

ORIENTATION TO FASHION

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

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Corinne Gray

1953



This is to certify that the

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Orientation to Fashion

presented by

Miss Corinne Gray

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in Sociology

and Anthropology

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ORIENTATIONS TO FASHION

By

Corinne Gray

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THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

Fashion, in women's clothing, is of interest to a great many people who look at it from a great many different perspectives.

For a career girl the attractiveness of her clothing is one prerequisite to success. At all times she must be conscious of how she looks and of the appropriateness of her attire. She must be an artist in the use of color, line and material, know the latest styles, and use them skillfully. For a housewife, on the other hand, fashion may be less important. Her greatest concern may be for her family, her children, or community affairs. Keeping up with the latest style depends on her own inclination, the time she wishes to give to it, the social life which she has, etc.

For some people fashion is a livelihood. Fashion designers spend their working hours draping materials, consulting with clothing manufacturers, advising and counseling with their clients, and creating and producing new and ever-changing styles. Fashion models spend their working hours in front of cameras so that the creations of designers can be shown to markets all over this country and the world. The men who photograph these latest creations strive constantly to make them appear as attractive and desirable as possible. Most large city newspapers have fashion editors whose business it is to describe, discuss, and criticize the new styles for a mass audience. Through other media such as magazines, movies, and television, the latest fashions are also made known to fashion consumers who, through a process of selection and the

convergence of choices, bring success or failure to any given style of garment.

Producing the clothing, whether in small lots or in mass production, are the clothing manufacturers themselves. They are engaged in a risky business where guesses as to the fashion wants of many women mean the difference between economic success or failure. Whatever the actual style one season may be, they must constantly plan ahead to keep up with, or as some writers feel, create, an ever-changing demand. Also involved in this complex are the retail clothing outlets - from the large department stores to the small dress shops which abound in every city and town. Here is the link between the manufacturer and the professional woman or housewife. And on the completion of this link depends the livelihood not only of the business man but of all the others involved in the process.

Fashion, or continuous changes in the style of women's clothing, as we know it today is a phenomenon made possible by certain conditions of modern civilization. These would include at least the following.

In the first place, mass production and specialization are necessary. Without fast, efficient and flexible methods of producing vast quantities of goods there would be nothing to distribute to the millions of consumers and no way of constantly changing the form of these goods. Second, there must be swift channels and a vast network of both transportation and communication to enable the goods to be transported to the consumers and the consumers to be informed of what is available. However, information would be of no use if the consumers could not buy; therefore, and third, a standard of living allowing sufficient leisure time and spending power is necessary. Fourth, keeping up with changes in fashion must mean something

to consumers. It is probable that within a social class system consumers are motivated to buy and find satisfaction in fashionable clothing.

There are other aspects to fashion besides production and consumption. The consumers who buy do not buy and wear their cloths in a vacuum. They buy and wear within a social milieu, within social groups which are important to them. Not only is it of interest to know that this occurs, but also how it occurs. What part does fashion play in the lives of consumers; what is its function or meaning for them and for others with whom they interact?

Some researchers such as economists, historians, psychologists and sociologists have become concerned about what it is that keeps the process going. Such people have approached the problem from as many points of view as those functioning in the various positions described above.

The orientation of this thesis is sociological. Moreover, its main emphasis is not on an attempt to describe or evaluate the whole process as such, but to focus on a specific sector of a specific American mid-Western community, that is, 107 housewives in Coldwater, Michigan.

CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES

This study grew out of a larger study of consumer problems in the purchase of clothing and textiles which the Department of Sociology and Anthropology has carried on in conjunction with the Department of Textiles, Clothing and Related Arts of Michigan State College since 1948. The entire project has been supported by the Michigan State Agricultural Experiment Station. During the year 1951-1952 the writer and another graduate student were employed as graduate assistants to begin the job of classifying and analyzing the completed schedules. At this time, the writer's interest in this area began to develop.

Attitudes toward fashion comprised one minor segment of the larger study. In this respect the investigators were originally concerned with determining the factors underlying acceptance and rejection of new clothing styles. Extensive examination of the data showed that this dimension was not fruitful. Instead two different kinds of attitude were revealed, having to do with the way in which the women interviewed explained their conformity or lack of conformity to changes in style. One kind of explanation implied a desire to avoid conspicuousness in dress or a desire to dress as much like other people as possible. Another kind of explanation

defined fashionable clothing as a means of setting the informant apart from others or of attracting the attention of others.

The original problem then was altered to include first the identification of different kinds of orientations toward fashion as manifested by such explanations. This required the development of a typology of fashion orientations. Second, an attempt was made to ascertain whether or not these orientations toward fashion were associated in any way with social class. Finally, there was a general problem of ascertaining, since this was essentially a post hoc study, whether or not the typology was related to other social and economic characteristics such as income, education or religious affiliation.

With this perspective in mind the relevant sociological literature was examined. The general problem was one of isolating and explaining the data at hand. The question then arose of whether or not any empirical research concerned with a relationship between fashion and social stratification had been done. Four studies were found, but only one had any real bearing on the emerging problem.

Review of Literature

Many people have speculated on the nature and meaning of fashion, but most of what has been done has not been subjected to any kind of systematic empirical verification. We have attempted here to outline the main ideas of some of the best essays on fashion written from a sociological perspective. The first section of this chapter deals with discussions of fashion by social psychologists, sociologists and anthropologists; the second part describes four research projects; and the

third part is a critical assessment of both the speculative and research literature. In order to keep the contributions of various authors relatively intact and available here for reference the work of each author has been considered as a unit. Repetition and the over-lapping of ideas occur, but these have been retained in the interest of maintaining the clarity of each author's contribution, and also to demonstrate how basically similar ideas have been developed and expanded from different perspectives.

Theoretical and Speculative Contributions

E. A. Ross. Ross, in his Social Psychology, defined the phenomenon of fashion as:

(. . .) a series of recurring changes in the choices of a group of people which, though they may be accompanied by utility, are not determined by it (. . .) . Fashion is marked by rhythmic imitation and innovation, by alternate uniformity and change.¹

However, Ross continued, neither of these phases obeys the principle of utility. This fact differentiates change due to fashion from change due to progress which results in additional practical advantages and better technical adaptations. "Fashion, on the other hand, moves in cycles."²

Although there may be uniform practice, Ross went on to say, there may or may not be psychic uniformity. That is, while many find a new or novel style attractive, others certainly wear it only to avoid being

1. Ross, Edward Alsworth, Social Psychology, Macmillan Company, New York, 1923, p. 94.

2. Loc. cit.

conspicuous. Fashions in the present may be considered beautiful, but this beauty is often transient. This can be illustrated by the fact that once fashionable things are often regarded as lacking beauty and nothing seems able to induce one to wear outmoded clothes for serious aesthetic reasons.

The ultimate motivation to fashionable dress is construed as an eagerness for self-individualization, a passion for inequality, for distinction from one's fellows that is a part of human nature, an instinct deeply rooted within human beings. Ross, as did some other writers, made a value judgment in feeling that this tendency was all right for such things as intellect, character, achievement, etc., but that superficial characteristics such as apparel should not be the basis of social distinction.

Fashion, Ross stated, involves two processes: imitation and differentiation. That is, the inferior man imitates his superior while the superior attempts to differentiate himself from his inferiors. The more prompt the imitation, the more rapid a new differentiation.

There have existed in various societies sumptuary laws regulating the dress of various classes (for example, in old Japan), and in immobile or caste societies forms of dress have remained constant for long periods of time. However, in our present day society, "acquired social values prevail over hereditary social values."³ One's style of living (Veblen's conspicuous consumption) merits the plaudits of distinction rather than the leisurely life, per se, of feudal times.

3. Loc. cit.

Competition for distinction is served through the waste of wealth which is involved in repeated fashion changes.

The present extensive knowledge and distribution of fashion is due both to the promptness of current means of communication and the ability of manufacturers to imitate expensive articles cheaply. The characteristics of modern fashion include the following: extension to many objects, uniformity over wide territory and various classes, and an increasing tempo of change.

Yet, there are influences working to undermine this tyranny of dress. As men, who were slaves of fashion up until the nineteenth century, were liberated by a democratic movement so women may be freed through the development of rational costumes according to the purpose of the occasion for which it is worn - as in the increasing participation in sports at the present time. There is "a growing loathing for allotting social esteem according to purely factitious and superficial tests and an increasing respect for achievement and inner worth which will blunt the keenness of the struggle for external conformity."⁴

P. Clerget. According to Clerget, "Fashion is a form of luxury, luxury in ornamentation."⁵ It is frivolous, changeable, dominating all classes of society; and thus a "democracy of fashion" has appeared.

Fashions are created by modistes in their establishments. These are then shown at great gatherings where public opinion is expressed. Those fashions chosen are modeled in many public places since today

4. Ibid., p. 103.

5. Clerget, P., "The Economic and Social Role of Fashion," Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1913, p. 755.

there is no monarchical court at which to show the fashions and to give them distinction.

Any striking idea, literature, etc. may inspire a new fashion. A new style garment is a sign that some transformation is taking "place in the intellect, customs, and business of a people."⁶ Moreover, quoting from Louis Bourdeau's, Histoire de l'habillement et de la parure: "far from being a custom of incurable frivolity the changes of fashions mark a high civilization, subject to change because it has wide latitude to refine its ideal in proportion as its productions are varied."⁷

A. L. Kroeber. In 1919 Kroeber wrote a well-known analysis of fashion change which he considered analogous to the rise and fall of art, literature, political institutions, and civilization, and in which he attempted to identify something approaching a cyclic law of social change.

His data consisted of measurements (expressed as ratios of various parts of the figures in illustrations to each other) of such things as skirt length and width, minimum diameter of the waist,, etc. These he observed in fashion magazines over a period of seventy-five years. He commented himself that he had too few examples for each year, and that many of the ten kinds of measurements he sought were missing because of the ways in which the garments were illustrated.

6. Ibid., p. 764.

7. Loc. cit.

However, he stated that "in the case of every dimension the irregularities are not so great as to prevent the recognition of the underlying drifts and tendencies."⁸

His results showed some tendencies toward large up and down fluctuations in the measurements over long periods of time with many irregularities from year to year. As he said, in spite of the conspicuous constant change of such things as trimmings, ruffles, colors, etc.,

underneath this glittering maze the major proportions of dress change with a slow majesty, in periods often exceeding the duration of human life, and at least sometimes with the even regularity of the swing of an enormous pendulum (. . .) . There is something in these phenomena, for all their reputed arbitrariness, that resembles what we call law: a scheme, an order on a scale not without a certain grandeur.

Yet he goes on to say this:

Not that the fashion of a future data can be written now. Every style is a component of far too many elements, and in part uniquely entering elements, to make true prediction possible. But it does seem that some forecast can be made for any one basic element (one type of measurement) whose history has been sufficiently investigated; and that, when the event arrives, if the anticipation be proved to have been more or less erroneous, the source of the aberration may be clear, and the disturbingly injected forces stand revealed as subject to an order of their own.⁹

Thus, since fashion is interrelated with other aspects of society it cannot be expected to vary independently from them. Moreover, disturbing influences serve not to nullify the findings but to illustrate the complexity involved. And, there is no reason to expect equal

8. Kroeber, A. L., "On the Principle of Order in Civilization as Exemplified in Changes in Fashion," American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, p. 242.

9. Ibid., pp. 258-259.

periodicity; indeed, it was found that variations were more rapid during the last quarter-century than for the half century preceeding it.

Kroeber concluded that "the fact of regularity in social change is the primary inference from our phenomena."¹⁰ What causes the regularity cannot be identified at this point, but that this change is beyond the crucial influence of any single individual's personality is clear. At the same time it does not deny the validity of the difference between superior and inferior minds, competence and incompetence, but does state that such cannot change the course of history. For success an individual must go with the current of his times. Whether human beings like it or not, he said, the following still holds:

The super-organic or super-psychic or super-individual that we call civilization appears to have an existence, an order, and a causality as objective and as determinable as those of the subpsychic or inorganic. At any rate, no insistence on the subjective aspects of personality can refute this objectivity, nor hinder its ultimate recognition; just as no advance in objective understanding has ever cramped the activity of personality.¹¹

Kimball Young. In his Social Psychology, Young considered that fashion had many facets, and expressed many ideas similar to those of Ross except that he omitted much of Ross' emphasis on the process of imitation. Fashion, he said, is the prevailing style at any time. It is "a phase of collective action which has much in common with crowd behavior,"¹² though physical contiguity today depends on rapid communica-

10. Ibid., p. 260.

11. Ibid., p. 263.

12. Young, Kimball, Social Psychology, F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1930, p. 552.

tion and transportation. It is not in the mores, but is related to the non-moral folkways. It is a type of common thought and action, moved by relatively impermanent and superficial currents, characterized by a state of flux. Nevertheless it seems important and significant and has a ceremonial aspect as a part of social ritual. Moreover, in a static society or where there are rigid class or caste lines fashion hardly exists.

Young then considered fashion under two headings. The first is what he called a psychology of fashion. He felt that there is both individualism and conformity manifest in fashion; that it is an outgrowth of emotions and irrational tendencies; and that it is not utilitarian but appeals to our fancy. It is, at the same time, both an agent of individualism and of socialization, of social solidarity and differentiation.

Psychologically, fashion is also an expression of a desire for change and ego-expansion, though it is hard to say how much of the desire for change is due to boredom and how much to an outgrowth of the very culture pattern of fashion. It is related to wishes for social approval. As a part of "social ritual (it) is related to mobility, to specialization, and to the rise of modern secondary groups."¹³ Where status is fixed, where there is group isolation and little flexibility in manners, there is no fashion. Fashion is to be understood in terms of rapidity and method of change. There is a folkway of change and it

13. Ibid., p. 558.

is part of one's folkways to be up with the fashion of one's group.

"To be in the fashion is to be noticed by others."¹⁴ Moreover, fashion as a result of a desire to gain attention leads to emulation by others who consider the innovators as prestige bearers; emulation aids the spread of fashion in any group. It also compensates for a sense of inferiority. As Simmel has said, the imitation of fashion makes one a representative of the elite. Women's interest in clothes is a compensation for lack of position "in a class based on a calling or profession."¹⁵

Secondly, Young considered fashion and group behavior. Following Veblen's idea of conspicuous consumption and leisure he stated that the upper classes have played the largest "role in establishing the folkway of frequent changes in fashion."¹⁶ As prestige bearers they establish the importance of reputability in changes in fashion. Yet, (again following Simmel) as soon as a fashion is universally adopted, it is no longer a fashion.

There is a close connection between fashion and business. Clothing manufacturers strive desperately to go with the currents of public fads but are rarely successful in inaugurating fashions. It is financially risky to predict their rise and fall, and instability is one of the dominant characteristics of fashion.

In spite of attempts by Christian churches to control the wearing of clothing which is considered indecent or taboo fashion thrives. As

14. Ibid., p. 560.

15. Ibid., p. 560.

16. Ibid., p. 561.

Summer said tersely, "Whatever is, is right."¹⁷ Simmel was again quoted as concluding that fashion was going beyond personal externals to "an increasing influence over taste, over theoretical convictions and even over the moral foundations of life."¹⁸

Edward Sapir. According to Sapir fashion is group compulsion, not the individual's choice or taste. It is not as fleeting a phenomenon as a fad, but less stable than a custom.¹⁹ "Just as the weakness of fashion leads to fads, so its strength comes from custom (. . .) . Fashion is custom in the guise of departure from custom."²⁰ Fashion safely satisfies the individual's desire to break away from custom since others have set the precedent. It is a means of "reconciling individual freedom with social conformity."²¹ Thus, while Ross postulated the conflicting process of imitation and differentiation as applying to differing segments of the population, both Young and Sapir postulated these as conflicting, or at least co-existent, processes within the individual.

Sapir postulated sources of motivation in saying that boredom, leisure, too much routine and specialization, plus a desire to adorn the self are fundamental drives "leading to the creation and acceptance of fashion."²² It is the phenomenon of a "functionally powerful society" where a person needs to keep reaffirming his individuality.

17. Ibid., p. 567.

18. Ibid., p. 568.

19. Supra., p. 9.

20. Sapir, Edward, "Fashion," Encyclopedia of the Social Science, 1930,

21. Ibid., p. 140.

22. Ibid., p. 144.

Another source of motivation is the desire for prestige, for symbols of distinction or membership in a desired group. But, as Young also noted, imitation results in the negation of a fashion, and a new style begins again.

A historical perspective is necessary to understand fashion since in essence it must be seen as a variation within a known sequence. Changes follow the prevailing and underlying "psychological drifts" in a given society. Implicit in all fashion is "functional irrelevance as contrasted with symbolic significance for the expressiveness of the ego."²³ There is much difficulty in trying to understand these because of a lack of a knowledge of the unconscious symbolism attached to such things as color, textiles, etc. Those fashions, however, which are not consistent with the unconscious systems of meaning are relatively insecure.

Rapid changes of the present day are partly due to the stimulation of the Renaissance, but mostly to such things as the industrial revolution, the rise of the common people, increased facilities for transportation and communication, the varied activities of modern life, the greater leisure and spending power of the bourgeois, and the economic liberation of women. There has been a psychological leveling of classes in so far as wealth is the basis of class position rather than birth. This necessitates more rapid change in order to keep the symbolism of the upper classes distinct from those of the lower.

23. Loc. cit.

In reference to business the increased facilities for the extensive distribution of fashion have led to greater investments. High initial profits lead to the commercial encouragement of changes. At the same time that vested interests encourage they also dread the change. Since they are not dictators they must sense the psychological and unconscious desires of the people in order to attain the success they seek.

➤ Women are now allowed greater changes (not so in other times or cultures). A woman, in many cases, pleases by how she looks, not by what she does. In the upper classes she is a symbol of the social and economic status of her husband. Sapir added that fashion may be an expression of unconscious revolt against expressed modesty, morals, etc., or class distinctions.

Robert MacIver. MacIver defined fashion as the "socially approved sequence of variation on a cultural theme." It is anti-traditional, and involves "free variations of an accepted form."²⁴ "The range of fashion is, in short, the limit of variation made possible by cultural indifference."²⁵ Further, MacIver said:

It deals with those observances which can be changed without affecting the things we hold dear, the associations we cherish, the practical aims we pursue - this being the negative condition of the strong tyranny which it exercises. It promises no utility, it makes no direct appeal to our reason.²⁶

24. MacIver, Robert M., Society, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1937, p. 264.

25. Ibid., p. 265.

26. Ibid., p. 266.

It harmonizes two contradictory aspects of our nature - the desire for novelty and for conformity (see Young and Sapir). Fashion leadership usually radiates from the elite, the prestige-owning groups and thus accomodates the desire for distinction as well as for conformity.

Fashion is encouraged by such factors as the character of our class structure, the development of communication, the increase of prosperity and leisure, the diminishing of the area defined through custom developing from the intermingling of peoples from all over the world, and the fact of industrialization which has disturbed customary ways of doing things. There has been an increase in the area of moral indifference, and, where a civilization is decadent, fashions usurp the area of morals. Fashion provides a meeting ground for people of diverse interests and dispositions. However, its rule is shallow and inconsequent, for it is concerned only with the form and is devoid of the substance of living, conviction or stability. Fashion does, he said, have prestigious leaders, but they must be responsive to the mood or temper of the times. In conclusion MacIver stated that small changes of fashion may be simply bridges from one custom to another.

Richard LaPiere. In 1938 LaPiere said that it is the element of prestige attached to a style which gives a purchaser assurance that it will last long enough to be worth investing in. The style must be "authentic," it must be offered under a name which vouches for the worth of the style. Paris creations for many years were at the center of the fashion world. However, such centers cannot dictate the styles; they can only offer a choice, and it is the convergence of countless individual choices that ultimately decides the success or failure of a fashion.

Attempts to dictate a new style arbitrarily or to turn back a trend have been notoriously unsuccessful.

In spite of this statement, LaPiere vigorously criticized Kroeber's thesis of twenty years before.

The fashion changes in women's dress are ceaseless, a fact which has led some students to the conclusion that there are laws of fashion. Because the styles of today bear a strong resemblance to the styles of a previous generation, the theory of fashion cycles has been advanced. Many students of the subject believe in the existence of cyclical laws of fashion change and have gone so far as to predict future trends on the basis of past styles.

The cyclical theory is, however, no more than a rationalization of irrational impulses in the field of style leadership. It is true that past styles often serve as the basis for those of the present. But the illusion of cyclical trends can best be explained as a result of the limitations upon style creativeness. A dress may or may not have sleeves. If it does, the possible variety of sleeves is finite. Skirts can grow only so short before ceasing to be skirts and only so long before becoming an intolerable nuisance to the wearer and to others. Repetition in dress styling simply must occur if styles are to change frequently. The fashion leader is in much the same position as is the composer of popular music - limited in the number of elements and combinations thereof, but expected to make a new creation every few weeks or months.²⁷

Herbert Blumer. Blumer classified fashion as a special kind of collective behavior. It may, he said, be found in any area of group life apart from the technological, utilitarian or sacred. It requires a class society and cannot operate in either a homogeneous or caste society.

Fashion as an expressive movement is based on differentiation on the part of the upper classes and emulation of them on the part of the

27. LaPiere, Richard T., Collective Behavior, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York and London, 1938, p. 198.

lower classes. And it is the imitation of the class above it by each class that marks it as a kind of collective behavior though other characteristics of other kinds of collective behavior are lacking. Specifically, it lacks the mechanisms of a social movement. There is no agitation, ideology, esprit de corps, etc. It does not develop into a society and does not have symbols, myths, values, etc. But in spite of this, it is important in that it is an expression of

certain fundamental impulses and tendencies, such as an inclination toward novel experience, a desire for distinction, and an urge to conform. Fashion is important especially in providing a means for the expression of developing tastes and dispositions.²⁸

It is in this last aspect of fashion that its real significance lies, and which gives some clue to the part that fashion plays in the "formation of a new social order."²⁹ That is, in a changing society, which the very existence of fashion presupposes, the subjective lives of the people are continuously upset. Fashion serves as an outlet for newly developing tastes and dispositions. This is shown by the fact that prestige alone does not insure the success of a fashion but that it is as these subjective demands are met that a fashion is successful. Fashion crystallizes new often vaguely felt tastes and dispositions, and it is in this way that it helps to construct a "common subjective life, and in doing so, helps to lay the foundation for a new social order."³⁰

28. Blumer, Herbert, "Collective Behavior," New Outline of the Principles of Sociology, ed., Alfred McClung Lee, Barnes and Noble Inc., New York, 1940, p. 132.

29. Loc. cit.

30. Loc. cit.

Summary of Theoretical and Speculative Contributions

The various ideas presented by these writers can be summarized from the point of view of one examining the behavior of the individual, the culture and the society.

Various writers postulated innate sources of stimulation or motivation for the individual. Some maintained that the individual has a passion for inequality, that he has a desire for individualism (or freedom, or novelty) and for conformity, that he has a desire for change or for security, that he needs to keep reaffirming his individuality, that he has a desire for prestige and distinction, or that he has a need for ego-expansion or expressiveness of the ego.

Other writers attempted to describe the cultural patterns involved. They said that fashion belongs to the non-moral folkways; that it is part of social ritual; that fashion is neither a fad nor a custom but is more persistent than the former and less persistent than the latter; that fashion is related to unconscious systems of meaning; or that it is formed of variations on a common theme.

In considering society, per se, fashion has been considered within the perspective of social groups or categories such as social classes or secondary groups. It may be also considered from the perspective of certain overall characteristics of the structure or function of a society. Fashion may be related to the predominance of secondary groups in which judgments are made according to first appearances or in which people of diverse backgrounds come together and need a common denominator to facilitate interaction among them.

Most writers have agreed that what occurs is a process of differentiation and emulation. That is, a given style of clothing is adopted by the

upper classes, the leaders, the prestige bearers, or their representatives. This style is then produced in a less costly version to be worn by the middle classes in their attempts to be like higher status groupings. By the time a given style is universally worn it no longer has either any value for differentiating higher status groups from lower status groups or for providing a vehicle for the emulation of the higher status groups. Thus, new styles are necessary, and the cycle begins over again.

Most writers also agreed that fashion can exist only within an open system of social stratification rather than a caste system or a state of homogeneity. There must be a state of flux, or mobility. Fashion cannot exist within a static or completely traditional society. They also set certain prerequisites for the existence of fashion such as industrialization and rapid transportation and communication. Some writers also emphasized the non-moral aspects of fashion and its replacement of moral and ethical traditions.

At this point the question arises concerning the extent to which these ideas have been put to use in empirical research. Four studies were found and are reported in the next section. The last study seems to have the most direct bearing on the thesis problem.

Empirical Contributions

J. E. Janney. Janney undertook a study of fad and fashion leadership among college women in 1941. As he wrote, "The purpose of this exploratory study is to test the tacit assumption found in many textbooks of social psychology that fads occur in a random manner."³¹

31. Janney, J. E., "Fad and Fashion Leadership Among Under-Graduate Women," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,

During the course of the study he attempted to answer such questions as: What is the social position of fad initiators? Are different types of fads initiated by different persons? Can those who follow be differentiated from those who lead? What is the social position of those who are insensitive to fashion?

For two academic years (1936-1938) 279 undergraduates in a "small residential college for women were observed independently by seven of their number for their responses to clothing fads.³² A fad was defined as a short-lived deviation in dress in distinction from fashion which is a less striking and longer lasting change in style. The observers also reported on the social groupings of their class mates. And, in addition the following sources were utilized:

1. Dormitory sign-out books.
2. Physical education department records.
3. Office of the dean of women - records of disciplinary action, election to office or achievement of honors.
4. Registrar's office - records of grades and scores on intelligence tests.

Early in the study it seemed that certain cliques were responsible for the majority of locally initiated fads; that the cliques were sharply differentiated according to types of fads initiated; and that the types of fads initiated were congruent with and closely resembled the clique's social activities. Janney developed a typology of different kinds of faddists. The names of the types which give some clue to the further description and are sufficient for present purposes are as follows:

32. Ibid., p. 275.

bixarre faddists, distingué faddists, oscillating faddists, egregious faddists, obsolescent faddists, and conforming faddists.

Janney's conclusions were as follows:

1. Fads are not random.
2. The fads which are followed are originated by the young women of the prestige-bearing cliques who are also leaders in other types of activities.
3. Different types of fads are tried out in different types of cliques.
4. The overwhelming majority of students did not originate fads, and followed them several weeks after they were originated.
5. Those girls who were insensitive to fads were also insensitive and unskillful in other social situations.
6. Such things as academic standing, intelligence, athletic participation, financial income or health failed to differentiate any of the above patterns.

Jack and Schiffer. Jack and Schiffer's problem concerned whether or not and to what extent fashions established by leading fashion magazines are followed without resistance by what they call the "woman on the street."

They took three series of measurements of skirt length from 1929 to 1947 using one photograph each per month from Vogue magazine, the Women's Home Companion, either the Review of Reviews, Literary Digest, or Out-look Independent between 1926 through 1936, and Life between 1936 through 1947. Only photographs, rather than drawings, were used, and a total of three pictures per month were chosen. They were limited to those which showed street clothes and were photographed so that figure was measureable. A method of measuring and arriving at a ratio

suitable for comparison was worked out and presented in detail. The measurement was based on the distance from the 'v' at the throat to the lowest point of the weight-bearing foot.

The ratios for Vogue, the Women's Home Companion, and the "woman on the street" (name for the photograph taken from the Life group which was considered to be an approximation of what the public in general was wearing) were then plotted in three different ways. The first was in terms of length by years, the second was a frequency distribution, and the third was a bar chart showing amounts of deviation of each from the style standard in terms of a standard unit which they developed.

With all three kinds of representation it was found that the more extreme the hemline dictated by Vogue or the WHC, "short or long, the greater the non-conformity of the 'woman on the street.'"³³ Within what seemed to be a preferred range there was almost complete conformity to the pattern set by the magazines, but beyond this range the 'woman on the street' resisted. The authors concluded that the fashion dictator must remain within certain bounds or he won't be followed. Through inertia the followers circumscribe his power. They then generalized from this by speculating about whether or not there could be some similar way of measuring the limits of propaganda, legal control, advertising, etc.

W. Godfrey Cobliner. Cobliner conducted what he called an analysis of group psychology by submitting questionnaires to eighteen college

33. Jack, Nancy Coplin and Schiffer, Betty, "The Limits of Fashion Control," The American Sociological Review, Vol. 13, December, 1948, p. 736.

girls at Hunter College in New York.³⁴ His purpose in undertaking the study was to uncover the forces which influence women to comply with fashion. He tried to isolate such factors as status, prestige, leadership, and norms in relation to fashion. He stated that his method of investigation included the following aspects: a projective technique consisting of indirect questions, an attempt to get at a "teleological" aspect of motivation, replies suggested to questions when necessary, and a slant towards "group psychology." Cobliner then conducted what he called a content analysis and categorized his comments under various headings as follows:

Fashion as a group standard.

The girls felt satisfied with the uniformity and periodic change of fashion, and said they would feel uneasy and self-conscious if they didn't comply. There was no resentment of fashion as such. They said they would dislike having "fashion disappear as a standard regulating device."³⁵

Leadership.

The girls felt envy toward someone who wore the latest style sooner than others if she had an established role as fashion leader. Otherwise such a girl was considered to be showing off. They did not think that men noticed style leaders.

Attitude toward those who do not comply.

Those who did not comply were considered to have no positive attributes. They were "dated." A community not accepting the "New Look" was considered "conservative, stubborn or rebellious."³⁶

34. Cobliner, W. Godfrey, "Feminine Fashion as an Analysis of Group Psychology: Analysis of Written Replies Received by Means of a Questionnaire," Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 31, May, 1950, p. 283.

35. Ibid., p. 286.

36. Ibid., p. 289.

Fashion and men's style stability.

The girls found men's stability of style unfortunate and not progressive. They did not think it explainable by the absence of competition.

Incentive for change.

Changes were thought to be brought about by the clothing industry or by the dress-makers. They said that they felt elated when putting on a new dress - regardless of style.

In a further discussion Cobliner noted that: the outstanding motivations within the framework of fashion seem to be the desire to be conspicuous and admired; and that fashion clearly makes women look more feminine - a goal aimed at men.

From his study Cobliner outlined a hypothesis. He believed that men were attracted by the most successful women of their own in-groups. "Thus, the actual motivation, competition in terms of attractiveness, is successfully replaced by the more controllable and less friction-loaded competition for status by means of fashion."³⁷ Clothes can cover the body, he said, but fashion conceals the mind. This functional aspect, he went on to say, is the chief clue to unconscious motivation. In conclusion, Cobliner stated that the desire for prestige and status is the most important single factor producing compliance.

Barber and Lobel. Barber and Lobel tried to show that fashion is not socially irrational (in terms of Merton's concept of latent function) in relationship to the American class structure, age-sex roles, and the economic system. Their source of data was women's fashion magazines.

Fashion, according to Barber and Lobel, has three functions (mixed latent and manifest) in all societies: utilitarian, esthetic and symbolic.

37. Loc. cit.

Their primary concern was with the independent role-symbolic functions of clothing. This aspect of fashion is a specific example of the more general social fact relative to all consumption - which, as Parsons emphasized, was the symbolic significance of the standard of living. Some clothing is appropriate for one standard of living but not for another.

They defined fashion as having, in clothes, "to do with the styles of cut, color, silhouette, stuffs, etc., that are socially prescribed and socially accepted as the appropriate for certain social roles, and especially with the recurring changes in those roles."³⁸ They then discussed at some length the relationship of fashion in women's clothes to the American class system.

To make their first main point they stated that in the U. S. we have a close approximation to an ideal-type of open-class structure. There is moral approval of upward social mobility, and the primary criterion for position is occupation. In practice we all apply the following equivalences. Consumption equals wealth or income. Wealth or income equals occupational position. Occupational position equals social class position. Therefore consumption equals social class position. Women take their occupational position from their husbands so that her consumption is evidence of his position to pay. This, the authors said, is not a passive function. Good taste, skill in budgeting, cleverness in sewing, etc., all count. There is evidence that husbands as well as wives know this function of wifely consumption.

38. Barber, Bernard, and Lobel, Lyle S., "Fashions in Women's Clothes and the American Social System," Social Forces, Vol. 31, December, 1952, p. 126.

Writers of fashion copy take this class-symbolic function of women's dress for granted as can be seen from the vast amount of material in newspapers, women's magazines, Life, etc. In American society all but a few groups are oriented to social mobility and therefore also to the function of women's clothes fashions for mobility.

Their second main point pertaining to the relationship of fashion to the economic system concerned the dilemma of equality and difference in the class system. Since there is mobility and since the barriers between adjacent classes are vague there are continua of strata. Fashion is one means of resolving the dilemma of an ideology of equality and actual difference. One tendency of fashion writers is to stress the similarity of all class levels.

The fashion industry is founded on what Barber and Lobel called the "trickle down" pattern. Openings in Paris are attended by industrial representatives plus American women who serve as style leaders. The chosen styles are then produced in the high-priced ready to wear market. Then designers in each lower-priced range include new fashion lines as best they can in their own lines. They attempt to avoid complete uniformity in any given place since manufacturers distribute over a wide geographical area and send only a few of a kind to a given place or a given retailer. When universal a new change is necessary since there is no more symbolic value. This process is perpetuated because our class system makes women seek symbols of their difference from those just below them, and others seek for equality with those just above them.

Their third point is that fashion means different things to different social classes. They demonstrated this by showing that the advertising media which supposedly reaches the different classes is different. For the "old families" with established position there is no need for status competition through consumption. They can stress esthetic values. Their taste is more British than French. Their concern is with distinction and heredity. Just below them are those concerned with "high fashion," those who are the Paris-conscious style leaders. Their clothes symbols are related to wealth and high living; they are cosmopolitan but with "quiet elegance." They read Vogue and Harper's Bazaar which caution them of the nouveau riche sin of over-ostentation.

The middle and lower middle classes read the Ladies Home Journal and the Companion. The emphasis here is different. There is a distaste for high style or for what is daring or unusual. They want clothes that are suitable for the P. T. A. and community activities. Paris is too extreme for their communities. Their clothes are conservative but smart - smart but what everybody else is wearing. The Journal stresses the popularity of clothes. Hollywood is an appropriate model for them because Hollywood doesn't set fashions. However, the middle and lower middle class women consider glamor to be what is "femininely pretty" not "slinkily sexy."

As illustrations of the age-sex role structuring of American fashion the authors discussed college girls and teen-agers. For the college girls the emphasis of fashion copy is on casuals and classics. This, they said, is a reflection of the college girl's temporary removal

from the need to display her class status. It is no accident that the extremes of casualness are in the Eastern women's colleges. For the teen-ager the fashion copiest campaigns against too much sophistication. What is youthfully pretty is most appropriate.

As far as the relationship of women's fashions and the American economic system is concerned they felt that there is no one-way cause between mass production and the availability of new fashions. The "class-structured and pervasive desire to stay 'in fashion' has encouraged the 'fashion industry' to develop its technical and organizational virtuosity."³⁹

The need to get the most for one's money leads to the presentation of budget advice in magazines, the "shopping pattern" (so named by Firey) of comparing prices in differing stores which are conveniently placed for such comparison in a central location, low-cost stores, the buying of seconds, etc. Thus, they said, this demonstrates that the pattern of 'conspicuous consumption' is not a wholly passive one.

In conclusion they made four statements. Fashion is not socially irrational. It can mean different things in regard to clothes. Its different meanings are socially and culturally structured. And, thus, fashion has latent as well as manifest functions for different aspects of the American social system.

Assessment of Empirical Studies

Four fashion studies have been outlined. The first, by Janney, concerned the relationship between clique membership and fashion

39. Ibid., p. 130.

leadership; the second, by Jack and Schiffer, tried to determine the limits of fashion conformity; the third, by Cobliner, tried to discover what factors influenced women's compliance with fashion; and the fourth, by Barber and Lobel, emphasized the symbolic functions of clothing.

At this point the question arises of the possible bearing of these studies on the present thesis problem.

It is thought that the Jack and Schiffer article has little or no relevance for a qualitative study such as this. It has been included here mainly because it is one of the few studies on fashion that have been done. Nevertheless, a notion that women will resist fashion changes at a certain point contributes no information as to how and why fashion as a phenomenon exists and what it means in social interaction.

The other three articles make a number of helpful contributions to a study of fashion. The basic finding of Janney's study was that fads are not random, and that fashion leadership is related to prestige and leadership in other types of activities. He found no relationship with other social characteristics except that those who are insensitive to fads are, in his opinion, also insensitive to other aspects of social situations. Janney's typology of kinds of faddists was based mainly on observations of behavior within a relatively closed college community. He made little attempt to try to relate the girls' behavior to the larger society, but concentrated on fads which arose from within this group (essentially ignoring the sources of ideas for the fads) and which were or were not followed by others within that same group. His results could probably be verified by a similar study in other small colleges,

but certainly on a larger campus or in a city or town there is not room or opportunity for such a large proportion of style or fad creators to exist. In this case about six per cent of the school population originated fads which were followed.

Coblener's study does not seem as adequate as Janney's. In the first place, from his report it is not clear just what he did, and the only thing he said was that he administered a questionnaire to 18 girls at Hunter College. One possible inference consistent with Janney's study is that fashion is not random. Otherwise the sum total of his study seems to indicate that college girls like fashion, that new styles ought to be introduced (in their opinion) by established style leaders, and that those who don't follow aren't progressive or up to date.

He drew two conclusions which don't seem to follow from his previous discussion. One is that the desire to be conspicuous and admired is the chief motivation within the framework of fashion. This, as will be shown later in this thesis, is characteristic of one sort of orientation to fashion, but it seems to be characteristic of only a minority of the population. If Coblener had consulted the fashion literature he might have at least modified this generalization. In addition he used such a very small sample that any generalization is tenuous.

Finally, and again without any basis in his previous discussion, Coblener hypothesized that there is a relationship between fashion conformity and a desire for prestige and status. What this was based upon is not indicated, but of course this is a basic conclusion of most fashion theorists.

Barber and Lobel contributed the most to the theoretical framework of this thesis. The main criticism of their work is the possibility that the class concepts of fashion copyists do not exactly approximate what actually exists. Of course, again, there is the possibility that they may see the situation more clearly than someone immersed in the community life of a small town or busy in the active round of city life. At any rate, they concluded that fashionable clothes are aspects of and symbolic of patterns of consumption of certain styles of living which characterize different social classes. The function of fashion, they felt, is to facilitate identification with upper status groups by those who are socially mobile. Fashion is also a means of resolving the dilemma of ideological equality and actual difference. They felt that they demonstrated this when they found that fashion copy for different magazines, which presumably go to people of different social classes, presented different perspectives of fashion, or rather almost different kinds of fashion.

Conclusion

There have been two general kinds of analyses of fashion. One perspective is that of conformity to changing styles; the other is a more functional analysis of fashion which tries to qualify and define what fashion is, what part it plays in contemporary life, etc. In the review of the theoretical literature and in the outline of four empirical studies there was one writer and one study which emphasized the element of conformity in fashion. The first, of course, was Kroeber, and the second was the Jack and Schiffer article. This aspect of fashion is

one which has not proven useful in the present thesis as will be explained in more detail in Chapter II.

Within the second general category of kinds of analysis of fashion there were, as has already been indicated, three general levels of approach - that which considers the motivation of the individual, the description of fashion as a culture pattern, and the function of fashion in a system of social organization. It is the latter perspective which has been adopted in this thesis with specific emphasis on the relationship between fashion and social stratification.

The basic assertion of this study is that fashion is related to the system of social stratification, that fashion has a function within that system which is meaningful and not capricious or irrational. Practically all of the writers reviewed previously stress especially the mutual and reciprocal relationship between fashion and a system of social stratification; that is, the function of fashion within a system of stratification and such a system as a prerequisite for the existence of the phenomenon of fashion.

The main thesis developed by most of the writers is that members of the upper classes desire to differentiate themselves from others. One way of doing so is to wear fashionable clothes. Since the upper classes have prestige and the esteem of others, fashionable clothes become symbols of that status which receives honor and esteem. Therefore lower status groups, also desiring honor and esteem and wanting to be like the upper classes, if they cannot be them, try to emulate them wherever possible. One way of doing this is by wearing similar

clothes - hence they copy the latest fashions of the upper classes; and in such manner a new style spreads throughout the society. And in this way also a new style becomes necessary if the original purpose of differentiation is to be served. Some writers spell out this process in much more detail, some in less. But most have agreed that this is the essential characteristic of the phenomenon of fashion.

It is the women of the upper status groups who wear the fashionable clothes and serve as symbols of their husbands' social and economic status. This idea of fashion as a symbol was made explicit by only a few of the writers previously reviewed but seems implicit in the writings of many others. After all, when one is trying to look like a person of an upper status group, he is trying to dress so that those who view him will make a reference to a style of living or level of consumption or some similar value that carries prestige and thus be encouraged to accord the wearer the prestige appropriate to the referent.

Thorstein Veblen was among the first to note the importance of patterns of consumption as symbols of social status. He was able to show that:

the economic position of an individual determines his group membership, establishes his ideological perspective, and influences his entire style of living (. . .) . (He) dramatically analyzed the nature of these symbols as directed toward invidious and conspicuous display. Frequently, then, personal economic security is considered less important than the ability to display superior economic position.⁴⁰

40. Miller, Delbert C., and Form, William, Industrial Sociology, Harper and Bros., New York, 1951, p. 28.

With continuing development, our society has become increasingly consumer oriented. David Riesmann, in his study of social character, repeatedly describes, illustrates and relates the demands of and the effects of such an orientation on other aspects of society and personality.

Leisure time is greatly expanded as the result of urbanization and industrialization. (. . .) One of the consumables on which money is spent is education, which in turn provides the peer group with its opportunity to train people for their role in the consumers' union. People must be taught to spend. For industry to be able to pull people from the farms into the cities, people usually must learn to want some of the consumables for which the city stands. (. . .) It is, in fact, now widely accepted that the American economy depends on opening up internal frontiers of consumption as the frontiers of production and land use begin to close down.⁴¹

Fashion is a pattern of consumption peculiarly characteristic of and dependent in its existence upon a class system, and a class system where there is at least some mobility. Blumer stated this explicitly in saying that fashion cannot operate in either a homogeneous or a caste society, but rather requires a class society, a society that is changing. Others, as previously described, accept this implicitly in depicting fashion change as a process of imitation and differentiation. That is, there could be no possibility of emulation in a caste society where the style of living of each caste is rigidly proscribed and where each stratum is insulated from the others. Moreover, if people could not aspire to be like those above them in a status hierarchy, if there were no chance at all of their achieving the greater honor or social

41. Riesmann, David, The Lonely Crowd, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, p. 124. Incidentally, one of the unexpected relationships found in this study supports this idea. That is, the typology later developed differentiated between those who seemed to identify themselves more with the local community or with metropolitan areas.

prestige that would accompany higher status, there would be no values and no reward or punishment to give such behavior continuing meaning and motivation.

People are constantly bombarded with fashion news. Radios, newspapers, movies, friends all are constantly keeping people aware of fashion. In their study of fashions presented by women's magazines Barber and Lobel attempted to define the 'role-symbolic' functions of clothes from an examination of fashion copy. People are constantly stimulated to think of themselves and their lives as portrayed in the media of communication. Moreover, Barber and Lobel show that the images people of various social classes see in this fashion copy are different. If Barber and Lobel are correct and if social classes are defined by characteristic styles of living and patterns of consumption then it would follow that fashion as a part of one style of living might have different connotations as a part of different styles of living. People in one position might have entirely different perspectives from people in any other position regarding the whole system or part of it. And, thus, individuals might very well have different orientations toward fashion.

Restatement of Thesis Problem

The thesis problem, then, is one of isolating various orientations to fashion and of discerning the ways in which such orientations are related to other aspects of social life, with emphasis on social stratification. Coldwater's system of social stratification was somewhat

unique in that it had a vertical split at the top composed of local upper class people (long time residents) as opposed to a group of newcomers from large cities who had come in to manage newly developing industrial plants. These two groups had different values, belonged to different associations, etc., and the members of the lower status groups tended to identify with one or the other of the two. The long-time residents are called "localites" and the newcomers, "cosmopolites," and since they represent, in one sense, differing styles of living we would expect to find some differences among their orientations to fashion as well as among various social classes.

In addition, in regard to stratification, a basic assumption of our democratic ideology is the belief in individual self-determination and the possibility of improving one's position, of moving onto a higher level within the system. Those who do aspire to hold or identify with higher positions than those they actually hold would be expected to behave like those with whom they identify. This would include the wearing of clothes - so that the typology of fashion orientations ought to be also related to upward aspirations.

In the analysis the typology is also compared to a number of conventionally used sociological characteristics.

At least two assumptions are made. Since fashion is so predominant in the media of communication there is no doubt but that the concept fashion was meaningful for most people. Moreover, it is thought that not only were the women in our sample aware of fashion but that they accepted it as a legitimate end toward which their own behavior in

regard to clothing was oriented. This was not tested directly, but if the first hypothesis next outlined seems to be valid then it would seem that these assumptions are warranted.

Statement of Hypotheses

1. There are different orientations toward fashion.
2. In general it is felt that different orientations to fashion are related to other social and economic characteristics.

Demographic characteristics

- a. Age
- b. Education
- c. Size of place of birth
- d. Years in present residence
- e. Number of children
- f. Income

Social participation

- a. Religious affiliation
- b. Church attendance
- c. Kinds of organizations belonged to (other than church)
- d. Number of organizations belonged to
- e. Number of officerships in organizations
- f. Kinds of recreation
- g. Number of different kinds of recreation

Exposure to mass media

- a. Newspapers read
- b. Kinds of magazines read
- c. Number of magazines read

3. Three focal hypotheses are as follows:

- a. Different orientations toward fashion are characteristic of people in different social class positions.
- b. Different orientations toward fashion are differentiated by those who are mobile; and by those who identify with a social class position higher than their own.

- c. Different orientations toward fashion are differentiated by "localite" and "cosmopolite" orientations.

The data, as has been stated, was secured from the clothing study which the Michigan State College Department of Sociology and Anthropology has been carrying on supported by a grant from the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station and in conjunction with the Department of Textiles, Clothing and Related Arts. Questions relating specifically to fashion were utilized plus a number of "controls." The respondents were 107 married women living in Coldwater, Michigan, who were interviewed intensively during 1950 and 1951. Most of the interviewing was done before this analysis was started.

Many ideas of fashion have been developed, but relatively few empirical studies have been done. This is an attempt to add to a beginning made in this direction.

CHAPTER II

A TYPOLOGY OF ORIENTATIONS TO FASHION

Preliminary Considerations

One-hundred and seven married women composed the sample from which the typology of orientations to fashion was developed. They came from every walk of life in Coldwater and represented a stratified random sample drawn according to the representation of the occupations of their husbands in the occupational structure of the town.

The typology was developed in order to test the basic hypothesis of this study, namely that: There were differences in the orientations toward fashion among the women interviewed in the clothing project. The fashion questions composing the concluding section of the Clothing Inventory of the larger study were utilized.

In order to begin to understand the significance of the questions used it is necessary to know something about the fashion situation at the time the study was done. At that time the "new look" - that is, skirts longer than the knee-length ones worn all during the war - had become an accepted thing. Shorter, tighter skirts were being introduced but had not as yet been widely accepted. Thus, longer skirts, the result of a recent successful style change were readily remembered by all of the respondents while at the same time a possible new change of style was in the offing. The following six questions in regard to skirt length were ultimately the basis for the typology.

How soon after the advent of the "new look" did you get longer skirts?
Why did you get longer skirts?

Do you like this new style (shorter, tighter) skirts?

If yes: Why?

If no: Why not?

Do you intend to buy anything with a shorter skirt?

If yes: Why?

If no: Why not?

If skirts go up to the knees again will you wear yours
that length or not?

If yes: Why?

If no: Why not?

Do you like to wear the very latest fashions or do you prefer
to wait until a lot of other people wear them?
Why?

Have you ever worn a dress or suit because it was in style,
even though you really didn't like the styles at the time?

Why? or

Why not?

As can be seen from an examination of the questions they are worded so as to find out whether a person followed an old style, does follow present styles or would follow new styles. Then they ask for rationalizations of stated choices, i.e., the reasons for conforming or not conforming. Thus, the conformity, non-conformity dimension of the social-psychological study of fashion was essentially what the questions were trying to get at.

Two sorts of results, however, made this seemingly clear-cut frame-work impossible to use. First of all, from the responses it was not clear which style the subject was referring to and whether the subject was actually following the style once it had been determined. For example, in response to the question about liking the new style of shorter and tighter skirts, some people answered not so much in terms

of liking or disliking that style, but in terms of liking or disliking longer skirts. Second, when asked reasons for their past, present or future behavior, they gave the same kinds of reasons whether they had answered the question affirmatively or negatively. For example, in regard to the question about wearing knee-length skirts some people who stated that they would wear them said they would wear them if everybody else did. But some people who stated that they would not wear them said that they would not wear them unless everybody else did.

Another problem in regard to fashion conformity arose when it became clear that such conformity or lack of conformity is not invariable for an individual or group. Thus, calf-length skirts are now nearly universal; therefore, nearly everybody conforms. There are styles which fashion designers or clothing manufacturers attempted to introduce which were unsuccessful; therefore nobody conformed. And, when calf-length skirts were being introduced and becoming popular, there undoubtedly was a succession of different degrees of conformity by different groups of people. There was an attempt to get at this time dimension in the Clothing Inventory, but since many respondents could not remember when they had changed their styles of clothing it was not successful. Hence, there was no way of knowing how much time had to do with attitude towards a new style. Moreover, the interviewing was done over a period of months, a period sufficiently long for the popularity of a given style to change a great deal.

Floyd Allport has outlined three factors or elements that must be recognizable in order for the concept of conformity to fit the situation

and to be susceptible to meaningful analysis.⁴² The first element is some clear and unequivocal purpose which is to be achieved by the behavior in question. The behavior must involve coherent adjustments to definite situations. Secondly, there must be a regulation, code, or standard means of achieving the behavior recognized as universally accepted and proper behavior. Thirdly, a fairly large proportion of the population in question must actually conform to the given standard. Conformity by definition, requires this.

It can be seen at once that behavior in respect to fashion changes only partially meets these requirements. However, it seems that since time is a crucial factor both in determining whether an individual's behavior can be said to be fashionable a study could be done best by means of a panel in which people were systematically interviewed over a period of time regarding their reactions and observations of behavior in regard to specific styles. Such a method was not employed in the larger study, and will not be considered further here.

In sum, then, the conformity dimension of fashion was not applicable to the available data and was not used in the subsequent analysis.

In returning to further consideration of the original data another preliminary problem presented itself. Sociology is an abstract science which often deals with concepts of behavior that cannot be directly observed. One result of this process is the achievement of a perspective in which much behavior can be seen to have consequences of which the

42. Allport, Floyd H., "The J-Curve Hypothesis of Conforming Behavior," in Swanson, Guy E., Newcomb, Theodore M., and Hartley, Eugene L., Readings in Social Psychology, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1952, pp. 321-243.

individual is unaware for the larger social system within which an individual behaves. For example, early missionaries felt that they were bringing religion to savage peoples to save their souls. Whether souls were saved or not, the missionaries served as a vanguard possibly to a whole process of colonization and Westernization. Such an example serves to show that what a person says he is doing may not be what he is "actually" doing. The question then arises of the use of going out with interviewing schedules and directly asking people questions about fashion, for example.

This question can be answered by saying that verbal behavior is important in itself whatever the behavior it may rationalize. Mills has discussed this problem and began by stating unequivocally that, "The differing reasons men give for their actions are not themselves without reasons."⁴³ He called these reasons "motives," and in this discussion of his work we will use his term (motive) in the same sense as the term rationalization is used in this thesis. To Mills a motive is not the result of fixed inner and private states of men. It consists, rather, primarily of words. It is consistent with the speech form known as the question, and can be considered as an answer to a question, spoken or unspoken, interpreting a given act or program. Further, it involves the anticipated situational consequences of questioned conduct. "Men discern situations with particular vocabularies, and it is in terms of some delimited vocabulary that they anticipate consequences and specific

43. Mills, C. Wright, "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive," American Sociological Review, Vol. 5, December, 1940, p. 904.

actions."⁴⁴ There is no need, he states, for concepts such as desire or wish since they have ultimately to be explained socially.

He went on to say that when one names consequences he elicits the behavior for which this is a cue - an interpretation consistent, according to Mills, with Mead's situational analysis. Motives and actions are part of a situation, and a motive is that which conventionally accompanies a type situation and functions as a cue and justification for normative actions within it. Motives, moreover, are often more than justifications for an act; they are strategies of action and manipulation - ways of bringing about action. They influence the self and others.

Action, Mills said, is not discrepant from its verbalization; verbalization is a new act. There is no discrepancy between the two things, but "two disparate actions, motor-social and verbal."⁴⁵

If both members of a situation agree with a motive it may function as an integrative factor, it may resolve conflicts and make acts possible. Shifts in the use of motives by an individual may be a clue to his identification with various groups.

Mills noted incidentally that men do not always verbalize motives and that not all actions pivot around language. He then observed that in asking for motives for behavior one can only ask for the controlling speech form, and that "individualistic, sexual, hedonistic, and pecuniary vocabularies are apparently now dominant in many sectors of twentieth-century urban America."⁴⁶ Religious motives, for example, which were

44. Ibid., p. 906.

45. Ibid., p. 907.

46. Ibid., p. 910.

dominant for so many centuries in Western culture are now debunked. People accepting certain motives accuse others of lying if they appear to have different or to them unacceptable motives.

The variable is the accepted vocabulary of each man's dominant group about whose opinion he cares. Determination of such groups, their location and character, would enable delimitation and methodological control of assignment of motives for specific acts.⁴⁷

Motives vary according to personalities and societies, Mills states, but the "motivational structures of individuals and the patterns of their purposes are relative to societal frames. We might study motives along stratified or occupational lines."⁴⁸

This is one thing which this thesis attempts to demonstrate. The responses to the interview questions which were quoted in the first part of this section were considered rationalizations for behavior. These in turn were considered indicative of the respondents' orientations toward fashion, or of their normative frame of reference - the things they used to explain their behavior, the things they considered acceptable as explanations for their behavior. And this is essentially similar to what Mills called motives. After the various kinds of rationalizations were established and described these rationalizations were compared with the respondents' social class positions and other indices of their general style of living.

In concluding his analysis Mills stated that,

Motives are of no value apart from the delimited societal situations for which they are the appropriate vocabularies.

47. Ibid., p. 911.

48. Ibid., p. 913.

Rather than interpreting actions and language as external manifestations of subjective and deeper lying elements in individuals, the research task is the locating of particular types of action within typical frames of normative actions and socially situated clusters of motives.⁴⁹

Again, this is approximately what has been attempted in this study.

And, on the basis of such considerations, it would seem that the responses of the women interviewed on the subject of fashion are useful for achieving an understanding of one kind of behavior.

Development of the Typology

Upon re-examination the data seemed to fall into natural groupings of responses according to the reason given by a woman for her behavior, whether she answered yes or no to any given question. At the same time it was suggested to the writer that a typology based on Parsons' concept of the unit act might be possible.⁵⁰

Parsons' concept of the unit act involves four elements. The first is the actor. The second element is the end, or the state of affairs toward which the process of action is oriented. The third element is the present situation which differs from the desired end. There are two aspects of the situation: those which are not controllable by the actor, called conditions, and those controllable by the actor, called means. And the fourth element, where there are alternative means available for the actor to use in a given situation directed towards a desired end is called a normative orientation. It is a kind of independent selec-

49. Loc. cit.

50. In a conversation with Gregory P. Stone.

tive factor which guides an individual's choice among alternative means in the light of the anticipated end.⁵¹

In this study, the respondents to the questionnaires were regarded as "actors" oriented to the "end" of fashionable behavior. Fashionable behavior, of course, is accomplished by wearing stylish clothing, but, since not all the respondents were able to purchase or use stylish clothing, this was a "means" of the situation only for some of the housewives studied. Its use was precluded to others. Where stylish clothing was a means to fashionable behavior, two types of normative orientation, indicated by responses to the six questions cited at the beginning of this chapter, dictated its selection: mimetic and individualizing.

The main characteristic of the responses of the mimetic type was a feeling of compulsion or desire to be like others, or to escape being conspicuous. They wore what their friends were wearing in order to escape notice. A feeling for moderation was also included in this category - that is, a desire to avoid extremes of style. Examples of responses included in this category are as follows:⁵²

I wouldn't doubt that if everybody else wears shorter skirts,
I'll be doing it too. I think everybody follows the style.

If everybody else wears knee-length skirts I will too.

I never wear the latest fashions when they first come out. I
don't want to feel conspicuous.

51. Parsons, Talcott, The Structure of Social Action, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1937, pp. 43-48.

52. In all cases the examples are actual responses. Some have been modified in order to make the context clear.

I wouldn't wear knee-length skirts unless I felt like a back number.

If it looked as though I were a hick, if I didn't wear shorter skirts, I would wear them. Otherwise not.

I suppose I'll have to wear shorter skirts, but I certainly hate to.

I wore longer skirts to keep up with the Romans again. Funny, we hate it, but we keep following.

The individualizing orientation emphasized the importance of differentiating and attracting attention to one's self, or wearing "becoming" clothing. Judgments about the attractiveness of clothes were the main criteria of choice. The individualizing oriented person rejected clothes that were "unbecoming" even if they were in style, or modified "unbecoming" styles to suit herself.

Examples of responses included in this category are as follows:

Well, you should wear what's becoming.

If it didn't look good on me I wouldn't like it.

To me you should wear clothes you look halfway decent in and to wear something you don't look good in just because it's in style isn't right

Other respondents did not perceive stylish clothing as means to be manipulated for the achievement of fashionable behavior. These seemed to include two types: condition-inhibited and non-rationalizing.

The condition-inhibited type included those respondents who felt themselves somehow prevented from achieving their fashion goals by certain aspects of their situation. Responses included in this category indicated that such things as economic limitations, appropriateness of certain clothing for age or physical peculiarities, or practical aspects of comfort and convenience took precedence over the demands of fashion.

Included in this category were those responses indicating that a particular style was purchased because that was all that was available and that a person purchased an item because conditions were such that she couldn't obtain anything else. Examples of responses included in this category are as follows:

I didn't have the money to buy longer skirts.

Well, for one reason I can't afford a suit. They are too high for me to consider.

I'm too old to wear skirts that short. Heavens!

I don't think they sell the latest fashions in Coldwater.

I'm too short and broad to wear short skirts.

Well, if I were 16 or 17 years old I might wear shorter skirts. Right now I'm married with three children.

The non-rationalizing type included those responses from which no rationalization of fashionable behavior could be inferred. A very characteristic response which was classified here was an explanation for behavior simply because, "It was the style." This category also included those who arbitrarily liked or disliked some style without an explanation of why they liked or disliked it. Examples of responses involved in this category are as follows:

I like them long on me.

I like the length I'm wearing now.

I don't like it, that's all.

I wore the shorter length because it was in fashion.

During the process of classification a residual category was developed for responses which were considered indeterminate, irrelevant or ambiguous and which did not fit any of the above categories. In-

cluded in this were references to what other people liked or considered "becoming" or attractive, since what was wanted were statements of personal preference or judgment. It was felt that it was not safe to assume that such statements were projections of a respondent's own preference. Examples of some responses included in this category are as follows:

I can't remember that I have ever worn a dress or suit that was in style even though I didn't like it.

I like shorter skirts on some people.

As has been said, the first step in the analysis was to classify all of the responses to the six questions from the schedule on the basis of this typology. It should be stated, however, that this typology was evolved on the basis of an examination of those same responses.

Communicability of the Typology

In order to make sure that the classification was fairly objective a sample list of questions was made, composed of an eight percent sample of the total number of responses. They were taken at random from the original data. This list of responses, together with a description of each type, was given to three judges who were asked to classify each response. The following per cents of agreement were reached on the fifty-four sample responses: four agreements, 72%; three agreements, 21%; and two agreements, 7%. None were split four ways. In all cases except two, including one where the split was two and two, the agreement was with the writer. Such a crude measure is by no means positive proof, but at least it indicated that there was no reason to reject the feasibility of using such a classification.

In order to check the reliability of the original ratings by the writer a random sample of about 12% of the original data was re-classified by the writer achieving a 90% agreement with the previous classification.

Classification of Individuals

After all the responses had been classified a list was made of each individual's score for responses of each type. Since some individuals expressed more than one idea in response to a single question and since some questions were not answered, the total number of responses per individual varied - from three to thirteen with a mean of 7.16 responses per individual. The distribution was as follows:

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES

Classifiable answers per individual	Number of such cases
3	1
4	3
5	7
6	37
7	23
8	13
9	11
10	6
11	3
12	2
13	1

Then on the basis of the total number of responses of each type an expected number of responses of each type for each individual was calculated. For example, out of a total of 765 responses there were 174

of the mimetic type. This was 22.7% of the total. Therefore, if a person made a total of nine responses it would be expected that if her responses were randomly distributed among the various possible types that she would have 22.7% or 2.07 responses of the mimetic type. In this manner the expected number of responses for each type of orientation for each individual were found. Then all the positive deviations from expected were found by subtracting the expected frequency from the actual frequency. One completed case is shown in Table II.

TABLE II
DEVIATION OF RESPONSES FROM EXPECTED FOR AN INDIVIDUAL

Operation	Typology of Fashion Orientations				Residual
	Mimetic	Individual-izing	Condition-inhibited	Non-Rationalizing	
Actual responses	1	0	0	3	3
Expected responses	1.61	.93	1.69	1.97	.80
Positive deviation	0	0	0	1.03	2.20

In the cases where there was a large deviation of one type with no other positive deviation or else very small deviations (under .50) an individual was assigned to that type. However, in cases where there was no such clear-cut grouping a number of statistically undefensible but logically defensible decisions were made. Whenever the residual category showed a high positive deviation it was thrown out if there was a positive deviation of approximately one in any other category. For example, the

case illustrated in Table II would therefore be classified as Non-Rationalizing. Similarly the mimetic, individualizing, and condition-inhibited categories took precedence over either the Non-Rationalizing or the residual categories if they both had positive deviations of approximately one or more. If both the mimetic and the individualizing categories had approximately the same positive deviation the case was ultimately thrown out. (Altogether nine cases were thrown out, but only two or three on this basis.) In a few cases where there were two or three small deviations (under .50) the cases were also omitted from the later analysis.

After each case was classified the following distribution resulted.

TABLE III
DISTRIBUTION OF TYPOLOGY

Types	Cases	
	Number	Per cent
Mimetic	34	31.8
Individualizing	18	16.8
Condition-inhibited	27	25.2
Non-Rationalizing	19	17.8
Indeterminate	9	8.4
Total	107	100.0

The indeterminate cases were eliminated and ninety-eight typed cases were used in the subsequent analysis.

This process of developing a typology was very crude, but in the light of the degree of refinement of the original data, the exploratory

nature of the project, and the fact that this was essentially a post facto study, it seemed needless and of little gain to refine the actual process of assigning individual respondents to a classification any further. If this process could give at least a suggestion that such a differentiation could be found among women's orientations to fashion, that is as much as could be expected at this stage. Any relationships which were found must be taken as suggestive and hypothetical. However, the discovery of relationships consistent with the theoretical framework previously outlined can be considered, in a sense, a confirmation of the legitimacy of the typology.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TYPES OF ORIENTATIONS TO FASHION

In this chapter data on the association between general social and economic characteristics, and data pertinent to the three focal hypotheses (see Chapter I) are presented. The social and economic characteristics are sociological variables that are frequently found to be related to various aspects of behavior, and include demographic factors, indications of social participation, and exposure to mass media. This data had been previously coded and tabulated for the larger study, and for comparison with the typology was simply repunched on new cards.

Such demographic factors as age or education are basic elements in a person's life that limit or permit his participation in various social situations. For example, old people simply do not have the strength to do many things young people can do; children cannot take on the responsibilities of adults. Or, a woman's income may limit her ability to keep buying new clothes. Indices of social participation give some idea of a person's part in the social system, of her values or of her interests. For example, a good church-goer might be expected to be a religious person who held to the values considered important by her church - which might include the prohibition of certain kinds of clothes. In addition, the United States today is largely characterized by mass culture. Mass society depends, among other things, on mass media, and the spread of fashion information and ideas depends on

widespread communication. Therefore questions pertaining to the amount and kind of magazine reading done by the respondents have been included to give some indication of whether or not they received the impressions and ideas of the mass society, and along with them fashion information. In sum, then, all of these kinds of factors may have had some relationship with the respondents' orientations to fashion.

The three focal hypotheses concerning the relationship between fashion and social class, mobility, and localite-cosmopolite identification grew out of a consideration of the fashion literature as has been indicated.

Existence of association between the typology and other characteristics was tested mainly by means of the chi square. Since the sample was so small, a correction factor was applied to all of the tables.⁵³ In all cases a corrected coefficient of contingency (C) was used to indicate degree of association.⁵⁴ Direction of association was discussed in the text. The 5% level of significance was arbitrarily chosen, though in some cases associations significant up to the 10% level were considered at least to indicate trends. For most of the tables a chi square test was made for the existence of association not only between the four types and the variable under consideration but also between the means-oriented types (the mimetic and the individualizing types considered together) and the condition-inhibited type and the said variable. This was done because observation showed that the means-oriented types tended to vary in the same direction, and also because the logic of the typology suggested that there could, in some cases, be a greater difference between the means-oriented and the

53. See Hagood, Margaret, and Price, Daniel O., Statistics for Sociologists, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1952, p. 370.

54. See McCormick, Thomas C., Elementary Social Statistics, McGraw-Hill Company, 1941, p. 207.

non-means oriented types than between the mimetic and individualizing types.

Demographic Characteristics

The demographic characteristics considered were age, education, size of place of birth, years at present residence, number of children and income.

Age. Our respondents ranged in age from twenty to eighty with an average of 41.1 years. The frequencies were well spread out with little

TABLE IV
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH AGE

Age in Years	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic		Individual- izing		Condition- inhibited		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
20-29	8	23.5	4	23.5	5	18.5	6	35.3	23	24.2
30-39	8	23.5	5	29.4	8	29.6	5	29.4	26	27.4
40-49	7	20.6	3	17.6	7	25.9	3	17.6	20	21.1
50-59	8	23.5	3	17.6	6	22.2	1	5.9	18	18.9
60-69	3	8.8	2	11.8	0	0.	2	11.8	7	7.4
70-79	0	0.	0	0.	1	3.7	0	0.	1	1.1
Totals	34	99.9	17	99.9	27	99.9	17	100.0	95 ^a	100.1
Average	42.06		41.47		41.67		39.94		41.10	
Standard deviation	12.95		13.25		12.17		13.12		12.92	

^aThree respondents failed to answer this question.

clustering at any given age. There was no significant difference between the means of any of the types and no particular reason for expecting an age difference.

Education. While it was not shown in the following table all except one of the half dozen people in the sample who completed only between one and four grades of school were included in the condition-inhibited type; and half of those who completed college were included in the mimetic type.

TABLE V
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH EDUCATION

Grades Completed	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^c		Individualizing ^c		Condition-inhibited ^d		Non-Rationalizing		Totals	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
8 or fewer	7	20.6	3	17.6	8	29.6	4	21.0	22	22.7
9 to 11 ^a	7	20.6	1	5.9	2	7.4	8	42.1	18	18.5
12 ^a	10	29.4	10	58.8	12	44.4	5	26.3	37	38.1
13 or more	10	29.4	3	17.6	5	18.5	2	10.5	20	20.6
Totals	34	100.0	17	99.9	27	99.9	19	99.9	97 ^b	99.9
$\chi^2 = 10.37$										
$p < .30$										
$\chi^2_{cd} = .96$										
$p < .70$										

^aWhen these two rows compared: $\chi^2 = 7.11$; $p < .06$; and $\bar{U} = .47$.

^bOne informant neglected to answer this question.

^cThese columns were collapsed and used in the computation of the second chi square.

^dThis column was used in the computation of the second chi square.

There was no significant association between the fashion typology (broken down either four or two ways) and education when the respondents were classified according to whether or not they had completed some grammar school, some high school, graduation from high school or any amount of college. If this were stated as a null hypothesis, it would have to be at least tentatively accepted. The fact that the existence of association neared the significant level when some attendance at high school was compared with graduation from high school, however, showed that there was a tendency for education to differentiate between the types in so far as the individualizing type, in this case, had the greatest relative positive association with education. This is consistent with the later finding that this type has the highest social class position, since education today is one of the avenues through which higher status may be achieved. Moreover, those coming from lower status groups tend to drop out of school sooner to go to work. However, this must be modified with the observation that the mimetic type had more people with some college education, and the condition-inhibited type had nearly as many graduating from high school as the individualizing type. Here was a possible source of feelings of frustration for the condition-inhibited type since they were exposed to the same kinds of ideas and values as the individualizing type but were not able to realize such aspirations as they had acquired in school not only in regard to the wearing of fashionable clothing but also in regard to such things as occupation and income, as the data also showed.

Size of Birthplace. Originally this information was classified eight ways, but was regrouped as in Table VI. As can be seen there was no difference between the types.

TABLE VI
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH
SIZE OF BIRTHPLACE

Place of Birth	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic		Individual- izing		Condition- inhibited		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Farm	9	26.5	1	5.9	5	17.2	5	25.0	20	20.0
Small Town Under 2,500	9	26.5	5	29.3	7	24.1	0	0.	21	21.0
City 2,500 to 25,000	10	29.4	8	47.0	16	55.2	13	65.0	47	47.0
City Over 25,000	6	17.6	3	17.8	1	3.5	2	10.0	12	12.0
Totals	34	100.0	17	100.0	29	100.0	20	100.0	100 ^a	100.0

$\chi^2 = 6.81$

$p < .40$

^aTwo respondents were accidentally classified twice and could not be identified.

Length of residence in present dwelling place. The data was classified as in Table VII. A null hypothesis asserting that there was no association between the fashion typology and the length of residence in the present dwelling place would be substantiated. Further

collapsing of the columns was only slightly more significant.

TABLE VII
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH LENGTH
OF TIME IN PRESENT RESIDENCE

Years Lived in Present Residence	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^d		Individual- izing ^d		Condition- inhibited ^e		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
2 or fewer ^a	3	8.8	2	12.5	4	14.8	4	22.2	13	13.6
2-4 ^a	6	17.6	1	6.2	7	25.9	5	27.7	19	20.0
5-9	8	23.5	7	43.8	9	33.3	6	33.3	30	31.5
10-14 ^b	7	20.8	2	12.5	2	7.4	2	11.1	13	13.6
15 or more	10	29.4	4	25.0	5	18.5	1	5.5	20	21.0
Totals	34	100.1	16	100.0	27	99.9	18	99.9	95 ^c	100.0
$\chi^2 = 6.66$										
$p < .40$										
$\chi^2_{de} = 2.52$										
$p < .30$										

^{ab} These rows were collapsed in the computation of the first chi square.

^c Three respondents did not answer this question.

^{de} These rows were collapsed in the computation of the second chi square.

Number of children. As can be seen from Table VIII on the next page the condition-inhibited type contained the greatest number of families with three or more children, while the mimetic type was concentrated more closely around the overall mean, 2.42 children, with some

tendency toward larger families.

Since the ages of the women of the individualizing type are the same as the women of the other fashion-oriented types, their tendency toward fewer children cannot be explained in terms of their being younger people who had not started their families. However, at the time the schedules were taken, certainly more of them seem to have delayed having children. This may be a result of their interest in other things such as higher standard of living, or, conversely, the lack of children may have resulted in their having more time and energy to devote to other things such as keeping up with the latest fashions.

TABLE III
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH
NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Children	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^b		Individual-izing ^b		Condition-inhibited ^c		Non-Ra-tionalizing		Totals	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
0 to 1	5	14.7	6	37.5	8	29.6	5	27.8	24	25.2
2	13	38.2	6	37.5	5	18.5	6	33.3	30	31.6
3 or more	16	47.0	4	25.0	14	51.8	7	38.9	41	43.2
TOTAL	34	99.9	16	100.0	27	99.9	18	100.0	95 ^a	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 4.18$$

$$p < .60$$

$$\chi^2 = 2.03$$

$$p < .40$$

^aAnswers to this question were not obtained for three respondents.

^bcThese rows were collapsed and used in the computation of the second chi square.

On the other hand the condition-inhibited respondents probably felt somewhat limited when oriented toward fashion because they had to devote their time, money, energy, etc., to their families. The mimetic type seemed to represent a kind of inbetween category here. Their responsibilities for their children probably prevented them from devoting a great of energy to fashionable clothing, but they did feel able to keep up enough to be as much in style as their friends. However, there was no significant association between the typology and the number of children so the foregoing are only tentative suggestions based on observation of the table.

Income. The χ^2 score for the association between income and the fashion typology, as shown in the next table, was moderate.

The relationship was not significant when the four-part typology was compared by income, but when the mimetic and individualizing types were collapsed and compared with the condition-inhibited type (with the non-rationalizing type being dropped), the relationship was significant at the .04 level. Obviously those with more income find themselves more able to obtain and use such clothing as they desire, while those with less income find it much more difficult even to obtain clothing. Thus the means-oriented types find themselves more able than the condition-inhibited type to take the first step in the manipulation of clothing.

TABLE IX
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH INCOME

Yearly Income	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^c		Individual- izing ^c		Condition- inhibited ^d		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Over \$10,000	5	15.2	2	11.8	1	3.7	1	5.9	9	9.6
\$5,000 to \$9,999 ^a	4	12.1	3	17.6	2	7.4	3	17.6	12	12.8
\$3,000 to \$4,999 ^a	18	54.5	9	52.9	11	40.7	6	35.3	44	46.8
\$2,000 to \$2,999 ^b	5	15.2	3	17.6	5	18.5	6	35.3	19	20.2
\$1,000 to \$1,999 ^b	1	3.0	0	0.	8	29.6	1	5.9	10	10.6
Totals	33	100.0	17	99.9	27	99.9	17	100.0	94 ^e	100.0
$\chi^2 = 6.05$										
$p < .40$										
$\chi^2_{cd} = 6.78$										
$p < .04$										
$\bar{C} = .38$										

^{ab}These columns were collapsed in the computation of the first chi square.

^{cd}These columns were collapsed in the computation of the second chi square.

^eFour respondents failed to answer this question.

Indications of Social Participation

Religious affiliation. There was no significant association between the fashion typology and religious affiliation as can be seen from an examination of Table X on the next page.

TABLE X
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Religious Affilia- tion	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^e		Individual- izing ^e		Condition- inhibited ^f		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Presbyter- ian, Epis- copal ^a	11	37.9	4	28.6	4	15.4	3	18.8	222	25.9
Methodist ^a	7	24.2	2	14.3	8	30.9	1	6.25	18	21.2
Congrega- tional, Christian Evangelical, United Brethren ^b	0	0.	2	14.3	1	3.8	1	6.25	4	4.7
Baptist	2	6.9	2	14.3	1	3.8	1	6.25	6	7.1
Adventist ^b	0	0.	0	0.	0	0.	0	0.	0	0.
Free Meth- odist, Wes- leyan ^b	3	10.3	0	0.	3	11.5	2	12.5	8	9.4
Holiness and relat- ed sects ^b	1	3.5	1	7.1	2	7.7	2	12.5	6	7.1
Catholic ^c	3	10.3	3	21.4	3	11.5	4	25.0	13	15.3
Anabap- tist ^b	0	0.	0	0.	0	0.	1	6.25	1	1.2
None ^c	2	6.9	0	0.	4	15.5	1	6.25	7	8.2
Totals	29	100.0	14	100.0	26	100.0	16	99.9	85 ^d	100.1
$\chi^2 = 1.54$					$p < .70$					
$\chi^2_{df} = .89$					$p < .90$					

^{ab}These rows were collapsed in the computation of the first chi square.

^cThis row was omitted in the computation of the chi square.

^dThirteen respondents did not answer this question.

^eThese columns were collapsed in the computation of the second chi square.

Church attendance. There was, however, a definite association when the four types (and also the two-way breakdown) were compared according to the respondent's estimation of the percentage of Sundays she had

TABLE XI
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY
WITH CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Sunday Church Attendance Last Six Months	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^d		Individual- izing ^d		Condition- inhibited ^e		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
80% or more ^a	9	27.3	4	28.6	5	20.0	5	35.7	23	26.7
50% to 80% ^a	3	9.1	4	28.6	0	0.	2	14.3	9	10.5
20% to 50% ^a	2	6.1	3	21.4	1	4.0	2	14.3	8	9.3
20% or less ^b	7	21.2	1	7.1	8	32.0	2	14.3	18	20.9
None ^b	12	36.3	2	14.3	11	44.0	3	21.4	28	32.5
Total	33	100.0	14	100.0	25	100.0	14	100.0	86 ^c	99.9
$\chi^2 = 10.03$					$p < .02$				$\bar{C} = .44$	
$\chi^2_{db} = 8.12$					$p < .06$					

^{ab}These rows were collapsed in the computation of the first chi square.

^cTwelve respondents did not answer this question.

^{de}These columns were collapsed in the computation of the second chi square.

attended church during the previous six months. Such a result, as shown in Table XI helps to explain the lack of differentiation between respondents according to religious affiliation. Only about a third of

the women attended church more than half the time. So, as far as fashion is concerned, it becomes a question of whether one goes to church or not; and where one goes makes little difference. There was a positive relationship between the individualizing type and 20% or more attendance at Sunday services. The C was of moderate degree, and was about the level of the others so far considered. This result was probably indicative of a situation where attendance at church becomes an opportunity for showing off one's clothes, a chance for "conspicuous consumption." At any rate, church is one of the constantly recurring situations where good clothing is required.

Moreover, perhaps those who do not, or cannot afford to, dress well, that is, the condition-inhibited group, feel that they do not look "respectable enough" to attend church, and therefore do not go.

The mimetic type showed no clear-cut trend since it had the second-highest percentages of both those who attended church 80% of the time or more and those who attended not at all.

Change in religious status. Religious denominations were ranked according to status in the larger study, and then each individual was classified according to whether or not during her life-time so far she had changed upward or downward or had remained the same.

The great majority of the respondents did not change their religious affiliation, though as Table X indicated, they have fallen away from actual participation in church services. There was a very positive relationship between upward religious mobility and the means-oriented types. These are probably the same people who attended church more regularly, and it certainly would seem logical that those who

TABLE XII
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH
RELIGIOUS MOBILITY

Religious Mobility	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^c		Individual- izing ^c		Condition- inhibited ^d		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Up	7	25.9	3	27.3	1	5.3	0	0.	11	16.2
Down ^a	1	3.7	1	9.1	1	5.3	0	0.	3	4.4
None	19	70.3	7	63.6	17	89.4	11	100.0	54	79.4
Totals	27	99.9	11	100.0	19	100.0	11	100.0	68 ^b	
$\chi^2 = 4.18$										
$p < .20$										
$\bar{C} = .34$										
$\chi^2_{cd} = 6.76$										
$p < .01$										
$\bar{C} = .47$										

^aThis row was not used in any chi square computation.

^bFifteen responses were indeterminate; fifteen respondents did not provide sufficient information.

attended church prompted by a desire for conspicuous consumption, or more generally, status aspirations, would try to maximize the effect of their effort to the extent of changing churches if possible.

Membership in organizations besides the church. Originally the respondents were classified according to membership in twenty different organizations or groups of very similar organizations. All but two of these categories have been arbitrarily included in the general titles given in Table XIII.

These organizations were arranged roughly according to status, and the results were consistent with the theoretical framework outlined in

TABLE XIII
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH
CLUB MEMBERSHIP

Clubs Belonged To	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^b		Individual- izing ^b		Condition- inhibited ^c		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num ber	Per cent
Profession- al or Special Interest Clubs, Coun- try Club	14	25.0	11	36.6	2	5.7	6	27.2	33	23.1
American Legion, Veterans' Associa- tions, Ser- vice Clubs, Union	10	17.8	2	6.7	7	20.0	8	36.4	27	18.9
Farm or Church Groups, PTA, Lodges	32	57.1	17	56.6	26	74.3	8	36.4	83	58.0
Totals	56	99.9	30	99.9	35	100.0	22	100.0	143 ^a	100.0
$\chi^2 = 14.23$										
$\chi^2_{bc} = 6.34$										
$p < .03$										
$p < .04$										
$\bar{C} = .38$										
$\bar{C} = .32$										

^aIndividuals indicated more than one membership

^{bc}These columns were collapsed and used in the computation of the second chi square.

Chapter I and with the association of the typology with social class which will be presented later in this chapter. The individualizing type had the greatest positive association with professional and special interest

and the country club group. The mimetic type also had a positive association with this group. The means-oriented respondents tended to belong to the higher status groups more frequently than the non-means-oriented respondents. The \bar{C} score was moderate.

Number of memberships in organizations. The typology was classified as in the following table. The chi square tests showed little or no

TABLE XIV
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH
NUMBER OF CLUB MEMBERSHIPS

Number of Member- ships in Organiza- tions	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^d		Individual- izing ^d		Condition- inhibited ^e		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
None	10	29.4	3	17.6	8	29.6	8	42.1	29	29.9
1 to 2 ^a	14	41.2	9	52.9	12	44.4	6	31.6	41	42.3
3 to 4 ^a	3	8.8	2	11.8	7	25.9	4	21.0	16	16.5
5 to 6 ^b	6	17.6	3	17.6	0.	0.	0	0.	9	9.3
7 or more	1	2.9	0	0.	0	0.	1	5.3	2	2.0
Totals	34	99.9	17	99.9	27	99.9	19	100.0	97 ^c	100.0
Average	2.31		2.12		1.44		1.52		1.85	
$\chi^2 = 6.65$										
$p < .40$										
$\chi^2_{de} = 4.77$										
$p < .10$										
$\bar{C} = .36$										

^{ab}These rows were collapsed in the computation of the chi square.

^cOne respondent failed to answer this question.

^{de}These columns were collapsed in the computation of the second chi square.

association, but there was a significant difference between the averages of the mimetic type and the condition-inhibited type. This, plus the greater significance of the second chi square, points up a tendency for there to be the greatest difference between the means-oriented and the condition-inhibited types, a difference between those who can manipulate clothing somehow and those who are prevented from doing so.

Number of officerships in organizations. A chi square test was run on this item, but it showed no definite trend whatsoever and will not be presented here. There was a p of $< .90$ for the first chi square and a p of $< .50$ for the second. Differences between the means were also tested, but again there was nothing significant.

Recreation. One question asked the respondents to list what they and their families did rather frequently for recreation. The responses were classified under the following headings: dancing, card playing, movies, shopping, athletic activities, visiting friends, reading, listening to the radio or watching television, going to the tavern, and others. Examination of the data showed no consistent trends, and there seemed no way of logically collapsing the categories.

Number of kinds of recreation. There was, however, a significant trend in the association of the number of different kinds of recreational activities with the fashion typology at the 4% level. There was a difference between the means of the mimetic and the condition-inhibited types significant at the .02 level; and between the means of the mimetic and the individualizing types significant at the .03 level.

Recreation is one area where clothing is often important. Some kinds of recreation such as sports, games, or camping require special

kinds of clothing; other recreational activities require dressing up for the occasion. Thus, it seems entirely logical that the mimetic type should participate in more kinds of activities than the condition-inhibited type.

Exposure to Mass Media

Magazines read. Responses to the question concerning what magazines the informants read more or less regularly were classified according to a total of nineteen different types of magazines including popular women's magazines, movie magazines, children's magazines, professional, religious or farm journals, etc. These nineteen have been condensed into the nine categories shown in Table XV. A chi square was run to test the existence of association between the fashion typology and four arbitrarily chosen categories which might be expected to present fashion copy. Fashion magazines themselves were not included since they were mentioned only twice by women in the means-oriented groups and twice by women in the non-means-oriented groups. There was no significant association between the four-way typology and magazines read, but the second chi square showed a more significant trend.

Women's popular monthly magazines such as McCalls or the Ladies Home Journal were found to be more the magazine of the means-oriented types. Such magazines not only set minimum standards in fashions but offer suggestions on how to achieve the desired results whether they are to be appropriate to community or neighborhood activities or attention-getting for parties, for example.

Movie magazines were read mainly by the non-means-oriented types. It is known that the condition-inhibited women were frustrated in various

TABLE XV

ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH KINDS OF MAGAZINES READ

Magazines Read	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^b		Individual- izing ^b		Condition- inhibited ^c		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Movie and Adventure ^a	2	2.0	3	5.0	6	10.3	5	11.1	16	6.1
Popular Women's ^a	14	14.0	12	20.0	10	17.2	4	8.9	40	15.2
Other Pop- ular Weekly and Monthly	22	22.0	10	16.7	11	19.0	11	24.4	54	20.5
Digests and Pocket Size ^a	16	16.0	10	16.7	4	6.9	3	6.7	33	12.6
News and Intellectual	8	8.0	4	6.7	3	5.2	4	8.9	19	7.2
Pictorial- Current Events ^a	16	16.0	5	8.3	6	10.3	4	8.9	31	11.8
Home-planning and Home- making	9	9.0	9	15.0	4	6.9	6	13.3	28	10.6
Fashion	2	2.0	2	3.3	1	1.7	1	2.2	6	2.3
All Others	11	11.0	5	8.3	13	22.4	7	15.5	36	13.7
Totals	100	100.0	60	100.0	58	99.9	45	100.0	263	100.0
$\chi^2 = 10.04$										
$p < .30$										
$\chi^2_{bc} = 5.30$										
$p < .15$										

^aThese four rows were run against each other in the computation of the chi squares. All other rows were omitted.

^{bc}These columns were collapsed and used in the computation of the second chi square.

ways, for example in the wearing of clothes which were fashionable. It is also known that they had the lowest income and the lowest education of all the types. Their lives, therefore, were characterized by many frustrations and probably anxieties and insecurities. These women were the heaviest readers of movie magazines which probably provided for them a kind of escape into a day-dream world.

Life magazine was read by more of the mimetic type than the others. The digests were read mainly by the means-oriented types. Perhaps these magazines set the standards for conformity. However, the low chi square indicated that a null hypothesis can not be rejected, and only the existence of trends can be noted.

Number of different kinds of magazines read. There was relatively little difference between the number of different kinds of magazines read by the four types. The mimetic type read an average of 3.18 kinds of magazines, the individualizing type read 3.29, the condition-inhibited type read 2.52 kinds of magazines, and the non-rationalizing type read 2.45. There was a difference between the means of the individualizing and the non-rationalizing types significant at the .05 level with the individualizing type reading more magazines. These two had the highest and the lowest averages. Here there seemed to be a tendency toward a difference between the means-oriented and the non-means oriented types which might be explained on the basis of their status levels and their style of living. The purchasing and reading of magazines takes time, money and inclination.

However, it did seem that many magazines reached all of our respondents in similar kind and quantity. Roughly similar proportions of each

type read the popular weekly and monthly magazines such as Colliers, Cosmopolitan, or the digests. Few of any type read news or intellectual magazines, or religious, professional or farm journals.

Three Focal Hypotheses

At the end of Chapter I three specific hypotheses were proposed.

The first such hypothesis stated that: Different orientations toward fashion are characteristic of people found in different social class positions.

The definition of social class used in the larger study of clothing, and also here, is based on Warner's Index of Status Characteristics.

Warner explains the class system in the United States in terms of what he calls a structural imperative. With a more complex society, he states, the need for co-ordination and integration increases. Those occupying strategic positions at points of co-ordination and integration possess power which in turn makes for a hierarchy of power. There is, he says, a proportional relationship between complexity of technology and the economic system, and the social structure. He then goes on to describe his by now very familiar truncated pyramid of classes - the upper uppers, the lower uppers, the upper middle class, the lower middle class, the upper lowers, and the lower lowers. He notes in addition that in newer cities which have grown rapidly there may be only five classes, there being no differentiation between a group of upper uppers and lower uppers.

In another work Warner says that though all people are physical organisms, "the values which dictated their choice of a house or of food for a meal were socially determined and also expressed the

demands, needs and limitations of their social personalities in a status system.⁵⁵

Thus, although power and economic factors are important, they must be translated into intimate participation and acceptance in a given class. To be a member of a given class one must be accepted by the other members. Moreover class makes a difference in such things as the reading of magazines and newspapers, in the use of retail products such as furniture, dress, etc.

Scientists, Warner says, must "identify, describe, locate, inter-relate, and measure the facts about the structure of social interaction."⁵⁶ To do this he developed two scales: the Evaluated Participation scale, with which we shall not be concerned here, and the Index of Status Characteristics. The ISC is a scale developed for assigning people to one or another of the five social classes which it can distinguish.⁵⁷

Originally the ISC was a combination of weighted ratings of a person's or family's occupation, house type, dwelling area and source of income. The larger clothing study utilized house type⁵⁸ and source of income⁵⁹ as outlined by Warner. Dwelling area was not utilized at

55. Warner, W. Lloyd, and Lunt, Paul S., The Social Life of a Modern Community, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941, p. 287.

56. Warner, Lloyd W., Meeker, Marchia, and Eells, Kenneth, Social Class in America, American Book-Stratford Press, Inc., New York, 1951, p. 34.

57. Ibid., footnote p. 125.

58. Ibid., pp. 143-150.

59. Ibid., p. 157.

all because, "The status arrangements of the community were not clearly reflected in its ecological composition."⁶⁰ That is, the terrain of Coldwater was unusually regular and lacked the hills or other natural features which have often played a prominent part in the spatial arrangements of cities and towns. In Coldwater one area was not especially more desirable than others though there were two or three areas which were more undesirable.⁶¹ Therefore, this criterion was not used in the index of social class position. For the occupational ratings a diverse group of local long-time residents were asked to rate the 88 occupations in our sample on a seven point scale.⁶² Each individual was then rated, and this score also included in his ISC. With the combined ratings the distribution of the sample of Coldwater residents was as follows.⁶³

TABLE XVI
SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION
OF SAMPLE

Social Class	Percent
Upper	5.8
Upper-middle	13.5
Lower-middle	26.9
Upper-lower	36.5
Lower-lower	17.3

60. Stone, Gregory P., and Form, William H., "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Arrangements," American Sociological Review, Vol. 18, April, 1953, p. 154.

61. Loc. cit.

62. Loc. cit.

63. Ibid., p. 153.

By social class position, then, is meant throughout this study a person's ranking in the above table according to criteria previously outlined. It is essentially a crude measure of level in a hierarchy of esteem.

This classification is somewhat more than just a logical construct. That is, in Warner's study it was found to be a short way of differentiating something that could be empirically uncovered in the more laborious methods utilized in the Evaluated Participation technique,⁶⁴ where extensive inquiries were made into the interactions of people living in the community studied, their evaluations of each other, their consciousness of status levels, etc.

Hence, the assignment of prestige in terms of such objective characteristics differentiates a person from others and probably points to differences in his more general style of living. For example, a person with great prestige in the community and a large income is likely to see that his children are very well educated, and his wife is likely to be well-dressed. In short, one can postulate that a class is virtually a sub-culture.

This concept of social class as approximating a sub-culture is more appropriate to smaller communities such as Coldwater, with its population of 10,000 people, than to large Metropolitan areas. As Stone and Form stated in an article, "Probably, the smaller the community, the greater the proportion of its members included in status groups."⁶⁵ Members of status groups not only manipulate similar symbols of social position but

64. Warner, Meeker and Eells, op. cit., Chaps. 2,3,4,5 and 7.

65. Stone and Form, op. cit., p. 151.

enjoy the same amount of deference from others as well as a sense of personal dignity and worth. "Such groups are communal in nature, and, consequently, their members are in relatively frequent social contact with one another."⁶⁶ On the other hand, "A status aggregate is an inclusive category referring to a number of individuals enjoying approximately the same honor in a community, but who are only in potential, capricious, occasional, or sporadic social contact."⁶⁷

Members of status groups can consciously and deliberately exclude others from their circles, but members of status categories are not in a position to be able to coordinate their actions towards this end. It follows that it is much easier to pass oneself off as a member of a status aggregate than a status group. This is because, according to Stone and Form, they exercise characteristically different kinds of control over status symbols. "Status aggregates may be (often imprecisely) recognized by the appropriate symbols, but have no effective means of restricting their use." (as status groups can) They went on to say that therefore, "as a result, status symbols are more often adequate 'tests of status' for status groups than for status aggregates where, on the contrary, status symbols are seldom adequate 'tests of status'."⁶⁸

Although in relation to large cities Coldwater would be characterized by status groupings rather than status aggregates it seems, from the fashion data, that it may contain elements of both kinds of structures if the fashion typology can be taken as an index of the existence of these

66. Ibid., p. 150.

67. Ibid., p. 151. Underlinings mine.

68. Loc. cit.

elements. That is, if fashionable clothing is a symbol of status, and there are lower status people utilizing fashionable clothes, it seems reasonable to suppose that there are status aggregates. Thirty-seven percent of the individualizing type were upper-middle class or better, a higher proportion than any other class; while 60% of both the non-means-oriented types were upper-lower or lower-lower class. These definitely

TABLE XVII

ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH SOCIAL CLASS

Social Class	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^d		Individual- izing ^d		Condition- inhibited ^e		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Upper ^a	2	6.1	2	12.5	1	3.9	1	6.3	6	6.6
Upper Middle ^a	6	18.2	4	25.0	2	7.7	1	6.3	13	14.3
Lower Middle	11	33.3	4	25.0	7	26.9	3	18.7	25	27.5
Upper Lower ^b	11	33.3	5	31.2	11	42.3	6	37.5	33	36.3
Lower Lower ^b	3	9.1	1	6.3	5	19.2	5	31.2	14	15.4
Total	33	100.0	16	100.0	26	100.0	16	100.0	91 ^c	100.1
$\chi^2 = 12.11$					$p < .06$				$\bar{c} = .43$	
$\chi^2_{de} = 5.23$					$p < .08$				$\bar{c} = .40$	

^{ab}These rows were collapsed in the computation of the chi square.

^cSeven respondents could not be classified.

^{de}These columns were collapsed and used in the computation of the second chi square.

were lower status groups. However, the individualizing type had 37% and the mimetic type 42% also upper-lower or lower-lower class. Hence there was a substantial group of lower class people able to manipulate clothing in the sense of wearing fashionable clothes. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that this indicates some existence of a status aggregate structure or perhaps a weakening of the lines between status groupings.

The direction of association in the table was positive for the means-oriented types and the upper status positions. The individualizing type, however, had only one individual in the upper-lower or lower-lower class while the mimetic type had fourteen individuals so classified. Both the non-means-oriented types, as was stated, had positive associations with the lower status positions.

Thus, with the exception of the mimetic type, the association tends to confirm the whole emphasis on fashion and class in the literature. The newer concepts of social groups and social aggregates, however, go further and allow for inclusion or explanation of the mimetic type also, as above.

While the fact that there were relatively few cases, in addition to the crudeness of the typology, makes such a conclusion only provisional, it at least tends to confirm what was expected and to suggest a very fertile area for future research.

The second focal hypothesis as stated in Chapter I was as follows:
Different orientations toward fashion differentiate those who are mobile;
and those who identify with a social class position higher than their own.

This contains a number of elements and several kinds of data will be presented including indications of occupational and situs mobility

plus class identification. These all refer, it must be emphasized, to the husband's occupation. The occupational rating utilized in Table XVIII was based on the prestige ratings done for the ISC classification

TABLE XVIII
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Occupational Mobility	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^d		Individual- izing ^d		Condition- inhibited ^e		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
None	6	18.2	6	37.5	3	12.0	6	37.5	21	23.3
Up ^a	13	39.4	6	37.5	9	36.0	8	50.0	36	40.0
Irregular- ly Up ^a	8	24.2	4	25.0	3	12.0	1	6.3	16	17.0
Down ^b	0	0.	0	0.	1	4.0	0	0.	1	1.1
Irregular- ly Down ^b	3	9.1	0	0.	2	8.0	1	6.3	6	6.6
Irregular ^b	3	9.1	0	0.	7	28.0	0	0.	10	11.1
Totals	33	100.0	16	100.0	25	100.0	16	100.0	90 ^c	99.9
<hr/>										
$\chi^2 = 11.28$				$p < .07$				$\bar{C} = .42$		
$\chi^2_{de} = 5.92$				$p < .06$				$\bar{C} = .38$		

^{ab}These rows were collapsed in the computation of the chi squares.

^cOccupational mobility could not be determined for eight respondents.

^{de}These columns were collapsed and used in the computation of the second chi square.

in the larger study and each individual's job history - also taken from the larger study.

Here the clearest distinction was between those who were means-oriented and those who were not, with a positive association between the means-oriented types and upward mobility. However, all of the types had nearly 50% or more people upwardly mobile - a clear indication that status mobility, at least in Coldwater, is not just a myth. The most positive relationship was found for the individualizing type which had no downward or irregularly mobile people and a much larger than expected number of people having no mobility. This may be explainable in terms of the fact that the individualizing type already contained most of the upper status people or the fewest lower status people. This seems to indicate that these people have essentially only maintained themselves at their present level and have not lost ground. In regard to the fashion typology it would seem that people who already had success in terms of status therefore also had to worry less about the censure of neighbors and friends and could afford to be different or more conspicuous or outstanding in socially approved ways such as the wearing of fashionable clothing.

The mimetic type had a few more, relatively speaking, upward mobile people than the individualizing type and a few downward mobile people. The condition-inhibited type had actually a few more upward mobile people, relatively speaking, than either of the means-oriented types, but it had an extremely larger than expected number of downward mobile people. This seemed to indicate again that the types are not distinctly differentiated by social class indices but cut across class lines to some extent.

It cannot be said that the downward mobile people of the condition-inhibited type were unsuccessful because they couldn't manipulate clothing, but it is certain that the sum total of their occupational experience was thus far unsuccessful. And one aspect of modern life is the emphasis on manipulation of the "right" symbols (Clothing is one of the symbols.) and of other people. This factor again is consistent with the other characteristics of the condition-inhibited type.

Another kind of mobility, situs mobility, was the basis of another classification of respondents in the larger study.

Hatt's concept of situs⁶⁹ grew out of work he did in attempting to scale occupations by prestige. When very dissimilar occupations received the same score the question arose of whether or not other people actually ranked those occupations in relation to each other. Three samples were tested by the Guttman technique, but not even a quasi-scale was obtained. Then Hatt devised a new hypothesis, namely that even though the whole series of occupations did not scale on a single continuum there were subgroupings that did scale in this manner. Hatt stated that his idea was an extension of that of Benoit-Smyllyan, and went on to say:

There are, therefore, types of occupations whose status system may be considered as a unit. The clearest example, perhaps of this idea is seen in the separation of agricultural occupations from industrial pursuits. The hypothesis is presented here that status judgments within such divisions are consistent whereas status judgments between them are not. Consequently, a series of agricultural or industrial occupations should prove scalable separately but not in combination.⁷⁰

69. Hatt, Paul K., "Occupation and Social Stratification," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LV, May, 1950, pp. 538-539.

70. Ibid., p. 539.

His first step was the "construction of groups by logical assignment employing the criterion of similar relationship between occupation and the consuming public."⁷¹ These were analyzed by the Cornell technique and rearranged somewhat. Because of this rearrangement Hatt stated that no absolute claims may be made, but they appear reasonable. The nature of situses is not entirely clear, but Hatt felt that the most important known characteristic of situses is that they include only jobs and occupations which can be consistently compared by most people. Any further statement of characteristics would be only conjecture. For further details of actual situses and their sub-divisions the article itself should be consulted.

Hatt felt that the application of "prestige-situs analysis should simplify problems involving stratification."⁷² For one thing there is a great deal of difference between intra-situs mobility and inter-situs mobility. Intra-situs mobility upward involves less risk and greater prestige and security, while inter-situs mobility, horizontal movement, involves the risk of less security and prestige because of the probability that the new job will be lower in the hierarchy of prestige, though membership in the situs may be more advantageous for the individual in the long run.

Inter-situs movement is considered here. According to Hatt's hypothesis those who have moved are likely to be in positions of greater insecurity than those who have not. And further, in regard to fashion, those who are the most insecure should be those who are most anxious to

71. Ibid., p. 539.

72. Ibid., p. 542.

conform in such things as the wearing of clothes in order to be more secure by being more like other people.

TABLE XIX
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH
INTER-SITUS MOBILITY

Inter-situs Mobility	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^d		Individual-izing ^d		Condition-inhibited ^e		Non-Ra-tionalizing		Totals	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
None	9	27.3	9	56.2	3	11.6	8	50.0	29	31.9
One Change, No Return ^a	6	18.2	2	12.5	6	23.1	3	18.75	17	18.7
Two Changes, No Return ^a	11	33.3	5	31.3	9	34.6	5	31.25	30	33.0
One Change, Return ^b	5	15.2	0	0.	1	3.8	0	0.	6	6.6
Two Changes, Return ^b	2	6.0	0	0.	7	26.9	0	0.	9	9.9
Totals	33	100.0	16	100.0	26	100.0	16	100.0	91 ^c	100.0
$\chi^2 = 13.31$										
$p < .04$										
$\bar{C} = .46$										
$\chi^2_{de} = 4.65$										
$p < .10$										

^{ab}These rows were collapsed in the computation of the chi squares.

^cSeven respondents could not be classified.

^{de}These columns were collapsed and used in the computation of the second chi square.

Any change, according to Hatt's hypothesis, involves unfamiliar risks, skills, etc., and hence insecurity. No change would imply the

greatest possibility of security. Change and no return would imply little insecurity since the person apparently adjusted or was adjusting to the new situs. Moving out of one situs and returning again, however, could be interpreted to mean that the individual had not been able to adjust to the new situation and consequently might be characterized by relatively more insecurity and sense of failure than the first two types.

The individualizing type tended, on this basis to be the most secure. That is, informants so classified had the least amount of inter-situs mobility, a finding which is quite consistent with the fact that they had also the least amount of occupational mobility. On both counts, then, those who were classified in this type had the greatest security of position and therefore could well afford (in terms of not having to fear some possible adverse criticism) to use fashion to draw attention to themselves.

There was some evidence of insecurity among the respondents of the mimetic type. Perhaps this was the reason for their conforming orientation. Not being sure of their position, not feeling certain that they had achieved success according to prevailing norms, they might not have had self-confidence enough to call attention to themselves through the clothes they wore - or, contrariwise, might have bolstered their self-confidence through dressing the way they did.

The condition-inhibited type had the fewest with no change, the most with change of any kind, and the most changes with return. This last condition is thought, as has been stated, to be conducive to the development of feelings of insecurity. This finding is consistent with other known elements of this type's general life situation. Such factors are specific

indications of the restrictions keeping women of the condition-inhibited type from undertaking culturally expected activities such as the wearing of fashionable clothing.

Part of the second focal hypothesis concerned personal identification with a social class position. In addition to the ISC scale which

TABLE XX

ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH RELATION OF
OWN SOCIAL CLASS ESTIMATE TO ISC RATING

Own Social Class Estimate in Re- lation to ISC Rating	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^a		Individual- izing ^a		Condition- inhibited ^b		Non-Ra- tionalizing ^b		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Same (Upper and Middle Classes)	12	42.9	7	53.8	7	30.4	3	20.0	29	36.7
Same (Lower Classes)	8	28.6	4	30.8	8	34.8	6	40.0	26	32.9
Up	3	10.7	1	7.7	7	30.4	4	26.7	15	19.0
Down	5	17.9	1	7.7	1	4.3	2	13.3	9	11.4
Totals	28	100.1	13	100.0	23	99.9	15	100.0	79 ^c	100.0
$\chi^2 = 4.97$ $p < .90$										
$\chi^2_{ab} = 6.56$ $p < .10$ $\bar{c} = .38$										

^{ab}These columns were collapsed and used in the computation of the second chi square.

^cNineteen cases were lost in the construction of this table. Twelve respondents were not able to place themselves in a social class.

The trend of these results is quite interesting. Before collapsing the means-oriented types the association was nowhere near significance; when this was done the trend approached significance. The means-oriented types had a larger number than expected of the middle and upper classes who estimated their positions correctly plus slightly fewer than expected lower-status persons who estimated their positions correctly. Approximately the expected number of non-means-oriented persons of the two categories (upper and middle classified together, and lower) estimated their positions correctly though there was a slight positive deviation for the lower status group and a slight negative deviation for the upper status group. This last finding may be significant in the sense that a hypothesis to the effect that one of the reasons the respondents underestimated their status was that they didn't use clothing in the same way as others of equal status seems plausible.

It is in the "Up" and "Down" categories, however, that there seems to be a demonstration of the possibility of an equalizing function of fashion. For the means-oriented types a higher than expected number identified downward, while for the non-means-oriented types a much larger than expected number identified upward showing a tendency for individuals not to admit, at least verbally, the existence of social class distinctions, and also a tendency for those of various statuses to consider themselves part of an ill-defined middle class.

This identification on the part of the non-means-oriented types perhaps partly explains why the condition-inhibited type felt limited since they had, with this identification, accepted the values and goals (which they could not achieve) of the social class statuses above them - values

and goals probably absorbed via the school and the mass media which reached them, as we have seen, in somewhat the same kind and amount as the other respondents.

The third focal hypothesis was as follows: different orientations toward fashion differentiate "localites" and "cosmopolites." This was an unanticipated finding which, however, was consistent with the rest of the study.

Coldwater has a rather unique system of stratification in as far as there is a cleavage at the top between an old elite and a new elite, the old elite being composed of long-time residents, and the new elite being composed of a group of managers who had come in from the outside to manage newly developing industrial enterprises. It was also found that members of the middle and lower classes tended to identify or sympathize ideologically with one or the other of these elites. Stone and Form used the terms "localites" and "cosmopolites" to designate these two categories. The data used in this thesis does not indicate directly which of these are which. However, we did discover that when the respondents were classified according to those who read Metropolitan newspapers and those who did not but read only local or nearby small-town papers there was a definite trend toward association between this and the fashion typology. For convenience we have here called those who do read metropolitan papers (with or without local papers in addition) "cosmopolites" and those who read only local papers "localites" with the thought that those who read metropolitan papers would tend to be oriented toward an urban way of life and vice-versa.

As can be seen from Table XXI the means-oriented respondents tended to read out-of-town large city newspapers while the non-means-oriented did not. However, there were two groups of exceptions to this trend - a number of the mimetic type who were localites and a number of the condition-inhibited type who were cosmopolites.

TABLE XXI
ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY WITH
COSMOPOLITE-LOCALITE ORIENTATION

Newspaper	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^b		Individual-izing ^b		Condition-inhibited ^c		Non-Ra-tionalizing		Totals	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Localites	12	37.5	3	18.75	11	44.0	11	68.75	37	41.6
Cosmopolites	20	62.5	13	81.25	14	56.0	5	31.25	52	58.4
Totals	32	100.0	16	100.0	25	100.0	16	100.0	89 ^a	100.0
$\chi^2 = 6.45$				$p < .10$				$\bar{C} = .36$		
$\chi^2 = .68$				$p < .50$						

^aNine cases were lacking.

^{bc}These columns were collapsed and used in the computation of the second chi square.

In order to see whether social class was an intervening variable accounting for the exceptions noted in the last paragraph this table was again sub-divided on the basis of social class.

TABLE XXII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY BY SOCIAL CLASS
AND COSMOPOLITE-LOCALITE ORIENTATION

Social Class	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic		Individual- izing		Condition- inhibited		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	L	C	L	C	L	C	L	C	L	C
Upper	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	6
Upper Middle	1	5	0	4	1	1	0	1	2	11
Lower Middle	5	6	0	4	0	6	2	1	7	17
Upper Lower	3	7	2	3	6	5	5	1	16	16
Lower Lower	3	0	1	0	4	1	4	1	12	2
Totals	12	20	3	13	11	14	11	5	37	52

Table XXII was then rearranged into two other tables - Tables XXIII and XXIV as shown below.

TABLE XXIII

ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY AND SOCIAL CLASS
WITHIN THE LOCALITE GROUPING

Social Class	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^a		Individual- izing ^a		Condition- inhibited ^b		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Upper, Upper Middle and Lower Middle	6	50.0	0	0.	1	9.1	2	18.2	9	24.3
Upper Lower and Lower Lower	6	50.0	3	100.0	10	90.9	9	81.8	28	75.7
Totals	12	100.0	3	100.0	11	100.0	11	100.0	37	100.0
$\chi^2 = 6.87$										
$p < .10$										
$\bar{C} = .40$										
$\chi^2_{ab} = 2.81$										
$p < .10$										
$\bar{C} = .52$										

^{ab}These columns were collapsed and used in the computation of the second chi square.

Here there was a definite trend, as opposed to the next table, for social class to continue to be associated with the fashion typology. These two tables tended to substantiate very well the suggestion that fashion orientation is an index of the split in the class system in Coldwater. Small towns generally have fairly rigid class structures, and Coldwater probably was no exception before the influx of industrial enterprises. And with

TABLE XXIV

ASSOCIATION OF THE FASHION TYPOLOGY AND SOCIAL CLASS
WITHIN THE COSMOPOLITE GROUPING

Social Class	Typology of Fashion Orientations									
	Mimetic ^a		Individual- izing ^a		Condition- inhibited ^b		Non-Ra- tionalizing		Totals	
	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent
Upper, Upper Middle and Lower Middle	13	65.0	10	76.9	8	57.1	3	60.0	34	65.4
Upper Lower and Lower Lower	7	35.0	3	23.1	6	42.9	2	40.0	18	34.6
Totals	20	100.0	13	100.0	14	100.0	5	100.0	52	100.0
$\chi^2 = 1.25$ $p < .80$										
$\chi^2_{ab} = .21$ $p < .70$										

^{ab}These columns were collapsed and used in the computation of the second chi square.

such a structure the various classes probably tended toward status groupings with the upper classes having a monopoly of status symbols such as fashionable clothing.

On the other hand Table XXIV showed no association between fashion and social class whatsoever among the Cosmopolites. There were both upper and lower status women in each type, and the positive association was between the individualizing type and higher status. Here seemed to be the people oriented not towards the old status structure but towards the new one.⁷³ It seems that it is plausible that the upper status women of the individualizing type were the metropolitan newcomers, and that the other types were those who had become oriented to city culture, to the ways of the city such as wearing fashionable clothing.

Summary of Chapter III

In this chapter we have tried to test the hypotheses outlined in Chapter I. In testing the existence of association between the fashion typology and a number of social and economic characteristics it was found that some characteristics were similar for all of the respondents, that some differentiated the means-oriented from the condition-inhibited, and that a few differed for each category of the typology.

The following characteristics, listed in order of consideration, significantly differentiated the fashion orientation types at the .10 level of statistical significance or less:

73. When association of social class with cosmopolite-localite orientation was tested the following results were obtained: $\chi^2 = 16.10$; $p < .001$; and $\bar{C} = .39$. The direction was positive between cosmopolite orientation and higher status.

<u>Mimetic</u>	<u>Individualizing</u>	<u>Condition-inhibited</u>	<u>Non-Rationalizing</u>
Large number of children	Fewest children	Most children	Medium number of children
Limited church attendance	Most church attendance	Least church attendance	Medium church attendance
Inter-situs change, return	No inter-situs mobility	Most inter-situs change	No inter-situs mobility

The following characteristics significantly differentiated (or showed a trend approaching significance) the means-oriented types from the condition-inhibited type at the .10 level or less.

<u>Means-oriented</u>	<u>Condition-inhibited</u>
More education	Less education
More income	Less income
More upward religious mobility	Less religious mobility upward
Different club memberships	Different club memberships
More kinds of recreation	Fewer kinds of recreational activities
Kinds of magazines read	Kinds of magazines read
Upper, upper middle and lower middle social classes	Upper lower and lower-lower social classes
More occupational mobility	Less occupational mobility
Social class identification same or down	Social class identification the same or up
Cosmopolite orientation	Localite orientation

For most of these there was a significant difference between all four of the types included in the fashion typology, but generally the mimetic and the individualizing categories varied in the same direction while the condition-inhibited (and the non-rationalizing type) category varied in another direction. Precise relationships can be seen by

The following characteristics were not significantly differentiated by the typology of fashion orientations.

1. Age
2. Size of birthplace
3. Residence in present dwelling place
4. Religious affiliation
5. Number of club memberships, or number of officerships
6. Kinds of recreational activities
7. Number of magazines read.

In sum, then, about half of the social characteristics tested resulted in significant-appearing trends. The focal hypotheses were substantiated.

On the basis of this listing of characteristics a hypothetical portrait of a typical example of each type of orientation has been attempted.

The mimetic type was 42.1 years old and had graduated from high school. She had lived near Coldwater most of her life and in her present residence for about seven years. Her husband's income was about \$4,000, and they had three children. Already this description of the mimetic woman sounds like a description of an average middle-class conventional American.

She was a Protestant, and probably a life-long Presbyterian who attended church but attended infrequently. She belonged to one or two organizations such as the PTA or a fraternal lodge, and held one officership. Visiting friends, attending movies, reading, listening

to the radio or watching television and card-playing were her most popular forms of recreation. She read such magazines as the Women's Home Companion, Life, Colliers, the Readers' Digest, etc., generally reading about four different magazines. She read the local Coldwater paper regularly and sometimes read newspapers from the surrounding large cities such as Detroit or Chicago.

While she was a member of the lower middle class her husband was occupationally mobile. He had also successfully changed situations twice, a fact which is certain to have been a source of anxiety to the family. The wife was reasonably well aware of her social class position.

In general the mimetic dresser's whole life situation suggested conventionality and conformity. Her social position was fair and steadily improving. Hers was a slightly larger than average family with average tastes, standards and activities.

The individualizing type was quite similar in many respects to the mimetic woman, being approximately the same age, having the same education, similar birthplace and having resided in her present dwelling place for about the same length of time. However, she had two rather than three children, and her husband's income was closer to \$5,000 per year. She was also Presbyterian, but attended church more often - generally at least half the time. Her two or three club memberships included not only a lodge or the PTA but also the country club or a special interest club. Her recreational activities were similar though fewer in number than the mimetic woman's, and she was also inclined more toward athletic activities and less toward visiting friends. She read

similar magazines except for Life which she read less often than did the mimetic woman.

The social class position of the individualizing woman was somewhat better than her mimetic counterpart, almost upper-middle class. Her husband had had some occupational mobility, but no inter-situs mobility so that her position was much more secure. She was aware of her social class position though she tended to place herself somewhat downward.

In general this woman had a more secure position and a position of more status than the mimetic woman. She led an active and busy life, and liked to consider herself a moving personality in the community within which she lived. She, too, was a typical American but more forceful and less conventional than the mimetic type since she had more chance to exercise her capabilities.

The condition-inhibited woman also was of the same age, birthplace, and length of residence in present dwelling place as the other types. She, too, had probably graduated from high school, but she was not as likely to have had any college. She had at least three and probably more children, but her husband's income was about \$3,000 per year. She belonged to the Methodist Church but hardly ever attended.

She belonged to one club, such as a lodge or the PTA, and held no offices. She participated in relatively fewer kinds of recreation with listening to the radio or watching television and going to the movies the most frequently mentioned. She read the popular women's magazines and other popular weekly and monthly magazines, Life, and more movie magazines than women of the other types. In general,

however, she read fewer magazines than the other types.

She was definitely a member of the upper-lower class but felt that she was middle-class. Her husband's occupational mobility tended to be irregular. He had moved out of his situs but tended to return more than men of any other type.

In general the condition-inhibited was the least successful and the most restricted and limited in its activities and social participation.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This thesis attempted to describe and define various orientations to fashion among ninety-eight married women, and to show how they were related to various social and economic characteristics and to the system of social stratification in Coldwater, Michigan. The sociological literature dealing with fashion was first presented. There were two main factors upon which most writers agreed; the first was the description of the phenomenon of fashion as a process of imitation and differentiation and the progressively more inclusive nature of fashion. That is, a new fashion was said to be introduced into a society by the elite, or members of the upper classes who adopt a new style as a symbol of their prestige and position. Members of the classes immediately below them adopt the new style as a means of imitating and being like those who have the status and honor to which the imitators aspire. And in like manner the style spreads throughout the society, becomes universal, and a new style is introduced by the upper classes in a new attempt to differentiate themselves. The second fact agreed upon by most writers was the existence of a class system as a prerequisite to the phenomenon of fashion as just defined. Also, they felt that it must be a class system with some mobility so that aspirations to rise within the status system would be at least somewhat justified. Other prerequisites to the whole complex involved with fashion mentioned included mass production, rapid transportation and communication, a high standard of living generally, and other elements of an industrialized society.

Four empirical studies of fashion were considered, the findings of which in general supported the theoretical statements in the literature concerning the nature of fashion and its relationship to a system of social stratification. That section concluded with a discussion of the concepts of status groups and status aggregates, and present-day emphasis on patterns of consumption as criteria for distinguishing social class position. Status groups were defined as being composed of those who share similar status and prestige and who also interact with each other, and are more or less an exclusive group. Status aggregates, on the other hand, although having similar status and prestige, do not necessarily interact with or know each other. The existence of the latter form of status system would, or could, be most conducive to the phenomenon of fashion since people would not have known places, and fashionable behavior either as imitation or differentiation would have a real function in the social system.

The thesis problem was explicitly stated to be the isolation of various orientations to fashion (as a pattern of consumption peculiarly characteristic of a class system) and a discussion of the ways in which such orientations were related to other aspects of social life. A number of hypotheses were then made explicit. There were two assumptions - first that fashion was a meaningful concept to the women interviewed, and secondly that they accepted the wearing of fashionable clothes as a legitimate end to be achieved if possible. The first hypothesis was that there were existent different orientations toward fashion. This grew out of an examination of the data where the women gave different kinds of explanations for similar behavior and also the literature

which, as has been stated, defined fashion as a process involving both conformity and individualization.

Three focal hypotheses were as follows: a. Different orientations toward fashion are characteristic of people in different social class positions; b. Social mobility differentiates different orientations toward fashion; and identification with a higher social class position differentiates the typology. c. Localite-consmopolite orientations differentiate. These hypotheses were developed, of course, out of the consideration of the relationship between fashion and social stratification. The third hypothesis concerning localite-cosmopolite orientation grew out of consideration of an article by Stone and Form which described the unique characteristics of the stratification system in Coldwater, Michigan, where the study was done. This system not only had horizontal strata, but a vertical split at the top with those in lower classes tending to identify with one or the other of the two elites, that is, the upper-status longtime residents or the newly arrived managers. Localite was a term applied to a member of the elite group which had been there for a long time, while the term cosmopolite was applied to a member of the group of urban people who had been brought in to manage newly developing industrial enterprises. In addition, the typology was compared with demographic characteristics, indices of social participation, and exposure to mass media - some sociological variables which have been found to be often related to social behavior.

The derivation of the typology of orientations to fashion, basic to the rest of the paper, was next report in Chap. II. The conforming-non-conforming orientation toward fashion as originally used in the conceptualization of the schedule questions was rejected, and a typology based on Parson's concept of the unit act utilized instead. This concept

involves four elements, the actor, the end, the situation and a normative orientation. The situation includes both means and conditions, the means being factors in the situation susceptible to being manipulated by the actor toward the end considered desirable in the light of the normative orientation, while the conditions are limiting factors in the attainment of the end - that is, they cannot be manipulated. The respondent was considered to be the actor, and the wearing of fashionable clothes the end. Clothing then, was part of the situation, and for some women it functioned as a means and for others as a condition. The respondents' orientations toward clothing as a means or as a condition were the basis for the typology. There were found to be two types of means-oriented women - those who used it to imitate others, and those who used it to make themselves attractive. The Mimetic type included those women whose main concern was toward inconspicuousness and conformity with fashion. The Individualizing type consisted of those who wished to draw attention to themselves through the wearing of attractive and fashionable clothing. The Condition-inhibited type of person felt that certain conditions over which she had no control such as finances kept her from wearing the fashionable clothes she would like to. And a fourth type, included in the analysis, the Non-Rationalizing woman, seemed to accept fashion as a legitimate goal, but gave no rationalization for her behavior in accepting fashion which could be classified in any of the three previously described categories.

In the next chapter this typology was compared with other characteristics to test the relationships previously hypothesized. Chi square tests were employed to see if there might be any trend towards statistically significant relationships.

Age, population of place of birth, length of residence in present dwelling place, number of children, education (except a special case), religious affiliation, number of club memberships or officerships, recreational activities, and the number of magazines read showed no significant association with the fashion typology.

O Other characteristics such as amount of church attendance, income, upward religious mobility, memberships in different clubs, number of recreational activities, the kinds of magazines read, and all three focal hypotheses concerning the association between the typology and social class position, social mobility or social class identification and localite-cosmopolite orientation showed significant or definite trends toward significant association with the typology of fashion orientations.

All of this seems to support the general assertion that fashion is related to one sort of social class system, but is conspicuous by its lack of relationship in another as both of these are uniquely manifested in Coldwater. There seems every reason to think that before the industrial expansion of the last decade or so in Coldwater that as a small town it had a fairly rigid status structure with each person having his expected position, level of consumption (including the type of clothes worn), etc. And also it seems reasonable that those who still identify themselves locally, the localites, would still react with behavior and values consistent with the old status structure. It was found in this study that the fashion typology tended to be positively related to such an orientation. On the other hand, the fashion typology was definitely

not related to social class among those who seemed to orient their behavior toward urban values, the cosmopolites. Those among the lower status groups who tended to identify with city life had the same kinds of fashion orientations as those of higher status. Thus, the data seem to support the idea that the symbolic function of fashion is possible and likely. For status groups it seems to be a symbol of group membership; for status aggregates it seems to be a symbol of identification with or striving toward a higher status.

Suggestions for Future Research

Since this thesis was essentially a post facto study with, in fact, the original conceptualization discarded for the time being, it follows that a new study based on the results presented here ought to be done. A new study focused directly on fashion should result in more adequate data since the respondent would give his whole attention to the idea of fashion. If another study were done it would probably be also possible to eliminate the non-rationalizing category from the typology. That is, the interviewers could be alert to the need for having people really give explanations to 'why' questions and refuse to accept an answer of, 'Becasue I liked it,' to the question of why a person liked a certain style. At any rate, a schedule constructed with this particular theoretical framework should be more productive in terms of it than one which was not so constructed. Another need it seems is for a larger sample. With only 98 cases to begin with and a typology of four categories, even a two way break-down results in but few cases in each call.

In addition, to the writer, there seems a real challenge in trying to do a similar study in a large city. The results seem to indicate that there ought to be more awareness of the symbolic function of fashion and more skill in the manipulation of clothing throughout all strata of the population in a large city which is probably characterized by status aggregates rather than status groups. One crucial problem hindering such a study is the lack of empirical tools for ascertaining social class position - a distinction which seems necessary to a study of fashion.

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