Two gave neither money nor articles of clothing. In one of these cases he explained that this practice was not a family custom while in the other the comment was "we earn our clothes". The extent to which fathers participated in selection of gifts varied widely. In the twenty-eight cases five said they actually made the selection while six assisted in the selection. Ten indicated they occasionally selected the gift while five asked another person to make the selection for him. Two did not indicate who made the selection. A wide range of clothing items were selected as gifts; namely gloves, scarfs, slips, nightgowns, bathrobes, dresses, sweaters, jackets, shirts, and socks. Children outnumbered wives as recipients of gifts by six to one. Eleven purchased clothes as gifts

for both his wife and children. The occasions for which clothing was given by the father were Christmas and birthdays or on both occasions. The high percentage of fathers in this study who participated in gift-clothing is in conformance with the trend toward an increase in family gift-giving as advanced by Bossard and Boll (3).

INFLUENCE ON FAMILY CLOTHING PRACTICES

The thirteen questions designed to determine the father's influence on family clothing practices have been grouped as (1) objections, (2) concern for, (3) suggestions regarding (4) expressed reaction to certain practices. They relate to schedule questions 7, 13-15, 29-36 and 51.

Objections to clothes worn referred to a particular style, type or color of garment. Thirteen fathers had no objection. Seven objected but the clothing was worn anyway. Ten objected and their objection was sustained. General objections referred to wearing brief clothes or to color, and referred to both the wife's and daughters' clothes. Specific objections indicated wearing clothes such as slacks or jeans when shopping. Two fathers indicated state of repair or cleanness of the clothing or unbecomingness as their objections.

Concern was indicated by seventeen fathers in regard to choice and use of clothing as related to health. Although adequate protection in cold weather was their main concern, four also referred to "warm weather" clothing and two mentioned shoes. The twenty-eight who insisted children wear "rainy weather clothes" when needed; gave as reasons other than health "to protect" clothing or "prevent tracking" into the house.

Twelve fathers showed concern in regard to safety. Eleven ✓ referred to the danger of boys wearing loose or ragged clothes around machinery and one mentioned color of clothing worn on the highway. Seven considered safety in relation to their own clothes, but did not indicate the need of precaution for other members of the family. Sixteen knew of farm and home accidents caused by wearing the wrong kind of clothes and felt this fact had helped them in preventing accidents.

The suggestion that a family member purchase a new article of clothing was made by twenty fathers and in three-fourths of these families his suggestion was usually followed. The ten who did not suggest clothing purchases be made gave as their reason that "family members knew what they wanted better than he did" or "you could not get ahead of them".

In nine cases the fathers suggested that specific clothing purchases be returned. Seven gave size and fit as the reason; two, when the article was not suited to the wearer's personality; and one each, gave economic value and color choice as the reason for returning goods. The father's suggestion regarding the return of merchandise was usually followed by the family.

In half of the families the father was asked by his wife or children to help them decide what to wear for special occasions. Seven of these fathers as well as two who were not consulted as to what should be worn, offered suggestions on their own initiative. The father's suggestion was usually followed.

The father's expressed reactions to the clothing worn by the respective members in the family is another way in which he influenced

family clothing practices. Table IV shows the extent of his participation.

TABLE IV
FATHER'S EXPRESSED REACTIONS TO CLOTHES WORN

Item	Yes	Sometimes	No
Complimentary	18	6	6
Teasing	19	4	7
Scolding	14	-	16
Reminding	15	-	15

Almost an identical number of fathers complimented and teased his family about certain clothes they wore. Case studies showed that eighteen both complimented and teased members of his family. This may indicate that these fathers made little or no distinction between the two. Table V shows the members complimented and teased by him. Percentages are used rather than the number of fathers as in all other tables for this comparison is based on twenty-four who complimented and twenty-three who teased instead of the total number of fathers interviewed.

Daughters are both complimented and teased more by the father than the other members of the family. Similarity is noted between the percentage of fathers who complimented and teased both his wife and son(s). These findings indicate similarity to those in Pearl Gardner's study (17) in which she found that girls liked to be teased by their father better than boys. A difference in their teasing is that the implications of

TABLE V
MEMBERS OF FAMILY COMPLIMENTED AND TEASED

Member of Family	Percent of Fathers
Complimented	
Daughters	90
Sons	58
Wife	58
Teased	
Daughters	74
Sons	56
Wife	46

teasing in this study was a way of showing affection rather than unwholesome teasing implied in Gardner's study.

A comparison of the number who scolded and reminded family members about their clothes showed that the fathers in eight families both reminded and scolded his children about the clothes they wore. In ten families the children were neither reminded nor scolded by the father. In twelve families six fathers scolded his children about the clothes they wore and in six he reminded them. "Reminding" referred to changing from school clothes into work clothes, tying shoe laces and other similar details of care. In the fourteen families in which the children were scolded six scolded their son(s) for not caring how they looked, and four scolded their daughters for wearing slacks or brief clothes. Four indicated they reproved both son(s) and daughter(s) for not caring enough about their appearance or not wearing adequate protective clothing in inclement weather.

ATTITUDES TOWARD FAMILY CLOTHING PRACTICES

Questions 19, 20, 24-26, 39, 40, 42, 44-47, 61, 62 and 64 reveal certain attitudes of the fathers toward family clothing practices.

Regarding the equity in distribution of family clothing expenditures three fathers thought the mother should have a larger proportionate share while two said "sometimes some one gets more than the others." One mentioned the two youngest children in the family while another thought girls needed more than boys and that older children needed more than the younger children. One father thought his oldest daughter should have less money for her clothes but added "she thinks she should have more." Except in these specific cases the fathers seemed satisfied with the distribution of money spent for clothes among the family members.

Fathers placed greater importance on quality than on quantity of clothes they wished family members to have in their wardrobes (see Table VI).

TABLE VI
QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF FAMILY CLOTHING

Item	Yes	No	Family Decide
Like family to have larger number of clothes	9	19	2
Like family to have better quality clothes	17	13	-

Further emphasis was placed on quality in economy practices suggested by the fathers. More than half of them suggested greater economy would

result from choice of better quality clothes. Five thought the purchase of fewer clothes and three indicated different kinds of clothes as more economical practices. Three thought their family should pay less for their clothing. Other suggested economy practices included (a) taking better care of their clothes, (b) wearing them longer and (c) more home sewing.

Eighteen fathers thought their family could improve the care they gave their clothes. The two most frequently made suggestions were hanging up their clothes and exercise of care in not tearing them. Recognition of need for improved care applied to the entire family in seven cases; and to the children, particularly the boys, in the remaining eleven families.

When asked if there were ways in which family members could better care for his personal clothing twenty-six fathers replied in the negative. This was the only point in the schedule that the interviewer was aware of a widespread tendency on the part of the father to shield a family practice. Of the four fathers who said he thought his family members could or should take better care of his clothes, two indicated repair and two suggested they "pick up" after him.

Twenty-nine of the families interviewed owned a sewing machine. Fathers considered the machine they had adequate for family use in twenty-one cases. Seven thought a new machine was needed and one said "the wife thinks so." Three each gave as reasons for needing a new machine that their present one did not work well or was real old. One expressed need by saying "to compare with other farm standards."

Twenty-eight fathers favored the practice of sewing by his wife and daughter(s). In order of frequency, advantages accorded home sewing were economy, repair and renovation, educational values, better quality of clothing, a means of keeping the wife and daughter busy, better fit and a household necessity. Disadvantages mentioned by four related to the clutter of sewing, tools and supplies. Three referred to the time involved and two regarded it as added work. "Neglect of family" and "too nerve racking" were each mentioned once. A total of fifty-two advantages were given as against eleven disadvantages for home sewing.

Eight fathers favored the practice of more home sewing, three of these specifying the daughter. More or better clothes was the primary reason given for increasing home sewing. The twenty-two fathers who felt the wife and daughter(s) made about the right number of their clothes expressed satisfaction with the current practice by saying that the family made all they had time for or that they needed more time for other work or activities. No father suggested less home sewing.

Few fathers answered either in the affirmative or in the negative on the wearing of clothes which were no longer in fashion but instead expressed a conditional opinion as shown in Table VII. In the twenty-four families where made-overs and/or hand-me-downs were worn the fathers approved the practice.

SOCIAL VALUE OF CLOTHING

The father's attitudes toward clothing the family are shown in his answers to questions 50, 57-59, 60, 63, 65, 66 and 78.

TABLE VII
WEARING CLOTHES NOT IN FASHION, MADE-OVERS, HAND-ME-DOWNS

Item	Number of Fathers
Not fashionable	
Depends on degree and occasion	9
Wear out at home	7
If in good condition	7
Up to family	3
Not worn	2
Wife sewed, would remodel them	1
Worn out before outmoded	1
Made-overs and hand-me-downs	
Worn regularly	14
Worn infrequently	3
Made-overs worn	4
Hand-me-downs worn	3
Not worn	6

All the fathers were proud of their families' appearance. Grooming was obviously the most significant reason given for being proud of his family. However, reasons other than grooming might logically be combined and termed as "selection" in which case the latter was of comparable importance to grooming.

Twenty-six thought their families dressed the same as other families. Four thought them better dressed as to quality, neatness and "ability to wear clothes". Twenty-two wanted their families dressed the same as other families. Four wanted them better dressed and four at least as well dressed. The difference between how fathers thought their families compared in dress with other families and how they wanted them to dress

indicated an element of social aspirations in the four families where better dress was desired.

Reference was made to the social value of clothes by half of the fathers interviewed. They showed an understanding of the need for family members to dress in conformity to the group, a finding revealed in studies made by Hurlock (22) and Barr (2) among others. Typical phrases from their conversations which expressed their understanding were that the family should "not dress outstanding; inferior or better" and "not best nor shabbier; will stay home first." Evidence of family training as well as concern for their social welfare is indicated in the responses of these two fathers. One wanted his family dressed "not to appear better, yet they should feel satisfied with their clothes." The other said his family should dress "equal but not to the point they feel better dressed."

An awareness of the effect group pressure has upon dress was indicated by their remarks. For example, one father said, "In our community it wouldn't be wise to dress different," or as another put it, "If you are better dressed they think you're snobbish." One father said he wanted his family dressed "as good as, or" then hesitated before finishing his thought and added, "A person can get in bad that way." In this case, desire for social mobility and acceptance by the group are in conflict. Another father related income to dress and social status by saying his family should be dressed "as good as those in the same means."

The fathers' comments regarding the element of fashion in their new clothes revealed four categories of thinking. Eight expressed desire for their family to follow fashion; eight felt they were obligated to

do so; seven wanted discrimination shown as to it's use; while five were indifferent or had a negative attitude toward fashion. Two did not commit themselves.

Fathers considered fashion slightly less important for themselves than for their families, (see Table VIII).

TABLE VIII
FASHION IMPORTANCE

Degree	For Family	For Self
Above average	4	1
Average	21	20
Slightly important	3	8
Not indicated	2	1

Generally speaking, fathers interpreted fashion in their own clothes to apply to dress wear, particularly his suit. One aptly described the fashion factor applicable to his clothes in these words, "Generally my clothes are in fashion when I buy them but are out of fashion before they are worn out."

Half of the fathers interviewed felt that living in a rural community affected the type of clothing worn by his family. Although their explanations varied, in general, they indicated lower expenditure of money required for clothing the farm family, (see Table IX). Similarly Dewhurst and Associates (33) stated that one reason for lower clothing expenditures in rural communities was the different and cheaper type of clothing required for work on farms.

TABLE IX
EFFECT OF RURAL LIVING ON CLOTHES WORN

Reason Given	Number of Fathers
Dress children cheaper	4
More work clothes, fewer dress clothes	4
More ordinary clothes	3
Wear out old clothes	2
Need less and have cheaper clothes	1
Don't spend as much following styles	1

Twenty indicated "dress-up" clothes worn in a rural community would not differ from those worn in a city saying, "Why should they be?", or "not with cars and radios", or "buy from the same place". The ten who said there was a difference, mentioned fashion lag or more casual styles or poorer quality in the clothes worn or that fewer "dress-up" clothes were owned.

Clothing was not considered to be an indicator of family wealth by twenty-four of the fathers. In illustrating this point, fifteen gave examples of families who had little money but dressed well; whereas six stated the situation in the opposite manner. The social value of clothes is significantly noted in that more than twice as many fathers commented that many families had more or better clothes than their economic status would dictate. One father remarked rather bitterly "Fellows that owe me money dress better than I do." Another said "You can dress flashy and have only a thin dime in your pocket." "A hundred dollar harness on a twenty dollar horse" was the most unique expression used to describe those who dressed above their means.

When the fathers were asked to choose the member of the family he thought should appear well dressed if it were possible for only one to be so dressed three refused to answer. The responses of twenty-seven fathers as to first and second choice are given in Table X.

TABLE X
FAMILY MEMBER CHOSEN TO BE WELL DRESSED

First Choice	Number of Fathers	Second Choice	Number of Fathers
Wife	15	Daughter(s)	9
		Children	4
		All the same	1
		Don't know	1
Daughter	10	Son	6
		Wife	4
Son	1	Daughter	1
Self	1	Wife	1

The wife and daughter each was named a total of twenty times. The general reasons given for these selections were that the wife influences other family members and is representative of the family clothing standards. Those who thought the daughter should be the best dressed member of the family indicated that clothes were important to her and she took care of them. One third of the fathers referred either to the son or daughter being in high school or belonging to that age group; thus recognizing the significance of clothes to the adolescent.

Two different attitudes were expressed by the six fathers who felt what was good enough for him as a boy was good enough for his son. Three

spoke of being well dressed as a child but three saw no reason why his son should have better than he had had. The other twenty-four fathers indicated "times have changed" and thought the son should have greater advantages.

Four fathers felt that their attitudes toward family clothing practices had been influenced by their own father's attitude and the kind of clothing they wore as a child as well as by members of their immediate family and by the community in which they lived. However, six said none of these factors influenced their attitudes. Six named his own father as the single influence while three said his immediate family influenced him and two thought the community in which he lived had influenced his attitude. One was influenced by the clothing he wore as a child. Various combinations of these four influences with no one influence predominating was indicated by eight fathers. In order of decreasing frequency the total times each single influence was mentioned were the influence of his father, of his immediate family, of the community and of his own childhood clothing.

PERSONAL CLOTHING

Questions directed toward the father and pertaining to his own clothes are 6, 12, 16, 41, 49 and 52-56.

Twenty-three fathers said that family members shopped with him when he was buying his own clothes. This usually referred to suits and coats and did not include work clothes which he either purchased alone or were purchased for him by a family member. Considering suits and coats

as occasional purchases this activity was an infrequent event. In all cases his wife shopped with him and in nine cases another family member or the entire family was likely to be present. Nineteen fathers liked to have family members accompany him. To four it made no difference.

The fathers interviewed in this study do not show the degree of independence in shopping for themselves as revealed in the Men's Preference Study (4). The difference may be due to the clothing items studied. Because of the fact that suits and coats constitute a larger investment, are less frequently purchased and have social value to him as well as his family; he may have desired the approval of his family. For clothing items; extra trousers, business shirts, underwear and socks; as indicated in the Men's Preference Study his own judgment may have been adequate.

When thinking about his own clothing needs eleven looked at catalogues, nine "just went in and bought", seven "window shopped" and three looked at newspaper advertisements.

All thirty respondents said they received clothing as gifts from family members but six of them qualified their statement by adding "once", "not often" or "occasionally". All but two liked this practice; four expressed genuine enthusiasm and four indicated mild enthusiasm.

Eighteen did not know or said "no" when asked if the family would like him to take better care of his own clothes. The twelve who said "yes" specifically mentioned hanging up his clothes or not getting them too dirty or being careful not to tear them.

Twenty-seven thought his family liked the way he dressed and the other three qualified their answer by saying "sometimes". In sixteen

cases the father made this deduction because the family members did not comment either approvingly or disapprovingly. In twelve cases family members were vocal in their approval. Two fathers did not reply. All but three of the men interviewed approved their own appearance.

Half of the husbands indicated he asked his wife what to wear when he "dressed-up". Which tie, which shirt or whether to wear a slack outfit or suit were the usual questions. In two families the father had his clothes laid out for him. The reasons given by the thirteen fathers who did not consult his family as to what he should wear were "choice is limited" or "dress to suit myself". Two-thirds or eighteen indicated that his family did not offer suggestions as to what he should or should not wear without his having asked them.

Table XI shows the number of men who would or would not wear his workclothes for the occasion indicated. In some cases a conditional response was given, saying it depends upon circumstances surrounding the occasion and the distance from home. Generally speaking, work clothes were considered appropriate apparel to wear when shopping for groceries at the customarily patronized grocery store and when buying everyday clothes. Work clothes were not considered appropriate wearing apparel for attendance at the movies and at basketball or other high school games.

All of the men interviewed indicated they were interested in being well dressed for church, funerals, weddings and for some other group gatherings.

TABLE XI
APPROPRIATENESS OF WORK CLOTHES FOR VARIOUS OCCASIONS

Occasion	Worn	Not Worn	Depends	Non-Participants
Buying groceries, usual store	26	2	-	2
Shopping for work clothes	22	4	3	1
Shopping for better clothes	10	13	6	1
Family doctor's office	12	13	5	-
Movies, not drive-ins	1	26	-	3
Basketball, other school games	-	25	3	2
Farmers' meetings	6	14	10	-
Visiting neighbors	15	5	9	1

TYPOLGY OF FATHER ROLES IN FAMILY CLOTHING BEHAVIOR

The original plan for this study did not entertain as one of its purposes the typology of the father's role. However, the findings of the thirty interviews presented a range in the father's interest, participation, and influence in the clothing of the family sufficient to stimulate its investigation. An attempt was made, but the results obtained were quite crude. They are included here, however, as an indication that information of this nature may lend itself to "type determination". If the idea had been incorporated into the conception of the interview schedule; it is believed a more significant analysis would have resulted without materially affecting the content of the data.

Examination of the interview schedule revealed that the responses to twenty-two of the sixty-six questions could be coded to yield either or both the "overt" and "covert" behavior of the fathers. For example, question four asked "Are members in your family likely to consult you

about the clothing they buy?" An overt act was thus indicated. Further inquiry was then made of those fathers who answered the above question negatively concerning whether they would like to be consulted at all, and of those who answered the question positively whether they would like to be consulted more often. Here the response would disclose a covert desire. The "yes" and "no" answers to such questions were accordingly labeled "positive" and "negative".

It may be seen from the paradigm below that all responses to the relevant question may be classified into one of four categories: A (overt-positive), B (overt-negative), C (covert-positive), or D (covert-negative).

Behavioral Reference of Response	Response Valence	
	Positive	Negative
Overt	A	B
Covert	C	D

Diagram 1

Overt-positive responses indicate that the father participated in family clothing activities and influenced the clothing practices of family members. Fifteen cases, or half of the fathers interviewed, fell in this category.

Covert-positive signifies a willingness on the part of the father to function to a greater extent than was his ascribed role at the time of the interview. Six fathers were included in this category.

Overt-negative signifies low participation, and covert-negative either no desire for increased influence or a desire for decreased influence in family clothing behavior. Eleven fathers were rated overt-negative and twenty-one covert-negative. The distribution of responses are shown in Table XII. Three cases were indeterminate for covert responses and four for overt responses.

TABLE XII
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES

Response	Positive	Negative
Overt	15	11
Covert	6	21

The questions used in this way (see interview schedule in the appendix, page 30) are by number 4-8, 10, 13-15, 22, 23, 29-32, 37, 38, 43, 46 and 51-53. The clothing areas included were distributed as follows: six regarding purchases; five dealing with the verbal expression of the father about clothing practices; three each on care, choice-making, and factors objected to; and one each for gift-giving and the budget. Of these, between twenty-three and twenty-five responses referring to overt behavior were possible for each subject and between four and six responses referring to covert behavior were possible.¹

¹ In an authentic typology study the number of responses indicating overt and covert behavior would be in better balance.

The individual positive and negative responses regarding overt and covert behavior were then totaled for each of the thirty fathers interviewed. From these totals an over-all assignment was given each father stating the relationship of valences between overt and covert behavior concerning his role in family clothing behavior.

How type determinations were arrived at can be illustrated by giving the responses made to a single question from the interview schedule. Question four which inquires whether family members consult the father regarding clothing purchases is used as the example, (see Table XIII).

TABLE XIII
TYPE DETERMINATION ACCORDING TO RESPONSES

Types	Responses
Overt-positive, covert-negative	Consulted, but no desire to be consulted further
Overt-negative, covert-negative	Not consulted and did not wish to be
Overt-positive, covert-positive	Consulted and would like to be consulted more
Overt-negative, covert-positive	Not consulted, but would like to be

Two percentages were experimented with to establish an objective criterion for distinguishing types of father roles according to their responses to the questions above. When sixty-six percent or more like responses was used as the dividing line, eighteen cases were indeterminate.

This number was too great. Therefore, a lower figure of fifty-one percent was selected as a criterion. This figure was ultimately retained in the investigation. Even so, seven cases still remained indeterminate. The distribution of role types may be seen in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV
POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE RATING OF OVERT AND COVERT
BEHAVIOR OF THIRTY FATHERS

Number of Cases	Behavior	
	Overt	Covert
4	Positive	Positive
2	Positive	Indeterminate
9	Positive	Negative
2	Negative	Positive
8	Negative	Negative
4	Indeterminate	Negative
1	Negative	Indeterminate

A brief description of the fathers' behavior as shown by the various combinations of these factors follows:

Nine fathers were characterized by overt-positive and covert-negative behavior. These fathers functioned actively in the area of family clothing, and were either satisfied with the degree to which they participated or felt constrained to be active, since they did not indicate a desire for additional influence. Perhaps these fathers could be called "dutiful" fathers in regard to family clothing.

Eight fell in the overt-covert-negative classification. These fathers expressed disinterest in clothes and an indifference toward

family clothing practices with the result that they did little about the family's clothing. Apathy or active rejection describes the attitude of these fathers.

Just the opposite is true for the four fathers who exhibited the overt-covert-positive type. Interest, influence, and participation is the role played by these fathers plus an expressed desire to be more active in family clothing behavior. This may denote either an element of domination in their family role or a cooperative attitude toward family activities.

The two fathers who registered overt-negative and covert-positive reactions functioned little in regard to family clothing and would like to increase their participation. Evidently these fathers, unassuming in nature, are reluctant to make their contribution or are unable to because authority is vested in the wife-mother role.

The relationship between behavior types and age, amount of formal education, and length of residence was checked. Covert-positive behavior as expressed by six fathers showed a relationship in each of the three areas. These fathers were in the younger age group with the exception of one and his age exceeded the age classification of the group by only one year, (see Table XV).

Likewise a higher degree of education was evident for the covert-positive behavior type, (see Table XVI). One father was a college graduate, three had finished high school and two completed the tenth grade, the lower limit of school attendance for this group.

TABLE XV
AGE AND TYPE RELATIONSHIP

Type		Age		
Overt	Covert	35-44	45-54	55-64
Positive	Negative	6	2	1
Negative	Negative	5	2	1
Positive	Positive	4	-	-
Negative	Positive	1	1	-

TABLE XVI
FORMAL EDUCATION AND TYPE RELATIONSHIP

Type		Grade Completed		
Overt	Covert	8th	9-11th	12th/over
Positive	Negative	2	5	2
Negative	Negative	2	3	3
Positive	Positive	-	2	2
Negative	Positive	-	-	2

Concerning length of residence, the covert-positive behavior group showed a tendency toward long term residence, (see Table XVII). The average length of residence for the five families who lived on the present farm for ten years or more was seventeen years. Four years was the length of residence for the other family in the covert-positive type group.

TABLE XVII
LENGTH OF PRESENT RESIDENCE IN YEARS

Type		Years	
Overt	Covert	0-9	10/Over
Positive	Negative	5	4
Negative	Negative	5	3
Positive	Positive	1	3
Negative	Positive	-	2

In summarizing the above it can be stated that covert-positive behavior may be characteristic of those fathers who are younger in age, have correspondingly higher education and have been established on the present farm for a longer period of time. Covert-positive behavior, as previously explained in this discussion, signifies a willingness on the part of the father to function to a greater extent in family clothing behavior than is now his ascribed role.

No noticeable relationships were evident among the other behavior type groups regarding age, education or length of residence. The limited results of this typology study may be due to the small number of cases studied or may indicate that some other factor, such as experience in the childhood home; determines the pattern followed by parents in the homes which they establish. All that can be accomplished at this time is to offer the suggestion that a study designed to explore the role of an individual in a particular area be accompanied by a consideration of type determination and of the underlying contributing factors.

SUMMARY

In our American society roles are not traditionally defined, so the modern parent has freedom to choose the way he lives the role. Because of interest in clothing problems of the farm family and better acquaintance with the mother's role, the writer became interested in knowing how the father defined his role in relation to family clothing practices.

During July 1951 the data for role determination was secured by means of personal interviews. The thirty fathers interviewed lived on farms in southern Michigan. Their family consisted of his wife, a teenage son and daughter with a variable of three other children. Selection of the family was made by random sampling.

Responses to interview questions revealed differences in content and varying degrees of intensity in the actual performance of his functions as related to family clothing practices. To facilitate summarization responses are arbitrarily divided into four groups.

Group one represents the responses given by twenty-four or more. This high degree of similarity indicates practical unanimity in acceptance of that function as a part of his role. Responses revealed mainly attitudes toward family clothing practices, particularly financial aspects. They did not consider clothing an indicator of family wealth. They felt that clothing purchases should be paid for with cash and that money used for clothing purchases came from family earned income. They expressed satisfaction with the equity of it's distribution.

They were proud of the appearance of their families. In their estimation, their families compared favorably in appearance with other families. The practice of home sewing was approved as was the wearing of made-over and hand-me-down clothes. They both gave and approved the practice of clothing as gifts.

Group two represents responses made by one-half to four-fifths of the thirty. As this shows a relatively high degree of similarity; the attitudes and influence expressed by this group can be considered as important characteristics in defining the father's role.

Satisfaction was indicated regarding current expenditures for family clothing. The purchase of quality clothing was considered an economical practice. They would like their families to have better quality clothing. Occasionally they felt the need to suggest that new clothing be purchased. Sometimes his opinion on anticipated purchases was requested.

The element of fashion in dress was of average importance to them, both personally and for their families. They felt that when their families were "dressed-up" their appearance was not different from that of urban families. They wanted their families to maintain the same standard of dress as other families in the community. Satisfaction was indicated regarding the extent to which their wives and daughters made their own clothes. They indirectly influenced their family through compliments and teasing.

Responses in group three were given by one-fourth to one-half of the fathers. They are considered a component of the role, but not regarded

as significant as the two preceding groups. Direct reference was made by this group on the social values of clothing to the family. They thought fewer and less expensive clothes were needed in a rural community than in urban centers.

Actual participation in purchasing clothing for the family was evident. They shopped with their family; occasionally assumed responsibility for making purchases and sometimes purchased on their own initiative. Another activity was frequent or regular assistance in the dressing and undressing of the young children.

More direct influence was exerted by this group. They suggested the return of unsatisfactory purchases, objected to certain types of clothing and scolded the children about the clothes they wore. His advise regarding what they should wear was asked and he, in turn, consulted his wife on his "dress-up" clothes.

Group four includes the responses made by nine or fewer. They are only stated to indicate their occurrence and can not be considered characteristic of the role. A desire was expressed for the family to be better dressed than other families; also that either more or less be spent for clothing. Economy measures suggested included the purchase of different kinds of clothes or fewer or to pay less for them.

Responses to one-third of the questions were applicable to a type determination study of father roles. Twenty-three of the thirty interviewed, fell into one of four categories. Results showed the fathers' behavior to be as follows: Nine functioned actively in the area of family clothing and were either satisfied with the degree to which they

participated or were constrained to be that active since they did not indicate a desire for additional influence. Eight expressed disinterest in clothes and an indifference toward family clothing practices with the result that they did little about the family's clothing. Four expressed interest, influence and participation plus a desire to be more active. Two functioned little but wished to increase their participation. Those who indicated a willingness to be more active were in the younger age group, had correspondingly higher education and tended toward long term residence. Other behavior groups showed no relationship to age, education or length of residence.

GENERALIZATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Significant observations of the father's role in relation to clothing of thirty farm families revealed many attitudes, a wide range of interest and a low degree of participation.

More universal agreement was expressed pertaining to the financial aspects of family clothing than other aspects. Attitudes toward financing and equity in distribution of family clothing expenditures revealed a relatively high degree of satisfaction with current family practices. Clothing was regarded as a cash commodity and money allocated for it's purchase was considered to be family earned income. Lack of active participation in decision-making and knowledge of total family clothing expenditures was evident.

Interest in meeting family clothing needs was reflected by awareness and evaluation of potential clothing needs. Activities involving satisfying these needs were considered the responsibility of other members of the family.

Influence in changing the clothing practices of the family was achieved through constructive suggestions rather than corrective or disciplinary measures. Modifications in family clothing practices recommended were improvement in care of clothing, the purchase of quality merchandise and exercising economy measures.

Attitudes toward clothing for the family showed understanding of the social significance of clothing. Clothing was not considered an

indicator of financial status. Total requirements and expenditures for clothing was recognized as lower in rural communities than in urban centers. The standard for "dress-up" clothes of rural families was regarded as equivalent to that of urban families.

Fathers appreciated the interest shown by family members in his own clothes and appearance. He showed less concern, however, for his personal clothing problems than for those of his family.

The role of an individual in a particular area can be adequately determined through the use of relevant questions in personal interviews.

This interview schedule amply covered the father's behavior in relation to family clothing as he offered no additional ways in which he functioned nor has an omission or unbalance been apparent to the writer.

The method of sampling was satisfactory in that approximately fifty percent of the families in the county who qualified were interviewed. Another measure of the adequacy of the sample is the fact that there were case studies for each of the four categories in the type determination study.

Administration of the interview schedule indicated: (a) that the sequence of questions facilitated easy transition from one thought to the next, with the preceding question not making later answers obvious; and (b) that the schedule was probably too long as weariness was noted when the interview was about four-fifths completed.

Schedule revisions recommended are: (a) whenever feasible, to phrase questions as to yield overt and covert behavior; (b) to be more specific in the interpretation given "fashion" and (c) to inquire more

specifically about routine activities as well as how individual family members obtained money for clothing purchases.

This schedule with some revision would be applicable to role determination of other members of the family. Adaptation of the schedule would render it useable in determining the role of an individual as revealed by other than the one being interviewed. The role of an individual could be investigated by interviewing the individual himself and another regarding his functions, thus serving to amplify or check the content of the role.

The role of an individual in relation to areas of family behavior, other than clothing, could be similarly investigated.

It is highly recommended that a study designed to explore the role of an individual be accompanied by a type determination analysis.

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APPENDIX

THE FATHER'S ROLE IN RELATION TO THE CLOTHING OF THE FARM FAMILY.

Interview No. _____

Date _____

Where held

Time

Good Morning or How do you do!

I'm Athelene Scheid and I've come to ask you to talk with me about clothing the family. Usually the wife or mother is consulted on these matters, however I'm interested in becoming acquainted with the part the man of the family takes in clothing. Would you be willing to answer a few questions?

I'm also interested in working only with families who receive at least three-fourths of their income from the farm, so of necessity my first question must be--do you earn at least three-fourths of your income from the farm?

Now we can talk about the family clothing.

1. In your family who do you think is most interested in clothes?
2. Suppose you had an unexpected extra hundred dollars, and you decided to spend it for clothing for the family, what would you buy them?
3. Let's suppose you'd like to spend this hundred dollars on clothes for yourself, what would you buy?

hat	top coat	overalls	shirts - dress
suit	trousers	everyday	work
shoes	jacket	clothes	T

4. Some families consult the father about clothing purchases and others do not. In your family are members likely to consult you about the clothing they buy?

If "yes" - About what articles in particular do they ask your opinion?

Would you like to be consulted more often?

Always am Yes No

If "yes" - About what?

If "no" - Would you like to be consulted? Yes No

If "yes" - About what?

If "no" - Why?

5. Some men like to shop; others would rather not. Do you usually go with members of your family when they buy clothes for themselves?

Yes No

If "yes" - With whom?

For what?

If "no" - Would you like to?

6. Do members of your family shop with you when you are buying your own clothes?

Yes No

If "yes" - Who shops with you?

For what?

Do you like to have them? Yes No

If "no" - Would you like to have them? Yes No

If "yes" - Who?

For what?

If "no" - Why do you like to buy your clothes by yourself?

7. Do you ever suggest to anyone in the family that he or she buy something new to wear?

Yes No

If "yes" - What kind of garment are you likely to suggest?

About how often would you say you suggest a purchase--
occasionally or frequently?

Is your suggestion usually followed?

Often 50-50 Seldom Yes No
Sometimes

If "no" - Would you like to? Yes No

Why?

8. In some families it may be the man's responsibility to actually do the purchasing of clothing for the family, while in others that is not the case. Do you actually buy clothing for any member of your family?

Yes No

If "yes" - For whom do you buy clothes?

About how often -- always, half the time, or occasionally?

If "no" - Would you like to make family clothing purchases?

Yes No

9. Do you ever just bring clothes home for some one in the family because the idea occurred to you to buy them?

Yes No

If "yes" - What?

For whom?

Do family members like you to do this? Why?

Yes No

10. Clothing is used for gifts in some families, but not in others. Do you give gifts of clothing to members of your immediate family, that is your wife and children?

Yes No

If "yes" - Do you select the gift? Yes

What clothing is given as gifts?

To whom?

For what occasion? Birthdays Xmas

11. Have you given gifts of money specifying that it be used for clothing?

Yes No

12. Do family members give you clothing as gifts? Yes No

If "yes" - Do you like this practice? Yes No Sometimes

If "no" - Would you like to have them? Yes No

13. Do you ever suggest that a family member return a clothing purchase?

Yes No

If "yes" - What?

For what reason?

Who purchased it?

Was the purchase returned? Yes No

If "no" - Have you ever wanted to do so? Yes No

If "yes" - Why?

14. Do you object to any member of your family wearing a particular kind or article of clothing, a certain style or color, or anything of that nature? Yes No
No, but would if

If "yes" - Who? What?

Are these garments worn? Yes No

If "no, but would if" - What kind of clothing would you object to their wearing if they did so?

15. Is there any particular kind of clothes that you do not like to have members of your family wear in town shopping? Yes No
Might, if they did

If "yes" - What?

Are these garments worn? Yes No

If "might, if they did" - What kind of clothing would you object to their wearing in town shopping?

16. People differ as to what they wear for the same occasion. On which of these occasions do you wear your overalls or work clothes?

Buying groceries at your usual grocery store. Yes No

Shopping for work clothes. Yes No

Shopping for better clothes. Yes No

To see the family doctor Yes No

Going to a regular movie house, not drive-in. Yes No

At basket ball or other school games. Yes No

Visiting the neighbors. Yes No

At farmers' meetings. Yes No

#

Now let's talk about fashion and clothes.

17. a. How do you feel about the new clothes your family purchases--
should they follow fashion? Yes No

b. How important would you say it is for your family to follow
fashion --very important, above average in importance, of
average importance, slightly important or not important?

18. How important do you feel it is, for the new clothes you buy for
yourself to be in fashion?

19. Do you feel the family should wear the clothes they have on hand
which are not in fashion? Yes No

Why?

20. Now let's take the matter of made-over clothes and hand-me-downs.
Does your family wear either of these? Yes No

If "no" - Why?

If "yes" - Who wears made-overs?
Who wears hand-me-downs?

How do you feel about members of your family wearing
made-overs or hand-me-downs?

21. a. These days we hear a lot about the cost of clothing. How do you
feel about the total amount of money your family spends for
clothing?

b. Would you like your family to spend considerably more, somewhat
more, the same amount, somewhat less or considerably less for
clothing?

22. Do you help decide the amount of money the family should use for
clothes? Yes No

If "yes" - How?

If "no" - Why?

23. In your family is a record kept of the amount spent for clothing?
Yes No

If "yes" - Who keeps the record?

Do you know approximately what it costs to clothe the
family? Yes No

24. Do you feel that anyone in your family should have more of the family money used for his or her clothes? Yes No

If "yes" - Who?

Do you discuss this with members of the family?

Yes No

25. Is there anyone you think should have less used for his or her clothes? Yes No

If "yes" - Who?

Do you discuss this with members of the family?

Yes No

26. a. If your family should find it necessary to practice greater clothing economy in the future, in what way do you think family members could best help?

- b. Would you say by selecting different kinds of clothing, by purchasing fewer clothes, by selecting better quality clothing, by paying less for them or perhaps in some other way?

Different kinds
Fewer clothes

Better quality
Paying less

Others

27. Would you mind telling me how you arrange to have clothing purchases paid for--with cash, by check, by use of charge account, or by use of the lay-away plan?

With cash
By check

Charge account
Lay-away plan

Others

28. I'm also interested in knowing how the money to be spent for clothing is made available to each member of the family who is old enough to purchase clothing.

Do family members ask you for the money as clothing apparel is needed? or

Are family members given an allowance from which they must buy their clothing? or

Is clothing paid for from a common checking account? or

In any other way or combination of these ways?

29. Some people notice clothes and comment about them, some do not. I'm wondering if you tell members of your family that you like their clothes, or that they look nice or pay them some such compliment?

Sometimes Yes No

If "yes or sometimes" - Who?

What are you likely to compliment them on?

30. Do you ever joke with members of the family about their clothes, or tease them about what they are wearing? Yes No

If "yes" - Who?

What do you joke or tease about?

31. Do you find it necessary at times to scold a member of the family about what he or she is wearing? Yes No

If "yes" - Who?

About what?

32. Children often need reminding to change their clothes, to tie their shoe laces and the like. Do you do this sort of thing? Yes No

If "yes" - About how often do you do this?

33. Some people think that certain kinds of clothing are healthy or unhealthy. Have you ever been concerned about the relation of clothing to the health of any member of your family? Yes No

If "yes" - What?

34. Do you ever insist that the children wear raincoats, scarfs, or rubbers when going outdoors in rainy weather? Yes No

If "yes" - Who?

Why?

35. a. The problem of safety concerns some people more than others. Have you ever been concerned about the clothing of your family from a safety angle? Yes No

If "yes" - What?

For whom?

- b. What about your own clothes in relation to **safety**?

36. Do you know of farm or home accidents which were caused by wearing the wrong kind of clothes? Yes No

If "yes" - Has this helped you prevent accidents?

Yes No

If "yes" - In what ways?

37. Men may or may not help around the house with clothing. When the children were young did you help to dress or undress them?

Yes No

If "yes" - Would you say you helped regularly, frequently, or occasionally?

38. Do you help with the care of clothing -- like carrying out the basket of wet clothes on wash day, shining shoes for the family, pressing your own trousers or in any other ways that you think of?

Yes No
Sometimes Used to

If "yes" - What?

How often?

If "no" - Why do you think you do not help?

If "sometimes" - What are you most apt to help with?

39. Do you think members of your family could take better care of their clothing?

Yes No

If "yes" - Who?

In what ways?

40. Are there ways in which the family could better care for your clothes?

Yes No

If "yes" - In what ways?

41. Would the family like you to take better care of your own clothes?

Yes No
Maybe Don't know

If "yes", or "maybe" - In what ways?

Now the questions are about sewing in the home.

42. Do you have a sewing machine in your family? Yes No

If "no" - What is the reason?

If "yes" - Do you feel this sewing machine is adequate (good enough) for family use? yes 1.0

If "no" - In what way is it not adequate?

Do you think a new machine is needed?

Why?

43. Are you ever called upon to repair the family sewing machine?

If "yes" - What?

If "no" - Why?

44. How do you feel about your wife or daughter sewing?

45. a. In your opinion what are the advantages of sewing in the home?

Saves money	Wear longer	Others
Better fitting	Part of education	

b. What are the disadvantages of sewing in the home?

Time consuming	None
Energy "	Others

46. Some people notice disorder around the house, others do not. How do you feel about any disorder that sewing may cause?

If "objects" - Is your dislike or objection strong enough to effect the sewing done in the home? Yes No

If "yes" - How?

47. The amount of home sewing done varies from home to home. Would you appreciate having your wife or daughter make more of their own clothes, about the same number as now, or less of their own clothes?

More	Why?
Same	Why?
Less	Why?

48. With family needs for clothing in mind, which of the following do you do?

a. Look at clothing ads in the newspaper.

- b. Read newspaper or magazine articles on clothing.
 - c. Listen to clothing comments on the radio.
 - d. Look at clothing in mail order catalogues.
 - e. Look in store windows.
 - f. Listen to live clothing demonstrations.
 - g. Watch style shows on television.
 - h. Attend style shows.
49. Which of these just mentioned are you apt to do when thinking about your own clothes?
50. a. Do you feel that living in a rural community affects the clothing of your family in any particular way? Yes No
- If "yes" - In what ways?
- b. Will 'dress-up' clothes be different in a rural community than in a city?
- If "yes" - In what ways?
- If "no" - Why?
51. a. Some people seek the opinion of others about what to wear and others do not. When special occasions arise are you ever asked to help decide what various members of the family should wear? Yes No
- If "yes" - In what ways?
- If "no" - Who makes the decisions?
- b. Do you ever offer suggestions as to what family members should wear without being asked? Yes No
- If "yes" - Are your suggestions usually followed?
52. When you 'dress-up' do you ask some one in the family what you should wear? Sometimes Yes No
- If "yes" or "sometimes" - What?
- Who?

If "no" - Would you explain why you do not?

53. Do family members tell you what to wear or what not to wear without your asking them? Sometimes Yes No

54. As a general rule do you approve of your own appearance? Yes No

If "no" - Why not?

55. Do you think that family members like the way you dress? Yes No

How would you say family members show this?

56. For what occasions are you yourself particularly interested in being well dressed?

57. Are you proud of the way your family usually dresses? Yes No

In what ways are you proud (not proud) of them?

58. a. How do you think your family compares in dress with other families you know -- are they very much better dressed, somewhat better dressed, dressed the same, somewhat less well dressed, or not nearly as well dressed?

- b. In what way do you feel your family is _____ when compared to other families you know?

59. How do you want your family to compare in dress with other families you know.

60. Do you feel that clothing shows how much money a family has? Yes No

In what ways?

61. Would you like your family to have a larger number of clothes? Yes No

If "yes" - Who?

What?

62. Would you like your family to have better quality clothes? Yes No

63. a. If it were possible to have only one member of your family appear well dressed who do you think it should be?

Why?

- b. Who would be next in line?

Why?

64. Do you have any suggestions as to how the clothing practices within your family could be improved?

65. Do you feel that what was good enough in clothing for you as a boy is good enough for your son? Yes No

Why?

66. a. Do you feel that your attitudes as a father toward clothing your family have been influenced by:

1. Your father's attitude toward clothing his family?

2. The kind of clothing you wore as a child?

- b. Do you feel that your attitude toward clothing has been influenced by:

1. Members of your immediate family?

2. People in the community?

3. In what other ways?

67. I have been asking you many questions about family clothing. Are there other ways that you, as a father, function in regards to clothing the family? In other words have I omitted anything?

Now may I have the following information about you?

What is your nationality background? _____

Do you mind telling me how old you are? _____

What was the last grade you attended in school? _____

Have you ever lived outside Hillsdale County? _____

If "yes" - Where? _____

How long have you lived in this township? _____

How long have you lived in this place? _____

Would you tell me which letter on this card indicates the income bracket of your family?

A. \$ 1,000 -- \$ 2,000

F. \$ 6,000 -- \$ 7,000

B. \$ 2,000 -- \$ 3,000

G. \$ 7,000 -- \$ 8,000

C. \$ 3,000 -- \$ 4,000

H. \$ 8,000 -- \$ 9,000

D. \$ 4,000 -- \$ 5,000

I. \$ 9,000 -- \$10,000

E. \$ 5,000 -- \$ 6,000

J. \$10,000 -- above

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