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ADOLESCENT ORIENTATIONS TO CLOTHING:
A SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

By
Arthur M. Vener

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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The main problem area of this study was centered around the attempt to explain differences in adolescent clothing orientations within a social-psychological frame of reference. Consideration was given to (1) clothing awareness - level of "sensitivity" to clothing in social life, (2) clothing deprivation - sentiments of adequacy-inadequacy of clothing behavior in respect to other persons, and (3) clothing referents - salient persons referred to in the determination of the legitimacy of clothing behavior. Variations in (1) clothing awareness was examined in terms of differences in (a) sex status, (b) age-grade status, (c) social class status and related variables, and (d) conceptions of self. Some of these variables were also employed to explain differences in (2) clothing deprivation. Specific hypotheses which involved these variables were proposed. A questionnaire was developed in order to test the proposed hypotheses, along with other facets of the problem area, and was administered to a sample group of 8th, 10th, and 12th grade boys and girls in the Lansing school system. A number of operational techniques were used to measure the variables involved and were described in some detail. The statistically significant findings concerning areas (1) clothing awareness and (2) clothing deprivation may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Girls demonstrate greater clothing awareness than boys.

2. Girls who participate more in organizational activity, i.e., belong to more organizations and hold some official position in these organizations, tend to demonstrate greater clothing awareness.
3. Girls who are more socially confident tend to be less aware of clothing.
4. Boys and girls who are more other-directed tend to be more aware of clothing. For girls alone, the statistical significance of the association and degree of association of these variables is much greater.
5. Boys and girls in higher grades tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those in the lower grades.
6. Boys and girls whose fathers are in occupations of higher status tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those whose fathers are in occupations of lower status.
7. Boys and girls who participate more in organizational activity tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those who are low participators.
8. Boys and girls who demonstrate more social confidence tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those who are not as socially confident.
9. Boys who are more aware of clothing tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those who are not as aware of clothing.

In respect to personal referents in clothing behavior, it was found that an adolescent's mother and his peers are highly salient referents in decisions dealing with dress selection, while his father is of relatively low saliency. Also, older brothers and sisters prove to be significant referents for those adolescents who have older

siblings in their family. In respect to the kinds of persons adolescents aspire to emulate in their patterns of dress, it was established that his peers are selected most frequently. It was also noted that mass-media Hollywood, television, and sports figures have some impact upon adolescent patterns of dress. However, it was concluded that those persons with whom an adolescent interacts on a primary group, face-to-face basis, exert relatively greater influence upon his clothing behavior than those with whom his interaction is of a secondary group, more formal nature.

The association of grade, social class status, and differences in sex with the relative tendency to refer to two highly salient referents, "mother" and peers, in clothing selection decisions was also investigated. The statistically significant findings were:

(1) Boys and girls in the lower grades tend to refer to "mother" more frequently than do those in the higher grades; (2) Girls tend to refer to "mother" more frequently than do boys; and (3) Girls in the lower grades tend to refer to their peers more frequently than do girls in the higher grades.

And finally, it was noted that 12th graders as a group, tended to refer less frequently to specific other persons in their responses to the clothing referent items than did the lower graders. It was therefore suggested that by the time the adolescent reaches the 12th grade, clothing norms are effectively internalized.

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The Michigan State University Experiment Station has sponsored research pertaining to the social aspects of clothing since the summer of 1950. This research was initiated largely through the efforts of Dr. Charles P. Loomis, Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and Professor Hazel B. Strahan, Head of the Department of Textiles, Clothing, and Related Arts. The investigation reported in this dissertation represents a new phase of this research.

The writer wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the guidance committee, all of whom were more than generous in giving of their time. Particular indebtedness is acknowledged to Dr. Wilbur Brookover, who in assuming major responsibility for the guidance of the dissertation, provided understanding, encouragement, and direction to a frequently harried candidate; to Dr. Duane Gibson, who contributed invaluable assistance in all aspects of the study, and for his penetrating criticism of the manuscript in its later stages; to Dr. Charles Hoffer and Dr. William Form, who also read the manuscript and suggested revisions; and to Gregory Stone, for his aid in designing the study and in the development of the final instrument.

The writer wishes to express his gratitude to the administrators, teachers, and students of both the Flint and the Lansing school systems; the former for their cooperation in the pre-testing of the questionnaire and the latter for their cooperation during its final administration. The help given by the many graduate assistants and faculty members

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during the administration of the final questionnaire should also be acknowledged.

Finally, the writer wishes to express his sincerest gratitude to his wife, Madeline R. Vener, who often had to forego the pleasures of a congenial husband during the writing of this dissertation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the characteristic elements of social life is the existence of a pattern of perceptual symbols which differentiate the statuses¹ of any social structure. In any society numerous symbols exist such as differences in speech patterns, deportment, social etiquette, clothing, general interests, etc., which serve to differentiate the social statuses.² One of these symbols, clothing, is extremely important in the initial appraisal of others' statuses, especially when interacting with unknown persons. In this respect, Linton, in estimating the importance of dress in interpersonal relationships, states, "It makes it possible for a stranger to determine at once the social category to which the wearer belongs and thus avoid acts or attitudes toward him which would be social errors."³ In addition, recently, Hoult has ex-

¹"Status" as used here refers to "any institutionally defined position of an individual in the social structure". Quote by Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949, p. 184 footnote 11.) See also Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), Chap. VII.

²See Erving Goffman, "Symbols of Class Status," British Journal of Sociology, II (December, 1951), 294-304, and Gregory P. Stone, "Clothing and Social Structure: A Study of Expressive Symbols in Community Life," unpublished manuscript, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, 1953. For a general approach to the study of status symbols see Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Sociology (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1895), Vol. II, Part IV "Ceremonial Institutions".

³Linton, op. cit., p. 614.

perimentally demonstrated that clothing plays an important and measurable part in structuring the nature of interpersonal relationships under certain circumstances.¹ And finally, research has demonstrated that difference in attire is one of the earliest and most frequently employed criterion of urban American children in ascertaining the sex status of others.²

The Michigan State University Experiment Station has sponsored research pertaining to the social aspects of clothing since the summer of 1950.³ The research provides substantial proof that clothing is an extremely significant element in adult community life. The research demonstrates that such social factors as social class status, sex, age, occupation, etc., are related to an individual's orientation to clothing and his use of it in interpersonal relationships. Since the subjects of this research were adult married couples no generalizations could be made concerning the clothing behavior of younger, unmarried individuals. As a result, another phase of basic research on the social aspects of clothing behavior was initiated. The investigation of this dissertation represents this new phase. The main problem area of this new research will be centered around the attempt to explain differences in adolescent clothing orientations within a social-psychological frame of reference.

¹Thomas Ford Hoult, "Experimental Measurement of Clothing as a Factor in Some Social Ratings of Selected American Men," American Sociological Review, XIX (June, 1954) pp. 324-328.

²J. H. Conn and L. Kanner, "Children's Awareness of Sex Differences," Journal of Child Psychiatry, I (1947), pp. 3-57.

³This research represents a joint undertaking of the Department of Textiles, clothing, and Related Arts and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Some of the works which represent completed aspects of the study are reviewed below, while others, of less relevance to the present study are merely cited. See section on "Review of Related Substantive Studies".

Review of Related Substantive Studies¹

In general, there has been a dearth of relevant substantive literature dealing with the sociological aspects of clothing. With few exceptions, much of the relevant sociological information consists of a limited number of passing observations and speculations.² Most of the associated substantive studies which do exist are to be found in other disciplinary areas, especially psychology. However, some of this material contains pertinent sociological information which can be employed in the development of relevant concepts and hypotheses. Since the number of these studies is too limited to justify intensive categorization, they will be presented in chronological order within two broad classifications. The first category will include those studies which were instituted primarily within a psychological frame of reference. These works represent a unitary path of development, originating with the first clothing questionnaire developed by G. S. Hall at the turn of the century. The second category will contain the limited number of studies, recently completed, which were initiated within a sociological framework.

¹A portion of this section has been abstracted from Arthur M. Vener, "Stratification Aspects of Clothing Importance," unpublished M. A. Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, June, 1953.

²Anthropological literature is replete with data concerning dress and ornamentation. However, this information generally assumes a cataloging character and seldom takes the form of broad interpretive analysis. A. L. Kroeber's empirical study, "On the Principle of Order in Civilization as Exemplified in Changes in Fashion," *American Anthropologist*, XXI (July-September, 1919), pp. 235-263, should be mentioned as an exception. Other possible exceptions here are the theoretical contributions of Tarde, Veblen, Simmel, and Ross to an understanding of the dynamics involved in clothing fashion. These, along with the theoretical contributions in the field of psychology which predominantly deal with the origins of clothing and the emotional value of dress, will be omitted in this review of literature, since they are of little relevance to our present study.

Psychological Studies:

In 1898, G. S. Hall¹ developed the first questionnaire on clothing in order to investigate the relationships between clothes and the development of the sense of the self. About 80 per cent of over 500 returned questionnaires were answered by teachers or students of psychology. The material reported came from their observations of children's behavior over a period of several years. Hall concluded that the ornamental aspect of clothing was most important for children, and that articles of clothing played an important part in the development of the self. He states:

The child who is habitually well dressed learns to avoid acts and environments which tend to soil his clothes and may become dainty, finical, fastidious, and effeminate. The child who is rudely and poorly dressed, on the other hand, comes in closer contact with the world about him and acquires a knowledge more real and substantial Cleanliness of body like clean dress has a prodigious moral effect upon children, who change manners, temper, conduct and put on a better self after being washed.²

Hall also demonstrated that even at an early age children will dress for others rather than for self comfort. He emphasized that for children, and especially girls, the main criterion for the wearing of specific garments was not how it felt, but how it appeared to others.

In 1905, Hall developed another clothing questionnaire which was sent to a normal school in New York State and 181 replies from the girl students were received. Among other questions, the subjects were asked

¹G. Stanley Hall, "Some Aspects of the Early Sense of Self," American Journal of Psychology, IX (1897-1898), 351-395. Note especially pp. 364-367.

²Ibid., p. 367.

how being well-dressed or the opposite affected them and how they were impressed by the dress of others. The material was turned over to Flaccus,¹ who analyzed the replies and presented the findings.

In respect to being well dressed, the girls reported a feeling of being more sociable, a feeling of having met the approval of others, a sense of power, and a sense of worth. On the other hand, in respect to being ill-dressed, the girls reported feelings leading to unsociableness, unpleasant feelings of being depressed, distressed, cross, or disagreeable self-consciousness, excessive sensitivity of being ridiculed by people, envy of others, and a general lowering of self esteem. Also, it was evident from the replies that clothing was a strong element in the appraisal of individuals by each other.

In 1918, G. Van Ness Dearborn,² influenced by the findings of Flaccus, investigated the relationship between clothing and success. He obtained statements bearing on this relationship from 24 men and women psychology students at Harvard. The replies emphasized the value of clothing in inspiring self confidence. Some of these replies were summarized as follows:

¹Louis W. Flaccus, "Remarks on the Psychology of Clothes," Pedagogical Seminary, XIII (1906), 61-83.

²George Van Ness Dearborn, The Psychology of Clothes (Princeton, New Jersey and Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Psychological Review Company), 1918.

A well-dressed person more easily gains the confidence of people in the business world.

Consciousness of good personal appearance frees the individual from the fear of the most common form of adverse criticism.

First impressions are lasting with many individuals.

Being well-dressed has an effect upon the emotions of the individual, such as joy, ecstasy, etc.¹

In 1929, Hurlock,² published the results of a comprehensive study of motivation in fashion. Her schedule was answered by approximately 1,500 people ranging in age from 16 to 51 years, and included both university men and women, and high school and normal school boys and girls. Along with Hall and Flaccus, Hurlock emphasized the effect of clothing upon children's behavior and happiness. The relationship of clothing and success upon which Dearborn placed so much emphasis was also corroborated. That individuals constantly consider the effect their clothing has on others is also emphatically acknowledge by Hurlock:

All of these results show that the social value of clothes is very great. The presence of others, especially if they are not members of one's immediate family, seems to be a great incentive to carefulness about appearance. . . people of mature experience realize that the first impression of others counts for much in life, while when one is with friends, other factors than appearance receive great consideration.³

¹Ibid., p. 54.

²Elizabeth B. Hurlock, "Motivation in Fashion", Archives of Psychology, No. 111 (1929). The author has since written a text on adolescent development which contains a section on adolescent clothing interest. See her Adolescent Development, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., Second Edition, 1955) pp. 216-222, 478-480.

³Ibid., p. 54.

As for the sex of the others for which persons dress, Hurlock demonstrated that more people dress either for their own sex or for both sexes than for the opposite sex alone. Both sexes attempt to avoid the criticism of both their own and the opposite sex in their selection of clothing.

In 1934, Barr¹ studied the psychology of choice in relation to clothing. Her questionnaire was presented to groups for which such facts as age, height and weight, educational background, reading interests, and professional or technical interests in fashion were known. The sample, all women from 17 to 50 years of age, included dressmakers and designers, Pratt Institute home economics students, Brooklyn College psychology students, and Young Women's Hebrew Association counsellors. Among the fundamental attitudes involved in the psychology of choice of dress, the desire to conform was the most significant and pervasive single item. (Two other items, desire for comfort with respect to temperature and tactual sensations, and desire for economy were also found to be widespread in all groups.) Desire to conform was found to be a more effective motive in determining the time of buying specific items of dress than the desire for economy.

In 1945, Silverman² published a study dealing with the psychological aspects of clothing and appearance for teen-age girls. Approximately

¹Estelle De Young Barr, "A Psychological Analysis of Fashion Motivation", Archives of Psychology, XXVI, No. 171 (June, 1934).

²Sylvia S. Silverman, Clothing and Appearance: Their Psychological Implications for Teen-age Girls, (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University), 1945.

370 girls, ranging in age from 12 to 18 in grades 7 to 12 of a suburban high school, responded to the author's questionnaire. In general, Silverman's methodological techniques are much more sophisticated than the above mentioned researchers, but her findings closely parallel theirs. The main elements operating in the choice of clothing were desire for approval, self confidence, and happiness, and "the belief in advantages in vocational and social areas to be achieved from good clothing and an attractive appearance".¹

A group ranking highest in appearance and a group ranking lowest in appearance was established on the basis of teachers' ratings and were compared in respect to personality characteristics, intelligence, age, economic status, participation in school activities, and prominence as leaders. The personality differences between the two groups as measured by the responses to Sheviakov and Friedberg "Interests and Activities" scales were summed up by the author as follows:

As compared with the good-appearing group, the poor-appearing group tended to show a greater dislike for companionship with other girls, for boy-girl relationships, and for social contacts in group activities both at school and in the community. They also tended to dislike being in situations which gave them prominence in the group. On the whole they tended to be negativistic in their responses, to dislike giving free play to their imaginative powers, and to show a relatively smaller capacity for establishing friendships. They also gave indications of lack of self-love and of feelings of self-effacement.²

Good-appearing girls tended to be brighter, tended to have a slightly higher economic background (low correlation of .103), tended to participate to a greater degree in school activities, and were more often

¹Ibid., p. 116.

²Ibid., p. 118.

sought as leaders than the poor-appearing girls.

✓ [A series of bulletins published between 1952 and 1953 on the "Psychological Effects of Clothing" by the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station under the authorship of Mary S. Ryan] represents the final work which falls within a psychological framework.¹ It would be far too burdensome to summarize here all of the findings of Ryan's investigation. Only those results which are more pertinent to the present research will be included.

During the spring of 1950 [a questionnaire dealing with the psychological effects on the college girl of feeling well or poorly dressed was sent to all the girls on the Cornell University campus]²

Those questionnaires returned totaled 1072 or 72 per cent of the 1480 which were sent out. [Some of her findings were that those who felt well dressed were also those who were apt to be conscious of their clothing most of the time, that no relationship existed between confidence in clothing and satisfaction with physical features, and that city girls had more confidence in their clothes than girls from a rural area. A comparison of the relationship between feelings of general security (lack of shyness, lack of self-confidence, and difficulty in making friends) and interest in clothing demonstrated a slight tendency for those who were the least secure to have a higher interest in clothing.

¹ Mary S. Ryan, Psychological Effects of Clothing. Part I. "Survey of the Opinions of College Girls", Cornell University Agricultural Station Bul. 882, September, 1952; Ryan, Mary S., Psychological Effects of Clothing. Part II. "Comparison of College Students with Urban Students, and Boys with Girls", Cornell University Agricultural Station Bul. 898, July, 1953; Ryan, Mary S., Psychological Effects of Clothing. Part III. "Report of Interviews with a Selected Sample of College Women", Cornell University Agricultural Station Bul. 900, August, 1953.

² Ryan, op. cit. Bul. 882.

[In a second phase of the general investigation a modified form of the questionnaire was administered to approximately 245 rural](a farm community of 4,000) boys and girls and to approximately the same number of city (population between 300,000 and 400,000) boys and girls.¹ The 10th, 11th, and 12th grades were sampled. [The purpose was to compare college students with high school students, rural with urban students, and boys with girls in respect to some of the previously demonstrated relationships. The results of the survey indicated that boys were just as much affected as girls were by feeling well or poorly dressed. They were affected in much the same way and had similar attitudes towards clothing. A number of differences between urban and rural girls was discerned. Urban girls tended to have a greater quantity and quality of clothing, they were more conscious of them, and were more interested in clothing than the rural girls.] In her conclusions, the writer hypothesized that many of the discerned differences between rural and urban might have been due to differences in economic background. However, this possibility was not investigated, since no data on economic level was available.

[In the final phase of the investigation, Ryan interviewed 100 Cornell University girls]² The interviewees were selected on the basis of their responses to the original questionnaire. The purpose was to ascertain the validity of the "interest score" employed in the original questionnaire, to investigate further into some of the qualitative factors leading to confidence in appearance, and to obtain more material on the effects of feeling well or poorly dressed. Some personal data information

¹Ryan, op. cit. Bul. 898.

²Ryan, op. cit. Bul. 900.

were obtained to determine whether some of the results observed in the original survey might have been attributed to the socio-economic level of the girl. Ten of the girls interviewed were also given the Morschach personality test. Five of these girls had demonstrated a very great interest in clothing and the remaining five had demonstrated very little interest in clothing. The intention was to discover if relationships between an individual's personality and degree of interest in clothing could be ascertained by employing this technique.

Ryan found that the concept of "interest in clothing" was too inclusive. She concluded that:

Any future research dealing with interest should, however, develop means of differentiating between various kinds of interest and a more exact definition of terms.¹

The conclusions based upon the Morschach test must remain highly tentative due to the extremely low number of girls involved. However, these findings can be useful in the development of future research. The conclusions, couched in the terminology of the test, were that:

. . . the low-interest group tends to be:

1. swayed less by emotion; 2. less dependent upon the environment for stimulation, having a richer imaginative life; 3. slightly more mature in its emotional response to the environment; 4. to feel less anxiety from an inadequately controlled affectivity, and is helped by a greater capacity to work out disturbance in fantasy activity. On the other hand, the high interest group is: 1. thrown more on the environment for its adjustment; 2. more responsive to its pressures, and shows more anxiety directed toward the environment; 3. tending to emphasize modes of adjustment closely related to overt patterning of behavior. (The emphasis placed upon clothing is a suitable illustration.)²

¹ Ibid., p. 20.

² Ibid., p. 19.

The personal data information employed to ascertain a girl's socio-economic level proved to be inadequate. As a result, the hypothesis that the socio-economic level of a girl's family may influence her attitudes towards clothing could neither be proved or disproved. Ryan discovered that the girls who felt well dressed seemed to be more relaxed, generally were more at ease and were more confident. On the other hand, the girls who felt poorly dressed were worried about their appearance, were more ill-at-ease, and were more self-centered. In conclusion, the investigator indicated the possibility of a relationship between social participation and leadership with confidence in clothes.

Criticism. Elsewhere,¹ and in some detail, it has been shown that these above summarized studies were heavily biased in the direction of middle class status persons. The conclusion should be reiterated here that:

. . .when these studies are examined in totality, they contribute mainly to an understanding of the clothing attitudes of middle status persons, and we cannot assume that upper and lower status individuals would have identical attitudes.²

Sociological Studies:

The research design of most of the above reviewed studies was focused around the attempt to explain differences in clothing behavior in terms of differences in individual personality systems. Such a conceptual scheme minimizes the vital symbolic function of clothing in inter-personal relationships.³ In contrast to this, the symbolic function of clothing was the prime element employed in the following research in

¹Vener, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

²Ibid., p. 12.

³We have briefly discussed this element in our opening remarks.

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attempting to explain variations in clothing behavior. These studies fall within our second category, the sociological framework.

✓ The first of these investigators, Rosencranz, in studying differences in clothing interest of 180 married and unmarried women, developed a questionnaire which attempted to ascertain differences in degree of clothing interest through reported differences in amount of "time, energy, money, thought, and attention given to clothing".¹ The author found that rural or urban background, age, occupation, and income were related to total scores on the interest in clothing questionnaire. Other elements, education, marital status, children in the family, and membership in organizations were related to a person's interest in clothing to a lesser degree. In general, urban (cities of 10,000 or more) persons had higher clothing interest than rural people, people in higher income brackets also had more clothing interest, younger women had higher clothing interest than older persons, single women had more interest in clothing than married women, and childless married women had higher interest than married women with children. The group of college students was found to have a higher interest in clothing than the group which consisted largely of factory workers and business women.]

Vener,² in a study completed in the spring of 1953, employed a modified Guttman-type scale to measure the personal estimates of clothing importance of 88 married men in a southern Michigan town of 10,000. The author demonstrated empirically that personal estimates of clothing im-

¹ Mary Lou Rosencranz, "A Study of Interest in Clothing Among Selected Groups of Married and Unmarried Young Women", Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Textiles, Clothing, and Related Arts, Michigan State College, 1948. Three of Rosencranz's most discriminating items were the basis of Ryan's index of clothing interest. See supra, pp. 11-15.

² Vener, op. cit.

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portance was related to social status, to vertical social mobility, and to the degree of social participation. He observed that those individuals in the medium-high social class status group had the greatest proportion of persons who had received high clothing importance scores, while clothing seemed to decrease in importance for those in the highest status categories. He further observed that these middle class persons also exhibited the largest ratio of upward occupational mobility and the greatest degree of social participation. The researcher offered three possible explanations in his attempt to interpret the relative low estimates of clothing importance by individuals in the highest social position categories¹: (1) The responses of individuals from the highest status levels were often based upon specific projected situations, i.e., parties, picnics, business meetings, etc., and consequently, were given medium, or even low scores. (2) The highest status individuals may have already attained their status goals, or more likely may have obtained their high status positions from family membership. Therefore, clothing as a symbol of success or as a means to a higher status goal is of little consequence in the social life of these people. (3) The mass production of clothing has probably decreased its value as a status symbol for persons of high status, and more emphasis has been placed upon such symbols as birth, inheritance, and "culture" for communicating their status to others. A further finding, worth noting, was that of all the indices of social class status employed by the author, occupational prestige and its highly related variable, source of income, demonstrated the greatest degree of relationship to personal estimates of clothing importance.

¹Vener, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

And finally, Gray¹, in analyzing the fashion behavior of 98 married women, demonstrated four types of orientations to fashion: (1) the mimetic type included those women whose main concern was toward relative inconspicuousness and conformity to fashion, (2) the individualistic type contained those who wished to draw attention to themselves through the wearing of attractive and fashionable clothing, (3) the condition-inhibited type who felt that certain conditions over which she had no control kept her from wearing fashionable clothing, and (4) the non-rationalizing women who accepted fashion as a legitimate goal, but formulated no rationalization for her behavior. The individualizing

¹Gray, Corinne, "Orientations to Fashion", unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, August, 1953. Vener's and Gray's research represent completed phases of the "Clothing Project" which was sponsored by the Michigan State University Experiment Station. Since other completed phases are of less direct relevance to a study of adolescent clothing orientations, they will not be reviewed above. Some of these works are: G. P. Stone, W. H. Form, and Hazel B. Strahan, "The Social Climate of Decision in Shopping for Clothes", *Journal of Home Economics*, Vol. 46, No. 2, (Feb. 1954), pp. 86-88, in which the authors consider some social and social psychological factors that enter into the shopping situation to determine a homemaker's decisions about clothing purchases; G. P. Stone and W. H. Form, "Clothing Inventories and Preferences Among Rural and Urban Families", Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station Technical Bulletin No. 246, March 1955, in which the authors demonstrate that social factors effect the number of clothing items owned and the preferences people have for their selection and use; and W. H. Form and G. P. Stone, "The Social Significance of Clothing in Occupational Life", Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station Technical Bulletin No. 247, June 1955, in which the authors show that individuals in different occupational positions demonstrate different orientations to clothing. Also, another study, not directly connected with the Experiment Station "Clothing Project" should be mentioned here, namely, Margaret Cynthia Warning, "The Implications of Social Class for Clothing Behavior: The Acquisition and Use of Apparel for Girls Seven, Eight and Nine Years of Age in Three Social Classes in Des Moines, Iowa", unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, June 1956. In this research the author shows that practice in the acquisition, use and care of garments for girls seven through nine years of age varied with social class status.

types were generally persons with higher social class status and also those who were oriented to an urban way of life (cosmopolite). The greatest percentage of the non-rationalizing and conditioned-inhibited types were from the lower strata and the greatest percentage of the mimetic type were from the lower middle strata. In contrasting a fifth type, means-oriented, those who saw fashion as a means of achieving other social goals, with the conditioned-inhibited type, Gray demonstrated that the means-oriented generally had more education, more income, more upward religious mobility, and more upward occupational mobility. These means-oriented individuals also were from the upper, upper middle, and lower middle strata, and were more urban oriented.

Problem, Variables, and Hypotheses

Each actor in a social system has a pattern of relations-to-objects which can be referred to as his "system of orientations."¹ These objects, which are the components of a situation, may be goal objects (human or non-human), resources, means, conditions, or symbols and they may have differential meaning to different people. The actor's system of orientations constitute one of the guides to his behavior in each of the complex social roles in which he is involved.² Since clothing

Action ¹Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, Toward a General Theory of (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952) p. 54.

²Merton defines the concept of "orientation" as follows: "The social orientation differs from the social role. Role refers to the manner in which the rights and duties inherent in social position are put into practice; orientation . . . refers to the theme underlying the complex of social roles performed by an individual. It is the (tacit or explicit) theme which finds expression in each of the complex of social roles in which the individual is implicated." Robert K. Merton, "Patterns of Influence", in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton, Communications Research 1948-1949 (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949), p. 187.

is a component object in most social action situations, it is assumed that orientations to clothing are an integral aspect of these action situations. In this study, we shall analyze three types of orientations to clothing manifested by adolescents. These include: (1) clothing awareness - level of "sensitivity" to clothing in social life, (2) clothing deprivation - sentiments of adequacy-inadequacy of clothing behavior in respect to other persons, and (3) clothing referents - salient persons referred to in the determination of the legitimacy of clothing behavior. Variations in (1) degree of clothing awareness will be examined in terms of differences in (a) sex status, (b) age-grade status, (c) social class status and related variables, and (d) conceptions of self. Some of these variables will also be employed to explain differences in (2) sentiments of clothing deprivation. Specific hypotheses will be presented. The limited existing data related to (3) personal referents in clothing behavior does not permit the formulation of a specific, logically deduced, set of relationships. The prime focus here will be centered around the problem: What effect does age-grade, sex, and social class have on the different salient referents employed by adolescents in the determination of the adequacy of their clothing behavior? The specific hypotheses are listed and explained below.

I. Degree of Clothing Awareness: Hypotheses

A. Age-Grade. Clothing awareness will be positively related to age-grade.¹ As the child matures the roles he is called upon to play become more complex and greater in number. He is more likely

¹Although it is realized that some age overlapping will exist in any school system, grade achieved in school will be employed as a measure of general age-grade status.

to come into contact with a greater number of strangers in his daily activities. These factors, inherent in the socialization process, will instill a greater awareness of the symbols which differentiate the statuses.

B. Sex. Girls will demonstrate more clothing awareness than boys. A casual analysis of magazine copy will reveal an overwhelming amount of space given over to fashion in women's dress as compared to that of men.¹ The girl is constantly being bombarded with clothing fashion advertisements from the mass media. In the upper and middle classes, especially, girls are much more frequently reminded than boys of the importance of dress as a manipulative symbolic device. The relative importance of female clothing behavior in Veblen's presentation of his principle of conspicuous consumption should be noted here.²

C. Social Class and Related Variables.

1. Social class status. Clothing awareness will be positively related to social class status. Several empirical studies, reviewed above, demonstrated a relationship between clothing importance and clothing interest with social class status. It was noted in the study made by Vener that adults of higher class status showed the greatest degree of personal estimations of clothing importance. It is suggested

¹B. Barber and L. S. Lobel in "'Fashion' in Women's Clothes and the American Social System", Social Forces, XXXI, No. 6 (December, 1952), 124-131, analyze copy of a number of women's fashion magazines and demonstrate the functional relationship of fashion to the American class structure, age-sex roles, and the economic system.

²Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: The Modern Library, Inc., 1934). Originally published in 1899; the new edition was published in 1918.

that the offspring of these individuals, through the socialization process, will demonstrate a high degree of clothing awareness.

2. Organizational activity. Clothing awareness will be positively related to organizational activity. Those adolescents who are more active in social life are also more likely to become aware of the communicative value of dress as an aid in the correct appraisal of others' statuses. These boys and girls are more likely to become "sensitized" to subtle differences in dress which determine an individual's social category.

3. Identification with social class. Clothing awareness will be positively related to social class identification. It is proposed that the adolescent who identifies with the upper and middle classes will tend to show relatively higher clothing awareness than those who identify with the "working" or lower classes.¹

4. Aspirations. Clothing awareness will be positively related to occupational and educational aspirations. It is hypothesized that adolescents who aspire to achieve occupational positions of high prestige will demonstrate greater clothing awareness than those who desire occupational positions of relatively low prestige. It is anticipated that these upward striving children will come, for the most part, from the higher socio-economic strata. Here they are imbued with the ideology of "success" by their upward looking parents who are probably more sensitive to the symbols which differentiate the social strata. In this social milieu, boys and girls are taught the need to

¹This hypothesis has reference to subjective self identification with social class membership, whereas hypothesis I-C-1 has reference to actual social class membership based upon objective evaluation. See Chapter II for the method employed to measure social class status.

sacrifice in order to obtain the required education for the "right" job. As part of this ideology of success the value of "appearance" in making the "proper" impression on others will be stressed. Variations on the theme, "clothes make the man", will be ingrained into the adolescent living in such a social environment.

D. Self Conception Variables.

1. Social confidence. Clothing awareness will be negatively related to social confidence. Ryan, whose research and conclusions are reviewed above, found a slight tendency for those boys and girls who showed the least general security (shyness, lack of self-confidence, difficulty in making friends) to have higher clothing interest than those who demonstrated a high general security. An attempt will be made to corroborate and enlarge upon Ryan's finding. In general then, the proposal is that the less social confidence an adolescent reveals, the greater will be his clothing awareness.

2. Other-directedness. Clothing awareness will be positively related to other-directedness. Riesman has characterized the "new" middle and upper middle class of today as cosmopolitan oriented and other-directed.¹ The other-directed individual is a product of his peer-groups, demonstrating high sensitivity to the opinions and feelings of members of these groups. "While all people want and need to be liked by some of the people some of the time, it is only the modern other-directed types who make this their chief source of direction and chief area of sensitivity."² With this concept of other-direction in mind, it

¹David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press), 1950.

²Ibid., p. 23.

is is proposed that the more other-directed an adolescent is the higher will be his clothing awareness.

3. Sentiments of clothing deprivation. Clothing awareness will be positively related to sentiments of clothing deprivation. The more an individual is cognizant of dress, the more frequently will he tend to perceive "flaws" in his clothing when he compares himself with other people. Therefore, it is suggested that the more intense the expressed sentiments of clothing deprivation are, the greater will be the clothing awareness.¹

II. Sentiments of Clothing Deprivation: Hypotheses.

A. Age-grade. Sentiments of clothing deprivation will be positively related to age-grade. The adolescent who expresses dissatisfaction with the clothing he possesses and who feels he is dressed more poorly than others is displaying sentiments of relative deprivation.² In order to develop such sentiments the individual must compare himself with others in respect to certain factors and judge himself deprived in relationship to these others. As the adolescent gets older, his role playing activities become more complex and diversified. Through the socialization process, he will be made increasingly aware of the importance of dress as a communicative device. It is proposed that the

¹In this study, the variable "sentiments of clothing deprivation" is used both as an independent self-conception variable and as a dependent variable. The proposed hypotheses in respect to its use as a dependent variable follow below.

²Merton sees "relative deprivation" as a special concept in reference group theory. See Robert K. Merton and Alice S. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior", in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (eds), Continuities in Social Research (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1950) pp. 40-105.

higher the age-grade status of an adolescent is, the more will he tend to demonstrate sentiments of clothing deprivation.

B. Sex. Girls will demonstrate sentiments of clothing deprivation more frequently than boys. As mentioned above, through the socialization process, girls are made more aware of the communicative function of dress as an aid in differentiating the social strata. It is suggested that this process results also in a greater sensitivity to possible "gaps" in what is considered to be an "adequate" wardrobe.

C. Social Class and Related Variable.

1. Social Class Status. Sentiments of clothing deprivation will be negatively related to social class status. The parents of an adolescent who is from the higher social classes are more likely to have the requisite purchasing power to acquire for him what is socially defined as an "adequate" wardrobe. Therefore, it is expected that individuals of higher social class status will tend to express sentiments of clothing deprivation less frequently than those of lower class status.

2. Organizational activity. Sentiments of clothing deprivation will be negatively related to organizational activity. Above, it was proposed that there would be a negative relationship between social class status and sentiments of clothing deprivation, that is, the higher the class, the lower the sentiments of clothing deprivation. Since a number of studies have shown a strong relationship between social class and the degree of organizational participation, i.e., adolescents of higher social class position tend to participate more in in-school and out-school organizations, it is hypothesized that clothing deprivation will also be related to organizational activity - the greater the

organizational activity, the less the tendency to express intense sentiments of clothing deprivation.

D. Self Conception Variables.

1. Social confidence. Sentiments of clothing deprivation will be negatively related to social confidence. Many of the studies reviewed above, established that being well-dressed enhanced one's self-esteem. Further empirical corroboration and qualification will be attempted. Hence, it is hypothesized that the greater the social confidence, the less will be the tendency to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation.

2. Other-directedness. Sentiments of clothing deprivation will be positively related to other-directedness. Riesman's concept of other-directedness, considered above, leads us to suggest that the more other-directed an individual is, the more intense will be his feelings of clothing deprivation.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURE

This research was initiated primarily for the purpose of testing specific hypotheses related to adolescent clothing orientations.¹ Since broad statistical analysis was intended in the consideration of these hypotheses, a relatively large number of subjects was needed. It was decided, therefore, that a standardized, group administered questionnaire was the most feasible instrument which could be employed. The development of this questionnaire, the sample selected, the measurement of variables, and the various statistical methods used are considered below.

The Questionnaire

The writer has been collecting data relevant to the developed problem area for several years. The information was gathered by: (1) informal interviews, (2) direct observation of school extra-curricular activities,² (3) compositions written on such themes as "If you could dress like anyone you please, who would you choose and why?" - "What have been some of your most pleasant and unpleasant experiences with clothing?" - "What has been your most embarrassing experience?" and (4) insights gained from other closely related substantive studies,

¹See Chapter I, section on "Problem, Variables, and Hypotheses."

²The writer's wife has been a high school teacher of English and girls' basketball coach, and thus he was able to attend many school functions inconspicuously.

especially those of Sylvia S. Silverman, Mary S. Ryan, and this author's previous work. From these data, a pre-test questionnaire was developed in order to test the formulated hypotheses and the many other facets of the problem area.¹ The schedule was administered to approximately 200 tenth and twelfth grade boys and girls in the Flint school system. The concern in this pre-test was primarily technical in that the information sought was centered around the determination of: (1) the maximum length of time needed for the completion of the questionnaire, (2) the response distributions for specific items, (3) whether any of the items, as a whole, lacked meaning, (4) the adolescents' specific response to certain words, and (5) the over-all reaction to the instrument itself. In order to obtain this information, during the administration of the pre-test schedule, the students were requested to ask questions if any item, or part of an item, was unclear. Further, upon completion of the questionnaire by each class, several students were interviewed individually. Accordingly, as a result of the pre-test, several of the items were revised, the wording of others was altered, and finally, many of the items were rearranged as they appeared in the schedule.

In order to avoid potential bias in attitudes toward the questionnaire itself, or its specific content, which might have been transferred by classroom teachers and students, several precautionary steps were taken. First, all classes in the selected sample of a specific school were given the questionnaire at precisely the same time and secondly, no staff member of any of the schools was involved in its administration.

¹Actually, the pre-test schedule represented the third draft. Sections of the other drafts were pre-tested and revised accordingly.

Reliability. Reliability of a questionnaire depends on the extent to which repeated administrations of the instrument would result in the same response data. In short, reliability in this sense is a problem of stability.¹ Since the proposed hypotheses are to be tested for the entire group, the concern is with the reliability of the instrument on a group basis. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, reliability of the questionnaire would depend on the extent to which its repeated administrations to similar groups of adolescents would result in the same response data. Individual variations in responses might occur, but it is assumed that these variations would be obviated by the performance of the whole group and thus would not effect the testing of hypotheses. Many of the items used in the final questionnaire were employed in other studies with good results.² Further, the kinds of responses obtained from the pre-test questionnaire were very comparable to those of the final instrument, even though a number of items were slightly altered in wording and others rearranged as they appeared in the schedule.

Validity. A logical approach to the problem of validity results in the definition that "a measurement procedure is valid to the degree that it measures what it purports to measure."³ This approach has often

¹W. J. Goode and P. K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research, (New York: McGraw-Hill Series in Sociology and Anthropology, 1952), pp. 152-161.

²These studies include: (1) W. B. Brookover, W. H. Form, D. L. Gibson, et. al., Youth and the World of Work, (East Lansing: Social Research Service, Michigan State College, September 1949); (2) W. B. Brookover, D. G. Epley, and G. P. Stone, Dynamics of Prejudice among Maple County Youth, (East Lansing: Social Research Service, Michigan State College, 1953), a mimeographed report; (3) Sylvia Silverman, op. cit.; and (4) Mary S. Ryan, op. cit.

³Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), p. 109.

led to the attempt to distinguish between attitudes expressed in responding to questionnaires and actual behavior. However, this has proven to be a basically false issue.¹ Verbal response is actually a kind of overt behavior and does represent certain aspects of social reality.

Another method of determining the validity of an instrument - whether or not it measures what it purports to measure - is that of ascertaining the truthfulness of the respondents' answers to questions. This method, for sociologists, can also lead to indecision for it immediately raises the problem of the degree of truthfulness desired. Is the expressed sentiment of a respondent really what he actually believes, or is he attempting to conceal something of even more significance? If this approach is followed, the sociologist may find himself employing techniques of psychology, such as Thematic Apperception Tests or clinical depth interviews, which he is not qualified to use. Even if this were not the case, the difficulty still would not be solved, for he would eventually be confronted with the philosophical problem of the meaning of "truth" and the necessity of deriving criteria of absolute truth, which in turn would take him outside the realm of science.

It is the author's belief that for all science, validity can be determined only through reliability. In short, the findings of a study are valid only to the extent that the procedures employed in the study can be repeated and comparable conclusions result. This will be the interpretation of validity used for the purposes of this dissertation.

¹ Goode and Hatt, op. cit., pp. 161-166.

In the pre-testing of the schedule, as reported above, a number of students were interviewed to determine whether or not the interpretation of questions by the respondents was the same as that which was intended by the researchers. Those items which did not meet this specification were either altered or completely omitted from the final instrument. And in respect to the retained items, it was mentioned that responses obtained from the pre-test questionnaire were very similar to those of the final instrument.

The Sample

The final instrument was administered to 782 twelfth, tenth, and eighth grade boys and girls in the Lansing school system. The inclusion of eighth graders was a last minute decision. It was thought that their inclusion would help in the exploration of some of the age-developmental aspects of the study. At first, it was felt that this might have caused difficulty in the comprehension of some of the items on the part of the eighth graders, since the instrument was developed for, and pre-tested on, older adolescents. However, this factor was found to be of little importance after intensive analysis of the data was completed. Although there was a tendency for eighth graders to more frequently omit items, or not be able to complete the questionnaire in the allotted time of forty-five minutes, this did not occur in many cases and was of no statistical significance.

For the purposes of this investigation, an over-all representation of the student population was not necessary, for the aim was to obtain an adequate number of representatives of certain groups in order that statistical comparison might be made. Specifically, in the selection

of the sample, the goal was to obtain adequate representation by grade and sex. Table I, below, demonstrates the distribution of the sample population by these two groups.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION BY GRADE AND SEX

Grade	Sex		
	Boys	Girls	Totals
12th	105	120	225
10th	147	149	296
8th	138	123	261
Totals	390	392	782

Another important factor which guided the selection of the sample was the attempt to minimize upper social class bias in the higher grades, because of the greater number of "drop-outs" of children in the lower class strata. It is believed that this goal was fairly well achieved, since the occupational status of an adolescent's father, the prime index of social class status employed in this dissertation, demonstrated only a very low degree of relationship with grade in school.¹

¹See Appendix B, Table LXXII, for a summary of this relationship. Although the degree of the relationship was very low for all students ($\bar{C} = .16$), the variables did demonstrate a moderately significant association ($P = .05$). For a discussion of the variable "occupational status", and for an explanation of the symbol " \bar{C} " and the criterion of statistical significance, see section on "Statistical Techniques" in this chapter.

Furthermore, no conscious attempt was made to bias the selected sample in any way. Rather, certain steps were taken in order to avoid such an occurrence. All but one of the schools in the Lansing system¹ were sampled. The questionnaire was administered to selected Home Room sections. Since it was determined that the prime criterion for assigning students to Home Room sections was that of alphabetical order, sections were selected in each school which contained students whose surnames fell within the entire alphabetical range. Since it is logical to expect that if officials of each school were to choose those sections which were to be included in the sample, they would tend to select those which would be most "cooperative" in order that an outsider might not receive an unfavorable impression of his particular school. As a result, all decisions as to which Home Room sections were to be included in the sample were made by the writer, himself.

MEASUREMENT OF VARIABLES

In order to test empirically the proposed hypotheses, specific operational techniques were employed to measure the variables involved in these hypotheses. The following paragraphs contain a discussion of the specific techniques used which require some elaboration and explanation.

¹This one school which was not sampled was recently amalgamated into the Lansing school system and contained a very large percentage of rural-fringe individuals who, it was felt, were not typically representative of the Lansing adolescent population.

Scale Construction: Clothing Awareness, Social Confidence, and Other-Directedness.

Since a prime focus of this dissertation is the explanation of differences in the degree of clothing awareness among adolescents, it was necessary to arrange the available data in some meaningful manner. A number of alternative categorization techniques were possible, i.e., a qualitative typology, subjective ratings of responses by a group of qualified judges, or some scaling device. Since the interest is in a single attitude dimension - clothing awareness - the most desirable categorization could be accomplished through the use of some objective scaling technique. Recently, it has been demonstrated that data of a similar nature were amenable by treatment to a known scaling method - The Cornell Technique for Scalogram Analysis.¹ In the final analysis of the data, employing Scalogram Analysis, a scale was developed for this variable of clothing awareness. In addition, an independent variable, social confidence, also proved to be scalable when this technique was employed. However, when Scalogram Analysis was applied to still another area, other-directedness, it was found that no single scale could be developed which included the responses of all the students.

Test for scalability. Four main criteria are used to determine scalability in Scalogram Analysis: (1) the coefficient of reproducibility,

¹See Vener, op. cit., pp. 16-29. This technique was developed by Louis Guttman in "The Cornell Technique for Scale and Intensity Analysis", Educational and Psychological Measurement, XII (1947), 247-279. All statements of fact made concerning this technique were abstracted from its text, unless otherwise noted. For an excellent introduction to Scale Analysis see Louis Guttman, "A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data", American Sociological Review, IX (1944), 139-150.

(2) the number of items and response categories, (3) the range of marginal frequencies, and (4) the pattern of error.¹

(1) Coefficient of reproducibility. In 1944, Guttman set the lower acceptable ideal limit for this coefficient at 85 per cent,² and more recently at "about 90 per cent".³ Clothing awareness had a reproducibility of 90.0 per cent, while social confidence had a reproducibility of 90.3 per cent. It is therefore feasible to accept these scales as included within the limits of acceptability determined by the criterion of reproducibility.

(2) Number of items and response categories. Guttman states that if items are dichotomized, at least ten items should be used, and indicates that a lesser number may be satisfactory if the marginal frequencies of several items are in the range of 30 to 70 per cent. Both final constructs contain only four items.⁴ Three of the items in the scale of clothing awareness have marginal frequencies well within the 30 to 70 per cent range, while one item has a frequency of 87 and 13 per cent. In the case of social confidence, only two items demonstrate a marginal frequency within the 30 to 70 per cent range. The others have a frequency of 21 and 89 per cent, and 81 and 19 per cent. These two scales, therefore, do not quite meet the specifications of this criterion.

¹Samuel A. Stouffer et al., Measurement and Prediction, Vol. IV of Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, ed. Frederick Osborn et al., 4 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949-50), pp. 78-80, 117-119.

²Louis Guttman, "A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data", American Sociological Review, IX (1944), p. 140.

³Quotations and underlining are the author's.

⁴See below for a listing of the items which comprise both scales.

However, it must be kept in mind that items with extreme frequencies are needed in order to obtain differential scale types. It should be noted further, that it was necessary to drop several items out of each of the scales because they possessed marginal frequencies which were identical with others in the scale giving them the same discriminatory powers.

(3) Range of marginal frequencies. Reproducibility may be spuriously high if the items have extreme frequencies. The marginal frequencies of the items of both scales are discussed under the second criterion, the number of items and response categories. It can be seen from this discussion that this specific criterion, the avoidance of extreme frequencies, has been satisfied. Further, in reference to this criterion, Guttman states that the reproducibility of an item should never be less than the largest frequency of its categories, regardless of whether the area is scalable or not. All of the items of both scales fall well within the limits of this particular specification.

(4) Pattern of error. The pattern of error should be inspected to see whether or not there are a large number of non-scale types of persons. Since errors should be randomly distributed, non-scale types can be recognized by solid segments (five or more) in one column which fall outside the cutting points.¹ No items of the clothing awareness scale or of the social confidence scale have such clusterings. As a rule, no category should have more errors in it than non-errors. The eight items of both scales also meet this requirement.

Conclusion. As indicated above, three of the criteria of scalability in Scalogram Analysis were fairly well met in the case of

¹Stouffer, et al., op. cit., pp. 159-163.

both the clothing awareness and social confidence scales. However, a fairly serious weakness exists in terms of a fourth criterion in that each construct contains only four items. This, and the fact that a large number of items, originally intended to be part of the scales, had to be rejected because of their lack of scalability,¹ makes it difficult to suggest that clothing awareness and social confidence represent two broad unidimensional universes in American social life. In fact, due to the extreme complexities of these variables, it would have been possible to arrive at this same conclusion from a mere superficial knowledge of American culture. Nevertheless, this does not prevent a judgment about the unidimensionality of the five scale items alone. In this respect, Festinger, after establishing the futility of insisting on unidimensional universes in the social sciences, except for the most simple variables, states that:

Scale analysis still provides the investigator with a good technique for scale construction and a means for determining quantitatively the extent to which his data depart from the ideal of unidiemsnionality. Such knowledge should help the investigator considerably in interpreting his data.²

In consideration of the above discussion, therefore, it is feasible to assume, for the purposes of this dissertation, that there is only one dominant variable involved in each of the scales.

¹Originally, twelve items of the questionnaire were intended for both scales. For clothing awareness those items were 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 29, 34, 42, 45, 48, 51, 52; and for social confidence those items were 23, 28, 30, 33, 36, 38, 40, 44, 46, 47, 49, 53. See Appendix A. The items which were finally included in the scales are underlined.

²Leon Festinger, "The Treatment of Qualitative Data by Scale Analysis," Psychological Bulletin, XLIV (1947), p. 159.

Scale items. Since the items of the developed scales appear in different parts of the questionnaire, it would be difficult for the reader to get an over-all view of the type of items each scale is composed of. Therefore, the items of each scale will be listed below. The questionnaire number will precede each item.

(a) Clothing awareness:

- (13) How much thought and attention do you think someone your age should give to clothes?
- (24) Do you ever want to know whether other people like or dislike your clothes?
- (29) I don't enjoy wearing my clothes unless my friends like them.
- (34) How often do you pay attention to the clothes you wear?

(b) Social Confidence

- (23) I dislike going to parties and other affairs where there are lots of people I don't know.
- (38) I am more self conscious than most people.
- (46) It bothers me when people talk about me behind my back.
- (53) I like to get up and talk before the class.

Other-directedness. It was mentioned above, that when Scalogram Analysis was applied to the area of other-directedness, it was found that no single scale could be developed which included the responses of all students. Rather, it was found that a separate scale could be developed for (1) 12th, 10th and 8th grade girls, (2) 12th grade boys,

(3) 10th grade boys, and (4) 8th grade boys.¹ If all four of these scales were used in the study, a comparison of individuals in the different scales would have been impossible. Furthermore, the employment of all of these sub-scales would have led to extreme complexity in statistical analysis and presentation. As a result, it was decided that a more simple construct, such as an index, would be more useful as an aid in the analysis of the data.

Three items were involved in the four final scales.² However, when all three items were used in an attempt to develop a single construct which would include all students, no scale could be developed that met the criteria of scalability discussed above. Specifically, the coefficient of reproducibility was too low for acceptability and, even more important, too many non-scale types were in evidence. On the other hand, it was felt that these three items, dichotomized, would make an adequate index of other-directedness. The items involved were:

(39) I can do things better by working with other people.

(41) Before I make up my mind to do something I try to find out what other people think about it.

(50) It is very important that I know what other people think of me.

¹Originally, five items (26, 31, 39, 41, 50) were to be employed in the development of a scale for all students. However, only three dichotomized items (39, 41, 50) were finally included in a scale developed for all girls; for 12th grade boys, one trichotomized item (39) and one dichotomized item (41) were included; for 10th grade boys one trichotomized item (50) and one dichotomized item (39) were included; for 8th grade boys one trichotomized item (39) and one dichotomized item (41) were included.

²These were items 39, 41, and 50. See paragraph below.

All of these questions were of the categorized, five point scale type of "strongly agree", "agree", "uncertain", "disagree", and "strongly disagree". All three items were dichotomized, giving a weight of 0 to the responses of "uncertain", "disagree", and "strongly disagree". An individual's other-directedness score was obtained by totaling the weights he received in responding to the three items. A score of "3" represents very high other-directedness and a score of "0" represents very low other-directedness.

Social Class Status, Aspirations, and Organizational Activity.

Since many students of stratification hold that occupational status is a major, if not the prime element in social class status, this variable will be employed in this dissertation as an indicator of social class status. The relative importance of occupational position in the general stratification of American society has been expressed by Anderson and Davidson rather vividly:

The occupation one follows fills most of one's waking time. It assigns the individual a particular place in society, which can be changed only by most exceptional circumstances. It has much to do with determining the location and kind of residence of the family, and thereby the schooling, playmates, social contacts, and leisure-time activities of its various members. . . .it forms the range of his conversation and intellectual interest, fastens upon him habits of dress and conduct, and defines the circle of his friends and acquaintances, who in turn have a powerful effect on his thoughts and actions.¹

¹D. Anderson and P. E. Davidson, Ballots and the Democratic Class Struggle (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1943) p. 82. For others who point out the significance of occupation as a major element in social class status see D. C. Miller and W. H. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Sociological Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, XLV, No. 6 (May, 1940), pp. 841-862, Paul K. Hatt, "Occupation and Social Stratification," American Journal of Sociology, LV, No. 6 (May, 1950).

There exists in sociology a number of different techniques for measuring occupational status, such as the North-Hatt occupational categories,¹ Alba Edwards' social-economic groups,² and Warner's occupational prestige ratings.³ Kahl and Davis, in a recently completed study, compared nineteen stratification indexes and found that these factors were related because all basically measured the same underlying dimension - that of occupational prestige.⁴ Furthermore, the authors found that Warner's occupational categories demonstrated the highest degree of association with the other nineteen indexes of socio-economic status examined. In light of these findings, Warner's seven-point occupational status index will be employed in this study in rating the occupational status of an adolescent's father (Item 7b, 7c of questionnaire)⁵, which in turn will be used as an index of the adolescent's social class status.

¹C. C. North and P. H. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, (eds.) Class, Status, and Power (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953) pp. 411-426.

²Alba M. Edwards, Alphabetical Index of Occupations (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1937).

³W. Lloyd Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949). Warner's scale of prestige ratings is but one of four characteristics of his Index of Status Characteristics employed to measure social class position. The other three characteristics are source of income, house type, and dwelling area. It is interesting to note that of the four characteristics, the greatest weight is given to occupation in the computation of the Index.

⁴J. A. Kahl and J. A. Davis, "A Comparison of Indexes of Socio-Economic Status," American Sociological Review, XX, No. 3 (June, 1955), pp. 317-325.

⁵"Father" in this dissertation is used as a generic term to include father surrogates, since approximately 13 per cent of the adolescents in the sample were supported mainly by individuals who were not either their fathers or stepfathers.

Three different measures of aspirations will be used. The first, "desirability of father's occupation" (Item 7d of questionnaire), is an over-all measure of the general attractiveness of the father's occupation to the adolescent. The second, "occupational expectations" (Item 9 of the questionnaire), is a measure of the occupational goals of the adolescent. The prime purpose here is to obtain an individual's actual occupational expectations, rather than a measure of his fantasy occupational desires. Therefore the adolescent was asked what he would most like to do as a life's work and then was asked to indicate what he thought his chances were of actually achieving this occupational position. If the adolescent stated that his chances were only "fair" or "poor" and indicated what he really expected to do, this latter indication was considered to be his actual job expectations. Warner's seven-point occupational status index will also be used in rating these occupational expectations of the adolescents. The third aspirational measure, "educational expectations" (Item 8 of the questionnaire), is an estimation of the total amount of education the adolescent expects to receive.

An index was developed to obtain some measure of an individual's general organizational activity, both in school and in the community. This index consists of an estimation of the total number of organizations the adolescent is a member of and whether or not he holds some official position in any of the organizations. In the construction of the organizational activity index, an adolescent was rated "very high" in organizational activity if he was a member of three or more organizations and held some officership; "high" if he was a member of two or more organizations and held some officership; "medium" if he was a member in one or more organizations and held some officership, or was a member of three

or more organizations and held no officership; "low" if he was a member of one or more organizations and held no officership; "very low" if he was a member of no organizations and held no officership.

Clothing Deprivation.

The term "deprivation" has been defined as the "failure to get something which is wanted."¹ However, this rather simple definition of the concept needs further qualification, considering its differential usage in the literature of social science. Two broad approaches to the concept can be discerned. One approach concentrates on the psychological consequences of severe biogenic need deprivation, e.g., starvation, thirst, sleep, and sex.² The other approach is centered around the symbolic value of the object desired which arises in a social context and does not usually involve a threat to the very existence of the individual.³ This latter approach to the concept is of greater interest to the sociologist and will be employed in this study. Stouffer, et al., using this second approach, further qualify the term when they employ the concept of "relative deprivation" in order to explain what otherwise

¹Theodore M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950) p. 358.

²For an example of such an approach see Muzafer Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948) pp. 66-90. Newcomb, op. cit., p. 358, uses the term "anxiety" for this type of biogenic need deprivation, and A. H. Maslow, "Deprivation, Threat, and Frustration," in Theodore M. Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley, Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947) pp. 281-282, refers to this as constituting a "threat to the personality".

³Newcomb, op. cit., p. 358, calls this "simple deprivation" and Maslow, op. cit., p. 282, refers to this as "deprivation."

would be disparate empirical findings.¹ The authors offer no formal definition of the term, but claim that it is closely related to such sociological concepts as "social frame of reference", "patterns of expectation", or "definitions of the situation". However, the authors do offer several instances of its use as an analytical interpretive device which fairly well establishes its meaning.² For example, they state:

Becoming a soldier meant to many men a very real deprivation. But the felt sacrifice was greater for some than for others, depending on their standards of comparison. . . . Comparing himself (the drafted married man) with his unmarried associates in the Army, he could feel that induction demanded greater sacrifice from him than from them; and comparing himself with his married civilian friends he could feel that he had been called on for sacrifices which they were escaping altogether.³

It is evident from this quotation that the important element in relative deprivation is the standard of comparison or referent the individual employs when he judges himself on some given basis.

Considering the above discussion, it is suggested that the adolescent who feels he is dressed rather poorly when he compares himself to others is expressing a sentiment of relative clothing deprivation. In order to measure relative clothing deprivation the following

¹Samuel A. Stouffer, et al., The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life, Vol. I of Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, ed. Frederick Osborn, et al., 4 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949-50) p. 52.

²Merton and Kitt, op. cit., p. 43-44, summarize nine instances in which relative deprivation (or differential deprivation) were employed by Stouffer and his co-authors. It has already been noted in Chapter I, section on "Problems, Variables and Hypotheses", that Merton and Kitt see relative deprivation as a special concept in reference group theory.

³Stouffer, et al., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 124

question (Item 35 of Questionnaire) was used:

Compared to others of your age, how well do
you usually feel you are dressed?

Extremely well

Better than average student

About average

Below average

The phrase "others of your age" was included in the question in order to standardize the group referent employed by the respondents. In the analysis of the data, if a respondent indicated that he usually dressed "extremely well" or "better than average student", this will be considered an expression of sentiments of low deprivation. Twenty-eight percent of the respondents fell into this category. Since only one percent of the students stated that they usually felt they were dressed "below average" and as many as 69 percent felt that they usually were dressed "about average", it was necessary to combine these responses for the purposes of statistical analysis. Operationally, therefore, this collapsed category will be considered an expression of sentiments of relatively high clothing deprivation. In addition to the numerical distribution of responses, there exists still another dimension of this rationale for operationally considering an "about average" response as an expression of sentiments of high clothing deprivation. In interviews with adolescents selected from the pre-test group, there was a tendency for those adolescents who responded in this manner to express deprivational sentiments when further probed. There seems to have been a general reluctance - normative in character - to acknowledge these deprivational sentiments in the testing and interviewing situations. In this respect, it is of interest to note that a selection of either

"extremely well" or "below average" represents a very extreme response, since only five percent of the students fell into the former category, and as few as one percent fell into the latter category.¹

STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES

A prime aim of this dissertation is focalized around the goal of empirical acceptance or rejection of specific hypothesized relationships between variables. Specifically, some technique must be employed to determine whether or not an observed relationship between two variables could conceivably have occurred through chance factors alone. Put in statistical terms, it must be determined if an assumed chance hypothesis, i.e., that the observed frequencies of a contingency table would be distributed uniformly in the various categories, could be rejected.² There exists in the broad area of statistical method several possible techniques which can be employed to test statistical significance. However, the choice of any one of these techniques is primarily determined by the very nature of the variables in question. Since a good percentage of the variables treated in this study are continuous, but contain units of unequal size, or completely non-continuous, an accepted test of significance is that of chi-square. When dealing with the few quantitative, continuous variable, it would be feasible to employ

¹Two percent of the total sample of 782 students did not respond to this item.

²This discussion was suggested by Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Analysis for Students in Psychology and Education (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1948), especially pp. 239-252.

another test of significance such as Student's "t".¹ However, in order to avoid unnecessary complexities in the analysis of the data, it was thought that a single technique might be used more advantageously. The chi-square technique, therefore, will be employed in this dissertation as the test of significance between all variables. Likewise, a single measure of the degree of association will be used, namely, the coefficient of contingency (C). The methods employed in the computation of the chi-square and the coefficient of contingency will follow the procedure presented by Allen L. Edwards.² In addition, all coefficients of contingency have been corrected for broad categories (symbolically designated " \bar{C} ") according to the method suggested by Peters and Van Voorhis.³ This correction factor is necessary because a coefficient of contingency tends to underestimate the degree of association present in inverse proportion to the number of cells in the table. This method of Peters and Van Voorhis corrects the coefficient of contingency only to some extent, and therefore, a comparison of corrected coefficients of contingencies (\bar{C}) for tables which contain a different number of categories must be made with extreme caution.

The contingency coefficient varies between 0 and 1, but computation results do not indicate the direction of the association. Rather, direction must be determined by examination of the contingency table

¹Margaret J. Hagood and Price, Statistics for Sociologists (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Revised, 1952) pp. 253-255, 432-433.

²Edwards, op. cit., pp. 239-253.

³Peters and Van Voorhis, Statistical Procedures and Their Mathematical Bases (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940) pp. 393-399.

from which the coefficient was computed. In order to simplify data presentation, when an examination of the relationship shows a clear directional pattern, a positive (+) or a negative (-) value will be assigned to the coefficient of contingency, although it is realized that a sign value for this statistic does not have quite the same meaning as that of the product-moment "r", for example. In cases where the directional pattern of the association is not clear, or when dealing with completely discrete variables, such as sex, it will be so noted and qualified within the text of the dissertation.

For the purposes of this study, a probability of .05 or less is accepted as indicating a significant relationship or one that is not likely to occur by chance. The corrected coefficient of contingency (\bar{C}) will be indicated only if the variables under consideration meet this criterion of statistical significance. Except where noted otherwise, the following procedure will be used for showing probability values and their concomitant qualifying adjectives in tables or in exposition:¹

- (1) When probability is greater than .05 . . .
 "not significant". NS
- (2) When probability is .05 or less but greater
 than .01 . . . "moderately significant". . . P .05
- (3) When probability is .01 or less but greater
 than .001. . . "highly significant". P .01
- (4) When probability is .001 or less
 "extremely significant". P .001

¹The last three of these qualifying adjectives were originally used by George W. Snedecor, Statistical Methods: Applied to Experiments in Agriculture and Biology (Ames, Iowa State College Press, 4th ed., 1946). Reproduced in Margaret J. Hagood, Statistics for Sociologists (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. 325.

Finally, since in an initial analysis of the data boys and girls demonstrated different quantitative response distributions in a number of instances, it was felt that a better understanding of the associations between variables could be obtained if the sexes were considered separately. Therefore, in the final analysis of the data, the association of any two variables will be examined in three ways: for all students, for boys alone, and for girls alone.

CHAPTER III

CORRELATES OF CLOTHING AWARENESS AND CLOTHING DEPRIVATION: THE HYPOTHESES TESTED

The prime focus of this dissertation is on an explanation of differences in two adolescent clothing orientations - clothing awareness and clothing deprivation. In order to do this, a series of specific hypotheses was developed concerning the relationship of these two dependent variables and certain sociological and social-psychological variables.¹ These hypothesized relationships will be tested in this chapter. For the purposes of simplifying exposition and analysis, the hypotheses concerning clothing awareness and clothing deprivation will be considered separately.

Clothing Awareness and Independent Variables

Sex and Age-Grade

The association of clothing awareness with differences in sex and age-grade status is contained in Tables XI through XIV, Appendix A. It can be seen from Table II, below, which summarizes these associations, that an extremely significant relationship ($P .001$) exists between clothing awareness and differences in sex. Also, the variables show a considerable degree of association ($\bar{C} .42$), with girls being more aware of clothing than boys. Considering this finding, the hypothesis that

¹See Chapter I for a statement of these hypotheses.

TABLE II
SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATIONS OF CLOTHING AWARENESS
WITH DIFFERENCES IN SEX AND AGE-GRADE
STATUS

Independent Variables	Clothing Awareness		
	Probability	Coefficient of Contingency (\bar{C})	Direction
Sex			
All students	.001	.42	Girls high
Age-grade			
All students	NS	---	---
Boys alone	NS	---	---
Girls alone	NS	---	---

clothing awareness will be related to differences in sex, with girls demonstrating the greatest degree of clothing awareness, can be accepted. However, the hypothesis that clothing awareness and age-grade would be related cannot be substantiated, since the variables show no significant association (NS), even when sex, which is a factor related to clothing awareness, is held constant. Furthermore, no definite directional trend is ascertainable from an intensive examination of the data. Apparently, for the group studied, age-grade status is not an element in differential clothing awareness.

This finding is of some interest in respect to obtaining further understanding of the processes of socialization. Since no group differences were observed among 8th, 10th, and 12th grade students, it can be assumed that by early adolescence the individual is already made conscious of the symbolic importance of clothing in inter-personal relationships. If a valid instrument which measured clothing aware-

ness could be developed to include individuals of younger, pre-adolescent, age-grade status, it would be fruitful to learn at what point differential clothing awareness is observed on a group basis. It is suggested that the age-grade which represents a real increase in clothing awareness will also represent a stage where a qualitatively different level of role-taking ability has been reached.

Social Class and Related Variables

The relationships of clothing awareness with occupational status of father, organizational activity, subjective identification with social class, desirability of father's occupation, occupational expectations, and educational expectations are analyzed in Tables XV through XXXII, Appendix A. It is evident from Table III, below, which summarizes the results of this analysis, that with the possible exception of organizational activity for girls alone, none of the hypothesized relationships has been substantiated.

It is realized that small differences which are consistently in the same direction may be as important as one large difference that is statistically significant.¹ However, no consistent directional pattern or trend can be observed from an intensive examination of the data. Half of these independent variables - occupational status of father, organizational activity, and educational expectations - show a positive associational trend with clothing awareness, while the other half - social class identification, desirability of father's occupation, and occupational expectations - demonstrate no

¹See Charles C. Peters, "Note on a Misconception of Statistical Significance," American Journal of Sociology, XXXIX (July, 1933 - May, 1934) pp. 231-236 and F. Stuart Chapin, Experimental Designs in Sociological Research (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947) p. 104.

TABLE III
SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN CLOTHING
AWARENESS AND SOCIAL CLASS VARIABLES

Social Class Variables	Clothing Awareness		
	Probability	Coefficient of Contingency (\bar{C})	Direction
Occupational status of father			
All students	NS	---	---
Boys alone	NS	---	---
Girls alone	NS	---	---
Organizational activity			
All students	.05	.21	positive
Boys alone	NS	---	---
Girls alone	.05	.27	positive
Social class identification			
All students	NS	---	---
Boys alone	NS	---	---
Girls alone	NS	---	---
Desirability of father's occupation			
All students	NS	---	---
Boys alone	NS	---	---
Girls alone	NS	---	---
Occupational expectations			
All students	NS	---	---
Boys alone	NS	---	---
Girls alone	NS	---	---
Educational expectations			
All students	NS	---	---
Boys alone	NS	---	---
Girls alone	NS	---	---

clear-cut directional patterns. Furthermore, it is of interest to note that five of these independent variables, organizational activity, social class identification, educational expectations, desirability of father's occupation, and occupational expectations, show an extremely significant association with occupational status of father, the indicator of social class status.¹ For analytical purposes, these five variables can be considered as comprising different dimensions of social class status.² The fact that occupational status of father and these five related variables, with the partial exception of organizational activity, were not significantly associated with clothing awareness and no consistent directional trends were ascertainable, further reinforces the conclusion that social class status is not a factor involved in the differential clothing awareness of adolescent boys and girls in the community studied.

Other studies have shown that social class status and its correlates were involved in the differential estimations of clothing importance and clothing interest of adult males and females.³

¹For all students, organizational activity demonstrated a \bar{r} .32 (P .001) with occupational status of father; social class identification a \bar{r} .40 (P .001) with occupational status of father; educational expectations a \bar{r} .38 (P .001) with occupational status of father; desirability of father's occupation a \bar{r} .49 (P .001) with occupational status of father; and occupational expectations a \bar{r} .42 (P .001) with occupational status of father. See Table LXXII, Appendix A.

²In addition to the findings of this study, footnoted above, there exists in the literature of social science much evidence which further corroborates this assumption. I refer specifically to Warner and some of his colleagues, who have shown the influence of social status on the socialization of the child. For a good annotated bibliography of these investigations see W. Lloyd Warner, American Life: Dream and Reality (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953).

³See the reviewed studies of Rosencranz and Vener in Chapter I.

Since it was felt that these two clothing orientations were quite similar to that of clothing awareness, it was expected that the offspring of the adults from different social strata, through the socialization process, would also demonstrate differential clothing awareness. However, as can be seen from the above discussion, this was not the case. For purposes of analytical speculation, the involvement of an intervening variable (or variables) shall be imputed, namely, that of American youth culture. It is suggested that participation in youth culture may obviate some of the influence of family social class status on clothing awareness. Several possible explanations for this phenomenon will be offered below. However, certain aspects of the concept "youth culture" should be considered first.

Recently, the validity of this concept of youth culture has been questioned by Elkin and Westley in their article, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture."¹ These authors particularly object to the characterization of youth culture in sociological literature as a period of storm and stress with its affirmation of independence, its compulsive conformity to peer group patterns, its rejection of adult standards of judgment, its romanticism, and its "irresponsible" pleasurable activities. In refutation of this conceptualization, the authors cite the results of their study of forty fourteen and fifteen year old middle class adolescents living in a suburban community of Montreal, Canada, in addition to a discussion of similar findings of other studies. These findings are summarized in the following excerpt:

¹ Frederick Elkin and William A. Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20, No. 6 (December, 1955) pp. 680-684.

Such a theory [youth culture] neither explains the correlation between adolescent class position, choice of school courses, and subsequent occupational goals; nor the acceptance by adolescents of adult guidance of many of their activities: nor does it make allowance for deferred gratification patterns, the internalization of adult values, solidary family relationships, or positive relationships with authority figures; all of which are found in studies of middle-class groups.¹

The findings of this study further corroborate those of Elkin and Westley, in that social class status is strongly related with other social-psychological factors (discussed above) and thus would seem to disprove the characterization of youth culture as rejecting adult group standards and its prime concern with "irresponsible" pleasurable activities. However, this writer cannot agree with the authors when they conclude:

This contradiction between the current sociological characterization of adolescence and the reported data for middle-class groups suggests that "adolescent culture" has a somewhat mythical character.²

A theoretical construct, such as "youth culture" has not outlived its usefulness as an analytical aid simply because some of its aspects have been demonstrated to be erroneous. Rather, the construct might prove to be of even greater usefulness because of its sharpening through empirical qualification.

When a mature American observer who has not been involved in a secondary school system since his adolescence enters such a system,

¹ Ibid., p. 684.

² Elkin and Westley, op. cit., p. 684.

when this person observes the various kinds of activities that take place in the system, and when he talks at length with a number of the actors of the system, he soon becomes aware of the fact that he has come upon a social-cultural milieu which is somewhat alien to him. This social-cultural configuration in which the individual finds himself is that of the subculture of the American school - the core of American youth culture.¹ The aspects of this subculture which seemed alien to the observer are probably those values and meanings which are unique and distinguishable from the more encompassing community culture and which emerged from the continuity of interaction within the school system itself. Although this subcultural configuration may not be described as being concerned primarily with irresponsible activities, as being rebellious against adult norms, or as being involved, predominantly, in compulsive conformity, it does demonstrate certain general characteristics which vary only slightly from community to community. These characteristics include an easily distinguishable pattern of dress and jargon and a distinctive orientation to sports, popular music, dancing, movie stars, peers, etc., to say nothing of the complex of values centered around the school's curriculum and its social activity.

From the foregoing discussion, it is logical to propose that youth culture may not be oriented toward the symbolic value of clothing in the same manner as that of the broader, community culture. If this be the case, participation in this subculture may obviate some of the

¹For a sociological description of the culture of American schools and its social structure, see Wilbur B. Brookover, A Sociology of Education (New York: American Book Company, 1955) and Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle, Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), Chapter 8.

influences that social class status might have had on relative clothing awareness. Moreover, the possibility remains that relative prestige, or social honor within the adolescent social system might be a factor in differential clothing awareness.¹ Although Hollingshead and others¹ have maintained that the social class position of the student's family is a sufficient factor in determining his hierarchical prestige position within the school structure, Gordon, in an analysis of the social organization of a suburban St. Louis high school, takes exception to this view.² In his study he found that the correlation of an adolescent's status within the school and the status of his family in the broad community context was rather low and concluded that there has been a tendency to impose social class analysis too rigidly upon the social system of the adolescent. For example, personality deviants of high status family groups were usually assigned low positions within the youth group. Also, other prestige values within the adolescent structure were fairly generally distributed, e.g., athletic prowess might bring to an individual high status within the school group without benefit of the legitimating and mediating influence of family background. Considering this finding of Gordon, if some general index of an adolescent's relative prestige within the youth group could be developed, it would be of some interest to determine whether this prestige index would show significant relationship with clothing awareness.

¹A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949) p. 9.

²C. W. Gordon, "The Social Organization of a High School: A Study of Status and Role," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, Saint Louis, Missouri, 1952.

Self-Conception Variables

The association of clothing awareness with the self-conception variables of social confidence, other-directedness, and clothing deprivation¹ are shown in Tables XXXIII through XLI, Appendix A. It is evident from Table IV, below, which summarizes the results of these analyses, that a moderately significant ($P .05$) relationship exists between clothing awareness and social confidence for all students. However, when boys and girls are considered separately, the variables are not significantly associated (NS) among the boys, but demonstrate moderate significance ($P .05$) for the girls. The degree of association between the variables among girls is fairly low ($\bar{C} .24$), and the direction of the association is negative, i.e., the greater the social confidence, the less the demonstrated clothing awareness.² Therefore, the proposed hypothesis that social confidence would be negatively related to clothing awareness can be accepted for girls only. However, the hypothesis that other-directedness and clothing awareness are positively related is supported for both boys and girls. A more rigorous statistical basis exists for its acceptance when only girls are considered, since the association of the variables is only moderately significant for boys alone ($P .05$; $\bar{C} .24$), whereas the association is extremely significant ($P .001$; $\bar{C} .37$) for girls alone.

¹The reader will recall that clothing deprivation is used as both an independent and dependent variable. In this case it is being employed as an independent variable.

²When only boys are examined, the direction of the association between the variables is also negative, even though the association is not statistically significant.

TABLE IV
SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN CLOTHING
AWARENESS AND SELF-CONCEPTION VARIABLES

Self-Conception Variables	Clothing Awareness		
	Probability	Coefficient of Contingency (\bar{C})	Direction
Social confidence			
All students	.05	.21	negative
Boys alone	NS	—	—
Girls alone	.05	.24	negative
Other-directedness			
All students	.001	.29	positive
Boys alone	.05	.24	positive
Girls alone	.001	.37	positive
Clothing deprivation			
All students	.001	.20	negative
Boys alone	.001	.30	negative
Girls alone	NS	—	—

The hypothesis that clothing awareness would show a positive relationship with clothing deprivation is not supported by the data. On the other hand, there exists a strong basis, in the case when boys are considered separately, for the conclusion that the variables are negatively related, since for boys alone, the variables demonstrate an extremely significant ($P .001$) negative relationship and a fair amount of correlation ($\bar{C} .30$). Although the association of the variables is not significant (NS) when girls are considered separately, the direction of the association is also negative. This finding that individuals with high clothing awareness less frequently feel a high degree of clothing deprivation can be viewed as an adjustive, integrative mechanism for the

individual personality. For example, take the case of a lower class individual who expresses sentiments of high clothing deprivation and who does not possess the requisite purchasing power to acquire sufficient clothing to ease this feeling of deprivation. The situation would become intolerable if this feeling was intensified by an increasing sensitivity to clothing. Too wide a discrepancy between what one has and what one desires could lead to extreme frustration and possible disorganization of the personality. Rather, it would seem that to those who tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation, clothing becomes an area of decreasing interest, at least on the conscious level. In addition, social systems provide opportunities for substitute gratification and in the socialization process the individual learns to select certain alternatives from among those available to him which are consistent with his own need-dispositions.

Clothing Deprivation and Independent Variables

Sex and Age-Grade

The relationship of clothing deprivation with differences in sex and age-grade status is analyzed in Tables XLII through XLV, Appendix A. It is evident from Table V, below, which summarizes the results of this analysis, the hypothesis that girls will have a greater tendency to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation cannot be substantiated, since these variables show no significant relationship (NS) and no definite directional pattern for the study group. In respect to clothing deprivation and age-grade status, a positive relationship was proposed. However, an extremely significant ($P .001$) negative association is in

TABLE V
SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN CLOTHING DEPRIVATION
WITH DIFFERENCES IN SEX AND AGE-GRADE STATUS

Independent Variables	Clothing Deprivation		
	Probability	Coefficient of Contingency (\bar{C})	Direction
Sex			
All students	NS	---	---
Age-grade			
All students	.001	.20	negative
Boys alone	.05	.19	negative
Girls alone	.05	.22	negative

evidence between the variables for all students. When boys and girls are considered separately, there exists a moderately significant ($P .05$) association. This finding, that older adolescents tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than younger adolescents, tends to reinforce the above statement that the individual learns, over a period of time, to select certain alternative gratification objects from among those made available by the social system which are more compatible with his own need-dispositions.

Social Class and Organization Activity

Table VI, below, contains a summary of the associations of clothing deprivation with occupational status of father, the indicator of social class status, and organizational activity. The actual analysis of these relationships are contained in Tables XLVI through LI,

TABLE VI
SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN CLOTHING
DEPRIVATION AND SOCIAL CLASS VARIABLES

Social Class Variables	Clothing Deprivation		
	Probability	Coefficient of Contingency (\bar{C})	Direction
Occupational status of father			
All students	.001	.31	negative
Boys alone	.001	.32	negative
Girls alone	.001	.31	negative
Organizational activity			
All students	.001	.36	negative
Boys alone	.001	.32	negative
Girls alone	.001	.33	negative

Appendix A. From an examination of Table VI, it is apparent that a good deal of statistical evidence exists for the acceptance of the proposal that social class status and organizational activity would demonstrate a negative association with clothing deprivation. Both occupational status of father, the indicator of social class status, and organizational activity show an extremely significant ($P .001$) negative association with clothing deprivation for all students, and when boys and girls are considered separately. In addition, the variables demonstrate approximately

the same fair degree of association (\bar{C} .31 to \bar{C} .36).

The reader will recall that organizational activity was considered to be another dimension of social class status.¹ This, coupled with the above finding that organizational activity is significantly related to clothing deprivation, reinforces the finding that differential clothing deprivation is related to social class status.

Self-Conception Variables

The analysis of the associations of clothing deprivation with the self-conception variables of social confidence and other-directedness is contained in Tables LII through LVII, Appendix A. An examination of Table VII, which summarizes this analysis, indicates that only one of

TABLE VII

SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN CLOTHING
DEPRIVATION AND SELF-CONCEPTION VARIABLES

Self-Conception Variables	Clothing Deprivation		
	Probability	Coefficient of Contingency (\bar{C})	Direction
Social confidence			
All students	.001	.27	negative
Boys alone	.01	.28	negative
Girls alone	.001	.29	negative
Other-directedness			
All students	NS	---	---
Boys alone	NS	---	---
Girls alone	NS	---	---

¹See discussion on pp. 49-51.

these variables, social confidence, demonstrates a significant relationship with clothing deprivation.¹ An extremely significant association ($P .001$) exists between clothing deprivation and social confidence for all students and for girls alone, while the variables show a highly significant association ($P .01$) for boys alone. Since the direction of the association is negative - the more social confidence, the less the tendency to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation - the proposed hypothesis can be accepted.

Summary

The principal consideration of this chapter was the statistical testing of specific hypotheses, proposed in Chapter I, concerning the relationship of clothing awareness and clothing deprivation with certain sociological and social-psychological variables. The statistically significant findings may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Girls demonstrate greater clothing awareness than boys.
2. Girls who participate more in organizational activity, i.e., belong to more organizations and hold some official position in these organizations, tend to demonstrate **greater** clothing awareness.
3. Girls who are more socially confident tend to be less aware of clothing.
4. Boys and girls who are more other-directed tend to be more aware of clothing. For girls alone, the statistical significance of the association and degree of association of these variables is much greater.

¹In addition to the fact that clothing deprivation and other-directedness failed to demonstrate a statistically significant association, no directional pattern was discernible between these variables.

5. Boys and girls in higher grades tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those in the lower grades.
6. Boys and girls whose fathers are in occupations of higher status tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those whose fathers are in occupations of lower status.
7. Boys and girls who participate more in organizational activity tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those who are low participators.
8. Boys and girls who demonstrate more social confidence tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those who are not as socially confident.
9. Boys who are more aware of clothing tend to **express** sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those who are not as aware of clothing.

CHAPTER IV

PERSONAL REFERENTS IN CLOTHING BEHAVIOR

In a discussion of "relative deprivation" it was noted that an integral aspect of this concept was the standard of comparison or referent an individual employed when he judged himself on some given basis.¹ The reader will recall that in dealing with the more specialized concept of relative clothing deprivation a single standardized referent - peers - was used. In this chapter, we will consider some other personal referents in adolescent clothing behavior, as well as the peer referent. More specifically, an investigation of the different kinds of persons adolescents refer to in the determination of the adequacy of their clothing behavior will be undertaken. The relative importance or saliency of various personal referents will first be considered. And secondly, the relationship of differences in sex, age-grade, and social class status with the more salient personal referents will be examined.

Relative Saliency of Clothing Referents

In order to test the adequacy of clothing behavior, an individual must continuously refer to the explicit advice and/or reactions of other persons. It can be assumed that different persons will have differential impact on this type of behavior. The question of immediate concern is the determination of the relative importance or saliency of different

¹See pp. 40-42.

persons in this area of cognition.¹ The phrase, "relative saliency of clothing referents", refers to the relative degree of "prominence" of different persons in influencing the dress patterns of adolescent boys and girls.² In an attempt to ascertain this relative saliency of clothing referents the students were asked to respond to the question, "Whose opinion counts most when you are deciding what to wear?"³ In order to determine the referent of greatest saliency the respondents were asked to select only one of the listed categories. In cases where the respondent felt none of the pre-categorized choices were adequate, space was provided in which he could indicate a referent of greater personal preference. Since the aim was to obtain a single, forced-choice response, the forty-one adolescents who selected more than one category were eliminated from the present analysis. An examination of Table VIII, which contains the distribution of responses to this question, shows that an adolescent's mother is a highly salient referent in decisions of dress selection, since this was the referent chosen by the greatest percentage of students (37.8%). The second largest percentage of respondents (21.2%) considered boys and girls of about their own age - their peers - an important group to refer to in this area of decision

¹For a discussion of the concept of "saliency" see David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1948) pp. 163-164, 254-257.

²This conceptualization is somewhat related to reference group theory, since a group to which an individual refers in his dress behavior is probably also the group which he is either a member of, wishes to be identified with, or is otherwise oriented toward. However, the concern here is not only with specific groups, but also persons acting in specific roles, i.e., "mother," "father," "younger sister," etc.

³Item 32 of the Questionnaire.

TABLE VIII

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES OF 723 BOYS AND GIRLS TO THE
QUESTION "WHOSE OPINION COUNTS MOST WHEN YOU ARE
DECIDING WHAT TO WEAR?"*

Referent Selected	Number	Per Cent
Mother	273	37.8
Father	26	3.6
Older siblings	80	11.1
Younger siblings	7	1.0
Younger boys and girls	1	0.1
Boys and girls of same age	153	21.2
Older boys and girls	51	7.0
Other persons	24	3.3
No referent indicated	108	14.9
Totals	723	100.0

*Forty-one of the students chose more than one referent and were not included in this table. (See text.) In addition eighteen students did not respond to this item.

making. It is of considerable interest to note that the majority of students, 53.5 per cent, chose some family referent. In addition, relatively few, 3.6 per cent, of the respondents chose "father" as a referent, while considerably more, 11.1 per cent, chose an older brother or sister as a referent. Actually, the 11.1 per cent who chose an older brother or sister referent is misleading, since approximately only 40 per cent of the respondents had older siblings. Slightly less than 25 per cent of those adolescents who had either an older brother or

sister chose them as a referent. This finding has real implications in terms of understanding the role models of adolescents. The function of older siblings as role models in the socialization process is generally overlooked in social science literature.¹

In summation, it is apparent from the above discussion, that an adolescent's mother and his peers are highly salient referents in decisions dealing with dress selection, while his father is of relatively low saliency. Actually, older brothers and sisters are of greater significance in influencing dress patterns than the father.

Model Emulation. The impact an adolescent's peers has upon his clothing behavior can also be demonstrated in the analysis of the free responses to another question which was employed to determine the kinds of persons adolescents aspire to emulate in their patterns of dress. In this question the respondents were asked, "if you could dress like any one person or any group of persons you know or have ever heard of, who would it be, and why?"² The responses to this question were classified into four broad types of emulated models: 1) peers, 2) mass-media celebrities - Bob Hope, Marilyn Monroe, etc., 3) relatives or members of family, and 4) community or "world of work" figures. The following are examples of these types of responses:

¹An immediate exception which comes to mind is James H. S. Bossard's discussion of the interactional processes among siblings, in his book, The Sociology of Child Development (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948) pp. 96-118.

²Item 54 of the Questionnaire.

1) Peer Models

There is a certain group of girls my age who are a clique. I like the way they dress. In the winter, they wear smart looking straight skirts and sweaters and wear either hose or bobbysox with suede shoes. I try to dress that way as much as I can.

If I could dress like any person I would like to dress like S. S. because I think she dresses nice. She always looks neat no matter what she has on. Her clothes are not any more expensive than mine are but she seems to have a knack for looking well dressed. Her clothes are never wrinkled and they always look as if she just put them on.

D. B. because he always wears tight jeans and cat-shirts, so I'd like to wear that kind of clothes.

P. W. because he has nice clothes, not real flashy but they are nice and he also has a nice personality.

2) Mass-Media Celebrities

I would like to dress like baseball players because they can dress comfortably all the time. They also do not have to wear a tie too often.

Like anyone of the male movie stars.

Like Julius Lakosa, because he always looks so sharp.

I would probably say Debbie Reynolds. From articles I've read, and photographs I've seen, she seems to have excellent taste in clothes, knows what to wear for any occasion. Of course, she has the wardrobe to dress from. I'd like to have her clothes, as well as her taste in clothing. (Also her figure, to wear them well!)

3) Relatives or Members of Family

My older sister because she has such a good taste in clothes and whenever she goes to work or anywhere else, she always looks so neat and very well dressed.

My Dad because he looks nice in a suit.

My mother and Aunt because my mother and Aunt have nice clothes, not real fancy or anything like that, but nice and clean.

My older sister because she always looks cute even if she has jeans on. She has real pretty skirts, blouses, dresses, shoes, etc. (I wear them most of the time now.)

4) Community or "World of Work" Models

Miss A., the gym teacher at P. Her clothes are neat, attractive and are always suitable.

I prefer to dress in a collegiate style. There are many girls on the campus who have a lot of rather expensive clothes, both sport and dressy styles. When I am able to afford many clothes, I would like expensive ones which are not too fussy but well tailored.

I would like to dress like the average working man. I would like to own three or four sport coats for casual wear.

Of the 297 students who responded to this model emulation item and indicated an identifiable model, the majority, 57.6 per cent, chose a peer as the person they most desired to emulate in their patterns of dress. Of the remaining students, 21.2 per cent chose mass-medium celebrities as models, others, 11.5 per cent, chose relatives or immediate family members as models, and only 6.7 per cent chose community or "world of work" models.

Since only 297 students of the total sample of 762 responded to the above question and indicated an identifiable model,¹ it is not feasible

¹Actually, a total of 577 students did respond to the question, but in 280 cases no other person as a clothing model was indicated. Of these 280 cases, the majority, 176, referred to themselves only in responding to the question, while others indicated "no special person," "no one," "I don't know."

to set forth definitive conclusions. However, it is possible to draw some tentative inferences from the data. The fact that only 6.7 per cent of the students chose community or "world of work" models, whereas 69.1 per cent chose kin or peer models, suggests that those persons with whom an adolescent interacts on a primary group, face-to-face basis exert relatively greater influence upon his clothing behavior than those with whom his interaction is of a secondary group or more formal nature. Another factor of noteworthiness is the fair percentage (24.2%) of boys and girls who indicated a mass-media model in their clothing aspirations. This would seem to suggest that glamorous Hollywood, television, and sports figures do have some influence upon adolescent patterns of dress.

Salient Clothing Referents and Independent Variables

In the foregoing section, it was established that two kinds of persons, "mother" and peers are more readily referred to by adolescents in the determination of the adequacy of their patterns of dress. In this section, the effect differences in sex, age-grade, and social class status have upon the relative tendency to employ "mother" and peers as personal referents in clothing behavior will be examined.

Mother Referent. The following question (Item 37 of the Questionnaire) was asked to obtain some measure of the relative tendency of an adolescent to refer to "mother" in decisions of dress selection:

A person my age should buy clothes mother will like.

Strongly agree
 Agree
 Uncertain
Disagree
 Strongly disagree

The association between differences in sex, age-grade, and occupational status of father, the indicator of social class status, and responses to this mother referent item is contained in Tables LVIII through LXIV, Appendix A. It can be seen from Table IX, which summarizes these associations, that both sex and age-grade demonstrate a significant

TABLE IX

SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN DIFFERENCES IN
SEX, AGE-GRADE, AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF
FATHER WITH REFERENCE TO MOTHER IN
DRESS SELECTION

Independent Variables	Relationship to Mother as Referent		
	Probability	Coefficient of Contingency (\bar{C})	Direction
Sex			
All students	.001	.32	Boys-Low
Age-Grade			
All students	.001	.25	12Gd-Low*
Boys alone	.01	.28	12Gd-Low
Girls alone	.01	.28	12Gd-Low
Occupational status of father			
All students	NS	---	---
Boys alone	NS	---	---
Girls alone	NS	---	---

*Twelfth grade, relatively low tendency to refer to "mother".

relationship (P .001 for all students) with the relative tendency to refer to "mother" in clothing selection decisions. Girls show a greater tendency to "strongly agree" or "agree" and boys a greater tendency to "strongly disagree" or "disagree" with the mother referent item as stated. Also, 12th grade students, as a group, tend to "strongly disagree" or "disagree" with the question, whereas 8th graders tend to "strongly

"agree" or "agree". It can therefore be concluded that in general girls tend to refer to "mother" more frequently than boys in decisions of dress selection, and in general, younger adolescents also refer to "mother" more frequently than do older adolescents.

In respect to occupational status of father and the mother referent item, no significant association (NS) is discernible between the variables and no directional pattern can be observed. This suggests that for the group studied, no relationship exists between social class status and the relative tendency to refer to "mother" in this area of decision making.

Peer Referent. A measure of the relative tendency of an adolescent to refer to his peers in decision of dress selection was obtained through the use of the following question (Item 29 of the Questionnaire):¹

I don't enjoy wearing my clothes unless my friends like them.

Strongly disagree
Disagree
Uncertain
Agree
Strongly agree

An analysis of the relationship between differences in sex, age-grade, and occupational status of father with responses to the peer referent item is contained in Tables LXV through LXXI, Appendix A. Table X, below, contains a summary of these relationships.

¹This item was also included in the clothing awareness scale. See Chapter II.

TABLE X
SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN DIFFERENCES IN
SEX, AGE-GRADE, AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF
FATHER WITH REFERENCE TO PEERS IN
DRESS SELECTION

Independent Variables	Relationship to Peers as Referent		
	Probability	Coefficient of Contingency (\bar{C})	Direction
Sex			
All students	NS	---	---
Age-Grade			
All students	.001	.23	12Gd-Low*
Boys alone	NS	---	---
Girls alone	.001	.32	12Gd-Low
Occupational status of father			
All students	NS	---	---
Boys alone	NS	---	---
Girls alone	NS	---	---

*Twelfth graders, relatively low tendency to refer to peers.

It is apparent from this table that both differences in sex and occupational status of father, the indicator of social class status, show no significant association (NS) with the responses to the peer referent item and no directional trends are observable. It would seem that these variables are not involved in the relative tendency to refer to one's peers in decisions of dress, at least for the group studied. When girls are considered alone, the twelfth graders refer to their peers less frequently than the younger girls. However, the variables show no significant association (NS) or directional pattern among boys.

This finding that girls in the twelfth grades tend to refer to peers less often than lower graders, coupled with the fact that twelfth

grade boys and girls also tend to refer less often to "mother" than the lower graders, raises the question as to who do older adolescents refer to in clothing behavior. The existing data does not permit intensive analysis of this problem, but some insight is gained through a re-examination of the four questionnaire items which are discussed above.

There is considerable evidence that twelfth graders, as a group, tend to refer less than do younger adolescents to specific other persons as clothing models or for the purpose of legitimizing dress patterns. Rather, it would seem that by the time the adolescent reaches the twelfth grade, norms related to dress behavior are already well internalized. Further, because of a sufficiently developed "generalized other" there is probably less need for individuals of this age-grade status to refer to specific persons. Several typical responses of twelfth graders to the free-response, model emulation question (Item 54 of the Questionnaire) demonstrate this conceptualization:

I don't feel that there is any group of persons or any one person I'd like to dress like. I dress as well as I feel I should and dress properly for every different occasion. I don't really have gobs of clothes but I get by with what I have and like the ones I have.

I would like to be able to dress like the average girl of my age. I cannot wear all types of clothes and this I would like to be able to do.

I am not able to say whom I would like to dress like, except that I like to have the right clothes for each occasion that I attend.

I never thought much about who I would like to dress like. I think it is more important for an individual to choose clothes that look well on him and fits his personality rather than trying to look like someone else. The teenagers of today have a greater variety of styles from which to choose than ever before. The only group I would care to dress like are people of my own age.

Summary

An investigation of the different kinds of persons adolescents refer to in the determination of the adequacy of their clothing behavior was undertaken in this chapter. To begin with, the relative saliency of different personal referents was considered. It was found that an adolescent's mother and his peers are highly salient referents in decisions dealing with dress selection, while his father is of relatively low saliency. In respect to the kinds of persons adolescents aspire to emulate in their patterns of dress, it was found that his peers are selected most frequently. It was also noted that mass media Hollywood, television, and sports figures do have some impact upon adolescent patterns of dress, since this kind of person was the second most frequently selected model. However, it was concluded that those persons with whom an adolescent interacts on a primary group, face-to-face basis, more frequently influence clothing selection than those with whom his interaction is of a secondary group, more formal nature.

The association of grade, social class status, and differences in sex with the relative tendency to refer to two highly salient referents, "mother" and peers, in decisions of dress selection was also investigated. The statistically significant findings were: (1) Boys and girls in the lower grades tend to refer to "mother" more frequently than do those in the higher grades, (2) Girls tend to refer to "mother" more frequently than do boys, and (3) Girls in the lower grades tend to refer to their peers more frequently than do girls in the higher grades.

In conclusion, it was noted that twelfth graders, as a group,

tend to refer to specific other persons in their clothing selection less frequently than do younger adolescents. The explanation given for this phenomenon was that by the time the adolescent reaches the twelfth grade, clothing norms may be well internalized.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main problem area of this study was centered around the attempt to explain differences in adolescent clothing orientations within a social-psychological frame of reference. Consideration was given to (1) clothing awareness - level of "sensitivity" to clothing in social life, (2) clothing deprivation - sentiments of adequacy-inadequacy of clothing behavior in respect to other persons, and (3) clothing referents - salient persons referred to in the determination of the legitimacy of clothing behavior. Variations in (1) clothing awareness was examined in terms of differences in (a) sex status, (b) age-grade status, (c) social class status and related variables, and (d) conceptions of self. Some of these variables were also employed to explain differences in (2) clothing deprivation. Specific hypotheses which involved these variables were proposed. A questionnaire was developed in order to test the proposed hypotheses, along with other facets of the problem area, and was administered to a sample group of 8th, 10th and 12th grade boys and girls in the Lansing school system. A number of operational techniques were used to measure the variables involved and were described in some detail. The statistically significant findings concerning areas (1) clothing awareness and (2) clothing deprivation may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Girls demonstrate greater clothing awareness than boys.
2. Girls who participate more in organizational activity, i.e., belong to more organizations

and hold some official position in these organizations, tend to demonstrate greater clothing awareness.

3. Girls who are more socially confident tend to be less aware of clothing.
4. Boys and girls who are more other-directed tend to be more aware of clothing. For girls alone, the statistical significance of the association and degree of association of these variables is much greater.
5. Boys and girls in higher grades tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those in the lower grades.
6. Boys and girls whose fathers are in occupations of higher status tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those whose fathers are in occupations of lower status.
7. Boys and girls who participate more in organizational activity tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those who are low participators.
8. Boys and girls who demonstrate more social confidence tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those who are not as socially confident.
9. Boys who are more aware of clothing tend to express sentiments of high clothing deprivation less frequently than those who are not as aware of clothing.

Since no group differences were observed among 8th, 10th, and 12th grade students, it was suggested that by early adolescence the individual is already made conscious of the symbolic importance of clothing in social life. If a valid instrument which measured clothing awareness could be developed to include individuals of younger, pre-adolescent, age-grade status, it was observed that it would be of some value to learn at what point differential clothing awareness is discerned

on a group basis. It was felt that the age-grade which represents a significant increase in the relative degree of awareness of clothing would also represent a stage where a qualitatively different level of role-taking ability has been reached.

It was evident from the results of data analysis that with the exception of organizational activity among girls alone, none of the hypothesized relationships between clothing awareness and the social class variables employed in the study was substantiated. In addition, no consistent directional pattern or trend could be discerned from an intensive examination of the data. As a possible explanation of this phenomenon, it was suggested that youth culture may not be oriented toward the symbolic value of clothing in the same manner as that of the broader, community culture and participation in this subculture may obviate some of the influences that social class status might have had on relative clothing awareness. It was also observed that the social class position of an adolescent's family may not be a sufficient factor in determining his hierarchical prestige position within the school structure. If a more adequate index of an adolescent's relative prestige within the youth group could be developed, it was suggested that it would be of some value to determine whether this prestige index would show significant relationship with clothing awareness.

In two instances, the statistically significant findings demonstrated a direction of association which was directly opposite to that which was hypothesized. This occurred in the negative association of clothing deprivation with clothing awareness and age-grade status. The explanation presented here was that these findings could be viewed as an

adjustive, integrative mechanism for the individual personality system. The hypothetical example was offered of a lower class individual who expresses sentiments of high clothing deprivation and who does not possess the requisite purchasing power to acquire sufficient clothing to ease this feeling of deprivation. It was noted that the situation would become intolerable if this feeling was intensified by an increasing sensitivity to clothing, since too wide a discrepancy between what the person has and what he desires could lead to extreme frustration and possible disorganization of the personality system. Rather, it would seem that the individual learns, over a period of time, to select certain alternative gratification objects from among those made available by the social system which are more compatible with his own need-dispositions.

In respect to personal referents in clothing behavior, it was found that an adolescent's mother and his peers are highly salient referents in decisions dealing with dress selection, while his father is of relatively low saliency. Also, older brothers and sisters prove to be significant referents for those adolescents who have older siblings in their family. In respect to the kinds of persons adolescents aspire to emulate in their patterns of dress, it was established that his peers are selected most frequently. It was also noted that mass-media Hollywood, television, and sports figures have some impact upon adolescent patterns of dress. However, it was concluded that those persons with whom an adolescent interacts on a primary group, face-to-face basis, exert relatively greater influence upon his clothing behavior than those with whom his interaction is of a secondary group, more formal nature.

The association of grade, social class status, and differences in

sex with the relative tendency to refer to two highly salient referents, "mother" and peers, in clothing selection decisions was also investigated. The statistically significant findings were: (1) Boys and girls in the lower grades tend to refer to "mother" more frequently than do those in the higher grades; (2) Girls tend to refer to "mother" more frequently than do boys; and (3) Girls in the lower grades tend to refer to their peers more frequently than do girls in the higher grades.

And finally, it was noted that twelfth graders as a group, tended to refer less frequently to specific other persons in their responses to the clothing referent items than did the lower graders. It was therefore suggested that by the time the adolescent reaches the twelfth grade, clothing norms are effectively internalized.

The principal theoretical position of this dissertation was that differences in sex, age-grade status, and social class status represent distinctive socio-cultural environments in which individuals learn to orient themselves to clothing differentially. In addition, it was hypothesized that differences in two personality variables, social confidence and other-directedness would also effect clothing orientations. In general and for evaluative purposes, it can be concluded that the findings tend to reinforce this theoretical position, at least for the three types of clothing orientations considered.

The findings may also call for a reconsideration of the relative importance of social class status, a prime independent variable of the study, as a socialization element in adolescent life. This variable demonstrated significant association with only one of the clothing orientations, namely, sentiments of clothing deprivation. Of course, this is

not to say that social class status is not an important subcultural learning milieu, but rather there may be a predisposition in current sociological thinking to overstate its significance in relationship to other socialization factors, such as the subculture of the American school - the core of American youth culture. It must be assumed that unique and distinguishable values and meanings will emerge from the continuity of interaction within adolescent social systems which may obviate or cross-cut some of the socialization influences of adult social systems.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES REFERRED TO
BUT NOT INCLUDED IN TEXT

TABLE XI
ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING
AWARENESS SCALE AND DIFFERENCES IN SEX

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale	Sex		
	Boys	Girls	Totals
4	49	127	176
3	105	150	255
2	121	72	193
1	71	35	106
0	25	2	27
Totals	371	386	757*
$\chi^2 = 84.95$	P .001		$\bar{C} .42$

*The reader will note that this total and the totals in the following tables are less than the 782 of the sample. For the most part, this is due to the failure of students to respond to the item or items being dealt with. In other cases, especially in respect to occupational status of father, insufficient pertinent information was given to permit adequate classification. However, the numbers involved are too small to effect appreciably analytical interpretation.

TABLE XII
ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND GRADE IN SCHOOL FOR ALL STUDENTS

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale	Grade in School			
	12th	10th	8th	Totals
4	45	79	52	176
3	83	93	79	255
2	55	67	71	193
1	32	45	29	106
0	7	11	9	27
Totals	222	295	240	757
NS				

TABLE XIII

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND GRADE IN SCHOOL FOR BOYS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale	Grade in School			Totals
	12th	10th	8th	
4	14	21	14	49
3	33	37	35	105
2	31	47	43	121
1	18	31	22	71
0	7	11	7	25
Totals	103	147	121	371
NS				

TABLE XIV

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND GRADE IN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Grade in School			Totals
	12th	10th	8th	
4	31	58	38	127
3	50	56	44	150
2	24	20	28	72
1	14	14	7	35
0	..	..	2	2
Totals	119	148	119	386
NS				

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XV

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER
FOR ALL STUDENTS

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4	14	19	23	60	17	33	2	168
3	19	30	16	86	24	51	9	235
2	7	16	19	63	20	48	7	180
1	8	13	8	23	18	20	4	94
0	1	3	1	13	1	6	1	26
Totals	49	81	67	245	80	158	23	703
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows and the first three and last three columns were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE XVI

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER
FOR BOYS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4	7	4	6	16	7	7	1	48
3	9	12	8	42	9	15	3	98
2	6	7	12	36	13	33	3	110
1	5	8	5	17	12	14	2	63
0	1	3	..	13	1	5	1	24
Totals	28	34	31	124	42	74	10	343
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows and the first three and last three columns were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE XVII

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER
FOR GIRLS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4	7	15	17	44	10	26	1	120
3	10	16	8	44	15	36	6	137
2	1	9	7	27	7	15	4	70
1	3	5	3	6	6	6	2	31
0	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	2
Totals	21	47	36	121	38	84	13	360
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows and the first three and last three columns were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE XVIII

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND RATINGS ON INDEX OF ORGANIZATIONAL
ACTIVITY FOR ALL STUDENTS

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Organizational Activity					Totals
	Very High	High	Me- dium	Low	Very Low	
4	41	20	28	48	39	176
3	43	35	36	63	75	252
2	23	23	33	45	66	190
1	13	8	25	22	37	105
0	1	5	5	4	12	27
Totals	121	91	127	182	229	750
$\chi^2 = 25.13$	P .05					$\bar{C} .21$

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XIX

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS SCALE
AND RATINGS ON INDEX OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY
FOR BOYS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Organizational Activity					Totals
	Very High	High	Medium	Low	Very Low	
4	9	8	8	8	16	49
3	14	13	17	18	42	104
2	17	15	14	23	49	118
1	3	7	15	16	29	70
0	1	5	5	2	12	25
Totals	44	48	59	67	148	366
NS						

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XX

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND RATINGS ON INDEX OF ORGANIZATIONAL
ACTIVITY FOR GIRLS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Organizational Activity					Totals
	Very High	High	Medium	Low	Very Low	
4	32	12	20	40	23	127
3	29	22	19	45	33	148
2	6	8	19	22	17	72
1	10	1	10	6	8	35
0	..	..	..	2	..	2
Totals	77	43	68	115	81	384
$\chi^2 = 21.81$	$P .05$				$\bar{C} .27$	

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXI

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND IDENTIFICATION WITH SOCIAL CLASS FOR
ALL STUDENTS

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Social Class Identification				Totals
	Working Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Upper Class	
4	50	..	114	6	170
3	75	2	156	13	246
2	49	6	120	6	181
1	31	..	65	8	104
0	8	..	17	1	26
Totals	213	8	472	34	727
NS					

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two columns and last two columns and the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXII

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND IDENTIFICATION WITH SOCIAL CLASS FOR
BOYS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Social Class Identification				Totals
	Working Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Upper Class	
4	12	..	34	3	49
3	33	..	63	8	104
2	30	5	80	3	118
1	23	..	41	5	69
0	7	..	16	1	24
Totals	105	5	234	20	364
NS					

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two and last two columns were collapsed.

TABLE XXIII

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND IDENTIFICATION WITH SOCIAL CLASS FOR
GIRLS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Social Class Identification				Totals
	Working Class	Lower Class	Middle Class	Upper Class	
4	38	..	80	3	121
3	42	2	93	5	142
2	19	1	40	3	63
1	8	..	24	3	35
0	1	..	1	..	2
Totals	108	3	238	14	363

NS

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two columns and the last two columns and the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXIV

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS SCALE
AND RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "DO YOU THINK THAT THIS
[FATHER'S OCCUPATION] WOULD BE A GOOD LIFE'S WORK FOR
YOU OR, IF GIRL, YOUR FUTURE HUSBAND?",
FOR ALL STUDENTS

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Responses to Question					Totals
	Very Good	Good	Fair	Not Very Good	No Good At All	
4	40	57	39	22	16	174
3	54	80	51	29	33	247
2	31	51	51	26	26	185
1	13	28	26	15	15	97
0	8	4	8	3	4	27
Totals	146	220	175	95	94	730

NS

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXV

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS SCALE
AND RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "DO YOU THINK THAT THIS
[FATHER'S OCCUPATION] WOULD BE A GOOD LIFE'S WORK FOR
YOU OR, IF GIRL, YOUR FUTURE HUSBAND?",
FOR BOYS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Responses to Question					Totals
	Very Good	Good	Fair	Not Very Good	No Good At All	
4	6	14	15	11	3	49
3	15	36	20	13	18	102
2	15	31	29	20	21	116
1	9	18	16	11	13	67
0	7	4	7	3	4	25
Totals	52	103	87	58	59	359
NS						

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXVI

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS SCALE
AND RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "DO YOU THINK THAT THIS
[FATHER'S OCCUPATION] WOULD BE A GOOD LIFE'S WORK FOR
YOU OR, IF GIRL, YOUR FUTURE HUSBAND?",
FOR GIRLS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Responses to Question					Totals
	Very Good	Good	Fair	Not Very Good	No Good At All	
4	34	43	24	11	13	125
3	39	44	31	16	15	145
2	16	20	22	6	5	69
1	4	10	10	4	2	30
0	1	..	1	..	..	2
Totals	94	117	88	37	35	371
NS						

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXVII

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS
FOR ALL STUDENTS

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Ratings of Expected Occupations ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4	21	40	15	55	9	2	..	142
3	36	70	22	44	15	9	..	196
2	21	49	18	36	11	8	..	143
1	16	26	7	20	8	5	..	82
0	8	5	1	3	3	1	..	21
Totals	102	190	63	158	46	25	0	584
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last three columns and last two rows were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE XXVIII

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS
FOR BOYS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Ratings of Expected Occupations ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4	15	14	2	7	3	1	..	42
3	31	25	5	14	5	5	..	85
2	20	32	11	14	7	6	..	90
1	13	17	5	11	6	5	..	57
0	8	4	1	3	3	1	..	20
Totals	87	92	24	49	24	18	0	294
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and last four columns and last two rows were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE XXIX
ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS
FOR GIRLS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Ratings of Expected Occupations ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4	6	26	13	48	6	1	..	100
3	5	45	17	30	10	4	..	111
2	1	17	7	22	4	2	..	53
1	3	9	2	9	2	..	..	25
0	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Totals	15	98	39	109	22	7	0	290
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and the last four columns and the last three rows were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE XXX

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS SCALE
AND RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHETHER YOU INTEND TO
GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL OR NOT, HOW MUCH MORE
TRAINING DO YOU EXPECT TO GET?", FOR ALL
STUDENTS

Responses to the Question ^a	Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
None	37	55	50	27	4	173
Become an Apprentice	9	9	10	11	1	40
Go to Business or Trade School	36	60	34	20	5	155
College	78	103	81	34	13	309
Advanced training after graduating from college	12	15	3	9	2	41
Totals	172	242	178	101	25	718
NS						

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and last two columns and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXXI

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS SCALE
AND RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHETHER YOU INTEND TO
GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL OR NOT, HOW MUCH MORE
TRAINING DO YOU EXPECT TO GET?"
FOR BOYS ALONE

Responses to the Question ^a	Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
None	3	20	30	12	4	69
Become an Apprentice	9	9	8	11	1	38
Go to business or trade school	5	21	16	10	5	57
College	27	44	57	26	11	165
Advanced training after graduating from college	5	8	2	7	2	24
Totals	49	102	113	66	23	353
NS						

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and last two columns and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXXII

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS SCALE
AND RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "WHETHER YOU INTEND TO
GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL OR NOT, HOW MUCH MORE
TRAINING DO YOU EXPECT TO GET?"
FOR GIRLS ALONE

Responses to the Question ^a	Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
None	34	35	20	15	..	104
Become an apprentice	..	..	2	..	..	2
Go to business or trade school	31	39	18	10	..	98
College	51	59	24	8	2	144
Advanced training after graduating from college	7	7	1	2	..	17
Totals	123	140	65	35	2	365
NS						

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and last two columns and last three rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXXIII

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON SOCIAL CONFIDENCE
SCALE FOR ALL STUDENTS

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Scores on Social Confidence Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
4	8	31	53	60	23	175
3	10	45	78	78	38	249
2	11	45	59	56	14	185
1	10	25	35	30	3	103
0	1	6	12	7	..	26
Totals	40	152	237	231	78	738
$\chi^2 = 24.96$	P .05				$\bar{C} .21$	

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXXIV

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON SOCIAL CONFIDENCE
SCALE FOR BOYS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Scores on Social Confidence Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
4	1	9	19	15	4	48
3	4	18	40	25	15	102
2	8	25	39	36	7	115
1	3	17	24	22	3	69
0	1	6	10	7	..	24
Totals	17	75	132	105	29	358
NS						

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two columns and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXXV

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON SOCIAL CONFIDENCE
SCALE FOR GIRLS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Scores on Social Confidence Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
4	7	22	34	45	19	127
3	6	27	38	53	23	147
2	3	20	20	20	7	70
1	7	8	11	8	..	34
0	..	..	2	..	..	2
Totals	23	77	105	126	49	380
$\chi^2 = 13.79$		P .05			$\bar{C} .24$	

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two columns and last two columns and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXXVI

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON OTHER-DIRECTEDNESS
INDEX FOR ALL STUDENTS

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Scores on Other-Directedness Index				Totals
	3	2	1	0	
4	78	55	39	3	175
3	76	100	53	20	249
2	48	59	54	25	186
1	16	41	30	16	103
0	9	7	6	4	26
Totals	227	262	182	68	739
$\chi^2 = 45.78$		P .001		$\bar{C} .29$	

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXXVII

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON OTHER-DIRECTEDNESS
INDEX FOR BOYS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Scores on Other-Directedness Index				Totals
	3	2	1	0	
4	19	17	10	2	48
3	21	39	30	13	103
2	34	37	33	13	117
1	10	29	19	11	69
0	8	6	6	4	24
Totals	92	128	98	43	361
$\chi^2 = 13.86$		P .05		$\bar{C} .24$	

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two columns and the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXXVIII

ASSOCIATION OF WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE AND WEIGHTED SCORE ON OTHER-DIRECTEDNESS
INDEX FOR GIRLS ALONE

Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale ^a	Scores on Other-Directedness Index				Totals
	3	2	1	0	
4	59	38	29	1	127
3	55	61	23	7	146
2	14	22	21	12	69
1	6	12	11	5	34
0	1	1	..	..	2
Totals	135	134	84	25	378
$\chi^2 = 30.55$		P .001		$\bar{C} .37$	

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two columns and the last three rows were collapsed.

TABLE XXXIX

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE FOR ALL STUDENTS

Responses to Question ^a	Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
Extremely well	6	14	9	8	1	38
Better than average student	55	72	29	18	1	175
About average	113	165	147	78	24	527
Below average	..	3	5	2	1	11
Totals	174	254	190	106	27	751
$\chi^2 = 17.75$ P .001 $\bar{C} .20$						

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows and last two columns were collapsed.

TABLE XL

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS
SCALE FOR BOYS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
Extremely well	2	4	5	6	1	18
Better than average student	21	32	21	10	1	85
About average	25	68	88	54	22	257
Below average	..	1	4	1	1	7
Totals	48	105	118	71	25	367
$\chi^2 = 18.60$ P .001 $\bar{C} .30$						

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows and last two columns were collapsed.

TABLE XLI

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON CLOTHING AWARENESS SCALE
FOR GIRLS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Scores on Clothing Awareness Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
Extremely well	4	10	4	2	..	20
Better than average student	34	40	8	8	..	90
About average	88	97	59	24	2	270
Below average	..	2	1	1	..	4
Totals	126	149	72	35	2	384

NS

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows and last two columns were collapsed.

TABLE XLII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND DIFFERENCES IN SEX

Responses to Question ^a	Sex		
	Boys	Girls	Totals
Extremely well	18	20	38
Better than average student	86	91	177
About average	266	273	539
Below average	7	4	11
Totals	377	388	765

NS

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XLIII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND GRADE IN SCHOOL FOR ALL STUDENTS

Responses to Question ^a	Grade in School			
	12th	10th	8th	Totals
Extremely well	14	8	16	38
Better than average student	68	72	37	177
About average	139	212	188	539
Below average	2	1	8	11
Totals	223	293	249	765
$\chi^2 = 14.05$ P .001 $\bar{C} .20$				

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XLIV

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND GRADE IN SCHOOL FOR BOYS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Grade in School			
	12th	10th	8th	Totals
Extremely well	8	3	7	18
Better than average student	28	39	19	86
About average	66	102	98	266
Below average	2	1	4	7
Totals	104	145	128	377
$\chi^2 = 6.09$ P .05 $\bar{C} .19$				

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XLV

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND GRADE IN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Grade in School			
	12th	10th	8th	Totals
Extremely well	6	5	9	20
Better than average student	40	33	18	91
About average	73	110	90	273
Below average	..	..	4	4
Totals	119	148	121	388
$\chi^2 = 8.80$	P .05			$\bar{C} .22$

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE XLVI

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER FOR ALL STUDENTS

Responses to Question ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Extremely well	3	6	1	16	2	5	1	34
Better than average student	22	31	22	48	14	27	4	168
About average	24	41	43	180	67	124	18	497
Below average	..	1	..	2	..	6	..	9
Totals	49	79	66	246	83	162	23	708
$\chi^2 = 33.18$	P .001						$\bar{C} .31$	

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and last three columns and the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE XLVII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER FOR BOYS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Extremely well	2	..	1	8	1	3	1	16
Better than average student	11	13	12	28	5	10	3	82
About average	15	17	17	87	38	62	6	242
Below average	..	1	..	2	..	2	..	5
Totals	28	31	30	125	44	77	10	345
$\chi^2 = 17.95$ $P .001$ $\bar{C} .32$								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and last three columns and the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status

TABLE XLVIII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER FOR GIRLS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Extremely well	1	6	..	8	1	2	..	18
Better than average student	11	18	10	20	9	17	1	86
About average	9	24	26	93	29	62	12	255
Below average	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	4
Totals	21	48	36	121	39	84	13	363
$\chi^2 = 16.62$ $P .001$ $\bar{C} .31$								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and last three columns and the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE XLVIX

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND RATINGS ON INDEX OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY FOR
ALL STUDENTS

Responses to Question ^a	Organizational Activity					Totals
	Very High	High	Me- dium	Low	Very Low	
Extremely well	8	3	4	10	13	38
Better than average student	57	22	27	38	32	176
About average	58	66	98	133	180	535
Below average	1	1	1	3	5	11
Totals	124	92	130	184	230	760
$\chi^2 = 54.91$		P .001			$\bar{C} .36$	

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE L

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND RATINGS ON INDEX OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY FOR
BOYS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Organizational Activity					Totals
	Very High	High	Me- dium	Low	Very Low	
Extremely well	4	1	3	1	9	18
Better than average student	21	12	15	17	20	85
About average	20	35	43	50	115	263
Below average	..	1	1	1	4	7
Totals	45	49	62	69	148	373
$\chi^2 = 22.63$		P .001			$\bar{C} .32$	

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE LI

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?", AND RATINGS ON INDEX OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY FOR GIRLS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Organizational Activity					Totals
	Very High	High	Medium	Low	Very Low	
Extremely well	4	2	1	9	4	20
Better than average student	36	10	12	21	12	91
About average	38	31	55	83	65	272
Below average	1	..	..	2	1	4
Totals	79	43	68	115	82	387
$\chi^2 = 25.27$		P .001			$\bar{C} .33$	

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE LII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?", AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON SOCIAL CONFIDENCE SCALE FOR ALL STUDENTS

Responses to Question ^a	Scores on Social Confidence Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
Extremely well	5	6	14	13	..	38
Better than average student	18	43	58	47	9	175
About average	16	100	164	172	68	520
Below average	1	3	3	2	2	11
Totals	40	152	239	234	79	711
$\chi^2 = 29.85$		P .001			$\bar{C} .27$	

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE LIII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE
DRESSED?", AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON SOCIAL
CONFIDENCE SCALE FOR BOYS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Scores on Social Confidence Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
Extremely well	2	3	9	4	..	18
Better than average student	7	18	34	23	2	84
About average	8	52	89	77	27	253
Below average	..	2	2	2	1	7
Totals	17	75	134	106	30	362
$\chi^2 = 16.11$ $P .01$ $\bar{C} .28$						

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE LIV

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE
DRESSED?", AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON SOCIAL
CONFIDENCE SCALE FOR GIRLS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Scores on Social Confidence Scale					Totals
	4	3	2	1	0	
Extremely well	3	3	5	9	..	20
Better than average student	11	25	24	24	7	91
About average	8	48	75	95	41	267
Below average	1	1	1	..	1	4
Totals	23	77	105	128	49	382
$\chi^2 = 19.09$ $P .001$ $\bar{C} .29$						

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE LV

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON OTHER-DIRECTEDNESS INDEX
FOR ALL STUDENTS

Responses to Question ^a	Scores on Other-Directedness Index				
	3	2	1	0	Totals
Extremely well	10	13	9	6	38
Better than average student	58	65	41	12	176
About average	159	187	131	48	525
Below average	3	1	4	2	10
Totals	230	266	185	68	749
NS					

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE LVI

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON OTHER-DIRECTEDNESS INDEX
FOR BOYS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Scores on Other-Directedness Index				
	3	2	1	0	Totals
Extremely well	4	6	4	4	18
Better than average student	23	31	21	10	85
About average	66	93	71	27	257
Below average	1	..	4	2	7
Totals	94	130	100	43	367
NS					

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE LVII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "COMPARED TO OTHERS
OF YOUR AGE HOW WELL DO YOU USUALLY FEEL YOU ARE DRESSED?",
AND WEIGHTED SCORES ON OTHER-DIRECTEDNESS INDEX
FOR GIRLS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Scores on Other-Directedness Index				
	3	2	1	0	Totals
Extremely well	6	7	5	2	20
Better than average student	35	34	20	2	91
About average	93	94	60	21	268
Below average	2	1	..	..	3
Totals	136	136	85	25	382
NS					

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE LVIII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "A PERSON MY AGE
SHOULD BUY CLOTHES MOTHER WILL LIKE," AND
DIFFERENCES IN SEX

Responses to Question	Sex		
	Boys	Girls	Totals
Strongly agree	25	46	71
Agree	112	176	288
Uncertain	104	102	206
Disagree	101	44	145
Strongly disagree	36	21	57
Totals	378	389	767
$\chi^2 = 46.57$	P .001		$\bar{C} .32$

TABLE LVIX

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "A PERSON MY AGE
SHOULD BUY CLOTHES MOTHER WILL LIKE," AND GRADE IN SCHOOL
FOR ALL STUDENTS

Responses to Question	Grade in School			
	12th	10th	8th	Totals
Strongly agree	12	22	37	71
Agree	68	114	106	288
Uncertain	60	86	60	206
Disagree	57	56	32	145
Strongly disagree	24	18	15	57
Totals	221	296	250	767
$\chi^2 = 33.84$				
$P .001$				
$\bar{C} .25$				

TABLE LX

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "A PERSON MY AGE
SHOULD BUY CLOTHES MOTHER WILL LIKE," AND GRADE IN SCHOOL
FOR BOYS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Grade in School			
	12th	10th	8th	Totals
Strongly agree	1	3	21	25
Agree	22	48	42	112
Uncertain	32	43	29	104
Disagree	34	42	25	101
Strongly disagree	13	11	12	36
Totals	102	147	129	378
$\chi^2 = 19.56$				
$P .01$				
$\bar{C} .28$				

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows were collapsed

TABLE LXI

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "A PERSON MY AGE SHOULD BUY CLOTHES MOTHER WILL LIKE," AND GRADE IN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Grade in School			
	12th	10th	8th	Totals
Strongly agree	11	19	16	46
Agree	46	66	64	176
Uncertain	28	43	31	102
Disagree	23	14	7	44
Strongly disagree	11	7	3	21
Totals	119	149	121	389
$\chi^2 = 20.18$	P .01			$\bar{C} .28$

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE LXII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "A PERSON MY AGE SHOULD BUY CLOTHES MOTHER WILL LIKE," AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER FOR ALL STUDENTS

Responses to Question ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals
Strongly agree	4	10	7	20	6	18	3	68
Agree	17	27	27	94	37	59	9	270
Uncertain	12	25	17	60	21	43	6	184
Disagree	9	15	13	47	14	33	3	134
Strongly disagree	7	4	2	26	5	9	2	55
Totals	49	81	66	247	83	162	23	711
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and the last three columns were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE LXIII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "A PERSON MY AGE
SHOULD BUY CLOTHES MOTHER WILL LIKE," AND OCCUPATIONAL
STATUS OF FATHER FOR BOYS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly agree	1	2	2	6	3	9	1	24
Agree	6	7	11	40	18	22	2	106
Uncertain	9	11	7	30	11	20	3	91
Disagree	7	10	10	34	7	21	3	92
Strongly disagree	5	3	1	15	4	5	1	34
Totals	28	33	31	125	43	77	10	347
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and the last three columns and first two rows were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE LXIV

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "A PERSON MY AGE
SHOULD BUY CLOTHES MOTHER WILL LIKE," AND OCCUPATIONAL
STATUS OF FATHER FOR GIRLS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly agree	3	8	5	14	3	9	2	44
Agree	11	20	16	54	19	37	7	164
Uncertain	3	14	10	30	10	23	3	93
Disagree	2	5	3	13	7	12	..	52
Strongly disagree	2	1	1	11	1	4	1	21
Totals	21	48	35	122	40	85	13	364
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and the last three columns and last two rows were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE LXV

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "I DON'T ENJOY
WEARING MY CLOTHES UNLESS MY FRIENDS LIKE THEM",
AND DIFFERENCES IN SEX

Responses to Question	Sex		
	Boys	Girls	Totals
Strongly disagree	35	42	77
Disagree	118	114	232
Uncertain	72	54	126
Agree	130	149	279
Strongly agree	24	30	54
Totals	379	389	768
NS			

TABLE LXVI

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "I DON'T ENJOY
WEARING MY CLOTHES UNLESS MY FRIENDS LIKE THEM",
AND GRADE IN SCHOOL FOR ALL STUDENTS

Responses to Question	Grade in School			
	12th	10th	8th	Totals
Strongly agree	27	22	28	77
Disagree	88	80	64	232
Uncertain	35	51	40	126
Agree	67	122	90	279
Strongly agree	6	20	28	54
Totals	223	295	250	768
$\chi^2 = 28.88$	P .001			$\bar{c} .23$

TABLE LXVII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "I DON'T ENJOY
WEARING MY CLOTHES UNLESS MY FRIENDS LIKE THEM",
AND GRADE IN SCHOOL FOR BOYS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Grade in School			Totals
	12th	10th	8th	
Strongly disagree	8	8	19	35
Disagree	38	46	34	118
Uncertain	20	31	21	72
Agree	36	53	41	130
Strongly agree	2	8	14	24
Totals	104	146	129	379
NS				

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first two rows and last two rows were collapsed.

TABLE LXVIII

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "I DON'T ENJOY
WEARING MY CLOTHES UNLESS MY FRIENDS LIKE THEM",
AND GRADE IN SCHOOL FOR GIRLS ALONE

Responses to Question	Grade in School			Totals
	12th	10th	8th	
Strongly disagree	19	14	9	42
Disagree	50	34	30	114
Uncertain	15	20	19	54
Agree	31	69	49	149
Strongly agree	4	12	14	30
Totals	119	149	121	389
$\chi^2 = 27.44$				
$P .001$				
$\bar{C} .32$				

TABLE LXIX

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "I DON'T ENJOY
WEARING MY CLOTHES UNLESS MY FRIENDS LIKE THEM", AND
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER FOR ALL STUDENTS

Responses to Question ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly disagree	4	9	4	25	8	15	1	66
Disagree	11	22	19	75	30	49	14	220
Uncertain	7	17	10	39	13	29	1	116
Agree	24	27	26	88	30	60	5	260
Strongly agree	3	6	8	20	3	8	2	50
Totals	49	81	67	247	84	161	23	712
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and last three columns were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status

TABLE LXX

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "I DON'T ENJOY
WEARING MY CLOTHES UNLESS MY FRIENDS LIKE THEM", AND
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER FOR BOYS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly disagree	1	2	2	13	3	9	1	31
Disagree	6	6	10	41	14	28	5	110
Uncertain	6	12	5	21	6	14	1	65
Agree	13	11	12	42	19	22	1	120
Strongly agree	2	2	2	9	2	3	2	22
Totals	28	33	31	126	44	76	10	348
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and last three columns and last two rows were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE LXXI

ASSOCIATION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "I DON'T ENJOY
WEARING MY CLOTHES UNLESS MY FRIENDS LIKE THEM," AND
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FATHER FOR GIRLS ALONE

Responses to Question ^a	Ratings on Occupational Status ^b							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly disagree	3	7	2	12	5	6	..	35
Disagree	5	16	9	34	16	21	9	110
Uncertain	1	5	5	18	7	15	..	51
Agree	11	16	14	46	11	38	4	140
Strongly agree	1	4	6	11	1	5	..	28
Totals	21	48	36	121	40	85	13	364
NS								

^aIn the computation of the chi square, the first three columns and last three columns were collapsed.

^bBased upon Warner's Index of Occupational Status.

TABLE

SUMMARY OF ASSOCIATIONS				
	Occupation of Father	Organiza- tional Activity	Social Class Identi- fication	Educational Expectations
Grade				
All students	+.16*	NS	NS	
Boys alone	+.23*	NS	NS	-.17*
Girls alone	NS	+.28**	NS	NS
Sex				
All students	NS	(G-H).30***	NS	(G-L).18**
Occupational status of father				
All students		+.32***	+.40***	+.38***
Boys alone		+.32**	+.39***	+.37***
Girls alone		+.37***	+.42***	+.41***
Organizational activity				
All students				
Boys alone			+.20**	+.36***
Girls alone			+.29***	+.39***
Social Class identification			+.21*	+.42***
All students				
Boys alone				+.21***
Girls alone				+.28**
Educational Expectations				+.19*
All students				
Boys alone				
Girls alone				
Desirability of father's occupation				
All students				
Boys alone				
Girls alone				
Occupational expectations				
All students				
Boys alone				
Girls alone				
Social confidence				
All students				
Boys alone				
Girls alone				

Meaning of Symbols:

NS - not significant
 * - P .05
 ** - P .01
 *** - P .001

(G-H) - Girls high
 (G-L) - Girls low
 (10Gd-H) - 10th grade high
 (U) - direction of the association is unclear

BETWEEN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Desirability of Father's Occupation	Occupational Expectations	Social Confidence	Other- Directedness
(U) .20*	+.21*	+.25***	NS
(U) .32***	+.30*	+.31***	NS
NS	(U) .30**	NS	(10Gd-H) .25**
(G-H) .23***	(G-L) .46***	(G-L) .16*	(G-H) .18**
+.19***	+.42***	NS	NS
+.42***	+.64***	NS	NS
+.56***	+.34**	+.25*	NS
+.24**	+.27**	+.30***	NS
NS	+.33**	+.28*	NS
+.27*	+.37***	+.36***	NS
+.27***	+.23**	+.20**	NS
+.35***	+.26*	+.23*	NS
+.23*	+NS	NS	NS
NS	+.57***	+.24***	NS
NS	+.67***	+.31***	+.25*
NS	+.65***	+.26*	NS
	(U) .23*	NS	NS
	NS	NS	NS
	+.27*	NS	NS
		+.41***	NS
		+.50***	NS
		+.26*	NS
			-.21**
			NS
			-.30***

+ - direction of the association is positive
 - - direction of the association is negative

APPENDIX B

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Michigan
State
College

Social Research Service
and
Agricultural Experiment Station

You and Your Clothing
An Opinionnaire

WHAT THIS IS ALL ABOUT

Michigan State College is doing a study of the opinions young people in Michigan have about themselves and their clothing.

You can help us best by answering the following questions as clearly and carefully as you can.

If there is something you do not understand, ask questions. You will be helped as much as possible.

No one you know, not even your teachers, will ever see what you have written.

INSTRUCTIONS

Most of the questions can be answered by circling a number after the answer you choose. In those cases where you are asked to write out your own answer, space is provided for you to do so.

REMEMBER

This is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers (except for a few questions about your age, grade, etc.). We want to know what your opinions are. Different people will have different opinions.

1) Name _____

2) Your grade:

12th 1
 11th 2
 10th 3
 9th 4
 8th 5

3) Your age at last birthday:

12 or less 1
 13 2
 14 3
 15 4
 16 5
 17 6
 18 7
 19 or more 8

4) Your sex:

Male 1
 Female 2

5) How many living brothers and sisters do you have? (Circle the correct number on each line, the 0 if none.)

Younger brothers	0	1	2	3	4 or more
Older brothers	0	1	2	3	4 or more
Younger sisters	0	1	2	3	4 or more
Older sisters	0	1	2	3	4 or more

6) Do you work after school or on week-ends?

Yes 1
 No 2

If yes, describe as accurately as possible what kind of work you do.

7) Who contributes most to the financial support of your family?

Your father 1
 Your mother 2
 Someone else 3

If someone else write who: _____

a) How far did this person mentioned in 7 above go in school?

No schooling 1
 Some grade school 2
 Graduated from grade school 3
 Some high school. 4
 Graduated from high school. 5
 Some college. 6
 Graduated from college. 7

Other (Explain) _____

Don't know. 8

b) What does this person do for a living? (Write in the complete name or title of his or her job, not the company he or she works for.)

c) Describe as accurately as possible what this person makes or does on the job. (For example: he supervises the work of 15 office clerks; he operates and sets up his own machine and works from blue-prints; he sells from door to door; etc.

d) Do you think that this would be a good life's work for you (or, if girl, your future husband?)

Very good 1
 Good. 2
 Fair. 3
 Not very good 4
 No good at all. 5

8) Do you intend to graduate from high school?

Yes 1
No 2

a) Whether you intend to graduate from high school or not, how much more training do you expect to get?

None 1
Become an apprentice 2
Go to business or trade school 3
What will you take up _____
College 4
Advanced training after graduating from college . 5

9) What would you most like to do as a life's work? (Describe as clearly and completely as you can.)

a) How good do you think your chances are of getting into this kind of life's work?

Very good 1
Good 2
Fair 3
Poor 4
Do not know 5

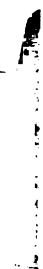
b) If you think that your chances of getting into this kind of life's work are "fair" or "poor" what do you really expect to do to make a living?

10) FOR GIRLS ONLY: (Boys, go on to question 11)

If you get married, have you ever thought about the kind of life's work you would most like your husband to be in?

Yes 1
No 2

a) If yes, what kind of life's work would you most like your husband to do?



- 11) Sometimes people talk about middle, lower, working, or upper classes in the community, and say that a family is in one or another of these classes. Which one of the following "classes" would you say your parents, or the folks you live with, belong to?

Working class 1
 Lower class 2
 Middle class 3
 Upper class 4

- 12) If you could live anywhere you wanted to, where would you prefer to live?

On a farm 1
 In a small town 2
 In a city smaller than Lansing 3
 In Lansing 4
 In another city about the size of Lansing 5
 In a city larger than Lansing 6
 In a very large city like Detroit or Chicago 7
 In the suburbs of a city 8

- a) How good do you think your chances are of living in this place?

Good 1
 Fair 2
 Poor 3
 Do not know 4

- 13) How often do you go to Church or Sunday School?

Once a week, or more often 1
 Once or twice a month 2
 Less than once a month 3
 Almost never 4

- 14) How many clubs or organizations in school and outside of school do you belong to?

None 1
 One 2
 Two 3
 Three 4
 Four or more 5

- a) Have you ever been an officer in any of these clubs?

Yes 1
 No 2

15) Up to this point, where have you spent most of your life?

This city 1

Farm. 2

Other (Write in name of place, county, and state.)

16) Where was your father born?

This city 1

Farm. 2

Other (Write in name of place, county, and state.)

17) What daily newspaper do you read most often?

I do not read newspapers. 1

a) If you do read a newspapers, what part of the paper are you most interested in?

b) The news that I'm most interested in concerns:

What is going on around town 1

What is going on in Michigan 2

What is going on all over the United States . . . 3

What is going on all over the world 4

I don't care about news 5

FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS: Most of your opinions can be shown by making a circle around the number which follows the answer you choose. If the choice of answers does not clearly express your view, circle the number which comes nearest to expressing how you feel. Circle only one answer.

18) How much thought and attention do you think someone your age should give to clothes?

Very little 1

Some. 2

A good deal 3

19) BOYS ONLY: (Girls go to question 20.)

A fellow should wear clothes that girls will like.

Strongly agree	1
Agree.	2
Uncertain.	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree.	5

20) GIRLS ONLY: (Boys go to question 21.)

A girl should wear clothes that boys will like.

Strongly agree	1
Agree.	2
Uncertain.	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree.	5

21) Have you ever refused invitations to go out because you felt you didn't have the right clothes to wear?

Never.	1
Once in a while.	2
Often.	3
Very Often	4

22) When you are at a party with other people of your age, or are on a date, do you think about your clothing while you are with them?

Very Often	1
Often.	2
Once in a while.	3
Never.	4

23) I dislike going to parties and other affairs where there are lots of people I don't know.

Strongly agree	1
Agree.	2
Uncertain.	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree.	5

24) Do you ever want to know whether other people like or dislike your clothes?

Never.	1
Once in a while.	2
Often.	3
Very often	4

- 25) How much do you feel you can tell about people from the way they dress?

A lot	1
A little	2
Nothing	3

- 26) To find out if I have done something well I would want to know:

Whether it was always done that way	1
What other people think about it	2
I wouldn't have to find out. I would know it in my own mind	3

- 27) A person my age should buy clothes father will like.

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Uncertain	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

- 28) I feel I can handle people well.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

- 29) I don't enjoy wearing my clothes unless my friends like them.

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Uncertain	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

- 30) When I am with my friends and someone does something wild and ridiculous, I feel embarrassed for him.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

- 31) When I am tempted to do something bad, I am most likely to think about:

how I'll feel about it later	1
what other people will say	2
what always happens to people who do bad things	3

- 32) Whose opinion counts most when you are deciding what to wear?
(Check only one.)

<input type="checkbox"/> Older brother	<input type="checkbox"/> Fellows a little older than I
<input type="checkbox"/> Older sister	<input type="checkbox"/> Girls a little older than I
<input type="checkbox"/> Younger brother	<input type="checkbox"/> No one
<input type="checkbox"/> Younger sister	
<input type="checkbox"/> Father	<input type="checkbox"/> Other persons (Write in who -
<input type="checkbox"/> Mother	<input type="checkbox"/> "my aunt", "my cousin", etc.)
<input type="checkbox"/> Fellows younger than I	
<input type="checkbox"/> Girls younger than I	
<input type="checkbox"/> Fellows about my age	
<input type="checkbox"/> Girls about my age	

- 33) Whenever I can, I try to make more friends than I already have.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

- 34) How often do you pay attention to the clothes you wear?

Almost always	1
Often	2
Seldom	3
Never	4

- 35) Compared to others of your age, how well do you usually feel you are dressed?

Extremely well	1
Better than average student	2
About average	3
Below average	4

- 36) I wish I could mix better with people.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

- 37) A person my age should buy clothes mother will like.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

38) I am more self conscious than most people.

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Uncertain	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

39) I can do things better by working with other people.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

40) Compared with other people I know, I have many more friends.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

41) Before I make up my mind to do something I try to find out what other people think about it.

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Uncertain	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

42) Having nice clothing gives a person my age a great feeling of self-confidence.

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Uncertain	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

43) I am satisfied with the clothes I have.

Almost always	1
Often	2
Seldom	3
Never	4

44) It makes me feel uneasy when people pay a lot of attention to me.

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Uncertain	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

45) A person my age needs nice clothes to be happy.

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Uncertain	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

46) It bothers me when people talk about me behind my back.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

47) It's all right with me if I am seen arriving late at some affair like a school play, a basketball game, or a football game.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

48) If you have nice clothes, you have a better chance of getting a job.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

49) I don't make a good first impression on people.

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Uncertain	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

- 50) It is very important that I know what other people think of me.

Strongly agree 1
 Agree 2
 Uncertain 3
 Disagree 4
 Strongly disagree 5

- 51) People my age who dress very well are more likely to be popular than those who do not dress very well.

Strongly agree 1
 Agree 2
 Uncertain 3
 Disagree 4
 Strongly disagree 5

- 52) When I am in school, I feel ill at ease because of my clothes.

Almost always 1
 Often 2
 Seldom 3
 Never 4

- 53) I like to get up and talk before the class.

Strongly agree 1
 Agree 2
 Uncertain 3
 Disagree 4
 Strongly disagree 5

- 54) If you could dress like any one person or any group of persons you know or have ever heard of, who would it be, and why? (You have as long as you wish to answer this question. Write on the back of the page if necessary.)

(OVER)

54) (Continued)

55) Who are the most friendly boys or girls in this class? Name the most friendly first, then the next, and so on.

1. _____
 (first name) (last name)

2. _____

3. _____

56) Who are the least friendly boys or girls in this class? Name the least friendly first, and then the others who are not so friendly.

1. _____
 (first name) (last name)

2. _____

3. _____

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