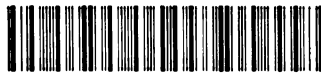


THE IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL CLASS
FOR CLOTHING BEHAVIOR:
THE ACQUISITION AND USE OF APPAREL
FOR GIRLS SEVEN, EIGHT AND NINE
YEARS OF AGE IN THREE SOCIAL
CLASSES IN DES MOINES, IOWA

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Margaret Cynthia Warning
1956



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This is to certify that the
thesis entitled
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
presented by

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has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Sociology & Anthropology



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Date May 15, 1956



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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

By

Margaret Cynthia Warning

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
State University of Agriculture and Applied Science
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Year

1956

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An Abstract by Margaret Warning

The purpose of the study was to determine whether practices in the acquisition, use and care of garments for girls seven through nine years of age in Des Moines, Iowa whose families were in the upper-middle, lower-middle or upper-lower social class varied with social class. Using school census cards a sample of 212 cases was drawn from families which were: unbroken, white and had a daughter of seven, eight or nine years of age living in the home and at least one other child. The daughter attended public school in an area not known to contain a large ethnic group. The Warner Index of Status Characteristics was used to determine the social class position of the families. Data concerning the acquisition, use and care of the girls' clothing was obtained by personal interviews with the mothers.

It was hypothesized that the practices of upper-middle and upper-lower social class members would differ in regard to numbers, prices and varieties of garments provided, in purchasing practices, in participation allowed the daughters, in the concern for the opinions of others concerning how the girls were dressed, in the construction, care, use and discarding of girls' garments and that the ways of the lower-middle class members lie between the extremely different practices of the other two social classes. Of the 92 relationships considered, 22 were in the direction hypothesized and 31 relationships were statistically significant.

In assembling girls' wardrobes the social classes varied in number of garments owned, prices paid, and the provision of different kinds of garments for occasions such as parties, church, club meetings and athletic activities. In acquiring the garments the families followed different purchasing practices, for example, they purchased in different kinds of

stores, held different opinions about the importance of price and brands, toward a sizing label and toward high-style garments. The daughters in the different social classes varied in the amount and type of participation in the selection of their own clothing and the age at which they began to take part in the selection and care of garments and to sew. The amount of and reasons for construction differed. The practices in discarding girls' garments also differed. The amount of concern felt by the mothers and daughters regarding the opinions of others about the ways in which the girls were dressed differed in the various classes.

In nine of the thirty one relationships which were significantly different, the lower-middle class members behaved in a way which appeared to lie distinctly between the upper-middle and upper-lower class ways, in ten they were more like the upper-middle class members and in five more like the upper-lower class and in seven they seemed to follow a pattern of their own which was not between or like that of the other two social classes. In general the similarity of practices in the acquisition and use of apparel for girls seven, eight and nine years of age within one social class and the differences between the clothing behavior of members of the upper-middle, lower-middle and upper-lower social classes clearly revealed that the clothing behavior of families in regard to the garments of daughters varied with the family's social class.

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

By

Margaret Cynthia Warning

A THESIS

Submitted to the Graduate School of Michigan State
University of Agriculture and Applied Science in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1956

THESIS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. METHOD OF STUDY.	21
III. A COMPARISON OF THE GIRLS' WARDROBES	30
IV. A COMPARISON OF PURCHASING PRACTICES	<u>53</u>
V. THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE DAUGHTERS IN REGARD TO CLOTHING BEHAVIOR	75
VI. A COMPARISON OF THE SEWING CONSTRUCTION.	98
VII. A COMPARISON OF SELECTED PRACTICES IN THE USE, CARE, REPAIR AND DISCARD OF GIRLS' CLOTHING	114
VIII. CONCLUSIONS.	139
APPENDIX	
LITERATURE CITED	

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
I. TOTAL GARMENTS OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	32
II. COATS OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	32
III. SCHOOL DRESSES OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	33
IV. SWEATERS OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	33
V. SHOES OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	35
VI. SLEEPING GARMENTS OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	35
VII. PRICES PAID FOR GIRLS' WINTER COATS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	37
VIII. PRICES PAID FOR GIRLS' SCHOOL DRESSES, BY SOCIAL CLASS	37
IX. PRICES PAID FOR GIRLS' SLEEPING GARMENTS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	39
X. PRICES PAID FOR GIRLS' SHOES, BY SOCIAL CLASS	39
XI. PRICES PAID FOR GIRLS' PARTY DRESSES, BY SOCIAL CLASS	40
XII. CLOTHING BUDGETS FOR FAMILIES BY SOCIAL CLASS	42
XIII. CLOTHING BUDGETS FOR GIRLS BY SOCIAL CLASS	42
XIV. PARTY DRESSES OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	44
XV. KINDS OF CLOTHES WORN TO PARTIES BY GIRLS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	46
XVI. KINDS OF CLOTHES WORN FOR CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY GIRLS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	48
XVII. KINDS OF CLOTHES WORN TO MOVIES BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	48
XVIII. GIRLS WHO HAD SPECIAL CLOTHES FOR CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	50
XIX. GIRLS WHO HAD SPECIAL CLOTHES FOR PRIVATE LESSONS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	50
XX. GIRLS WHO HAD SPECIAL CLOTHES FOR ATHLETICS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	52
XXI. KINDS OF STORES IN WHICH GIRLS' COATS WERE PURCHASED, BY SOCIAL CLASS	55

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
XXII. KINDS OF STORES IN WHICH GIRLS' DRESSES WERE PURCHASED, BY SOCIAL CLASS	56
XXIII. KINDS OF STORES IN WHICH GIRLS' SLEEPING GARMENTS WERE PURCHASED, BY SOCIAL CLASS	58
XXIV. KINDS OF STORES IN WHICH GIRLS' SOCKS WERE PURCHASED, BY SOCIAL CLASS	59
XXV. KINDS OF STORES IN WHICH GIRLS' SHOES WERE PURCHASED, BY SOCIAL CLASS	61
XXVI. MOTHERS WHO PURCHASED GIRLS' GARMENTS BECAUSE OF BRAND NAMES, BY SOCIAL CLASS	63
XXVII. IMPORTANCE GIVEN TO PRICE AND BRAND OF GIRLS' GARMENTS BY MOTHERS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	63
XXVIII. FREQUENCY OF PRICE DETERMINING PURCHASE OF GIRLS' GARMENTS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	64
XXIX. MOTHERS' USE OF A SIZING LABEL BASED ON GIRLS' HEIGHT, WEIGHT, GIRTH MEASUREMENTS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	65
XXX. FREQUENCY OF EXAMINING WORKMANSHIP OF GIRLS' GARMENTS BEFORE PURCHASE, BY SOCIAL CLASS	67
XXXI. FREQUENCY OF TRYING ON GIRLS' GARMENTS BEFORE PURCHASE, BY SOCIAL CLASS	68
XXXII. REASONS FOR TRYING ON GIRLS' GARMENTS BEFORE PURCHASING, BY SOCIAL CLASS	70
XXXIII. FREQUENCY OF RECOGNITION AND PURCHASE OF FADS IN GIRLS' CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS	71
XXXIV. FREQUENCY OF RECOGNITION AND PURCHASE OF HIGH-STYLE GARMENTS FOR GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	73
XXXV. FREQUENCY OF GIRLS' SHOPPING WITH MOTHERS FOR GIRLS' CLOTHES, BY SOCIAL CLASS	77
XXXVI. MOTHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD GIRLS' PARTICIPATION IN CLOTHING SELECTION, BY SOCIAL CLASS	77
XXXVII. REASONS FOR FAVORING GIRLS' PARTICIPATION IN CLOTHING SELECTION, BY SOCIAL CLASS	78
XXXVIII. FREQUENCY OF LIMITING GIRLS' SELECTION TO SEVERAL GARMENTS FROM WHICH FINAL CHOICE IS MADE, BY SOCIAL CLASS	80

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
XXXIX. FREQUENCY WITH WHICH GIRLS MADE FINAL DECISIONS IN CLOTHING SELECTION IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	80
XL. SELECTED FACTORS WHICH MAY DETERMINE GIRLS' CHOICES IN CLOTHING SELECTION, BY SOCIAL CLASS	82
XLI. THE NUMBER OF MOTHERS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES WHO FAVORED MOTHER-DAUGHTER COSTUMES	82
XLII. THE NUMBER OF GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES WHO FAVORED MOTHER-DAUGHTER COSTUMES	83
XLIII. AGES AT WHICH GIRLS BEGAN TO PARTICIPATE IN CLOTHING SELECTION, BY SOCIAL CLASS	85
XLIV. SETTLEMENT OF DISAGREEMENTS CONCERNING PREFERENCES OF GIRLS' CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS	87
XLV. PROCEDURE FOLLOWED IF CLOTHING PREFERENCES OF MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS DIFFERED, BY SOCIAL CLASS	89
XLVI. FREQUENCY OF EXPLAINING MOTHERS' REASONS FOR PREFERENCES CONCERNING GIRLS' CLOTHING	90
XLVII. UNWISE SELECTION OF GIRLS' GARMENTS USED AS A MEANS OF TEACHING CLOTHING SELECTION, BY SOCIAL CLASS	90
XLVIII. SUCCESS IN TEACHING GIRLS' CLOTHING SELECTION BY ALLOWING UNWISE SELECTION, BY SOCIAL CLASS	91
XLIX. FREQUENCY OF "GIVING IN" TO GIRLS' CLOTHING DEMANDS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	91
XL. THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE GIVEN BY MOTHERS TO THE OPINIONS OF ADULTS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY CONCERNING GIRLS' CLOTHES, BY SOCIAL CLASS	93
XLI. THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE GIVEN BY MOTHERS TO THE OPINIONS OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY CONCERNING GIRLS' CLOTHES, BY SOCIAL CLASS	93
XLII. THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE GIVEN BY DAUGHTERS TO THE OPINIONS OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY CONCERNING GIRLS' CLOTHES, BY SOCIAL CLASS	94
XLIII. THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE GIVEN BY DAUGHTERS TO THE OPINIONS OF ADULTS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY CONCERNING GIRLS' CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS	94

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
LIV. THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE GIVEN BY THE DAUGHTERS TO THE OPINIONS OF CHILDREN OUTSIDE THE FAMILY CONCERNING THE GIRLS' CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS	96
LV. FAMILIES IN WHICH GIRLS' CLOTHING WAS CONSTRUCTED, BY SOCIAL CLASS	100
LVI. GIRLS GARMENTS CONSTRUCTED DURING ONE YEAR, BY SOCIAL CLASS	100
LVII. MOTHERS' ENJOYMENT OF SEWING FOR THEIR DAUGHTERS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	102
LVIII. GIRLS' ATTITUDES TOWARD MOTHERS' CONSTRUCTION, BY SOCIAL CLASS	102
LIX. MOTHERS AND OTHER RELATIVES WHO SEW FOR GIRLS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	103
LX. REASONS OF MOTHERS WHO ACTUALLY SEWED FOR CONSTRUCTING GIRLS' CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS	103
LXI. THE FREQUENCY OF COMPARING THE COSTS OF READY-TO-WEAR AND HOME CONSTRUCTED GARMENTS OF ENTIRE SAMPLE, BY SOCIAL CLASS	104
LXII. THE FREQUENCY OF COMPARING THE COSTS OF READY-TO-WEAR AND HOME CONSTRUCTED GARMENTS BY THE MOTHERS WHO ACTUALLY CONSTRUCTED GIRLS' GARMENTS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	104
LXIII. SEWING MACHINE AVAILABLE, BY SOCIAL CLASS	105
LXIV. FREQUENCY OF WEARING GARMENTS CONSTRUCTED AT HOME, BY SOCIAL CLASS	107
LXV. AGES AT WHICH THE GIRLS BEGAN TO SEW, BY SOCIAL CLASS	108
LXVI. AGES AT WHICH MOTHERS INTEND TO TEACH GIRLS TO SEW, BY SOCIAL CLASS	109
LXVII. GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES WHO SEWED	111
LXVIII. GIRLS WHO ASKED TO BE TAUGHT TO SEW, IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	111
LXIX. INTENTION OF MOTHERS TOWARD TEACHING DAUGHTERS TO SEW, BY SOCIAL CLASS	112
LXX. GIRLS WHO WORE GARMENTS PREVIOUSLY OWNED BY ANOTHER PERSON, BY SOCIAL CLASS	116

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
LXXI. FREQUENCY WITH WHICH GIRLS WORE GARMENTS PREVIOUSLY OWNED BY ANOTHER PERSON, BY SOCIAL CLASS	116
LXXII. FREQUENCY OF LENDING GIRLS' GARMENTS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	118
LXXIII. FREQUENCY OF BORROWING GIRLS' GARMENTS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	118
LXXIV. FREQUENCY OF LENDING GIRLS' GARMENTS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	119
LXXV. GIRLS WHO MADE DAILY SELECTION OF CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS	121
LXXVI. GIRLS WHO TOOK PART IN THE CARE OF THEIR OWN CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS	122
LXXVII. AGES AT WHICH GIRLS BEGAN TO TAKE PART IN THE CARE OF THEIR OWN CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS	122
LXXVIII. KINDS OF CARE GIVEN CLOTHING BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	124
LXXIX. FREQUENCY WITH WHICH GIRLS CHANGED CLOTHES AFTER SCHOOL, BY SOCIAL CLASS	125
LXXX. KINDS OF CLOTHES WORN AFTER SCHOOL BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	125
LXXXI. INITIATIVE OF GIRLS IN CHANGING CLOTHES AFTER SCHOOL, (ENTIRE SAMPLE), BY SOCIAL CLASS	126
LXXXII. INITIATIVE OF GIRLS WHO CONSISTENTLY CHANGED CLOTHES AFTER SCHOOL, BY SOCIAL CLASS	126
LXXXIII. REASONS FOR GIRLS' CHANGING CLOTHES AFTER SCHOOL, BY SOCIAL CLASS	128
LXXXIV. OWNERSHIP OF GIRLS' GARMENTS DIFFICULT TO IRON, BY SOCIAL CLASS	129
LXXXV. FREQUENCY WITH WHICH MOTHERS WOULD BUY GIRLS' GARMENTS DIFFICULT TO IRON, BY SOCIAL CLASS	129
LXXXVI. MEANS OF LAUNDERING GARMENTS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	131
LXXXVII. GIRLS' GARMENTS WHICH MUST BE DRY CLEANED, BY SOCIAL CLASS	131

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
LXXXVIII. MOTHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD DURABILITY OF GIRLS' GARMENTS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	133
LXXXIX. MOTHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS MENDED GARMENTS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	133
XC. DAUGHTERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS MENDED GARMENTS, BY SOCIAL CLASS	134
XCI. CONDITIONS OF GIRLS' GARMENTS WHEN DISCARDED IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	136
XCII. WAYS OF DISPOSING OF GIRLS' GARMENTS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES	136

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

American society, like most complex societies, is generally considered to be divided into various social classes. Perhaps we should not assume this to be a universal truth, however, because as Parsons wrote: "The theoretical possibility exists that not only any two individuals but all those in the system should be ranked as exact equals. This possibility, however, has never been very closely approached in any known large-scale social system".¹ For many years, we have recognized and accepted the fact that we do have a class system in America. Warner and Lunt wrote in 1941: "By class is meant two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions. . . . A class society distributes rights and privileges, duties and obligations, unequally among its inferior and superior grades".² In American Life: Dream and Reality, Warner wrote: "Social class in America is not the same as economic class. Social class refers to levels which are recognizable in the general behavior and social attitudes of the people of the whole community where the levels exist".³

¹Parsons, Talcott. "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification", American Journal of Sociology. Volume XLV, No. 6 (May 1940), p. 843.

²Warner, W. Lloyd and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941, p. 82.

³Warner, W. Lloyd. American Life: Dream and Reality. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1953, p. 53.

When a child is born in America, he is born into the social class of his parents. As long as the family remains together as a unit, in one community and in the same household, the parents and the children will be members of the same social class. This does not mean that they must necessarily remain within the social class to which they belonged when the child was born, but it does mean that the family unit of parents and children will be in the same level whether they all move upward or downward or remain in the same social class until the children establish independent households for themselves.

An American child is born into and remains a part of the social class of his parents, but since America has an open-class system, the child may change from one level to another during his lifetime as his family changes, or he may be educated and trained so that when he establishes his household as an adult, he and his new family become part of a different social class, or he may change class position because his marriage partner belongs in a different social class. "To belong to a particular level in the social-class system of America means that a family or individual has gained acceptance as an equal by those who belong in the class. The behavior in this class and the participation of those in it must be rated by the rest of the community as being at a particular place in the social scale".¹

Although we recognize and accept the social class system, it is difficult to realize how important and influential it is in our lives. Warner, Meeker, and Eells wrote: "social class enters into almost every

¹Warner, W. Lloyd, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells. Social Class in America. Chicago Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949, p. 23.

aspect of our lives, into marriage, family, business, government, work, and play. It is an important determinant of personality development and is a factor in the kind of skills, abilities, and intelligence an individual uses to solve his problems. . . . What a woman buys to furnish her house and clothe her family is highly controlled by her social-class values".¹ It is logical, therefore, that the clothes of any member of the family serve the following purposes:

1. Indicate to which social class the wearer and his family now belong.
2. Increase the feeling of group solidarity by the similarity of his clothing and the clothing of other members of his social group.
3. Indicate that the wearer wishes to move from his present level to a different social class, and that his family can afford to have him behave according to the ways prescribed by the members of that social class.

People are not always conscious of their use of clothing for these purposes. According to Warner, Meeker, and Eells, "The house they live in, the neighborhood they choose to live in, and the friends they invite to their home, consciously, or more often unconsciously, demonstrate that class values help determine what things we select and what people we choose as our associates".² Whether or not the wearer is conscious of it, his clothes indicate to other people that the wearer is willing

¹Warner, W. Lloyd, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells. Social Class in America. Chicago Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949, p.vi..

²Warner, Meeker, and Eells, *ibid*, p. vi. .

and is able to conform to the clothing behavior common to the members of a certain social class.

Both Veblen and Parsons indicated that the clothing of the husbands and the wives serve different purposes, and it seems logical that the clothes of the children in the family belong in the same category with the mother's. Parsons said: "Women's interests, and the standards of judgment applied to them, run, in our society, far more in the direction of personal charm than is the case with men. Men's dress is practically a uniform, admitting of very slight play for differentiating taste, in marked contrast with that of women. This serves to concentrate the judgment and valuation of men on their occupational achievements, while the valuation of women is diverted into realms outside the occupationally relevant sphere. This difference appears particularly conspicuous in the urban middle classes where competition for class status is most severe . . . In our urban society with its competitive atmosphere, the qualities and achievements of the feminine role have come to be significant as symbols of the status of the family, as parts of its 'standard of living' which reflect credit on it. The man's role, on the other hand, is primarily to determine the status of his family by 'finding his level' in the occupational sphere".¹

Why did Parsons say that competition for class status is most severe in the urban middle classes? Perhaps it is because the members of the middle classes are in a strategic position for vertical mobility, but the direction may be either upward or downward and we have a keen feeling concerning the direction taken. Davis, Bredemeier and Levy

¹Parsons, op. cit., p. 853.

wrote: "As class is an expression of economic success, then it follows that to belong as a child or adolescent in a class below others is a statement that one's parents have failed, that they did not make good. This is bad enough when they have not risen, unbearable if they have started to fall even lower. Deeper than our disapproval of any breaking of the ten commandments lies our conviction that low economic estate is something dreadful and that a failure to keep moving upward is an unforgiveable sin. . . . success and conformity - outward conformity made possible by the economic success - these are the marks that one is a good American."¹

Members of the upper classes probably feel secure. As Davis, Gardner, and Gardner wrote: "Upper-class individuals especially upper uppers, think of class divisions largely in terms of time - one has a particular social position because his family has 'always had' that position. Members of the middle class interpret their position in terms of wealth and time and tend to make moral evaluations of what 'should be'. Both middle-class groups accept the time element as an important factor in the superordinate position of the 'old aristocracy', but for the rest of the society they consider only individual wealth and moral behavior as differentiating factors. Lower-class people, on the other hand, view the whole stratification of the society as a hierarchy of wealth. The lower lowers think that all those above them on the social scale are progressively wealthy and that their own subordination is dependent upon this economic factor alone. While upper lowers have a

¹Davis, Kingsley, Harry C. Bredemeir and Marion J. Levy. Modern American Society. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1949, p. 191.

similar idea of those above them, they frequently add a moral note in explaining the subordinate position of lower lowers."¹

This leaves the members of the middle classes in a position where they would be expected to feel more insecure than the members of the classes either above or below them. The members of the classes below them do not have much opportunity to devote thought to upward mobility, according to Allison Davis: "The actual daily pressure of 5 to 10 hungry stomachs to fill, backs to clothe, and feet to cover forces the working-class parent to reduce his ambitions to this level of subsistence; to lower his sights as far as long-term planning and studying for better jobs and for finer skills are concerned; to narrow, limit, and shorten his goals with regard to the care, nutrition, education, and careers of his children."² Middle class parents, therefore, to a greater extent than upper or lower-class parents, are concerned and anxious to bring up their children so that they know how to maintain their social-class position, at least, and often prefer to have them rise to higher positions in the social class system.

We know that the goals and the anxieties of members of the classes differ. Warner expressed this by writing: "When the middle class judges the lower class and its apparent lack of responsibility and social conformity, it expresses ignorance of the motivations and goals of this class. A family cannot learn to save and budget when there is no

¹Davis, Allison; Gardner, Burleigh B. and Gardner, Mary R. Deep South. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 71-83.

²Davis, Allison. "The Motivation of the Underprivileged Worker", in W. F. Whyte (ed. Industry and Society. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1946, pp. 86-106.

prospect of regular income which would give the relative security which must underlie these habits. The cultural goals in the slums mean subsistence. Restraint, foresight, and moderation are characteristic of the goals and performance of the middle class. . . . Upward mobility in the middle class is always encouraged and strongly rewarded, not only in the training of the child by the parent and his school teachers, but in the later rewarding experiences he has when he strives for success as a mature person in an adult world."¹

Clothing, A Symbol of Social Acceptance

In light of the observations presented above, it would appear to follow that the clothing behavior of the members of the various social classes would also conform to expected practices and illustrate these same principles which govern the social class system in America.

Clothing is used as a symbol, an extremely important one. If "the 'right' kind of home, the 'right' neighborhood, the 'right' furniture, the proper behavior - all are symbols that can ultimately be translated into social acceptance by those who have sufficient money to aspire to higher levels than they presently enjoy"² as Warner, Meeker, and Eells say they are, clothing is a similar symbol with these differences: clothing is not confined to one location, but accompanies an individual wherever he goes; clothing itself is not permanent and is not inherited, but must be supplied by the present wealth of the family; clothing is not limited to one person, but is associated with every member of a

¹Warner, W. Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 87 and 88.

²Warner, W. Lloyd, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, op. cit., p. 23.

family and is seen whenever the person is seen; clothing is, therefore, a constant visible indicator of the whole family's social position. Not only the actual items of clothing, but the practices in the acquisition and use of these garments show class differences.

Expectancies From A Theoretical Comparison of Practices

If the practices of mothers of the upper-middle, lower-middle, and the upper-lower classes were compared, one would expect to find that since the amount of the family income is usually larger in the upper-middle than in the lower-middle and upper-lower class families, the upper-middle class families would be expected to pay a higher price for items of apparel for girls. For the same reason, a larger amount of family income available, and also because the display of possessions is important to them, the upper-middle class families would be expected to purchase more garments for their girls than would the upper-lower class families while the number of garments of a lower-middle class girl would be in between the numbers owned by the other classes.

The wardrobes of girls who belong to the upper-middle class families, therefore, would probably be more costly and larger and also would be expected to have greater variety than the wardrobes of girls who belong to the upper-lower class families, because they would contain more clothes for special occasions. The parents who are members of the upper-middle class arrange for their daughters to take private lessons in tap, ballet, or ballroom dancing, riding, fencing, swimming, music, or drama, whatever activities are being provided for the other children by their upper-middle class parents. Usually a special costume must be provided for the practice and for the public performance of these

lessons; these costumes are made available so that the upper-middle class child can appear and behave as one of her peers. Being dressed suitably for special occasions such as parties and Sunday social activities, means that an upper-middle class child has a complete costume. Some lower-middle class families would provide special clothes for dressy occasions. The upper-lower class families would be expected to provide only the clothes necessary for the everyday activities of their child. The same garment (for example, a cotton dress), might be used for special occasions when new or in good condition and for school and play later when it is old.

One would expect that if other middle class children were wearing clothes which were high-style or fads, the mothers would purchase similar garments for their children because the children must gain the approval and be like the others in the upper-middle class. The upper-lower class mothers might consider the cost, because high-style garments and fads are not so satisfactory for long use by one child and certainly limit the use of the garments if they are to be handed down to another child.

If it is true that what a woman buys to clothe her family is highly controlled by her social class values, one would expect to find that a middle-class mother would go to the large department stores and specialty shops to do the purchasing for her daughter's clothing for two reasons: (1) she wants to be seen where the other mothers who are members of the upper-middle class do their shopping and when asked by them, she wants to be able to say that she purchased her child's garments there; (2) her daughter's garments must have the same

appearance, the same brand names, and labels as the clothes of children in the upper-middle class. A mother who belongs in the lower-middle class will shop in the department stores or specialty shops if she is upwardly-mobile or in the chain stores if she is conservative and careful with her money. A mother who belongs in the upper-lower class will shop more often at a large chain store or at a retail outlet of a mail order house because she is interested in economy and feels that in these stores she "gets the most for her money."

In line with the theory that the middle-class parents are particularly concerned about appearances, one would expect that the upper-middle class mothers would have their daughters try on garments to determine the fit, becomingness of line, design, and color before they would purchase the garments more frequently than would the upper-lower class mothers.

Because there is a greater expectancy of regular income and because upper-middle class members are trained to use foresight, to anticipate future needs, and to delay rewards, there may be a greater tendency among the upper-middle class families than among the upper-lower class families to make and follow clothing plans and budgets.

The upper-middle class mother probably feels that her child must be carefully trained in the selection of clothing which is considered "right" in their class (or for the class above if the family is upwardly mobile) so she would take the daughter shopping and would let her participate as a way of educating her, but the child's participation would be guided carefully and limited because the family could not permit the child to make a mistake which would weaken the family's acceptance in a

social class. The participation of the child in the upper-lower class would be guided, too, because the child must not be allowed to waste money, but the sooner she could learn to make her own independent economical purchases, the less shopping time and work would be required of the mother, so the child would be encouraged to learn to make her own decisions at an earlier age than an upper-middle class child. If the parent and child were to disagree about the selection of a garment, the upper-middle class mother would be more inclined to be permissive and to "reason with her child" because she has been taught that that is the correct way for a mother to teach her child while an upper-lower class mother might retain more of the methods of rigid discipline.

Today there are probably a number of different factors which determine whether or not a mother constructs garments for a daughter who is seven, eight, or nine years of age. On the basis of the position that a child's clothes indicate the social class of the family, it would seem that there would be more mothers in the upper-middle class who would sew for their daughters than there would be in the upper-lower class, not because the upper-middle class mothers would be particularly eager to save money by sewing, but because they enjoy making something beautiful which shows their creative ability and skill. Anyone can see that the mother has leisure time, if she makes dainty smocked dresses for her daughter to wear. By her sewing, by her use of time, the upper-middle class mother is demonstrating the high status of the family. The lower-middle class mother would construct children's clothes for economy rather than for pleasure. The upper-lower class mother buys ready-to-wear garments because mass production and distribution provide them at

a fairly inexpensive cost, and because she may have little time or equipment or training for sewing.

One would expect girls of all three classes to change clothes after school, but for different reasons: all might want to protect their school clothes, but the upper-middle class child would want to protect them because they are in such good and new condition, the lower-middle class child would want to protect them because she wants to keep them attractive as long as possible, while the upper-lower class child may need to protect them because they are not in very good condition and must be made to last as long as possible. The upper-middle class child may change because she wants to wear special clothes which are more appropriate and comfortable for her activity, for example, shorts or blue jeans. The upper-lower class child may not change at all, if all of her garments are in about the same condition.

Because of their position in society, the upper-middle class mothers might exchange their children's clothes with relatives or close friends and sometimes in neighborhood exchanges, but they would not be expected to be enthusiastic and verbal in admitting that their girls wear clothes which once belonged to some other persons. The lower-middle class families consider it smart and necessary to make use of clothes previously owned by others. The upper-lower class mothers probably plan and expect to make use of used garments for their own children (within the family, not the neighborhood) and buy with that in mind whenever possible. They feel that this procedure is the only economical plan to follow.

Upper-middle class mothers would not encourage borrowing of clothing by their daughters, because that practice might lead people to think that the family could not afford to provide everything which the child needs. Lower-middle class families would not object to borrowing within the immediate family. Upper-lower class children may borrow or lend clothing more freely. Kingsley Davis wrote of a girl named Ruth who no longer lived with her lower-class family but who "still has her group of friends, her large social clique, who are really her 'adopted' family and who will give her shelter and food and lend her clothes whenever they have them."¹

Hypotheses

General hypothesis: Practices in the acquisition and use of garments correspond to social class differences.

I. The practices in assembling a wardrobe for a girl seven, eight, or nine years of age differ in families of the upper-middle, the lower-middle, and the upper-lower social classes in the following ways:

1. The upper-middle class families provide the largest number of garments for their daughters, the lower-middle the next largest number, and the upper-lower class families provide the smallest number of garments for their daughters.
2. The upper-middle class families buy the most expensive garments for their daughters, the lower-middle buy less expensive and the upper-lower class families buy the least expensive garments for their daughters.

¹Davis, Kingsley, op. cit., p. 210.

3. The upper-middle class girls own more kinds of garments for specific activities and for special occasions than do the lower-middle class girls who in turn own more garments for these special activities and occasions than do the upper-lower class girls.
4. More of the upper-middle class families have clothing budgets which they follow than do families of the lower-middle class and the families in the upper-lower class follow clothing budgets less frequently than do the middle class families.

II. The practices in the shopping procedures of mothers who are purchasing garments for girls seven, eight, and nine years of age differ in families of the upper-middle, the lower-middle and the upper-lower social classes in the following ways:

1. The upper-middle class mothers are the most willing to purchase garments which are high-style and fads, the mothers of the lower-middle class are next, and the least willing to buy high-style and fads are the mothers who belong in the upper-lower social class.
2. Because of the greater concern about the appearance of their daughters, the upper-middle class mothers have the girls try on more garments before purchasing than do the mothers of the lower-middle class and the upper-lower class mothers are the least insistent on trying on garments before purchasing them for the daughters.

3. The mothers who belong to the three social classes considered in this study shop for their daughters' clothing in different kinds of stores.

III. The practices in permitting a child to participate in the selection of her own clothing differ in families of the upper-middle, the lower-middle and the upper-lower social classes in the following ways:

1. The upper-middle class mother allows her daughter to participate in the selection of her clothing as a means of educating her, but guides and limits her selection; the child of the lower-middle class is allowed to participate because this participation satisfies and gives pleasure to the child; in the upper-lower class the child is encouraged to make independent decisions in the selection of her own clothing at an earlier age and more participation is allowed.
2. If a parent and child disagree in the selection of a garment for the child, the decision to purchase will be in favor of the mother's opinion more often in the upper-middle social class, while in the lower-middle class the mother will be more inclined to "reason with the child" until the mother and child agree, and in the upper-lower class the mother may retain more of the methods of rigid discipline.

IV. The practices in the construction of items of apparel for girls who are seven, eight and nine years of age differ in families

of the upper-middle, the lower-middle, and the upper-middle social classes in the following ways:

1. Mothers in the lower-middle class may construct the most garments for their daughters because they sew both for pleasure and economy, the mothers in the upper-middle and upper-lower classes may construct about the same amount, but for different reasons, upper-middle class mothers for pleasure and to show ability to create garments and to spend leisure time, the upper-lower class mothers for economy.
 2. The upper-middle class mothers teach their daughters of seven, eight and nine years of age to sew more frequently than do the mothers in the upper lower class and lower-middle class mothers teach their daughters more frequently than do the mothers of the other two social classes.
- V. The practices in the care and repair of items of apparel for girls seven, eight and nine years of age differ in families of the upper-middle, the lower-middle and the upper-lower social classes in the following ways:
1. The upper-middle class mothers purchase more garments which require special cleaning or a longer time for laundering than do the mothers in the lower-middle class and the mothers in the upper-lower class purchase fewer such garments than do mothers of either middle class.
 2. The upper-middle class families express a stronger feeling against the child's wearing mended garments than do families in the lower-middle class and the feeling expressed is least strong in the families of the upper-lower social class.

3. The upper-middle class mothers expect their daughters to assume responsibility for the care of clothing at an earlier age than do upper-lower class mothers, but not so early as do the mothers in the lower-middle social class.

VI. The practices in the use and discard of items of apparel for girls seven, eight and nine years of age differ in families of the upper-middle, the lower-middle and the upper-lower social classes in the following ways:

1. The upper-middle class mothers do more guiding by telling daughters what garments to wear, the lower-middle class child is given more freedom of choice, and the upper-lower class child has the greatest amount of freedom of choice in the use of clothing.
2. The upper-middle class families discourage the practice of borrowing clothing; the lower-middle class families permit a moderate amount of borrowing, and the upper-lower class families encourage the practice.
3. The upper-middle class families discard the daughter's clothing while it is still in better condition than would lower-middle class families and the upper-lower class families would continue to use the garments for a longer period of time.
4. The upper-middle class families do not openly and obviously make use of clothing which was previously owned by another person as do the upper-lower class families, and the lower-middle class families make the most use of such garments because they consider the practice economical and necessary especially within the family.

Orientation of the Study

A number of writers and students have presented the relationships between adults' clothing and social class, or at least between adults' clothing and the characteristics which are usually associated with social class. At Michigan State University, William H. Form and Gregory P. Stone in "The Social Significance of Clothing in Occupational Life" stated that they found differences in the importance ascribed to clothing by white collar workers and workers employed in occupations accorded high social standing and manual workers and workers employed in occupations of lower prestige. The men employed in the high prestige occupations ascribed higher importance to clothing than did the men employed in the lower prestige occupations.¹

At the same University, Arthur M. Vener wrote "Stratification Aspects of Clothing Importance" in which he showed that: the degree of importance which a person places upon clothing is related to that individual's social status; people who have been upwardly mobile show a higher degree of clothing importance than do those who have been non-mobile or downwardly mobile; and the personal estimates of clothing importance are related to social participation.²

Corinne Gray in her thesis "Orientation to Fashion" wrote that a new style was adopted by the elite as a symbol of their prestige and

¹Form, William H. and Gregory P. Stone, The Social Significance of Clothing in Occupational Life, Technical Bulletin 247, Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station Departments of Sociology and Anthropology, and Textiles, Clothing and Related Arts, East Lansing, June 1955, p. 4.

²Vener, Arthur M., "Stratification Aspects of Clothing". Unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State College, 1953, p. 101.

position, then copied by the classes immediately below as a means of imitating and being like those who have the status to which the imitators aspire. She also stated that there must be a class system with some mobility if this phenomenon of fashion is to exist. In the Maple County study, it was found that fashion is related to one sort of social class system (the system of the localites), but not related to social class among the cosmopolites. For status groups, fashion seems "to be a symbol of group membership; for status aggregates it seems to be a symbol of identification with or striving toward a higher status."¹

Mary Lou Rosencranz studies the difference in interest in clothing of women and found that most closely related to the total score on the interest in clothing questionnaire which she developed were these characteristics: rural or urban background (the urban women had highest interest in clothing); age (the younger women had higher interest in clothing); occupation; and income (the women in the higher brackets had higher interest in clothing). Other characteristics were related to interest in clothing, but not so closely as these.²

Dorothy Gree Van Bortel made a study of home management in the upper-middle and the upper-lower socio-economic classes in which she found differences in the amount of time spent in washing, ironing, and constructing the clothing, but the same amount of time spent in mending clothing for the families.³

¹Gray, Corinne, "Orientation to Fashion", Unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State College, 1953, pp. 102 and 107.

²Rosencranz, Mary Lou Lerch, "A Study of Interest in Clothing among Selected Groups of Married and Unmarried Young Women". Unpublished Master's thesis, Michigan State College, 1948, pp. 209.

³Van Bortel, Dorothy Gree and Irma H. Gross, "A Comparison of Home Management in Two Socio-Economic Groups", Michigan State College, Technical Bulletin 240, April 1954, p. 15.

A series of studies on the "Psychological Effects of Clothing" among college girls has been conducted by Mary S. Ryan¹ at Cornell University and studies have been made of the clothing behavior of adolescents, but few studies of grade-school children's clothing have been made. This study will probably be the first to consider the implications of social class for the clothing behavior of girls seven, eight and nine years of age.

¹Ryan, Mary S., "Psychological Effects of Clothing", Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, (Sept. 1952; August and July 1953; and August, 1954).

CHAPTER II

METHOD OF STUDY

The purpose of the study was to compare the practices of clothing behavior of selected family members who belonged in three social classes to ascertain the relationships between social class membership and the clothing preferences and usages. The selected family members were mothers who belonged to the upper-middle, lower-middle, and the upper-lower social classes and their daughters who were seven, eight or nine years of age. The mothers were the only actual respondents in the study.

A means of categorizing families according to social class had to be adopted. William Lloyd Warner, well-known student of social class in America, wrote the brief definitions of the three social classes which were included in this investigation.

The upper-middle social class:

"The hard core of the upper-middle class, the level below the top two, consists of the solid citizens who are the active civic leaders of the community. They are thought of as the 'Joiners', for they belong to the associations which are better known to the public and are given more respectful attention by the public press. The upper-middle class feels itself to be, and in fact is, above the level of the Common Man just beneath it. Its members are acutely aware of being socially inferior to the upper classes. To the upper-middle families that are not anxious to move up socially, this problem is not particularly distressing; but, to those that are socially mobile, the presence of an upper class sufficiently open to make it possible for some of their level to climb into it is a source of continuing frustration or anxious anticipation. . . . The upper-middle class tends to live on the broad residential streets, in the better houses with the larger gardens. Upper-middle-class dwelling areas in the smaller communities are sometimes indistinguishable from those of the class above them."¹

¹Warner, W. Lloyd, American Life: Dream and Reality. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1953, pp. 56-57.

The lower-middle social class:

"The lower-middle class, the top of the Common Man Level, is composed economically of small businessmen, a few highly skilled workmen, and a large number of clerks and other workers in similar categories. Members of this class tend to be extremely proper and conservative. They are joiners, belonging to patriotic organizations, fraternal orders, secret societies and auxiliaries, or other associations based on family membership. They live in the regions of the little houses, with the well-kept but cramped gardens and lawns, on the side streets rather than the better residential ones" . . . The men and women of the lower-middle class tend to approach the ideal typical of the Protestant ethic, being careful with their money, saving, far-sighted, forever anxious about what their neighbors think, and continually concerned about respectability."¹

The upper-lower social class:

"The people of the upper-lower class are the semi-skilled workers, the small tradesmen, and often the less-skilled employees of service enterprises. They, too, are highly respectable, limited in their outlook on the world around them, and are thought of as 'honest workmen!'"²

This definition of the upper-lower social class was so brief that an earlier definition written by Warner, Meeker and Eells was added:

"Individuals in the upper-lower class tend to be ambitious. They want money, but they are trying to acquire the symbols of higher status such as 'nice furniture', 'pretty yards', and a 'good education'. Such things differentiate them from the class below and make them more like the people who are just above them. They are much nearer the bare struggle for existence than the lower-middle class, but they utilize their money for neat-looking clothes, good magazines, and to 'give our children a better education than we had'."³

Not only did Warner define the social classes which were included in this study, but he provided the method used for categorizing the families into those social classes by use of the Index of Status

¹Warner, op. cit., p. 57.

²Warner, ibid., p. 57.

³Warner, W. Lloyd, Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells. Social Class in America. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949, p. 200.

Characteristics.

"The I.S.C. is a rating system based on four easily obtained and comparatively objective social characteristics. They are occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area. . . . The Index of Status Characteristics as a measurement of social class is based on two propositions: (1) that economic and other prestige factors are highly important and closely related to social class; and (2) that these social and economic factors, such as talent, income, and money, if their potentialities for rank are to be realized must be translated into social-class behavior acceptable to the members of any given social level of the community."¹

According to Warner's plan, once the information concerning the father's occupation, the source of income, the house type, and the dwelling area had been collected, weighting for scores was done as follows:

"We learned to give the proper weight to the four characteristics: occupation received a 4; source of income and house type, each a 3, and dwelling area, a 2. This means that if a man scored a 1 for each characteristic and each was multiplied by its proper weight, he would receive a perfect 12, placing him at the top of the upper class. On the other hand, if an individual scored an unfortunate 7 for all four, he would rank at the very bottom of the class system with an 84. The upper class extended from 12 to 22; the lower-lower, at the other extreme, from 67 to 84. Between them the upper-middle ran from 23 to 37, the lower-middle from 38 to 53, and the upper-lower from 54 to 66."²

The Pre-test

A pre-test for the study was conducted in Lansing, Michigan during the winter of 1955. Twenty-two interviews were conducted with mothers who had daughters of six, seven or eight years of age. As a result of the pre-testing, several questions in the original schedule were omitted, others were changed, and to gain greater homogeneity in the behavior of the families included in the study one of the controls of the sample was changed so that the mothers in families having at least one daughter

¹Warner, op. cit., p. 61.

²Warner, Meeker, Eells, op. cit., p. 64.

seven, eight, or nine years of age rather than a daughter of six, seven or eight years of age would be interviewed in the larger study.

The Research Site

The community selected for the study was Des Moines, Iowa. This city was large enough to be considered urban, was located near the center of the state, had a variety of industries and occupations within it, and appeared to have a wide range of dwelling areas indicative of social stratification.

The Sample

In Des Moines, Iowa, the school census cards were used as the source of the sample for the study. In an attempt to obtain a stratified sample with homogeneity within the various levels, an official who was well-acquainted with the school population of Des Moines was consulted. The census cards from the entire area of Des Moines were used for drawing the sample, except that areas of high concentration of negro population and of ethnic groups were excluded.

The first census card was selected by using tables of random numbers, examined to see if the pupil whose name appeared on the card were a white girl of seven, eight or nine years of age, if there were siblings in the family, if there were two parents apparently married and living in the same household, and if the girl attended a public school in an area not known to contain a large ethnic group in its population. If these controls were satisfactorily met, the father's occupation was noted.

The occupation of the father was used as the initial way of judging the family's probable social class for several reasons: two of the four characteristics used in the rating system were based directly or indirectly on occupation; occupation was considered to be related to the economic status of the family which Warner considered of importance in assigning social class membership, for he wrote,

"Social class in America is not the same as economic class. . . . Although economic factors are of prime importance and are some of the principal determinants of social class, they are insufficient to account for all social-class behavior or for its presence in contemporary America."¹

The occupation of the father could be obtained from the information on the school census cards.

Six lists of thirty-five names each were made from the census cards which were drawn, and additional names were drawn to be used as alternates if necessary. One list, for example, consisted of seven year old girls whose families probably belonged to the upper-middle social class, and another list of seven year old girls whose families probably belonged to the upper-lower social class.

As the interviewing preceded, the houses and housing areas were observed, the information concerning the amount and source of the incomes was collected, the amounts of education of the parents were recorded, so the social class of the families could be determined more satisfactorily. With the additional information and the weighting, it was found that a large number of the families interviewed belonged to the lower-middle social class rather than to the upper-middle and upper-lower social classes which explains the differences in the numbers

¹Warner, op. cit., p. 53.

of the families interviewed in each of the three social classes which were as follows: 60 in the upper-middle social class, 65 in the lower-middle social class, and 87 in the upper-lower social class which made a total of 212 mothers who were interviewed.

Length of Time for the Interviews

The time required for the completion of an interview differed because of differences in interest of the respondents, but the time was usually between forty-five minutes and two hours. The interviews were conducted at various times of day and evening.

The Time of the Interviewing

All of the interviewing was done within a three month period from May 1 to August 1, 1955, and the largest numbers of interviews were held during the first five weeks while school was in session.

The Dependent Variables

The dependent variables consisted of the following:

The number of garments in the girls' wardrobes. An inventory of the wardrobes of the girls was obtained from the mothers who were asked to tell the number of each of the following outer garments which their daughters owned: coats, raincoats, jackets, sweaters, skirts, blouses, suits, school dresses, "dressy" dresses, and sportswear. The inventory also included the number of each of these undergarments: slips and petticoats, pajamas, nightgowns, bathrobes, undershirts, and panties. The wardrobe was considered to be the total number of outerwear and under-wear garments without accessories. The accessories which were recorded but not included in the wardrobes were: socks, shoes, overshoes, rubbers, hats, scarfs, mittens, and gloves. The inventory was frequently made by

recall by the mother rather than by a careful counting of garments although the interviewer encouraged the mothers to look at the children's wardrobes as the inventories were made. The inventories were to include all garments owned at the time of the interview, but worn during any season of the year.

The price of selected garments in the girls' wardrobes. It was originally planned to obtain the price or price range which a mother would be willing to pay for each garment, but during the pre-test it was found that obtaining this information for every item in the wardrobe was far too time consuming, so a few garments were selected for which the price of the last garment of the kind which was purchased or the range of prices within which the mother would be willing to pay was recorded. The garments which were selected for questions about price were: a winter coat because every child would probably own one and because the amount of money invested in a winter coat would be relatively large; school dresses because most of the girls would probably own them and use them frequently; party dresses because wide variations in the prices of these items would be possible; sleeping garments because they are used at home and are not observed by the general public; and shoes because every girl would own them, a wide variation in prices would be possible, and the prices of shoes are relatively high.

Kinds of garments included in the daughters' wardrobes. The uniforms worn by members of some organizations, the costumes worn for some private lessons such as dancing, the special clothing needed for athletic activities such as riding and swimming, the entirely special costumes worn for some social events such as church attendance or parties were asked for in specific questions in the schedules.

Procedures followed in the purchasing of garments for daughters, in using the garments, in caring for and repairing, in actually constructing garments, and in discarding them were obtained through questions answered by the informants.

Attitudes toward practices in clothing behavior, for example, the concern about opinions of other adults outside the family of how the girl is dressed; attitudes toward having the girl wear mended garments; attitudes toward letting the child participate in the selection of her own clothing were obtained during the interviews.

The Independent Variables

For this study the independent variables consisted of the three social classes: upper-middle, lower-middle, and upper-lower.

Statistical Tests of Significance

Two tests of significance were used in the statistical testing to show the significance of relationships between the social class and the dependent variables:

1. the test for the significance of difference between means according to Hagoed, Margaret J. and Daniel Price Statistics for Sociologists, Henry Holt and Company, Revised edition 1952, pages 320 and 322.
2. the Chi-square test, also according to Hagoed and Price pages 365 to 370. In this study a probability of less than .05 was considered to indicate that the relationship was significant.

3. The coefficient of contingency was calculated and corrected according to the method in Elementary Social Statistics by Thomas Carson McCormick, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941, pages 206 and 207.

CHAPTER III

A COMPARISON OF THE GIRLS' WARDROBES

The inventories of the wardrobes of the girls who were included in this study provided the necessary information concerning the numbers of garments owned by the girls in the upper-middle, the lower-middle and the upper-lower social classes to illustrate characteristics which have been attributed to members of these specific social classes. Two characteristics attributed to the members of the upper-middle class were the desire for the possession of and the wish to display great wealth with emphasis on modern styles, not on time values. A characteristic attributed to members of the lower-middle social class was concern for "quantity" of possessions.¹ A characteristic attributed to members of the upper-lower class was their utilization of their money for acquiring neat-looking clothes and similar possessions to differentiate themselves from members of the class below.²

A Comparison of the Average Numbers of Garments Owned

A comparison of the average numbers of garments owned by the girls in each of the three social classes showed that the girls in the upper-middle social class had the highest average number of garments, the girls

¹Davis, Allison; Gardner, Burleigh, and Gardner, Mary R. Deep South. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941, p. 257.

²Warner, W. Lloyd, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells. Social Class in America. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949, p. 200.

in the lower-middle social class had the next highest, and the girls in the upper-lower social class had the lowest average number of garments. (See TABLE I).

A Comparison of the Numbers of Selected Garments
Owned by the Girls in Three Social Classes

Five kinds of garments were selected from the complete wardrobes of the girls for the purpose of comparing the numbers of garments owned: coats, school dresses, sleeping garments, shoes, and sweaters. These garments were selected because: coats represented wraps; school dresses, one kind of outerwear; sleeping garments, underwear; shoes, accessories; and sweaters, garments which might or might not appear in the wardrobes of all girls, garments which seemed to be collected as "prestige" items in the wardrobes of older girls and might be found to serve a similar function in the wardrobes of girls of seven, eight, and nine years of age.

The average numbers of coats were found to be almost the same in the wardrobes which belonged to girls in all three of the social classes. (See TABLE II). The average numbers of school dresses owned by the girls were also similar in all three social classes, for the upper-middle class girls had only a slightly higher average number than the girls in the other classes. (TABLE III).

When the average numbers of sweaters owned by the girls were compared, (information is in TABLE IV), the numbers were found to be similar, but the girls of the upper-middle social class had a slightly higher average number, next the girls of the lower-middle social class, and the girls of the upper-lower class owned the lowest average number of sweaters. The same situation appeared when the average numbers of

TABLE I
TOTAL GARMENTS OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average number of garments	80.47	71.03	63.94	
Number of girls	60	65	87	212
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle	= 2.44 .02 > P > .01			
t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower	= 2.42 .02 > P > .01			
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower*	= 3.91 P < .001			

TABLE II
COATS OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average number of coats owned	2.42	2.43	2.39	
Number of girls	60	65	86	211
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle	= .01 P > .9			
t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower	= .25 .8 > P > .7			
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower	= .01 P > .9			

*Hageed, Margaret J. and Daniel Price. Statistics for Sociologists, Henry Holt and Company, 1952, pp. 320-322.

TABLE III
SCHOOL DRESSES OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average number of dresses owned	9.2	7.5	7.57	
Number of girls	60	65	86	211
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle = 1.26 .3 > P > .2				
t of Lower-middle against Upper-middle = .03 .9 > P				
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower = .84 .5 > P > .4				

TABLE IV
SWEATERS OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average number of sweaters owned	4.53	3.91	3.6	
Number of girls	60	65	87	212
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle = .08 .9 > P				
t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower = .10 .9 > P				
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower = .11 .9 > P				

pairs of shoes owned by the girls were compared: the girls in the upper-middle social class had a slightly higher average number than the girls in the lower-middle class, and the girls of the upper-lower class owned the lowest average number of pairs of shoes. (See TABLE V).

The differences between the average numbers of sleeping garments (shown in TABLE VI) and pairs of shoes owned by the girls of each social class were found to be larger than the differences between the average numbers of coats, school dresses, or sweaters owned by the girls. Was there some social class difference which corresponded to or was responsible for this greater difference in the numbers of sleeping garments and pairs of shoes than in the numbers of other garments provided for the girls? The reasons for the differences were not revealed in this study, but several explanations may be possible: perhaps the sleeping garments were used differently by the upper-middle class girls; for example, they may have more slumber parties or occasions for staying over night in the homes of their friends, or they may be permitted to be seen wearing sleeping garments on more occasions than girls in the other social classes, for example, they may eat breakfast before dressing, or may appear in sleeping garments to say goodnight to family guests at the child's bedtime; adults of the upper-middle class may own more sleeping garments and the girls may imitate the adults, or attractive sleeping garments may be more acceptable as gifts in the upper-middle class families than in families of other classes. The higher average number of pairs of shoes owned by the upper-middle class girls may be due to their kind and amount of social participation. Whatever the reasons, the differences in the average numbers of sleeping garments and

TABLE V
SHOES OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average number of pairs of shoes owned	3.3	2.9	2.55	
Number of girls	60	65	87	212
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle	= 2.03		.05 > P > .02	
t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower	= 2.40		.02 > P > .01	
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower	= 3.76		P < .001	

TABLE VI
SLEEPING GARMENTS OWNED BY GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average number of sleeping garments	6.2	4.5	3.8	
Number of girls	60	65	86	211
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle	= 4.79		P < .001	
t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower	= 2.08		.05 > P > .02	
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower	= 7.49		P < .001	

pairs of shoes owned by the girls were significant, an indication that the numbers of garments owned by the girls in the three social classes were related to the girls' social class membership.

A Comparison of the Prices Paid for Selected Garments

The next undertaking was to determine whether or not a relationship existed between the prices paid for selected garments of the girls and their social class positions. The garments which were selected for the comparison of prices were: winter coats, school dresses, sleeping garments, shoes, and party dresses.

When the prices paid for winter coats for girls were compared (see TABLE VII) it was found that the upper-middle class families paid only \$1.50 more than lower-middle class families for the average price paid; the difference between the average price paid by lower-middle and upper-lower class families, however, was much greater, six dollars. When the data were grouped, the greatest frequencies for purchasing girls' coats in the upper-middle and the lower-middle social class families were in the price range between \$20-\$30 while the greatest frequency for the upper-lower social class was in the price range of \$10-\$20.

When the prices paid for school dresses were compared, the similarity of prices was between the average price paid by families in the lower-middle and upper-lower social classes; the difference was between the average price paid by the upper-middle class families and the other two, the upper-middle class families paid one dollar more for the average price of school dresses. (Found in TABLE VIII).

TABLE VII
PRICES PAID FOR GIRLS' WINTER COATS, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average price of winter coats	\$26.53	\$25.00	\$19.07	
Number of girls	59	65	86	210
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle = .89 .4 > P > .3				
t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower = 3.68 P < .001				
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower = 4.53 P < .001				

TABLE VIII
PRICES PAID FOR GIRLS' SCHOOL DRESSES,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average price of school dresses	\$4.50	\$3.50	\$3.50	
Number of girls	59	65	86	210
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle = 3.38 P < .001				
t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower = zero				
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower = 3.34 P < .001				

The differences between the average prices paid by members of the three classes for sleeping garments were small (see TABLE IX); the upper-middle class members paid only sixty-four cents more than the upper-lower and the lower-middle class members paid a price about midway between the prices paid by the other two classes. The differences between the prices paid for shoes were larger and were significant (TABLE X): the upper-middle class families paid one dollar more than the lower-middle and the lower-middle class members paid one dollar more than the upper-lower class families for the average price for shoes.

The average prices paid for party dresses were compared and the same pattern appeared: upper-middle class families paid the highest average price, the lower-middle class families paid a price in between, and the upper-lower class families paid the lowest average price for party dresses. (See TABLE XI). The differences between the average prices paid were larger, two dollars, but otherwise the situation was the same as for winter coats, sleeping garments, and shoes.

The differences between prices paid for these selected garments were large enough to indicate a relationship between the prices paid for girls' garments and social class membership in all cases except for sleeping garments and even the prices of sleeping garments showed a similar pattern although the differences were too small to be significant. The reason for the difference between the prices paid for school dresses by members of the upper-middle and the other two classes was not investigated in this study, but perhaps the explanation is that since girls of all three social classes preferred to be like their peers rather than different from them and since the opportunity for girls of

TABLE IX
PRICES PAID FOR GIRLS' SLEEPING GARMENTS,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average price of sleeping garments	\$3.57	\$3.34	\$2.93	
Number of girls	58	62	77	197
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle	= 1.26			.3 > P > .2
t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower	= .43			.7 > P > .6
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower	= .66			.6 > P > .5

TABLE X
PRICES PAID FOR GIRLS' SHOES,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average price of shoes	\$7.00	\$6.04	\$5.00	
Number of girls	60	65	87	212
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle	= 3.78			P < .001
t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower	= 3.57			P < .001
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower	= 7.07			P < .001

TABLE XI
PRICES PAID FOR GIRLS' PARTY DRESSES,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average price of party dresses	\$7.43	\$5.84	\$4.76	
Number of girls	53	62	67	182
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle = 2.81 .01 > P > .001				
t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower = 2.58 .01 > P > .001				
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower = 4.85 P < .001				

all three social classes to be together is greater at school than anywhere else, school clothes are more alike than other garments. The result may be that the lower-middle class families may emphasize quantity which would lower the average price paid for a dress while the upper-lower class families in their attempt to be like the members of the class above them may pay more for the garments worn most frequently where girls of different social classes come together; this would bring the practices of the lower-middle and upper-lower social classes closer together and widen the difference between upper-middle and lower-middle class practice in the price paid for school dresses.

A Comparison of the Use of Clothing Budgets

Few lower-middle class families made or followed clothing budgets either for the whole family or for the daughters. Of the few who did have clothing budgets, more than half were in the upper-lower social class. Information concerning clothing budgets is found in TABLES XII and XIII.

A Comparison of the Kinds of Garments Owned by Girls in the Three Social Classes

It was hypothesized that the wardrobes of the girls who belonged in the upper-middle social class have greater variety than wardrobes of girls in the lower-middle social class because of the special kinds of garments required for the social, cultural, and athletic activities in which the upper-middle class girls and their peers participate. The wardrobes of the lower-middle class girls may in turn have greater variety than the wardrobes of the upper-lower social class girls because

TABLE XII
CLOTHING BUDGETS FOR FAMILIES BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, have clothing budget	2	3.3	6	9.2	9	10.4	17	8.1
No, do not have clothing budget	58	96.7	59	90.8	78	89.6	195	91.9

Chi square = 2.35 2 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .11

\bar{C} = .15

TABLE XIII
CLOTHING BUDGETS FOR GIRLS BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Have budget	2	3.3	3	4.6	7	8.1	12	5.6
Have no budget	58	96.7	62	95.4	80	91.9	200	94.4

Chi square = 4.41 2 d.f. .2 > P > .1

C = .14

\bar{C} = .21

of the uniforms worn for organizations in which lower-middle class girls were members and "dressy" or "special outfits" which are considered "right" to wear for church attendance. The different kinds of activities and the smaller amount of participation in social life which may require special kinds of clothes for the upper-lower class girls may mean that their wardrobes have fewer kinds of garments. The occasions for which girls of seven, eight and nine years of age were thought to have special garments in their wardrobes were: parties, Sunday School or church, movies, organizations and clubs such as Brownies, private lessons such as dancing and music, and athletic activities such as swimming and riding.

A Comparison of the Clothes Worn to Parties by
Girls in the Three Social Classes

Some of the girls in each of the three social classes owned no party dresses at all: in the upper-middle class 6.6%; in the lower-middle class 4.6%; and in the upper-lower 23%. At the other extreme, one girl in the upper-middle social class owned fifteen party dresses, two in the lower-middle class owned four party dresses each, and two of the upper-lower social class had five party dresses each; but these examples were the extremes, the average numbers of party dresses were in agreement with the theory upon which this thesis is based that the pattern would be as it appeared: the upper-middle class girls owned a higher average number of party dresses than the others and the girls in the lower-middle class had a slightly higher average than the girls in the upper-lower class. Average numbers of party dresses appear in TABLE XIV.

A question was asked in an attempt to discover whether or not each child would wear a special "dress" costume for party occasions: "What

TABLE XIV
PARTY DRESSES OWNED BY GIRLS IN
THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes			Totals
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	
Average number of party dresses	2.31	1.59	1.45	
Number of girls	59	65	86	210
<hr/>				
t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle	= 2.49		.02 > P > .01	
t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower	= 0.814		.5 > P > .4	
t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower	= 2.93		.01 > P > .001	

would your child wear if she went to a birthday party tomorrow?" The mothers' answers were arranged in four categories: an entirely special outfit; a costume reserved for "good" while new to be used for school later; the same clothes as for school; and play clothes. The comparison (see TABLE XV) showed small differences between the practices of the members of the three social classes.

The differences shown in the answers to this question may have been small for two reasons: (1) the question was asked for a specific day which may have meant that some children would go directly from school to a birthday party with no opportunity to change clothes whether or not they owned party clothes; and (2) the question was asked so that a mother whose child had five party dresses and one whose child owned one party dress might give the same reply.

The numbers of special costumes worn by the girls in the upper-lower social class for social occasions were higher than the author had expected, 62% of the girls had special costumes which they wore to parties. A possible explanation for the high proportion of girls who owned "dress" clothes may be that the adults of the families make a clear distinction between work clothes and "dressup" clothes in the manual workers' homes while in the business class homes a conservative suit or costume is considered acceptable for both work and social occasions in some communities.¹ This distinction may influence the clothing behavior when the family is providing clothing for the child.

¹Forn, William H. and Gregory P. Stone, The Social Significance of Clothing in Occupational Life. Technical Bulletin 247, Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station, Departments of Sociology and Anthropology, and Textiles, Clothing and Related Arts, East Lansing, Michigan, June 1955, p. 28.

TABLE XV
KINDS OF CLOTHES WORN TO PARTIES BY GIRLS,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Entirely special	45	75.0	46	70.8	54	62.0	145	68.4
Reserved while new	3	5.0	5	7.7	8	8.9	16	7.6
School clothes	10	16.6	13	20.0	22	26.6	45	21.2
Play clothes	2	3.4	1	1.5	3	3.5	6	2.8
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square* = 3.25 2 d.f. (Categories collapsed for purposes of
testing significance)

C** = .12 .2 > P > .1

\bar{C} = .18

*Hagood, op. cit., pp. 365-370.

**McCormick, T.C., Elementary Social Statistics. McGraw-Hill
Book Co., 1941, pp. 206-207.

Clothes Worn by Girls Who Attended Church or Sunday School

A large proportion of the girls included in this study attended church or Sunday school (94% attended and of those who did not attend, 75% were in the upper-lower social class). Every girl who belonged to the lower-middle social class who attended church had an entirely special costume which she wore for that occasion. Most of the upper-middle class girls had entirely special costumes, too, but a much larger number of the upper-lower class girls wore new school clothes or the same clothes to school and to church than did middle class girls. (See TABLE XVI).

Clothes Worn by Girls Who Attended Movies

The number of girls of seven, eight, and nine years of age who attended movies was found to be small. In all three of the social classes, the girls seemed to wear about the same clothes when they attended movies. Whether the girls wore "good" clothes, school clothes, or blue jeans may have depended upon where the theater was located rather than upon the clothing behavior of members of a social class. (See TABLE XVII).

Clothes Worn by Girls Who Belonged to Organizations

Adult members of families in the upper-middle social class are supposed to be "joiners" of associations which are well-known and highly respected by the public and the press; lower-middle social class members are supposed to be "joiners" of patriotic organizations, fraternal orders, and auxiliaries; upper-lower social class members are not supposed to be strongly inclined to be "joiners" of organizations. Did the behavior of the girls in this study follow this pattern attributed to the adults and did their clothing behavior correspond?

TABLE XVI

KINDS OF CLOTHES WORN FOR CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY GIRLS,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Entirely special	55	93.2	63	100.0	61	78.2	179	89.5
Reserved while new	3	5.1	0	0.0	8	10.3	11	5.5
Same as for school	1	1.7	0	0.0	9	11.5	10	5.0
Totals	59	100.0	63	100.0	78	100.0	200	100.0
Never attend	1		2		9		12	

Chi square = 18.51 1 d.f. $P < .001$ (Categories collapsed for purpose
of testing significance.)

$C = .08$

$\bar{C} = .13$

TABLE XVII

KINDS OF CLOTHES WORN TO MOVIES BY GIRLS IN
THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Number of girls who were "Good" clothes	2	8.4	4	10.8	3	6.7	9	8.5
School clothes	11	45.8	15	40.5	22	48.9	48	45.28
Blue jeans or play clothes	11	45.8	18	48.7	20	44.4	49	46.22
Totals	24	100.0	37	100.0	45	100.0	106	100.00

Chi square = .90 4 d.f. $.95 > P > .9$

$C = .09$

$\bar{C} = .12$

The organizations to which girls of seven, eight and nine years of age most frequently belonged were Brownies and Bluebirds. One mother who belonged to the upper-middle social class said that her daughter belonged to a country club and one mother in the upper-lower social class said that her nine year old daughter belonged to the Y.W.C.A. The percentage of girls who belonged to organizations did follow the pattern expected of adults: that is, 68% of the girls in the upper-middle social class belonged to organizations; 72% of the girls in the lower-middle social class; and only 49% of the girls in the upper-lower class belonged to organizations.

The clothing behavior of the girls was influenced by participation in organizations because special uniforms were worn by many club members. The percentages of girls who belonged to organizations and who owned the uniform of the organizations were as follows: (TABLE XVIII) 88% of the girls who belonged to organizations and who were in the upper-middle social class owned uniforms; 83% of the girls in the lower-middle class who belonged to organizations owned uniforms; and 60% of the girls in the upper-lower class who belonged to organizations owned uniforms.

Clothes Worn by Girls Who Took Private Lessons

It was hypothesized that more of the girls of the upper-middle class take private lessons which required special costumes than do girls of the other classes. The findings were: in the upper-middle class 73% of the girls took private lessons; in the lower-middle class and in the upper-lower classes each 29%. Not all of the private lessons required special clothing, however; in fact, (as seen in TABLE XIX), only one half of the girls who took private lessons had special costumes.

TABLE XVIII
GIRLS WHO HAD SPECIAL CLOTHES FOR CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Girls who had:								
Uniforms	36	87.8	39	82.9	26	60.5	101	77.9
No uniforms	5	12.2	8	17.1	17	39.5	30	22.1
Totals who belonged to organizations	41	100.0	47	100.0	43	100.0	131	100.0

Chi square = 14.4 2 d.f. $P < .001$

$C = .31$

$\bar{C} = .46$

TABLE XIX
GIRLS WHO HAD SPECIAL CLOTHES FOR PRIVATE LESSONS,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Girls who had:								
Special clothes for lessons	21	47.7	10	52.6	13	52.0	44	50.0
No special clothes for lessons	23	52.3	9	47.4	12	48.0	44	50.0
Totals (girls who took private lessons)	44	100.0	19	100.0	25	100.0	88	100.0

Chi square = .18 2 d.f. $.5 > P > .3$

$C = .05$

$\bar{C} = .07$

Clothes Worn for Athletic Activities by Girls of
All Three Social Classes

Girls of all three of the social classes included in this study may be equally active in participating in athletics, but it was hypothesized that the girls in the upper-middle class participate in athletics requiring special clothing more frequently than do girls in the other classes. The data showed this to be the case: in the upper-middle class 42% of the girls had special costumes for athletics; in the lower-middle class 37% had costumes for athletics; and in the upper-lower class 15% of the girls owned special costumes for athletic activities.

Summary

A comparison of the numbers of garments owned by the girls who were seven, eight and nine years of age showed that there were differences between the clothing behavior of the upper-middle, of the lower-middle, and of the upper-lower social classes. The prices which families in these three social classes paid for selected garments for their daughters also showed differences in their clothing behavior. The use of clothing budgets was too limited to have much value in this study. The kinds of garments which the families provided, the special clothes for parties, for church, for movies, for clubs and organizations, for private lessons, and for athletic activities showed differences. Most of the data presented in this chapter, supported the theory that clothing behavior and social class corresponded.

TABLE XX
GIRLS WHO HAD SPECIAL CLOTHES FOR ATHLETICS,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Girls who had:								
Special clothes for athletics	25	41.7	24	36.9	13	14.9	62	29.2
No special clothes for athletics	35	58.3	41	63.1	74	81.1	150	70.8
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 14.94 2 d.f. $P < .001$

$C = .26$

$\bar{C} = .37$

CHAPTER IV

A COMPARISON OF PURCHASING PRACTICES

The purchasing practices used in assembling girls' wardrobes showed clearly similarities within the social classes and differences between the practices of mothers in the three social classes, and were therefore as important in this study as the numbers, prices, and kinds of garments provided for the girls. It was hypothesized that the mothers shop in different kinds of stores because of their social class orientations. A mother who is concerned with making an impression by shopping where expensive merchandise is sold or who is eager to buy garments which assure a "smart" appearance for her daughter, may be expected to purchase garments in a specialty shop. A mother who is concerned with getting the most for her money, shops in chain stores and "Dime" stores. If she is concerned about saving both time and money, a mother may purchase by mail order catalogue. If these factors do not greatly concern her or if she is conservative or eager to shop where the largest numbers of people shop, she may patronize the department stores. Different garments may be purchased by the same mother in different kinds of stores, depending upon the use to be made of the garments.

For the comparison of purchasing practices, five garments were selected for investigation: coats, sleeping garments, dresses, socks, and shoes.

A Comparison of the Kinds of Stores in Which the
Mothers Purchased Coats

The largest numbers of mothers in all three classes bought coats for their daughters in department stores. A smaller percentage of mothers in the lower-middle than in the other two classes, however, purchased coats in the department stores. The second most frequently used kind of store was the specialty shop for upper-middle class and the chain store for lower-middle and upper-lower classes. A few families in each class bought coats for their daughters by mail order, but the number in the upper-lower class was more than twice as large as in the other two classes. Kinds of stores in which girls' coats were purchased may be seen in TABLE XXI.

A Comparison of the Kinds of Stores in Which the
Mothers Purchased Dresses

Almost the same pattern (see TABLE XXII) was followed in the purchasing of dresses as was followed in the purchasing of coats: the largest numbers of mothers in all three social classes bought dresses in department stores, but a smaller proportion of the mothers in the lower-middle than in the other two classes purchased dresses there; for the upper-middle class mothers the second kind of store which was frequently patronized was the specialty shop. The lower-middle class mothers also named the specialty shop as the second kind of store in which they purchased dresses for their daughters. The second kind of store for dresses purchased by the mothers in the upper-lower social class, as for the purchase of coats, was the chain store.

TABLE XXI
KINDS OF STORES IN WHICH GIRLS' COATS WERE PURCHASED,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kind of store								
Specialty shop	15	25.4	9	14.2	3	3.6	27	13.2
Department store	37	62.7	35	55.5	52	62.7	124	61.5
Chain store	4	6.8	15	23.8	17	20.5	36	17.5
Mail order and catalogue	3	5.1	4	6.5	11	13.2	18	8.8
Totals	59	100.0	63	100.0	83	100.0	205	100.0

Chi square = 22.46 6 d.f. $P < .001$

C = .31

\bar{C} = .41

TABLE XXII

KINDS OF STORES IN WHICH GIRLS' DRESSES WERE
PURCHASED, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kinds of stores								
Specialty shop	20	35.1	15	23.8	3	3.6	38	18.6
Department	30	52.6	30	47.6	51	60.7	111	54.4
Chain	6	10.5	14	22.2	19	22.5	39	19.1
Basement of department store	1	1.8	0	0.0	4	4.8	5	2.5
Dime store	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.2	1	0.5
Retail mail-order	0	0.0	4	6.4	2	2.4	6	2.9
Catalogue	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.4	2	1.0
Other	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.4	2	1.0
Totals	57	100.0	63	100.0	84	100.0	204	100.0
No reply and do not buy	3		2		3		7	

Chi square = 29.19 6 d.f. $P < .001$

C = .35

\bar{C} = .45

A Comparison of the Kinds of Stores in Which the
Mothers Purchased Sleeping Garments

Mothers in the three social classes bought sleeping garments in different kinds of stores although the largest percentage in all three classes bought in department stores. More of the upper-lower social class mothers indicated that they shopped in the basements of department stores than did mothers in the middle social classes. The differences in the percentages of mothers who bought in chain stores was less noticeable than for some of the other garments. A larger number of mothers in the upper-lower social class bought sleeping garments in the "Dime" stores, mailorder stores, and by catalogue than did middle-class mothers. A greater percentage of mothers in the upper-middle social class bought sleeping garments for their daughters in specialty shops than did mothers in the other two classes. (Shown in TABLE XXIII).

A Comparison of the Kinds of Stores in Which the
Mothers Purchased Socks for Their Daughters

The mothers in the middle classes purchased socks in department stores more frequently than in other kinds of stores as well as coats, dresses and sleeping garments, but the mothers in the upper-lower class did not follow the same purchasing practice. (See TABLE XXIV). The largest percentage of mothers in the upper-lower class purchased socks for their daughters in "Dime" stores. About one-third as many mothers in the middle classes as in the upper-lower class purchased socks in chain stores. More of the mothers in the middle class than in the upper-lower class purchased socks in specialty shops; more of the mothers in

TABLE XXIII

KINDS OF STORES IN WHICH GIRLS' SLEEPING GARMENTS
WERE PURCHASED, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-middle		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kind of store								
Specialty shop	7	12.3	5	8.3	0	0.0	12	5.8
Department store	35	61.4	32	53.4	33	36.3	100	48.1
Chain store	7	12.3	11	18.3	15	16.5	33	15.9
Department store basement	1	1.7	3	5.0	5	5.5	9	4.3
Dime store	2	3.6	2	3.3	17	18.7	21	10.0
Retail-Mail	1	1.7	3	5.0	5	5.5	9	4.3
Catalogue	3	5.3	4	6.7	15	16.5	22	10.6
Other	1	1.7	0	0.0	1	1.0	2	.9
Total	57	100.0	60	100.0	91	100.0	208	100.0
Do not buy	3		5		4		12	

Chi square = 11.81 6 d.f. .1 > P > .05

C = .23

\bar{C} = .29

TABLE XXIV
KINDS OF STORES IN WHICH GIRLS' SOCKS WERE
PURCHASED, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kinds of stores								
Specialty shop	8	13.3	4	6.2	1	1.1	13	6.1
Department store	33	55.0	23	35.4	17	19.5	73	34.4
Chain store	4	6.7	11	6.2	15	17.3	30	14.2
Department store basement	1	1.7	0	0.0	2	2.3	3	1.4
Dime store	5	8.3	16	24.6	38	43.7	59	27.8
Retail-Mail and catalogue	3	5.0	5	7.7	10	11.5	18	8.5
Other	6	10.0	6	9.2	4	4.6	16	7.6
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 40.40 8 d.f. $P < .001$

C = .4

\bar{C} = .49

the upper-lower class than in the middle classes bought socks in the retail mailorder stores and by catalogue than did mothers in the other two classes.

A Comparison of the Kinds of Stores in Which The
Mothers Purchased Shoes for Their Daughters

A striking difference appeared in the data concerning the kind of store in which mothers purchased shoes for their daughters; the largest percentage of upper-lower class mothers purchased shoes for their daughters in specialty shops. The mothers in the other two classes, the upper-middle and lower-middle, purchased shoes as well as other garments most frequently in the department stores. (See TABLE XXV). Perhaps the characteristics of a store which specializes in the sale of shoes are not the same as the characteristics of a specialty shop for other garments for children. Shoes have been made and sold apart from other wearing apparel throughout the history of the United States. Stores which sell nothing except shoes are traditional and the merchandise may be of varied prices and qualities; special shoe stores are not all supplied with expensive, unusual, exclusive items. Perhaps this is the explanation for the different pattern in the purchasing practices connected with shoes, in any case, the purchasing practices of the mothers in the three social classes differed in the place of purchase of shoes for their daughters as well as in the kinds of stores in which they purchased coats, dresses, sleeping garments, and socks.

Other Selected Purchasing Practices

When they had decided where to shop, did the mothers in each of the social classes examine the garments for the purpose of considering

TABLE XXV
KINDS OF STORES IN WHICH GIRLS' SHOES WERE PURCHASED,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kinds of stores								
Specialty store	22	36.7	26	40.0	43	49.4	91	42.9
Department store	36	60.0	37	57.0	32	36.8	105	49.5
Chain store	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	6.9	6	2.8
Dime store	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.3	2	2.0
Mailorder or catalogue	0	0.0	1	1.5	4	4.6	5	2.4
Other	2	3.3	1	1.5	0	0.0	3	1.4
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 14.19 4 d.f. .01 > P > .001

C = .25

\bar{C} = .34

the brands, labels, and characteristics such as workmanship before purchasing the garments?

The Mothers' Use of Brand Names

The mothers were asked to indicate whether or not they bought garments for their daughters because of the brand names which were attached; the mothers in the two middle classes had similar practices, (shown in TABLE XXVI), more than three-fourths of them bought garments because of the brands, while the mothers in the upper-lower class differed because less than half of them purchased garments for girls because of the brand names.

When asked to indicate which they considered first, when purchasing garments for their daughters, price or brand, a few mothers insisted that they considered both at the same time, but most of the mothers indicated that price was considered before brand. (This can be seen in TABLE XXVII). The percentages of mothers who considered price before brand were largest in the upper-lower, in between in the lower-middle, and smallest in the upper-middle social class. The percentages of mothers who considered brand before price were, of course, in the reverse order. The importance of price can also be seen in TABLE XXVIII.

The Mothers' Use of a Specific Label

The mothers were asked whether or not they purchased garments for their daughters which were labeled by height, weight, and girth rather than garments sized by chronological age of the girls. The mothers in the two middle classes gave similar answers, (see TABLE XXIX), 55% did buy garments with this special label and the mothers of the upper-lower

TABLE XXVI

MOTHERS WHO PURCHASED GIRLS' GARMENTS BECAUSE OF
BRAND NAMES, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	46	76.7	50	76.9	43	49.4	139	65.6
No	14	23.3	15	23.1	44	50.6	73	34.4
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 18.64 2 d.f. $P < .001$

C = .28

\bar{C} = .41

TABLE XXVII

IMPORTANCE GIVEN TO PRICE AND BRAND OF GIRLS'
GARMENTS BY MOTHERS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Price more important	34	57.0	41	65.0	64	74.4	139	66.5
Brand more important	19	31.5	18	28.5	21	24.4	58	27.75
Price and brand equal	7	11.5	4	6.5	1	1.2	12	5.75
Totals	60	100.0	63	100.0	86	100.0	209	100.0

Chi square = 6.05 4 d.f. $.2 > P > .1$

C = .17

\bar{C} = .23

TABLE XXVIII
FREQUENCY OF PRICE DETERMINING PURCHASE OF GIRLS'
GARMENTS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Degree of influence of price								
Price almost always determined	11	18.9	14	21.5	38	43.7	63	30.0
Price often determined	31	53.5	34	52.3	39	44.8	104	29.0
Price seldom or never determined	16	27.6	17	26.2	10	11.5	43	41.0
Totals	58	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	210	100.0

Chi square = 35.36 4 d.f. $P < .001$

C = .38

\bar{C} = .51

TABLE XXIX

MOTHERS' USE OF A SIZING LABEL BASED ON GIRLS' HEIGHT,
WEIGHT, GIRTH MEASUREMENTS, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes, use in purchasing	33	55.0	21	32.3	27	31.1	81	38.2
No, do not use	27	45.0	44	67.7	60	68.9	131	61.8
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 3.15 2 d.f. .3 > P > .2

C = .12

\bar{C} = .18

class differed because only 32% of them purchased garments labeled in this manner.

The Practice of Examining the Garments Before Purchasing

When asked if they examined the workmanship of garments for their daughters before purchasing, almost three fourths of the mothers in the lower-middle class said that they did, a higher percentage than in either the upper-middle or the upper-lower classes. More of the upper-lower than of the upper-middle social class mothers examined the workmanship of garments before purchasing them for their daughters. The reported behavior supported the theory that the lower middle class members tend to be more careful in spending their money. (TABLE XXX).

The Practice of Considering the Becomingness of the
Garments Before Purchasing

One of the characteristics attributed to the upper-middle social class members was their concern for appearances, so it was hypothesized that mothers in this class have their daughters try on garments to judge the becomingness more frequently than do the mothers in the other social classes. The garments selected for the comparison were: wraps, outerwear, underwear, sportswear, shoes, and hats.

The practice of having daughters try on wraps before purchasing was similar in all three social classes (see TABLE XXXI). The practice of trying on outerwear was similar for the girls in lower-middle and upper-lower classes, but most of the girls in upper-middle class tried on outerwear garments; almost none of the girls in any of the classes tried on underwear or sportswear before purchasing; almost all of the girls,

TABLE XXX

FREQUENCY OF EXAMINING WORKMANSHIP OF GIRLS' GARMENTS
BEFORE PURCHASE, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency of examining								
Almost always	35	58.3	47	72.3	51	60.7	133	63.6
Often	12	20.0	13	20.0	18	21.4	43	20.6
Seldom and never	13	21.7	5	7.7	15	17.9	33	15.8
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	84	100.0	209	100.0

Chi square = 8.70 4 d.f. .1 > P > .05

C = .2

\bar{C} = .27

TABLE XXXI

FREQUENCY OF TRYING ON GIRLS' GARMENTS BEFORE PURCHASE
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-middle		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Garments and frequency of trying on								
Wraps								
Almost always and often	51	86.3	58	89.23	75	88.2	182	88.0
Seldom and never	8	13.7	7	10.77	10	11.8	25	12.0
Totals	59	100.0	65	100.0	85	100.0	209	100.0
Outerwear								
Almost always and often	39	65.5	35	54.7	46	53.5	93	57.1
Seldom and never	21	35.0	29	45.3	40	46.5	90	42.9
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0
Underwear								
Almost always and often	2	3.3	0	0.0	1	1.2	3	1.4
Seldom and never	58	96.7	65	100.0	86	98.8	209	98.6
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0
Sportswear								
Almost always and often	15	25.0	14	21.5	18	20.7	47	25.5
Seldom and never	45	75.0	51	78.5	69	79.3	165	74.5
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0
Shoes								
Almost always and often	57	95.0	62	95.4	83	95.4	202	95.5
Seldom and never	3	5.0	3	4.6	4	4.6	10	4.5
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0
Hats								
Almost always and often	44	74.5	41	64.0	49	59.1	134	65.0
Seldom and never	15	25.5	23	36.0	34	40.9	69	35.0
Totals	59	100.0	64	100.0	83	100.0	206	100.0

Wraps, Chi square = .23 2 d.f. .9 > P > .8 \bar{c} = .05
Outerwear, Chi square = .17 2 d.f. .5 > P > .3 \bar{c} = .14
Underwear, Chi square = 2.29 1 d.f. .2 > P > .1 \bar{c} = .16
Sportswear, Chi square = 1.62 2 d.f. .5 > P > .3 \bar{c} = .09
Shoes, Chi square = .05 2 d.f. .98 > P > .95 \bar{c} = .02
Hats, Chi square = 3.69 2 d.f. .2 > P > .1 \bar{c} = .19

regardless of social class tried on shoes; more girls in the upper-middle class, an in-between number in the lower-middle and the lowest percentage of the upper-lower class girls tried on hats before purchasing them.

When asked why they had the girls try on garments before purchasing them, more of the mothers in the upper-middle class indicated that it was for the purpose of judging becomingness of line and color: upper-middle class 43%; lower-middle class 40%; and upper-lower class 32% of the mothers gave that answer. This can be seen in TABLE XXXII.

The mothers were asked if they would purchase a garment which was becoming to the daughter although they did not like the price. A large proportion of the mothers in all three social classes would not make such a purchase. Of those who would buy such a garment, the largest percentage of mothers was in the upper-middle class, the next largest in the lower-middle class, and the smallest percentage in the upper-lower social class.

A Comparison of the Practices of Buying Fads and High-style Garments for Girls

A characteristic attributed to the members of the lower-middle class was conservatism; in purchasing practices did the mothers of the lower-middle class appear more conservative than the mothers of the upper-middle and the upper-lower classes? Questions were asked to determine whether or not the mothers recognized that there were fads and high-style garments for little girls, and then, if they recognized fads and high-style garments would they purchase them for their own daughters.

The percentages of the mothers who indicated that they recognized fads were (TABLE XXXIII): 58% in the upper-middle social class; 35% in the lower-middle; and 30% in the upper-lower social class. The

TABLE XXXII
REASONS FOR TRYING ON GIRLS' GARMENTS BEFORE
PURCHASING, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Reasons for trying on:								
Fit only	45	56.7	37	59.7	57	67.9	128	62.1
Becomingness, of line, color	26	43.3	25	40.3	27	32.1	78	37.9
Totals	60	100.0	62	100.0	84	100.0	206	100.0

Chi square = 2.09 2 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .1

\bar{C} = .15

TABLE XXXIII
FREQUENCY OF RECOGNITION AND PURCHASE OF FADS IN
GIRLS' CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency of recog- nition and purchase								
Almost always purchase	15	25.9	8	12.7	11	12.7	34	16.5
Often purchase	10	17.2	10	15.7	9	10.3	29	13.9
Seldom purchase	9	15.5	4	6.1	6	6.9	19	9.1
Never purchase	1	1.2	1	2.0	0	0.0	2	.9
Do not recognize	23	39.6	40	63.5	61	70.1	124	59.6
Totals	58	100.0	63	98.0	87	100.0	208	100.0
No reply	2		2		0		4	

Chi square = 4.03 6 d.f. (Categories collapsed for testing significance)
.7 > p > .5

C = .14

C̄ = .17

conservativism of the lower-middle social class members was indicated by the fact that of those who recognized fads, the following percentages of mothers said that they almost always purchased fads for their daughters: 43% in the upper-middle; 35% in the lower-middle; and 42% in the upper-lower social class while those who said that they would never purchase fads were: 3% in the upper-middle; 4% in the lower-middle; and 0% in the upper-lower social class.

The number of mothers who recognized that there were high-style garments for little girls were as follows (See TABLE XXXIV): 38% in the upper-middle class; 25% in the lower-middle; and 9% in the upper-lower social class. The conservativism of the lower-middle social class was not so clear here, because 44% of the mothers in both upper and lower-middle classes who were able to recognize that there were high-style garments for little girls, said that they would buy them for their daughters while only 25% of the upper-lower class mothers who recognized high-style garments would purchase them. More of the mothers of the lower-middle social class said that they would never purchase high-style garments for their daughters, however, than did mothers in the other two social classes.

Summary

The selected practices which were followed by the mothers when they purchased garments for their daughters differed: they purchased the same kinds of garments in different kinds of stores, they had different attitudes toward the use of brand names and one type of sizing label, they differed in the practice of examining garments for workmanship before purchasing and in the importance which they attributed to becomingness of

TABLE XXXIV
FREQUENCY OF RECOGNITION AND PURCHASE OF HIGH-STYLE
GARMENTS FOR GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Recognition and frequency of purchase								
Recognize and purchase								
Almost always	10	16.7	7	11.1	2	2.3	19	9.1
Often purchase	8	13.3	5	7.9	5	5.7	18	8.6
Seldom purchase	5	8.3	2	3.2	1	1.2	8	3.8
Never purchase	0	0.0	2	3.2	0	0.0	2	.9
Do not recognize	37	61.7	47	74.6	79	90.8	163	77.6
Totals	60	100.0	63	100.0	87	100.0	210	100.0

Chi square = 18.7 4 d.f. (categories collapsed for testing significance)
 $P < .001$
 $C = .28$
 $\bar{C} = .37$

girls' garments; they differed in the practice of and the reasons for having the girls try on garments. Some of the purchasing practices differed more widely than others, but the findings showed that in their purchasing practices the mothers indicated that clothing behavior corresponded to other characteristics attributed to social class.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE DAUGHTERS IN REGARD TO CLOTHING BEHAVIOR

Learning the clothing behavior which is appropriate for her own social class is a task for a child similar to acquiring other behavior patterns. Davis and Havighurst in a study of child-rearing as practiced by 202 mothers in Chicago found that the middle class parents began the training of children in behavior such as practices of feeding and toilet training at an earlier age and usually completed the training at an earlier age than did the working class parents.¹ They found, too, that children of middleclass families were expected to assume certain responsibilities at earlier ages than were children of workingclass families, for example:

"Middleclass mothers expect child to help at home earlier."

"Middleclass boys and girls expected to go downtown alone earlier."

"Middleclass girls expected to begin to sew earlier."²

It was hypothesized that the girls in the upper-middle social class would be educated at an early age to select their own clothing with the careful guidance of their mothers who would be anxious that the children make no mistakes; the lower-middle class girls would be allowed to select their clothing because they would be better satisfied with the garments and

¹Davis, W. Allison and Robert J. Havighurst. Father of the Man. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947, p. 216.

²Ibid., p. 217.

would enjoy the shopping and purchasing procedures; the upper-lower class girls would be allowed much freedom in selecting their own clothing and would be encouraged to learn to buy economically.

A Comparison of the Daughters' Participation
in Clothing Selection

In actual practice it was the mothers in the upper-lower class who most frequently took their daughters with them when they went shopping for the girls' clothing. Next were the mothers in the upper-middle class and least frequently the mothers in the lower-middle class as is shown in TABLE XXXV.

Apparently the mothers' attitudes and practices toward the daughters' participation in clothing selection agreed, (see TABLE XXXVI), because a larger percentage of the mothers in the upper-middle and upper-lower classes than in the lower-middle class strongly favored the child's participation. Again it was a larger percentage of lower-middle class mothers who were indifferent about and who did not favor the participation of the daughters in the selection of their own clothing.

The Mothers' Reasons for Favoring the Participation of
the Girls in the Selection of Their Own Clothing

Participation in the selection of their own clothing as a means by which the girls learned to select clothing wisely was a reason given by a larger percentage of mothers in the upper-middle social class than by mothers in other classes (see TABLE XXXVII). The reason that the girls who participated in the selection of garments would give the garments better care if they selected them was indicated by more of the mothers

TABLE XXXV

FREQUENCY OF GIRLS' SHOPPING WITH MOTHERS FOR GIRLS' CLOTHES, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency								
Almost always	23	39.0	20	31.3	46	52.9	89	42.4
Often	17	28.8	19	29.7	16	18.3	52	24.7
Seldom	17	28.8	25	39.0	22	25.3	64	30.5
Never	2	3.4	0	0.0	3	3.5	5	2.4
Totals	59	100.0	64	100.0	87	100.0	210	100.0
No reply	1		1		0		2	

Chi square = 68.26 4 d.f. $P < .001$ (Categories were collapsed for testing significance)

$C = .49$

$\bar{C} = .67$

TABLE XXXVI

MOTHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD GIRLS' PARTICIPATION IN CLOTHING SELECTION BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Strongly favor	24	40.0	20	30.7	36	41.6	80	37.7
Favor	23	38.3	28	43.0	37	42.5	88	41.5
Indifferent	5	8.3	7	10.8	3	3.4	15	7.1
Do not favor	6	10.0	9	13.8	7	8.0	22	10.4
Strongly disapprove	2	3.4	1	1.7	4	4.5	7	3.3
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 5.36 6 d.f. $.5 > P > .3$

$C = .16$

$\bar{C} = .2$

TABLE XXXVII
REASONS FOR FAVORING GIRLS' PARTICIPATION IN
CLOTHING SELECTION, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mothers' reasons								
To learn to select	31	54.4	29	49.2	37	40.2	97	46.6
Child will take better care	11	19.3	18	30.5	29	31.5	58	27.9
To save time	3	5.3	3	5.1	10	10.9	16	7.7
Other reasons	12	21.0	9	15.2	16	17.4	37	17.8
Totals	57	100.0	59	100.0	92	100.0	208	100.0

Chi square = 7.47 6 d.f. .3 > P > .2

C = .19

\bar{C} = .24

in the lower-middle and upper-lower classes than by the mothers in the upper-middle class. Twice as many mothers from the upper-lower social class than from the other classes gave the reason that the child's participation would save the mother's time.

Mothers' Attitudes Toward Letting the Girls
Make the Final Selection

Mothers in all three social classes followed the practice of selecting from all of the garments available in the stores a few suitable garments from which the child could select one which the family would buy for her. More than twice as many mothers in the upper-middle and lower-middle classes than in the upper-lower class always limited the selection of garments in this way. (See TABLE XXXVIII).

The frequency with which the girls were allowed to make the final decisions varied. In all three classes the largest percentage of mothers answered that the girls often made the final decisions (TABLE XXXIX), in the upper-middle class 41%, in the lower-middle class 50%, and in the upper-lower class 60%. Next in size were the percentages of mothers in families where the girls always made the final decisions: in the upper-middle class 32%; in the lower-middle and the upper-lower classes the percentages were almost equal, 20% and 21%. All three social classes had similar percentages of girls who seldom decided about their own clothing. There were fifteen girls in the entire sample who were never allowed to make a final decision concerning the selection of their own clothing: expressed in percentages this would be, in the upper-middle class 10%; in the lower-middle 9%; and in the upper-lower class 4%.

TABLE XXXVIII

FREQUENCY OF LIMITING GIRLS' SELECTION TO SEVERAL GARMENTS
FROM WHICH FINAL CHOICE IS MADE, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency								
Almost always	23	39.6	28	43.7	15	17.2	66	31.6
Often	17	29.3	17	26.6	35	40.3	69	33.0
Seldom	14	24.1	10	15.6	21	24.1	45	21.5
Never	4	7.0	9	14.1	16	18.4	29	13.9
Totals	58	100.0	64	100.0	87	100.0	209	100.0

Chi square = 17.07 6 d.f. .01 > P > .001

C = .27

\bar{C} = .35

TABLE XXXIX

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH GIRLS MADE FINAL DECISIONS IN
CLOTHING SELECTION IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency								
Almost always	19	32.2	13	20.3	18	21.2	50	24.04
Often	24	40.7	32	50.0	51	60.0	107	51.44
Seldom	10	16.9	13	20.3	13	15.3	36	17.31
Never	6	10.2	6	9.4	3	3.5	15	7.21
Totals	59	100.0	64	100.0	85	100.0	208	100.0
No reply	1		1		2			

Chi square = 7.77 6 d.f. .3 > P > .2

C = .19

\bar{C} = .23

TABLE XXXVIII

FREQUENCY OF LIMITING GIRLS' SELECTION TO SEVERAL GARMENTS
FROM WHICH FINAL CHOICE IS MADE, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency								
Almost always	23	39.6	28	43.7	15	17.2	66	31.6
Often	17	29.3	17	26.6	35	40.3	69	33.0
Seldom	14	24.1	10	15.6	21	24.1	45	21.5
Never	4	7.0	9	14.1	16	18.4	29	13.9
Totals	58	100.0	64	100.0	87	100.0	209	100.0

Chi square = 17.07 6 d.f. .01 > P > .001

C = .27

\bar{C} = .35

TABLE XXXIX

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH GIRLS MADE FINAL DECISIONS IN
CLOTHING SELECTION IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency								
Almost always	19	32.2	13	20.3	18	21.2	50	24.04
Often	24	40.7	32	50.0	51	60.0	107	51.44
Seldom	10	16.9	13	20.3	13	15.3	36	17.31
Never	6	10.2	6	9.4	3	3.5	15	7.21
Totals	59	100.0	64	100.0	85	100.0	208	100.0
No reply	1		1		2			

Chi square = 7.77 6 d.f. .3 > P > .2

C = .19

\bar{C} = .23

When the girls were allowed to select their own clothing, the mothers thought that the strongest determining factor was that they wanted what their peers wore. This was true in all three social classes, but was stronger (as shown in TABLE XL) for the lower-middle and upper-lower than in the upper-middle social class. A slightly larger percentage of girls (7%) in the upper-middle than in the other classes (4%) liked to imitate adults in their clothing. The mothers were asked to express their own and their daughters' attitudes toward mother-daughter costumes. The results are shown in TABLES XLI and XLII. About half of the mothers (49%) in all three classes favored mother-daughter costumes and believed that 83% of the daughters liked mother-daughter costumes. The girls in the lower-middle and upper-lower social classes favored the mother-daughter costumes more than did the girls in the upper-middle social class (90% and 68%). The explanation for the difference in the girls' attitudes towards mother-daughter costumes may be that the clothes worn by the mothers in the three social classes differed so that the clothes worn by adults in the upper-middle class may be too sophisticated to appeal to little girls, or it may be that because of the lack of encouraging the little girls to "grow up" in the upper-middle social class they are not so eager to imitate their mothers. It is also remotely possible that the mothers did not know the real attitudes of their daughters toward wanting mother-daughter costumes.

A Comparison of the Ages at Which the Girls Began to
Participate in the Selection of Their Own Clothing

In spite of the findings of Davis and Havighurst, it was hypothesized that the girls who belonged in the upper-lower class may be encouraged to

TABLE XL

SELECTED FACTORS WHICH MAY DETERMINE GIRLS' CHOICES
IN CLOTHING SELECTION, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Child selects because of:								
What peers own	31	40.2	40	51.9	48	47.5	119	46.6
Color	25	32.5	21	27.3	29	28.7	75	29.4
Type	16	20.8	13	16.9	20	19.8	49	19.3
To imitate adults	5	6.5	3	3.9	4	4.0	12	4.7
Totals	77	100.0	77	100.0	101	100.0	255	100.0

Chi square = 2.62 6 d.f. .9 > P > .8

C = .1

\bar{C} = .13

TABLE XLI

THE NUMBER OF MOTHERS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES WHO
FAVORED MOTHER-DAUGHTER COSTUMES

	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Favor	29	48.3	30	46.1	45	51.7	104	49.1
Indifferent	9	15.0	12	18.5	12	13.8	33	15.5
Dislike	22	36.7	23	35.4	30	34.5	75	35.4
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = .53 4 d.f. .98 > P > .95

C = .05

\bar{C} = .07

TABLE XLII
THE NUMBER OF GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES WHO
FAVORED MOTHER-DAUGHTER COSTUMES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Favor	32	68.1	37	90.3	48	90.6	117	83.0
Indifferent	14	29.8	3	7.3	1	1.9	18	12.8
Dislike	1	2.1	1	2.4	4	7.5	6	4.2
Totals	47	100.0	41	100.0	53	100.0	141	100.0

Chi square = 20.54 4 d.f. $P < .001$

C = .36

\bar{C} = .48

participate in the selection of their own clothing at an earlier age than the girls in the lower-middle and upper-middle social classes for several reasons: the importance of the girls' clothing may not seem so great to the upper-lower class mothers as to the mothers in the middle classes, so it would seem safer to let the upper-lower class child have freedom of choice at an earlier age; the sooner the child could learn to make her own independent purchases, the less shopping time would be required of the mother which was a factor of more concern to mothers of the upper-lower class than for the other mothers; the child must be taught not to waste any money and the sooner she learned, the better for the upper-lower class family. The number of children who began to participate in the selection of their own clothing at the age of four years was larger in the upper-lower class and the number of girls who began to participate at the age of eight and nine years of age was smaller in the upper-lower than in the middle social classes.

For all three social classes, age five was the one at which the largest percentage of the girls began to participate in the selection of their own clothing. This age was the most frequent one because many of the girls of the upper-middle and the upper-lower classes began to participate in clothing selection at this age, but more of the girls in the lower-middle class began at the age of six as can be seen in TABLE XLIII. A comparison of the practices within the two middle classes showed that more of the girls in the upper-middle class waited until they were seven, eight and nine years old before they began to participate in clothing selection than did girls in the lower-middle class. The difference supported the theory that the upper-middle class mothers tended to delay the independent behavior of their daughters and that the "right"

TABLE XLIII
AGES AT WHICH GIRLS BEGAN TO PARTICIPATE IN
CLOTHING SELECTION BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age at which child began to participate								
Three years old	2	3.4	2	3.3	3	3.7	7	3.5
Four years old	7	11.8	8	13.1	12	14.8	27	13.4
Five years old	19	32.2	14	22.9	32	39.5	65	32.3
Six years old	13	22.0	23	37.7	18	22.2	54	26.9
Seven years old	9	15.3	8	13.2	13	16.1	30	14.9
Eight and nine	9	15.3	6	9.8	3	3.7	18	9.0
Totals	59	100.0	61	100.0	81	100.0	201	100.0

Chi square = 12.37 10 d.f. .3 > P > .2

C = .25

C̄ = .3

selection of clothing was so important that an adult rather than a child should make the decisions about it. The upper-middle class should be taught to select clothing, but at a slightly later age than for girls in the other two social classes. This finding did not agree with Davis and Havighursts' findings concerning other behavior practices.¹

Ways of Settling Disagreements About
Clothing Preferences

It was found that when mothers and daughters disagreed about the selection of garments, a compromise was reached in more than half of the families of all three of the social classes, (see TABLE XLIV), but most frequently in families of the upper-middle, then the lower-middle, and then the upper-lower social classes. If a compromise were not reached, the choice would be in favor of the child's preference in more of the upper-lower class families (31%) than in the upper-middle class (24%) or the lower-middle (20%) social class families, while the choice would be in favor of the mothers' preferences in more of the lower-middle (23%), then the upper-middle (19%), and the upper-lower (17%) social class families.

The answers to an open-ended question asking the mothers what they would do if their preferences and the daughters' preferences were not the same, indicated that the largest percentage of the families would either agree or compromise, the next largest would let the child have her choice, and in the next largest percentage of families the mothers and daughters

¹
Davis and Havighurst, op. cit., p. 217.

TABLE XLIV

SETTLEMENT OF DISAGREEMENTS CONCERNING PREFERENCES OF
GIRLS' CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mother's preference	11	18.7	15	23.1	15	17.4	41	19.5
Child's preference	14	23.7	13	20.0	27	31.4	54	25.7
Compromise	34	57.6	37	56.9	44	51.2	115	54.8
Totals	59	100.0	65	100.0	86	100.0	210	100.0
No reply	1		0		1		2	

Chi square = 2.72 4 d.f. .7 > P > .5

C = .11

\bar{C} = .15

would talk it over but would buy no garment for the child. (This is presented in TABLE XLV). Of the families in which the mother and daughter would talk it over without buying any garment over which they disagreed, the largest percentage occurred in the upper-middle class, next in the lower-middle, and the lowest in the upper-middle social class.

A larger percentage of the mothers of the middle social classes said that they "almost always" explained the reasons for their preferences to their daughters (TABLE XLVI) than did the mothers in the upper-lower class, however, the percentage of the mothers in the lower-middle class was higher than the percentage of mothers in the upper-middle class. The percentage of mothers who never explained their preferences to their daughters was lowest in the lower-middle class also.

The practice of letting a child make an unwise selection as a means of learning by experience how to select clothing wisely was tried by a larger percentage of mothers in the lower-middle class than in either of the other classes. (TABLE XLVII). More of the mothers of the upper-middle and upper-lower social classes thought that the method was successful in teaching the girls how to select their clothing, (shown in TABLE XLVIII); only half of the mothers in the lower-middle class who practiced it felt that it was successful; the numbers of mothers who let their daughters make an unwise selection was small.

The theory that the mothers of the upper-middle class girls might be so concerned with the appearance of correct behavior by their daughters that they would "give in" to avoid all unpleasant scenes in a store was not supported by the findings since a slightly larger percentage of mothers in the upper-lower class "gave in" almost always and often, (see TABLE XLIX), while a larger percentage of the mothers in the

TABLE XLV
PROCEDURE FOLLOWED IF CLOTHING PREFERENCES OF
MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS DIFFERED,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Usually agreed or compromised	16	27.6	17	26.9	23	28.0	56	27.5
Child given choice	9	15.5	18	28.6	25	30.6	52	25.6
Talked over but did not buy	21	36.2	14	22.2	13	15.8	48	23.6
Mother bought her choice and explained	12	20.7	13	20.7	19	23.2	44	21.7
Shopped elsewhere and others	0	0.0	1	1.6	2	2.4	3	1.6
Totals	58	100.0	63	100.0	82	100.0	203	100.0

Chi square = 9.6 6 d.f. .2 > P > .1

C = .27

\bar{C} = .34

TABLE XLVI
FREQUENCY OF EXPLAINING MOTHERS' REASONS FOR
PREFERENCES CONCERNING GIRLS' CLOTHING

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency								
Almost always	36	60.0	42	67.7	38	44.2	116	55.8
Often	13	21.7	13	21.0	30	34.9	56	26.9
Seldom	6	10.0	4	6.5	12	13.9	22	10.6
Never	5	8.3	3	4.8	6	7.0	14	6.7
Totals	60	100.0	62	100.0	86	100.0	208	100.0

Chi square = 9.81 6 d.f. .2 > P > .1

C = .22

C̄ = .28

TABLE XLVII
UNWISE SELECTION OF GIRLS' GARMENTS USED AS A MEANS
OF TEACHING CLOTHING SELECTION, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Number of girls allowed to make unwise selections								
Yes	12	20.0	18	27.7	9	10.3	39	18.4
No	48	80.0	47	72.3	78	89.7	173	81.6
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 7.60 2 d.f. .05 > P > .02

C = .19

C̄ = .27

TABLE XLVIII
SUCCESS IN TEACHING GIRLS' CLOTHING SELECTION BY
ALLOWING UNWISE SELECTION, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-middle		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Number of mothers who thought method was successful								
Yes	7	70.0	9	50.0	5	71.4	21	60.0
No	3	30.0	9	50.0	2	28.6	14	40.0
Totals	10	100.0	18	100.0	7	100.0	35	100.0

Chi square = 1.55 2 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .21

\bar{C} = .3

TABLE XLIX
FREQUENCY OF "GIVING IN" TO GIRLS' CLOTHING DEMANDS
IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-middle		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency of "giving in"								
Almost always	0	0	1	1.5	3	3.4	4	1.9
Often	5	8.3	5	7.7	6	6.9	16	7.5
Seldom	18	30.0	21	32.3	28	32.2	67	31.6
Never	37	61.7	38	58.5	50	57.5	125	59.0
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = .26 4 d.f. P < .99

C = .03

\bar{C} = .05

upper-middle social class said that they never "gave in" to the daughters. The findings agreed with Davis' and Havighurst's.¹

Attitudes of Mothers and Daughters Toward the Opinions
of Others Concerning the Appearance of the Girls

Seventy-two percent of the mothers in all three social classes said that the opinions of other adults who were outside the family were not at all important to them, (TABLE L), but this attitude was stronger in the upper-lower than in the middle classes. A small number of the mothers in the upper-middle class, nevertheless more than twice as many as in the upper-lower class, said that the opinions of other adults outside the family concerning the way in which the daughter was dressed were very important to them.

The opinions of other adults who were members of the family were felt by more mothers to be very important; this feeling was particularly strong in the lower-middle class families. (See TABLE LI). When the mothers reported the importance to their daughters of the opinions of other family members, it appeared that about one-third of the girls in all three classes thought the opinions of family members very important, (TABLE LII); at the same time, more of the upper-lower social class girls considered that their opinions were not at all important than did girls of other social classes.

The opinions of adults who did not belong to the families were not considered important by the girls, (TABLE LIII): in the upper-middle class 67%, in the lower-middle class 75%, and in the upper-lower class 89% of the girls felt that way. The opinions of peers, however, concerning

¹Davis and Havighurst, op. cit., pp. 76-97.

TABLE L

THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE GIVEN BY MOTHERS TO THE
OPINIONS OF ADULTS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY CONCERNING
GIRLS' CLOTHES, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Degree of importance								
Very important	7	11.7	5	7.7	3	3.4	15	7.0
Moderately	15	25.0	18	27.7	12	13.8	45	21.0
Not at all	38	63.3	42	64.6	72	82.8	152	72.0
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 14.28 4 d.f. .01 > P > .001

C = .26

\bar{C} = .35

TABLE LI

DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE GIVEN BY MOTHERS TO THE OPINIONS
OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY CONCERNING GIRLS'
CLOTHES, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Degree of importance								
Very important	16	26.7	21	33.3	18	20.7	55	26.2
Moderately	19	31.6	28	44.5	36	41.4	83	39.5
Not at all	25	41.7	14	22.2	33	37.9	72	34.2
Totals	60	100.0	63	100.0	87	100.0	210	100.0

Chi square = 4.67 4 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .15

\bar{C} = .2

TABLE LII

THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE GIVEN BY DAUGHTERS TO THE
OPINIONS OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY CONCERNING
GIRLS' CLOTHES, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Degree of importance								
Very important	20	33.3	24	36.9	30	34.5	72	34.9
Moderately	6	26.7	20	30.8	9	10.3	45	21.2
Not at all	24	40.0	21	32.3	48	55.2	93	43.9
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0
Chi square = 13.35	4 d.f.	.01 > P > .001						
C = .25								
$\bar{C} = .34$								

TABLE LIII

THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE GIVEN BY DAUGHTERS TO THE
OPINIONS OF ADULTS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY CONCERNING
GIRLS' CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Degree of importance								
Very important	13	21.7	9	13.8	2	2.3	24	11.3
Moderately	7	11.6	7	10.8	8	9.2	22	10.4
Not at all	40	66.7	49	75.4	77	88.5	116	78.3
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 9.17 4 d.f. .1 > P > .05

C = .20

C = .27

the appearance of the girls was entirely different, (TABLE LIV): in the upper-middle class 67%, in the lower-middle 78%, and in the upper-lower class 71% of the girls felt that their peers' opinions were very important or at least moderately important to them.

Summary

In comparing the clothing behavior of members of the three social classes, upper-middle, lower-middle and upper-lower, it was found that there were differences in the socialization of the daughters in regard to clothing. The study showed that while mothers in the upper-middle and the upper-lower classes were almost equally in favor of the child's participation in the selection of clothing, more of the upper-lower class girls actually accompanied their mothers when shopping for the girls' clothes. Mothers of lower-middle class indicated the least interest in the child's actual shopping, as was expected. The reasons given by the mothers supported the theory that mothers in the upper-middle class wanted the girls to learn the "right" clothing behavior and encouraged them to participate in clothing selection as a means of educating them. The lower-middle and upper-lower class mothers encouraged the girls to select clothes in the hope that the clothes would receive greater care from the child.

As was expected, more of the upper-middle class girls always made the final decisions on their own clothes, but more of the upper-lower class girls often made the decisions. If the frequencies for the "almost always and often" categories were added, about 10% more of the upper-lower class girls than of the middle class girls were allowed to make the final choices. This finding supported the theory that upper-lower class girls had the greatest freedom of choice in clothing selection.

TABLE LIV

THE DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE GIVEN BY THE DAUGHTERS TO THE
OPINIONS OF CHILDREN OUTSIDE THE FAMILY CONCERNING
THE GIRLS' CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Degree of importance								
Very important	27	45.0	31	47.7	37	42.6	95	44.8
Moderately	13	21.7	20	30.8	25	28.7	58	27.4
Not at all	20	33.3	14	21.5	25	28.7	59	27.8
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 7.1 4 d.f. .2 > P > .1

C = .18

\bar{C} = .24

The girls in the upper-lower class began to participate in the clothing selection at an earlier age than did the others, that is, a much larger proportion of them were participating before the age of six. On the other hand, a larger percentage of the upper-middle class girls did not begin to participate until they were seven, eight or nine years of age. This was not in line with the Davis and Havighurst findings. As was expected, in regard to clothing, the upper-middle class mothers were more concerned about the education, the behavior and the public approval of the appearances of their daughters than were the mothers of the lower-middle and upper-lower social classes.

CHAPTER VI

A COMPARISON OF THE SEWING CONSTRUCTION FOR GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

The amounts of construction of items of apparel for girls in the three groups were compared because the practices of mothers in families of the upper-middle, lower-middle and upper-lower social classes were expected to differ as follows: the mothers in the lower-middle class were expected to construct the most garments for their daughters because they would sew both for pleasure and for economy, while the mothers in the upper-middle class would sew for their daughters because of their concern about appearances. To assure their daughters' having beautifully designed and constructed garments of the most becoming colors, lines and designs possible, the upper-middle class mothers would create such garments for their own daughters; they would sew to demonstrate their own skill, ability, and training in this aesthetic area and to demonstrate their possession of leisure time which they could devote to the pursuit of such a creative hobby. The upper-lower class mothers were expected to construct fewer garments than lower-middle class mothers, but about as many as the upper-middle class mothers because the upper-lower class families would be less concerned about appearances, less particular and better satisfied with mass produced garments which they could purchase ready-made, and they would not want to devote much time to sewing construction.

The amount of construction which the daughters did was also compared because the sewing practices of the girls were expected to reflect the

construction practices of the mothers and to show differences in practices and attitudes of members of the three social classes. The mothers of the lower-middle class were expected to teach their daughters to sew more frequently and at an earlier age than were the mothers of girls of the other two classes.

A Comparison of the Amount of Construction

A comparison of the numbers of homes in which construction for the daughters was done indicated that the theory was supported since a much larger percentage of lower-middle class families than upper-middle or upper-lower class families reported home sewing. The percentages of families who did construction in the other two classes were similar although the number was about 5% higher in the upper-lower class. (TABLE LV).

When the mothers were questioned about the actual amount of construction which had been done for the daughters during the year, however, it was found that the highest numbers of garments were constructed in the families of the upper-lower class and that the amounts of construction done by families of the other two classes were approximately equal, (see TABLE LVI): in the upper-middle class the average number of garments constructed in a year was 8.0, in the lower-middle class 8.7, and in the upper-lower class 10.6.

A Comparison of the Reasons for Sewing

According to the theory upon which this thesis was based, the mothers of the lower-middle class would sew for both pleasure and economy, the mothers of the upper-middle class for pleasure, and if the upper-lower class mothers sewed at all, they would sew for economy. Regardless of how much construction they actually accomplished, the mothers were asked whether or not they enjoyed sewing for their daughters. Contrary to

TABLE LV
FAMILIES IN WHICH GIRLS' CLOTHING WAS
CONSTRUCTED, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Families do construction								
Yes	38	63.3	53	81.5	59	67.8	150	70.8
No	22	36.7	12	18.5	28	32.2	62	29.2
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 5.62 2 d.f. .1 > P > .05

C = .16

\bar{C} = .23

TABLE LVI
GIRLS' GARMENTS CONSTRUCTED DURING ONE
YEAR, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes			
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	Totals
Average number of garments made in one year	8.03	8.65	10.63	
Number of garments constructed in one year	505	450	574	1329
Number of girls	36	52	54	142

t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle = .55 .6 > P > .5

t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower = 1.81 .1 > P > .05

t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower = 2.13 .05 > P > .02

expectations, (see TABLE LVII), the percentages of mothers who enjoyed sewing for their daughters were as follows: in the upper-middle class 61%; in the lower-middle class 75%; and in the upper-lower class 71%. It is interesting to observe that when the mothers were asked whether or not the daughters enjoyed having them sew for them, the pattern was the same, (TABLE LVIII): in the upper-middle class 67% of the girls enjoyed having their mothers sew for them; in the lower-middle class 89% did; and in the upper-lower class 77% enjoyed it.

When the mothers who actually had constructed some garments for their daughters during the year were asked whether they sewed for their daughters for pleasure or for economy, the answers (shown in TABLE LX) fit the pattern predicted according to the theory: in the upper-middle class 62% of the mothers who sewed did it for pleasure; in the lower-middle class 40% of the mothers who sewed did it for pleasure, and in the upper-lower class 33% of the mothers who sewed did it for pleasure; while the mothers who sewed for economy were, in the upper-middle class 38%, in the lower-middle class 60%, and in the upper-lower class 67%.

If the mothers were really seriously concerned with economy, it would seem logical for them to compare the costs of sewing construction at home with ready-to-wear garments. The largest percentage of mothers who compared costs were in the lower-middle social class, the next largest in the upper-lower social class and the largest percentage of mothers who never compared costs was in the upper-middle social class. (TABLES LXI and LXII).

One factor which was thought to have an influence on the amount of sewing done at home was whether or not the family had a sewing machine available. TABLE LXIII shows the number of machines available in the

TABLE LVII

MOTHERS' ENJOYMENT OF SEWING FOR THEIR DAUGHTERS,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Number of mothers who								
Enjoy sewing	35	61.4	49	75.4	58	70.7	142	69.6
Do not enjoy	22	38.6	16	24.6	24	29.3	62	30.4
Totals	57	100.0	65	100.0	82	100.0	204	100.0
Chi square = 2.39	2 d.f.		.5 > P > .3					

$$C = .11$$

$$\bar{C} = .16$$

TABLE LVIII

GIRLS' ATTITUDES TOWARD MOTHERS' CONSTRUCTION, BY
SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Child enjoys	35	67.3	54	88.5	62	76.5	151	77.8
Child dislikes	17	32.7	7	11.5	19	23.5	43	22.2
Totals	52	100.0	61	100.0	81	100.0	194	100.0
Don't know and no reply	5		4		6		15	

$$\text{Chi square} = 7.01 \quad 2 \text{ d.f.} \quad .05 > P > .02$$

$$C = .19$$

$$\bar{C} = .27$$

TABLE LIX

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Persons who do construction								
Mother	31	81.6	44	83.0	51	87.9	126	84.6
Other relative	7	18.4	9	17.0	7	12.1	23	15.4
Totals	38	100.0	53	100.0	58	100.0	149	100.0
Chi square = .86	2 d.f.	.7 > P > .5						

$c = .08$

$$\bar{c} = .11$$

TABLE LX

Reasons	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Pleasure	23	62.2	23	40.2	19	32.8	65	42.8
Economy	14	37.8	34	59.6	39	67.2	87	57.2
Totals	37	100.0	57	100.0	58	100.0	152	100.0
Chi square = 7.56	2 d.f.	.05 > P > .02						

C = .22

C = .32

TABLE LXI

THE FREQUENCY OF COMPARING THE COSTS OF READY-TO-WEAR
AND HOME CONSTRUCTED GARMENTS OF ENTIRE SAMPLE,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency								
Almost always	13	22.0	21	32.3	25	28.7	59	27.9
Often	9	15.3	16	24.6	22	25.3	47	22.3
Seldom	13	22.0	16	24.6	18	20.7	47	22.3
Never	24	40.7	12	18.5	22	25.3	58	27.5
Totals	59	100.0	12	100.0	87	100.0	211	100.0

Chi square = 8.33 6 d.f. .3 > P > .2

C = .19

\bar{C} = .25

TABLE LXII

THE FREQUENCY OF COMPARING THE COSTS OF READY-TO-WEAR
AND HOME CONSTRUCTED GARMENTS BY THE MOTHERS WHO
ACTUALLY CONSTRUCTED GIRLS' GARMENTS,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency								
Do compare costs (Always and often)	22	57.9	36	67.8	41	69.4	99	66.0
Do not compare (Seldom and never)	16	42.1	17	32.2	18	30.6	51	34.0
Totals	38	100.0	53	100.0	59	100.0	150	100.0

Chi square = 1.37 2 d.f. .7 > P > .5

C = .03

\bar{C} = .04

TABLE LXIII

SEWING MACHING AVAILABLE, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Availability								
Yes	52	86.7	61	93.8	77	88.5	190	89.6
No	8	13.3	4	6.2	10	11.5	22	10.4
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 1.48 2 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .08

\bar{C} = .12

three social classes, the highest percentage of families having machines were in the lower-middle class, next highest in the upper-lower class, and the lowest in the upper-middle social class. This pattern was the same as for the enjoyment of sewing, the number of homes in which construction was done, but not the amount of sewing done, that is average number of garments constructed in a year.

The Behavior of the Daughters in Connection with
Sewing Construction

If the daughters enjoyed having their mothers sew for them, they probably liked what the mothers made and therefore would wear the garments. The percentage of girls who almost always wore garments made for them at home and those who almost never wore them were almost alike in the lower-middle and the upper-lower classes ("always wore" 85% and 84%, "never wore" 10%) while in the upper-middle class the percentage of girls who "always wore" the garments was lower (74%) and who "never wore" them was higher (16%) than in the other two social classes as can be seen in TABLE LXIV.

In a study made in Chicago, Davis and Havighurst¹ found that "Middleclass girls(were) expected to begin to sew earlier" than girls in workingclass families.¹ The findings of this study in Des Moines which are presented in TABLES LXV and LXVI agreed with their statement because more of the girls in the upper-middle class had already begun to sew before they were seven years old (35%) than in either lower-middle class (28%) or in the upper-lower class (24%).

Less than half of the girls who were included in the study sewed at the time of the interviews, but of these the largest proportion were in

¹Davis and Havighurst, op. cit., p. 217.

TABLE LXIV
FREQUENCY OF WEARING GARMENTS CONSTRUCTED AT
HOME, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency of wearing								
Almost always	28	73.7	34	85.0	43	84.3	105	81.4
Often	2	5.3	0	0.0	3	5.9	5	3.9
Seldom	2	5.3	2	5.0	0	0.0	4	3.1
Almost never	6	15.7	4	10.0	5	9.8	15	11.6
Totals	38	100.0	40	100.0	51	100.0	129	100.0

Chi square = 1.52 2 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .11

\bar{C} = .16

TABLE LXV
AGES AT WHICH THE GIRLS BEGAN TO SEW, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age at which girls began to sew								
Three years	0	0	1	1.5	2	2.3	3	1.4
Four years	4	6.7	2	3.1	2	2.3	8	3.8
Five years	5	8.3	10	15.4	6	6.9	21	9.9
Six years	11	18.3	5	7.7	11	12.6	27	12.7
Seven years	4	6.7	7	10.8	7	8.1	18	8.5
Eight years	3	5.0	3	4.6	4	4.6	10	4.7
Nine years	1	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	.5
Not yet	32	53.3	37	56.9	55	63.2	124	58.5
Now sew	28		28		32		88	
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 6.11 8 d.f. .7 > p > .5

C = .17

\bar{C} = .2

TABLE LXVI
AGES AT WHICH MOTHERS INTEND TO TEACH GIRLS
TO SEW, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ages of girls at which mother will teach to sew								
Seven, eight, and nine	4	26.7	6	27.3	6	22.2	16	25.0
Ten, eleven, twelve	11	73.3	16	72.7	19	70.4	46	71.9
Thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	7.4	2	3.1
Totals	15	100.0	22	100.0	27	100.0	64	100.0
Don't know	0		1		2		3	

Chi square = 1.94 2 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .05

\bar{C} = .08

the upper-middle social class and next in the lower-middle class (see TABLE LXVII). For the non-sewing girls (TABLES LXVI and LXIX) who are going to learn to sew in the future, the mothers of both middle classes intend to follow the same pattern which differs from the upper-lower class intentions by having the rest of the middle class girls planning to learn to sew at earlier ages.

Since the girls' eagerness to learn to sew was thought to have some influence upon the mothers' behavior, the mothers were asked to indicate whether or not the girls had asked to be taught to sew, (TABLE LXVIII): 76% of the girls in the upper-middle had asked to be taught, 94% of the girls in the lower-middle, and 71% of the girls in the upper-lower social class had asked to be taught to sew.

Summary

If the numbers of families in which construction was done for the girls were compared, the practices of the mothers were seen to follow the theoretical predictions, for the highest percentage was in the lower-middle class, but if the actual average numbers of garments constructed during the year were compared, the largest numbers were found to be in the families of the upper-lower class.

The reasons for sewing followed the theory upon which this thesis was based: the mothers in the upper-middle class who did actually sew did it for pleasure and for economy, but with much greater emphasis on pleasure; the mothers in the lower-middle class sewed for pleasure and for economy but with much greater emphasis on economy; and the highest percentage of mothers who sewed for economy was found in the upper-lower social class. The mothers who seemed most interested in estimating and

TABLE LXVII

GIRLS IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES WHO SEWED

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Do sew	29	48.3	31	47.7	34	39.1	94	44.3
Do not sew	31	51.7	34	52.3	53	60.9	118	55.7
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 1.65 2 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .09

\bar{C} = .13

TABLE LXVIII

GIRLS WHO ASKED TO BE TAUGHT TO SEW, IN
THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Asked	22	75.9	29	93.5	24	70.6	75	79.8
Did not ask	7	24.1	2	6.5	10	39.4	19	20.2
Totals	29	100.0	31	100.0	34	100.0	94	100.0

Chi square = 5.5 2 d.f. .17 > P > .05

C = .23

\bar{C} = .34

TABLE LXIX

INTENTION OF MOTHERS TOWARD TEACHING DAUGHTERS
TO SEW, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Intend to teach	15	53.6	23	71.9	28	54.9	66	59.5
Do not intend to teach	13	46.4	9	28.1	23	45.1	45	40.5
Totals	28	100.0	32	100.0	51	100.0	111	100.0

Chi square = 2.89 2 d.f. .3 > P > .2

C = .16

\bar{C} = .23

comparing costs of buying ready-to-wear or making their daughters' clothes were in the lower-middle and upper-lower classes.

Judging by the frequency reported, the girls in the lower-middle and upper-lower classes wore garments constructed for them more than did the girls in the upper-middle class. The girls of the middle classes began to sew at earlier ages than girls of the upper-lower class. More of the mothers of girls who did not yet sew who were in the middle classes intended to teach their daughters at earlier ages than did the upper-lower class mothers.

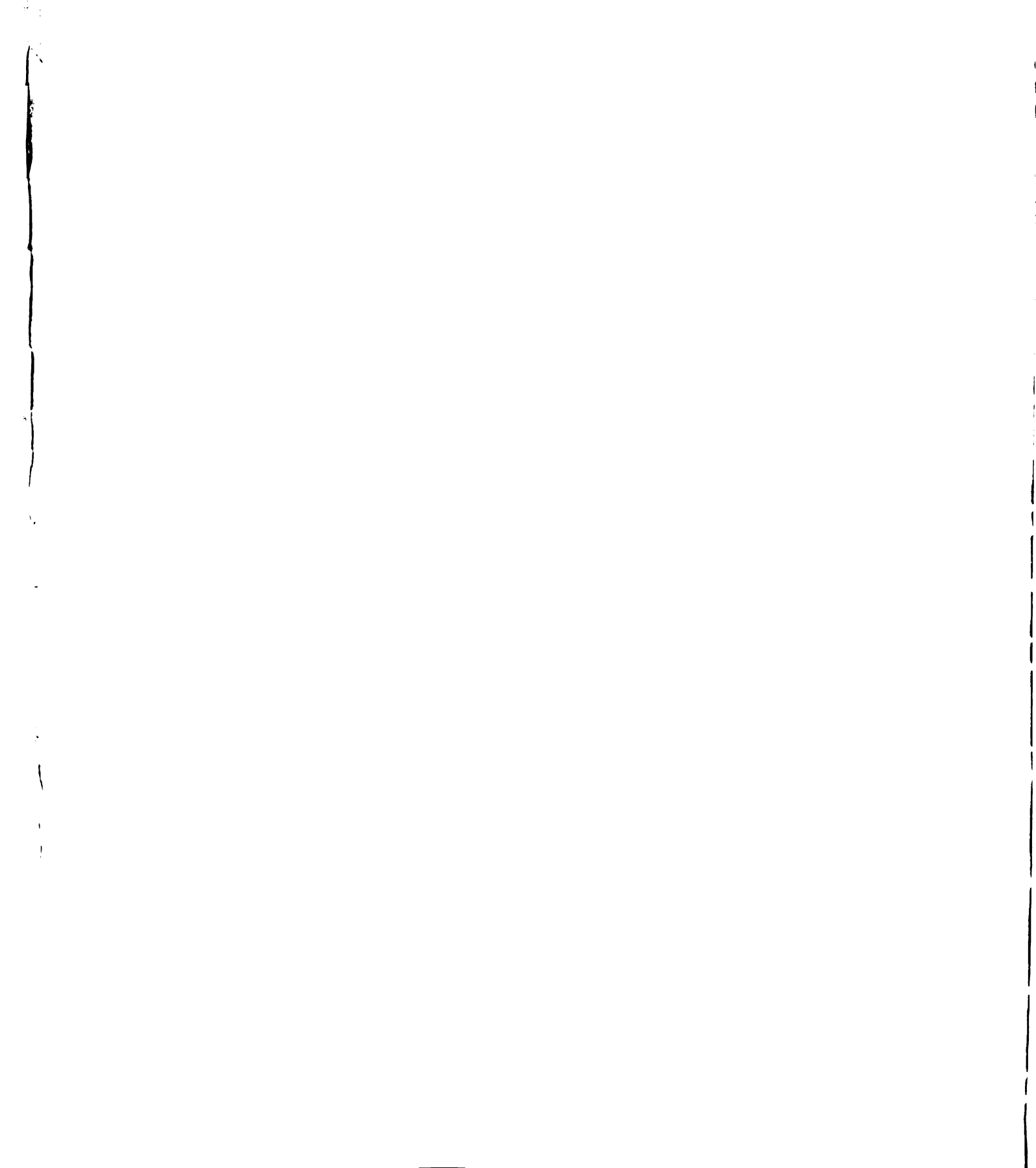
CHAPTER VII

A COMPARISON OF SELECTED PRACTICES IN THE USE, CARE, REPAIR AND DISCARD OF GIRLS' CLOTHING

According to the theory upon which this thesis is based, the practices of mothers in the three social classes were expected to differ in the following respects: the amount and frequency of use of garments for daughters which were previously owned by another person, the attitudes of mothers and daughters toward these handed-down garments, the practices of borrowing and lending clothing, the daily selection of what to wear, the participation by the daughters in the care of their clothing, the care of the girls' clothing by the mothers, the importance given to the characteristic durability, the attitudes toward the daughters' wearing mended garments, the practices connected with discarding girls' clothing. The ways in which these selected attitudes and practices differed in the three social classes are presented in this chapter.

The Use of Garments Previously Owned by Another Person

A characteristic attributed to members of the upper-middle class was the desire to own and to display possessions indicative of wealth. If clothing is used as a symbol, the families in the upper-middle class would not make use of clothing previously owned by another person, but would buy new garments for each of their children. Lower-middle class members are supposed to be careful of their money yet are interested in quantity of possessions, so they would make as much use as possible of garments handed-down to their children especially within the family. In the upper-lower



class families the need for economy may be greatest and the concern about accepting garments from people outside the family less than for members of the other two social classes, so the use of garments previously owned by other people may be the most extensive in the upper-lower class.

In the upper-lower class 93% of the girls wore garments which had previously been owned by another person, but so did 80% of the girls in the upper-middle class while only 72% of the girls in the lower-middle class wore handed-down garments. (See TABLE LXX). Perhaps possession and display of apparent wealth are increased rather than decreased by the use of garments previously owned by other people. The frequency with which the girls wore garments which had been handed-down to them was not the same, (TABLE LXXI): slightly more than half of the girls in the upper-middle and upper-lower classes wore handed-down garments frequently while 64% of the lower-middle class girls did; the highest percentage of girls who never wore handed-down garments was in the upper-lower class (35%), next highest who never wore them was found in the upper-middle class (33%), and the lowest percentage of people who never used handed-down garments (28%) appeared in the lower-middle class. The unexpected finding was that the lower-middle class made more frequent use of handed-down garments than did members of the upper-lower class, although the number of families in which handed-down garments were used was more widespread in the upper-lower class and that such a large number of upper-middle class girls owned handed-down garments.

Although more of the girls in the lower-middle class wore handed-down garments frequently than did the girls in the upper-middle and upper-lower classes, it was evidently not because of the girls' attitudes toward wearing garments which had been owned previously by another person, because

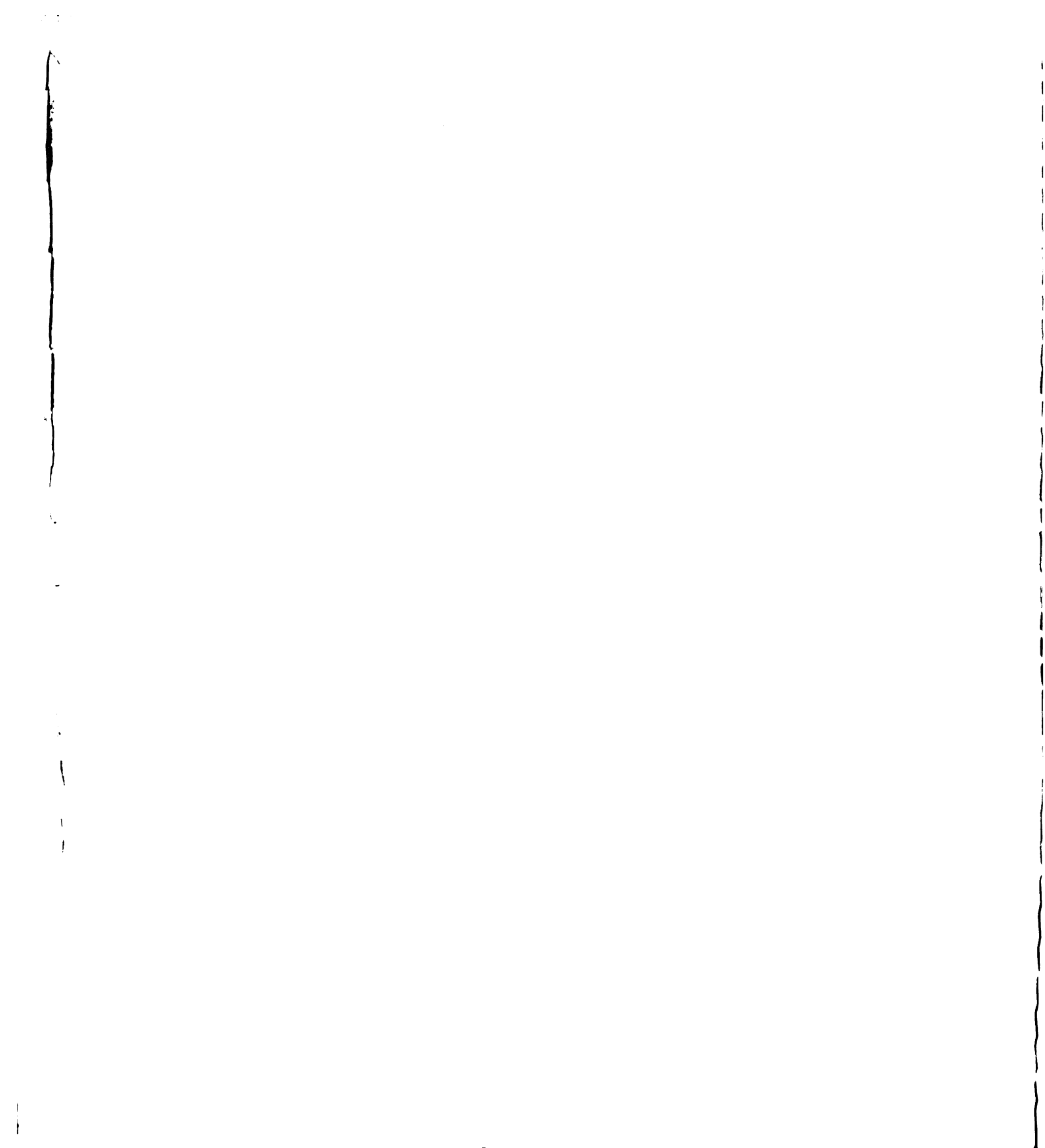


TABLE LXX

GIRLS WHO WORE GARMENTS PREVIOUSLY OWNED BY ANOTHER
PERSON, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	48	80.0	47	72.3	81	93.1	176	83.0
No	12	20.0	18	27.7	6	6.9	36	17.0
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 11.94 2 d.f. .01 > P > .001

C = .23

\bar{C} = .37

TABLE LXXI

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH GIRLS WORE GARMENTS PREVIOUSLY
OWNED BY ANOTHER PERSON, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency								
Almost always	8	16.7	6	12.7	17	21.0	31	17.6
Often	18	37.5	24	51.1	26	32.1	68	38.6
Seldom	6	12.5	4	8.5	10	12.3	20	11.4
Never	16	33.3	13	27.7	28	34.6	57	32.4
Totals	48	100.0	47	100.0	81	100.0	176	100.0

Chi square = 6.92 6 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .19

\bar{C} = .25

the percentages of the girls who liked to wear handed-down garments as well as or better than new ones were as follows, (TABLE LXXII): in the upper-middle class 78%; in the lower-middle class 67%; and in the upper-lower class 75%.

The Practices of Borrowing and Lending Clothes

According to the theory upon which this thesis is based, the upper class families may discourage practices of borrowing or lending clothing because each family member should be provided with all of the garments needed, while the lower-middle class family members may borrow and lend clothing among immediate family members, they would not obviously and openly encourage borrowing and lending of clothing because of their concern about "what the neighbors think proper"; the upper-lower class families may encourage the practices of borrowing and lending clothing within and outside the immediate family.

In actual practice, the girls in the lower-middle and the upper-lower classes who borrowed clothes frequently were almost equal and were more than in the upper-middle class. As shown in TABLE LXXIII, the percentages of girls who never borrowed clothes were equal in the upper-middle and upper-lower classes, however, and were higher than the percentage of lower-middle class girls who did not borrow clothes.

The percentages of girls who never lend clothing was very high, (see TABLE LXXIV), which indicated that more girls were willing to borrow clothes than to lend them: in the upper-middle class 90%, in the lower-middle class 80%, and in the upper-lower class 81%. Of the girls who were willing to lend garments frequently, the percentages were: in the upper-middle class 5%, in the lower-middle class 14%, and in the upper-lower

TABLE LXXII

GIRLS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS GARMENTS PREVIOUSLY OWNED
BY ANOTHER PERSON, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Girls who like to wear as well as and better than new	25	78.1	16	66.7	39	75.0	80	74.0
Do not like to wear as well as	7	21.9	8	33.3	13	25.0	28	26.0
Totals	32	100.0	24	100.0	52	100.0	108	100.0

Chi square = .98 2 d.f. .7 > P > .5

C = .09

\bar{C} = .14

TABLE LXXIII

FREQUENCY OF BORROWING GIRLS' GARMENTS IN
THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency Almost always and often	5	8.0	12	18.5	16	18.4	33	16.0
Seldom	12	20.0	13	20.0	9	10.3	34	16.0
Never	43	72.0	40	61.5	62	71.3	145	68.0
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 3.62 4 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .13

\bar{C} = .18

TABLE LXXIV
FREQUENCY OF LENDING GIRLS' GARMENTS IN
THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency								
Almost always and often	3	5.0	9	13.8	9	10.3	21	10.0
Seldom	3	5.0	4	6.2	8	9.2	15	7.0
Never	54	90.0	52	80.0	70	80.5	176	83.0
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 3.65 4 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .14

\bar{C} = .18

class 10%. Within this sample almost all of the lending and borrowing of garments took place within the families.

The Daily Selection of Clothing

In each of the three social classes more than half of the daughters were allowed to select the garments which they wished to wear everyday, but by far the largest percentage appeared in the lower-middle social class, (TABLE LXXV): in the upper-middle, 55%; in the lower-middle 79%, and in the upper-lower class 58%. In very few families did the mothers and daughters talk over the possibilities, if the girls were not allowed freedom in selection, the mothers appeared to lay out the garments or tell the children what to wear. Of the families in which the mothers and daughters talked over the decision, the largest number (which was only 6%) occurred in the lower-middle social class.

The Participation of the Daughter in the Care of Clothing

According to the theory the mothers in the lower-middle class may expect their daughters to assume more responsibility for the care of their own clothing than do the mothers in the upper-middle or upper-lower social classes. The data in this study supported the theory, in that the percentages of girls who took part in the care of their own clothing were as follows, (TABLE LXXVI): in the upper-middle class 83%, in the lower-middle class 92%, and in the upper-lower class 85%. The average ages at which the girls began to take part in the care of their clothing were between five and six years old in all three classes, but the upper-middle class girls began at the earliest age, (TABLE LXXVII), the lower-middle next, and the upper-lower class girls were slightly older when they began.

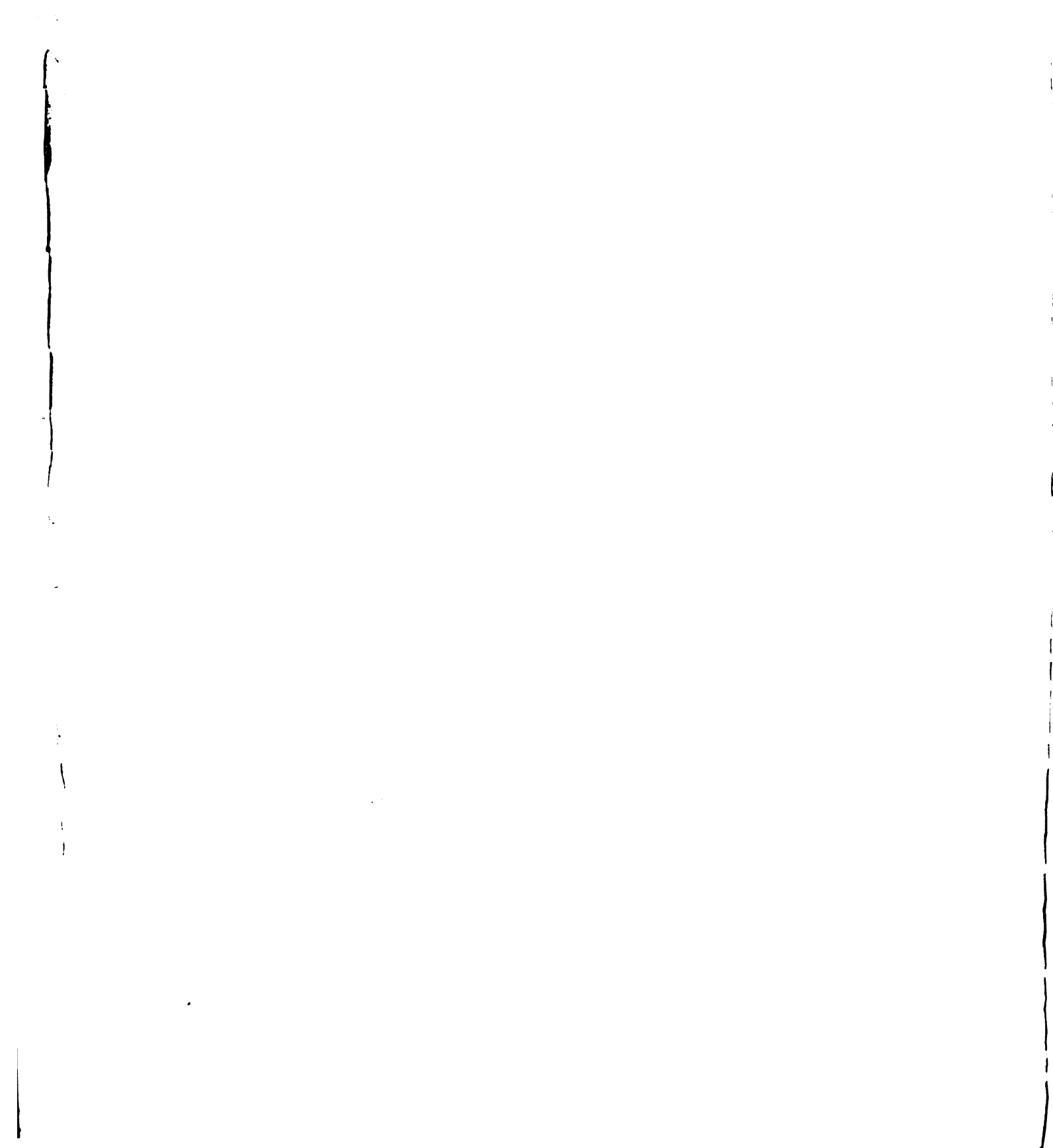


TABLE LXXV
GIRLS WHO MADE DAILY SELECTION OF CLOTHING,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Child selects alone	33	55.0	51	78.5	50	57.5	134	63.2
Mother lays out clothes	13	21.7	2	3.0	13	14.9	28	13.2
Mother tells child	12	20.0	8	12.3	23	26.4	43	20.3
Mother and child talk over and decide together	2	3.3	4	6.2	1	1.2	7	3.3
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 18.46 6 d.f. .01 > P > .001

C = .28

C̄ = .36

TABLE LXXVI

GIRLS WHO TOOK PART IN THE CARE OF THEIR OWN
CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Girls who take part in care of own clothes	50	83.3	60	92.3	74	85.1	184	86.8
Do not take part in care of clothes	10	16.7	5	7.7	13	14.9	28	13.2
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 2.58 2 d.f. .3 > P > .2

C = .11

\bar{C} = .16

TABLE LXXVII

AGES AT WHICH GIRLS BEGAN TO TAKE PART IN THE CARE
OF THEIR OWN CLOTHING, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes			
	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-lower	Totals
Average ages at which girls began to take part in care of own clothing	5.18	5.46	5.63	
Number of girls	50	59	72	181

t of Upper-middle against Lower-middle = .92 .4 > P > .3

t of Lower-middle against Upper-lower = .89 .4 > P > .3

t of Upper-middle against Upper-lower = 1.38 .2 > P > .1

The activities which were carried on by the girls who took part in caring for their clothing were similar in all three classes, (see TABLE LXXVIII): the act most frequently performed by all of the girls was to hang up clothing; next to polish shoes and to put soiled clothes into the laundry; and third to put clean clothes away.

The practice of changing clothes when they came home from school was another way in which a large number of the girls took care of their clothing, (TABLE LXXIX): in the upper-middle class 92%, in the lower-middle 95%, and in the upper-lower 85% of the girls frequently changed clothes when they came home from school. The main difference in this practice was that more of the upper-lower social class girls than any of the others seldom or never changed clothes after school.

In all three social classes the largest percentages of the girls put on blue jeans when they changed clothes after school; more of the girls in the middle classes than in the upper-lower social class wore slacks or pedal pushers; more of the girls in the upper-lower social class changed to an old dress than did girls in the other social classes. The kinds of clothes worn after school are shown in TABLE LXXX.

It was expected that differences would occur in the practice of the child changing voluntarily or the mother telling her to change clothes; the difference was that the percentage in the upper-middle class was 10% higher than in the upper-lower social class. For the entire sample the data are presented in TABLE LXXXI and for the girls who changed clothes consistently, TABLE LXXXII. Perhaps the girls in the upper-middle social class were taught more carefully that this behavior was "correct" or perhaps the girls had more clothes into which to change. The percentage of girls in the lower-middle social class was slightly higher than the

TABLE LXXVIII
KINDS OF CARE GIVEN CLOTHING BY GIRLS IN
THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kind of care								
Hangs up own clothes								
Yes	47	78.3	58	89.2	69	79.3	174	82.1
No	13	21.7	7	10.8	18	20.7	38	17.9
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0
Puts soiled clothes in laundry								
Yes	17	28.4	27	41.6	16	18.4	60	28.3
No	43	71.6	38	58.4	71	81.6	152	71.7
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0
Put clean clothes away								
Yes	14	23.4	18	27.7	21	24.2	53	25.0
No	46	76.6	47	72.3	66	75.8	159	75.0
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0
Polish shoes								
Yes	18	30.0	27	41.6	39	44.8	84	39.7
No	42	70.0	38	58.4	48	55.2	128	60.3
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0
Chi square (Hang up)	= 3.26	2 d.f.	.2 > P > .1	\bar{C} = .17				
Chi square (Laundry)	= 10.64	2 d.f.	.01 > P > .001	\bar{C} = .31				
Chi square (Put away)	= 1.15	2 d.f.	.5 > P > .3	\bar{C} = .10				
Chi square (Shoes)	= 3.21	2 d.f.	.3 > P > .2	\bar{C} = .17				

TABLE LXXIX

FREQUENCY WITH WHICH GIRLS CHANGED CLOTHES AFTER
SCHOOL, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency								
Almost always	42	70.0	45	69.2	59	67.8	146	68.9
Often	13	21.7	17	26.2	15	17.3	45	21.2
Seldom and never	5	8.3	3	4.6	13	14.9	21	9.9
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 5.75 4 d.f. .3 > P > .2

C = .16

\bar{C} = .22

TABLE LXXX

KINDS OF CLOTHES WORN AFTER SCHOOL BY GIRLS IN
THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kinds of clothes								
Jeans	34	57.6	47	74.6	49	62.0	130	64.6
Slacks and pedal pushers	11	18.6	11	17.5	6	7.6	28	14.0
Old dress	1	1.7	4	6.3	18	22.8	23	11.4
Any of above	13	22.1	1	1.6	6	7.6	20	10.0
Totals	59	100.0	63	100.0	79	100.0	201	100.0

Chi square = 33.15 6 d.f. P < .001

C = .38

\bar{C} = .48



TABLE LXXXI

INITIATIVE OF GIRLS IN CHANGING CLOTHES AFTER
SCHOOL, ENTIRE SAMPLE, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Child changed with- out being told	36	60.0	39	62.9	39	50.0	114	57.0
Mother suggested	24	40.0	23	37.1	39	50.0	86	43.0
Totals	60	100.0	62	100.0	78	100.0	200	100.0

Chi square = 3.79 2 d.f. .2 > P > .1

C = .14

\bar{C} = .2

TABLE LXXXII

INITIATIVE OF GIRLS WHO CONSISTENTLY CHANGED
CLOTHES AFTER SCHOOL,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Child changed with- out being told	33	58.9	38	62.2	36	50.0	107	56.7
Mother suggested	23	41.1	23	37.8	36	50.0	82	43.3
Totals	56	100.0	61	100.0	72	100.0	189	100.0

Chi square = 2.2 2 d.f. .5 > P > .3

C = .11

\bar{C} = .16

upper-middle, perhaps the need to protect clothes in good condition was felt more strongly by girls in this social class.

The reasons for changing clothes after school differed, (see TABLE LXXXIII), the percentage of those who changed to protect school clothes was highest in the upper-lower social class; to keep clothes clean to save laundering was highest in the upper-middle social class, for the comfort of the child high in the upper-middle and lower-middle, but highest in the lower-middle social class.

The Care of the Girls' Clothing by the Mothers

According to the theory, the upper-middle class mothers may purchase more garments which require special cleaning or a longer time for laundering than do the mothers in the lower-middle class and the mothers in the upper-lower class may purchase fewer such garments than do the mothers in either of the middle classes.

A kind of garments which required a longer time for laundering was one which was difficult to iron; the percentage of mothers who reported, (TABLE LXXXIV), that their daughters owned garments which were difficult to iron was twice as large in the upper-middle as in the other classes, while the percentage was slightly larger for the lower-middle than for the upper-lower social class members.

Would mothers continue to purchase garments for their daughters if they knew that the garments would be difficult to iron? Mothers in the three social classes gave different opinions: in the upper-middle class 78% of the mothers would at least sometimes purchase a garment known to be hard to iron: in the lower-middle class 68% would; and in the upper-lower class 67% of the mothers would. This can be seen in TABLE LXXXV

TABLE LXXXIII

REASONS FOR GIRLS' CHANGING CLOTHES AFTER SCHOOL,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Reasons								
To protect school clothes	21	35.6	23	37.1	45	60.0	89	45.4
To keep clothes clean, save laundering	16	27.1	13	20.9	15	20.0	44	22.5
To make child more comfortable	10	16.9	12	19.4	7	9.3	29	14.8
Combinations of reasons and others	12	20.4	14	22.6	8	10.7	34	17.3
Totals	59	100.0	62	100.0	75	100.0	196	100.0

Chi square = 10.80 6 d.f. .1 > P > .05

C = .23

\bar{C} = .29

TABLE LXXXIV
OWNERSHIP OF GIRLS' GARMENTS DIFFICULT TO IRON,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Number of mothers whose daughters own clothes which								
Are difficult to iron	35	61.4	23	35.9	27	31.0	85	40.9
Are not difficult to iron	22	38.6	41	64.1	60	69.0	123	59.1
Totals	57	100.0	64	100.0	87	100.0	208	100.0

Chi square = 12.54 2 d.f. .01 > P > .001

C = .24

C̄ = .35

TABLE LXXXV
FREQUENCY WITH WHICH MOTHERS WOULD BUY GIRLS'
GARMENTS DIFFICULT TO IRON, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Frequency with which mothers would buy garments difficult to iron								
Almost always	11	18.6	10	15.3	10	11.5	31	14.7
Often	12	20.4	7	10.9	15	17.2	34	16.1
Seldom	23	39.0	27	41.5	33	38.0	83	39.3
Never	13	22.0	21	32.3	29	33.3	63	29.9
Totals	59	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	211	100.0

Chi square = 4.3 6 d.f. .7 > P > .5

C = .14

C̄ = .18

which also shows the frequencies with which the mothers would purchase garments which they knew would be difficult to iron: in the upper-middle class 39%, in the lower-middle 26% and in the upper-lower class 29% of the mothers would frequently purchase garments which they knew would be difficult to iron. The percentages of mothers who would never purchase such garments were: in upper-middle class 22%, in the lower-middle 32%, and in the upper-lower class 33%.

In all three social classes most of the laundering was done at home, but the mothers in the upper-middle social class had more help from other people than did the mothers in the other social classes as is shown in TABLE LXXXVI. Almost every family had girls' coats which had to be sent to the dry cleaners except 4.6% of the upper-lower class. When garments other than coats were considered, however, (see TABLE LXXXVII), a slightly larger percentage of girls in the upper-lower social class had garments which were dry cleaned and the lowest percentage of girls who did not have garments dry cleaned was in the lower-middle social class.

Mothers' Attitudes Towards Buying Durable
Garments for Girls

If the mothers of the girls in the lower-middle class were especially careful of their money, perhaps they would be the ones who would favor most strongly buying clothes which were thought to be durable; the mothers in the upper-middle class would consider durability much less important than appearance and the upper-lower class mothers may say that children grow so rapidly that they outgrow garments anyway, so durability is not important. The data supported the theory as follows: in the upper-middle class 67% of the mothers said that they favored buying durable clothes

TABLE LXXXVI
MEANS OF LAUNDERING GARMENTS, BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Number of mothers who do laundry at home	51	85.0	64	98.5	84	96.6	199	93.9
Number of mothers who have laundry done at commercial laundry or have help of a servant	9	15.0	1	1.5	3	3.4	13	6.1
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 11.73 2 d.f. .01 > P > .001

C = .25

\bar{C} = .36

TABLE LXXXVII
GIRLS' GARMENTS WHICH MUST BE DRY CLEANED,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Girls who own: Garments other than coats which must be dry cleaned	38	63.3	34	52.3	59	67.8	131	61.8
No garments other than coats which must be dry cleaned	22	36.7	31	47.7	28	32.2	81	38.2
Totals	60	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	212	100.0

Chi square = 4.8 2 d.f. .1 > P > .05

C = .14

\bar{C} = .20

for their daughters; 83% in the lower-middle class; and in the upper-lower class 78% favored buying durable clothes. This information is presented in TABLE LXXXVIII.

Attitudes Toward the Daughters' Wearing Mended Garments

According to the theory, the upper-middle class families would feel most strongly against having the girls wear mended garments, the lower-middle class families would practice mending, but would object to it for some garments and occasions, and the upper-lower class mothers would feel least strongly against having their daughters wear mended garments. According to the findings, shown in TABLE LXXXIX, the mothers in the upper-middle class were the ones who favored mending (56%), then the mothers in the upper-lower class (51%), and then the mothers who favored mending in the lower-middle class (48%). It was true, however, that the members in the lower-middle class seemed to indicate that their attitudes depended upon what garments or what uses were to be made of the mended garments.

The percentages of girls who favored and who disliked wearing mended garments followed the pattern anticipated from the theory (TABLE XC): the largest numbers of girls who favored wearing mended garments were in the upper-lower class, the next largest numbers were in the lower-middle class, and the smallest numbers to favor mended clothes were in the upper-middle class. The reverse order was found for percentages of girls who disliked wearing mended garments.

Practices Connected with Discarding Girls' Clothing

According to the theory, the upper-middle class families may discard the daughters' clothing while it is still in better condition than do lower-middle class families and the upper-lower class families may

TABLE XC
DAUGHTERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS MENDED GARMENTS,
BY SOCIAL CLASS

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Attitudes								
Child favors	46	78.0	52	81.3	74	87.0	172	82.6
Child dislikes	11	18.7	10	15.6	9	10.6	30	14.4
Depends on garment and use	2	3.3	2	3.1	2	2.4	6	3.0
Totals	59	100.0	64	100.0	85	100.0	208	100.0

Chi square = 2.51 4 d.f. .7 > P > .5

C = .12

\bar{C} = .15

continue to use the girls' garments for even longer periods of time. As was expected, the largest percentage of mothers who discarded garments which were merely outgrown was in the upper-middle class, next were the mothers in the lower-middle, and then the mothers in the upper-lower class with about 10% difference between each class. These data are shown in TABLE XCI. The percentages of mothers who discarded garments which were worn out as well as outgrown were in the reverse order.

When the garments from the girls in this sample were handed-down, by far the largest percentage of mothers gave the garments to other members of the family, (see TABLE XCII), but this practice was followed by a larger proportion of the lower-middle and the upper-lower than of the upper-middle social class members. More of the upper-middle social class mothers disposed of garments by giving them to friends or by means of neighborhood exchanges than did mothers in the other two social classes.

Summary

The mothers in the three social classes showed differences in their use of garments owned by their daughters which had been handed-down. As was anticipated from the theory, the upper-lower class members used garments previously owned by another person the most extensively, but contrary to the theory, a large percent of girls in the upper-middle class also used garments which were handed-down. Perhaps the upper-middle class mothers are so particular about the appearance of their daughters that they discard the garments as soon as they begin to look slightly "skimpy" or short while members of other classes would continue to use them. Perhaps the upper-middle class mothers buy better garments which are in good condition when outgrown and therefore worth handing-down. A large

TABLE XCI
CONDITIONS OF GIRLS' GARMENTS WHEN DISCARDED
IN THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Outgrown only	40	67.8	36	55.4	41	47.1	117	55.4
Outgrown and worn out too	19	32.2	29	44.6	46	52.9	94	44.6
Totals	59	100.0	65	100.0	87	100.0	211	100.0

Chi square = 6.08 2 d.f. .05 > P > .02

C = .17

\bar{C} = .24

TABLE XCII
WAYS OF DISPOSING OF GIRLS' GARMENTS IN
THREE SOCIAL CLASSES

	Social Classes							
	Upper-middle		Lower-middle		Upper-lower		Totals	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Garments given to Family and relatives	30	44.8	54	62.8	58	61.7	142	57.5
Friends	21	31.3	14	16.3	20	21.3	55	22.3
Charity organi- zations	1	1.5	2	2.3	2	2.1	5	2.0
Neighborhood exchange	15	22.4	16	18.6	14	14.9	45	18.2
Totals	67	100.0	86	100.0	94	100.0	247	100.0

Chi square = 12.75 6 d.f. .05 > P > .02

C = .22

\bar{C} = .28

percentage of the girls in the upper-middle class like to wear handed-down garments as well as or better than ones purchased for them, so the handed-down garments must have a pleasing appearance.

It is true that more borrowing and lending of clothing occurred in the lower-middle class than in the other classes and that it was done within the families. In selecting clothing for everyday, more of the lower-middle class girls could wear whatever they wanted to than could the girls in the other two classes.

The girls in the lower-middle class do more in taking part in the care of their clothes than do girls of the other classes, and began at a slightly earlier age. They also changed clothes after school more frequently than did the girls in the other classes, and for different reasons: to keep their clothes clean for school and thus save laundering, and for comfort; the girls in the upper-lower class changed to protect their clothes, not to keep them clean.

More of the mothers in the upper-middle class owned garments for their daughters which were hard to iron and would continue to buy them frequently, but a large percentage of the mothers in the upper-lower class would sometimes purchase garments which they knew to be difficult to iron. These findings may show that the mothers in the lower-middle class are inclined to be a little more practical where care of clothing is concerned than are the mothers in the upper-middle and upper-lower classes. It was by the lower-middle class mothers that durability was given high importance.

More mothers in the upper-middle class discarded garments from their daughters' wardrobes which were merely outgrown, next the mothers in the lower-middle and then in the upper-lower class; mothers who discarded

garments wornout as well as outgrown were in the reverse order. The practices in the use, care, repair, and discard of girls' clothing differed in the three social classes, a fact demonstrated by the selected practices investigated in the study.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Clothing has been used as a symbol of status from one generation to another; throughout history adults have indicated their rank and royalty by the colors, the fabrics, the designs and the ornamentation of their clothing. The clothing behavior of adults today corresponds to their social class position in American society. Parents and children of a family belong to the same social class, therefore, it is the thesis of this study that the clothing of the daughters is used in the same way as the clothing of the adult family members, that is, as a symbol which corresponds to the social class of the family.

The numbers of garments owned by the girls, the individuals who selected the garments, and the types of stores in which the purchases were made are not important facts in themselves, but they are indicative of the values and the attitudes which are responsible for the similarities in clothing behavior within one class and for the differences in behavior between social classes. The fact which is vitally important is that the social class members recognize that they belong to a social group and want to own and use clothes which give them the feeling of group solidarity because the garments are similar to the clothes worn by the other members of the social class. Social class members want to follow the practices which they recognize as behavior acceptable to the other members of the social class to which they belong.

The data collected from the interviews with the mothers in Des Moines supported the theory upon which this thesis was based: about one-third of the items of information were found to be statistically significant below the five percent level and the other two-thirds of the items supported the thesis by indicating the trend in the direction which was theoretically anticipated. The thirty items which were significant were grouped according to: attitudes of the mothers and daughters, practices of family members, and characteristics of social class members.

Three examples of attitudes of mothers and daughters which showed wide differences between social classes were: (1) the recognition and purchasing practices of high-style garments for girls, (2) the importance given by the mothers to the opinions of others concerning how the girls were dressed, (3) the importance given by the daughters to the opinions of others concerning how the girls were dressed. The mothers' recognition of high-style garments for girls of seven, eight and nine years of age and their attitudes toward purchasing high-style garments for their own daughters showed wide differences between the members of the three social classes; mothers of the upper-middle social class most frequently recognized and favored high-style garments for girls.

The degree of importance given by the mothers to the opinions of other adults who were not members of the family concerning the way in which the daughters were dressed indicated wide differences between the attitudes of the social class members; the mothers in the upper-middle class considered opinions of others of great importance, the lower-middle class considered the opinions moderately important and a very large proportion of the upper-lower class mothers gave no importance at all to the opinions of adults outside the family.

Within the family itself, the mothers were concerned about the opinions of other family members, but the mothers' attitudes were similar in all three social classes. The daughters differed, however, in the importance which they assigned to the opinions of other members of their families; the girls in the lower-middle social class showed greatest concern and the girls in the upper-lower class showed least concern and the girls in the upper-middle class were moderately concerned over the opinions of family members about the way in which the girls were dressed.

The purchasing practices which showed clearly the differences between clothing behavior of members of the three social classes were: (1) the girls in the upper-middle class owned the largest number of garments, girls in the lower-middle class next and girls in the upper-lower class owned the fewest garments; (2) the same fact was true of two of the selected garments which were investigated, the upper-middle class girls owned the most sleeping garments and shoes, the upper-lower class girls owned the fewest of both garments; (3) the mothers purchased selected garments for their daughters in different kinds of stores, the differences occurred in stores in which the mothers purchased socks, shoes, dresses and coats.

The fourth way in which the purchasing practices differed widely was in the average price paid for party dresses by mothers in the three social classes. (5) The frequency with which the mothers said that price almost always determined and seldom or never determined whether or not they purchased garments for their daughters indicated that price was less important to the upper-middle and more important to the upper-lower class mothers than to lower-middle class mothers. (6) The percentage of mothers in the upper-middle social class who would purchase becoming dresses for

their daughters although the prices were not what they wanted to pay was much larger than the percentages of mothers in the other classes.

(7) Although the mothers in the middle classes behaved alike, their purchasing practice of buying garments because of the brand names differed widely from the practices of the upper-lower social class mothers.

Ways in which the mothers in the three social classes differed widely regarding the participation allowed the daughters when their own garments were being selected were: (1) more of the upper-lower class mothers usually took their daughters shopping when their clothes were being purchased; next were the mothers in the upper-middle class; (2) more mothers in the upper-middle class always selected several garments from all of those available in a store and let the daughter choose from the limited number while more mothers in the upper-lower social class never followed this practice; (3) mothers in the lower-middle social class were more inclined toward allowing daughters to make unwise selections as means of teaching them how to select clothing, next were the mothers in the upper-middle class and very few of the upper-lower class mothers followed this practice.

The ways in which the mothers in the three social classes differed clearly in practices of clothing construction were: (1) the average numbers of garments constructed for the daughters during the year differed because the upper-lower class families did more construction than did families within either of the middle classes; (2) more of the upper-middle class mothers sewed for pleasure, more of the upper-lower class mothers sewed for economy, the lower-middle class mothers sewed for both pleasure and economy, but their emphasis was on economy; (3) the largest percentage of

girls who enjoyed having their mothers construct garments for them were girls in the lower-middle class, next in the upper-lower and least in the upper-middle social class.

The numbers of girls in each social class who owned garments which had previously been owned by another person differed: the girls in the upper-lower class were the largest percentage, next highest was the percentage of girls in the upper-middle class and the lowest percentage of girls was found in the lower-middle social class. This fact was true for the numbers of girls who owned garments which were handed-down to them, but not for the numbers of garments.

Three practices concerned with the care of girls' clothing showed differences for the different social classes: (1) more mothers of the lower-middle and next the upper-lower classes did the laundry themselves at home while more of the upper-middle class mothers had servants or used commercial laundries; (2) a much larger percentage of mothers in the upper-middle social class had garments for their daughters which were difficult to iron while a few more lower-middle class mothers than upper-lower class mothers had such garments, the practices of lower-middle and upper-lower class mothers were more nearly alike; (3) the kinds of clothes which the girls put on if they changed clothes when they came home from school differed clearly in that although blue jeans were the most popular attire for girls in all three social classes, the highest percentage was of the girls in the lower-middle class; second most popular garment for upper-middle class girls were slacks or pedal pushers, but almost never an "old dress", while for the upper-lower class girls this garment was the second most popular.

The practices of discarding garments from the girls' wardrobes differed because more mothers in the upper-middle class discarded outgrown garments, the lower-middle class mothers were more evenly divided between discarding merely outgrown and the outgrown-wornout garments, while more of the upper-lower class mothers discarded garments which were both outgrown and worn out. In all three social classes mothers handed-down garments within the family and to relatives, but the greatest frequency for this practice was in the lower-middle social class. The second greatest frequency for mothers of the upper-middle class was to give garments to friends and then next was to dispose of them through a neighborhood exchange, while these recipients were in reverse order for the lower-middle class. The second place of disposal of garments for upper-lower class was also to friends and third place to neighborhood exchanges, but the percentages were much lower than for upper-middle class.

The kinds and the amounts of social participation differed in the various social classes and effected the clothing behavior of social class members. This theory was supported by three of the items in the study which showed significant differences: (1) The number of girls who wore special clothes when they attended church was the highest in the lower-middle class, next in the upper-middle and lowest in the upper-lower class; (2) the girls who had special clothes for athletics were highest percentage in the upper-middle class, next in the lower-middle class, and lowest in the upper-lower class; (3) the percentage of girls who belonged to clubs and organizations was highest in the lower-middle class and next in the upper-middle class, but more of these who belonged and also owned special uniforms for the organizations were in the upper-middle social class.

The conclusion drawn from this study that the clothing behavior of families corresponded to social class is important to any person who is involved in clothing little girls: parents, manufacturers, designers, producers, retailers, salespeople, teachers, social workers, and leaders of young people's organizations because the realization that clothing is more than an individual matter, that the clothing of the daughter is used by the family to show status and is therefore not the concern of one child alone, may be a concept new to the worker. For the family members to realize that the clothing behavior of members of a social class and not of an individual child is to be considered, may result in a better understanding of the fact that the acquisition and the ownership of a specific garment assumes a degree of importance to a child which seems to an adult unwarranted by the actual material garment.

The conclusion drawn from the study will cause a thoughtful person to have a keener recognition of and respect for the clothing behavior of members of another social class and to refrain from imposing the behavior which seems "right" because of the class orientation of the worker upon members of different social classes. An example of a lack of understanding of the differences between the clothing behavior in various social classes will illustrate why this realization is important. A teacher who had grown up in the upper-middle social class felt that the middle class ways were "right" for everyone and was shocked when she discovered that none of the girls in her class used bathrobes or housecoats. These garments seemed essential to the teacher, so she insisted that every girl in the class make a housecoat as her clothing construction project. The fact that no one in the group used such a garment should have indicated to her that there were other garments which would serve more important functions for

these girls who had limited amounts of money to spend on clothing, but this teacher could see the situation only in the light of her own social class ways and lacked the ability to recognize the differences and to appreciate the behavior of members of another social class.

If a family wants to be upwardly mobile instead of remaining in its present position, however, the worker's knowledge of the differences in clothing behavior of the various social classes can serve a practical purpose because clothing can be utilized to help the family acquire a new position and the lack of knowledge of social class practices may make upward mobility slow to accomplish and difficult to maintain.

The differences between practices and attitudes of mothers in different social classes toward clothing behavior are not always distinct, there is overlapping as there is in social class membership, for a fine line between social classes cannot be drawn. According to Warner, this situation is especially true in the Middle West,

"Although social-class categories are not sharply defined and, by the very nature of social class, there can be no high wall separating one level from another, nevertheless there is in American communities a clear understanding of the social differences, values, and behavior which compose a class system . . . The class differences among the communities of the several regions are significant and need comment. The newer regions of America, because of rapid social change and their comparative recency, tend not to develop a superior old-family class. This is true of many of the communities throughout the prairie states of the Middle West. An old-family group may be present in the community and feel some claim to superior recognition, but ordinarily communities in new regions look upon them as no more than the equals of the new-family group. It will take several more generations to validate their claims to a rank above the more recently arrived."¹

In this study there were few practices which were followed by every family in the sample of the social class. One of the few examples,

¹Warner, W. Lloyd, American Life: Dream and Reality. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1953, pp. 63 and 59.

however, was the response to the question about what clothes the girls wore for church attendance: one hundred percent of the girls in the lower-middle social class who attended church had special clothes to wear for the participation in that religious and social activity.

Examples of complete uniformity of clothing behavior within a social class were rare in Des Moines, but the similarity of practices in the acquisition and use of apparel for girls seven, eight and nine years of age within one social class and the differences between the clothing behavior of members of the upper-middle, lower-middle and upper-lower social classes clearly revealed that the clothing behavior of families in regard to the garments of daughters corresponded to the family's social class.

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APPENDIX
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Schedule _____

Name of the mother being interviewed _____

Address _____ Date of interview _____

How long have you lived at this address? _____ Time of interview _____

Where did you live before you lived at this address? _____

Telephone _____ Name of the girl who is seven, eight or nine years old _____

_____ Date of her birth _____

Composition of the Family

Family Members		Age Last Birthday Parents Between 25-45 yrs.	Education Grade		Children Living at Home	
			Com- pleted	Now Attend- ing	Yes	No
Names	Relationship					

Name of school girl is attending _____

Occupations of family members: _____

Husband _____ Husband's Father _____

Wife _____ Wife's Father _____

Any other family member who contributed to the family income _____

Describe as accurately as possible what the person who contributed most to the financial support of the family makes or does on the job (for example, he sells shoes in a shoe store):

Inventory Garments and Brief Description For Identification	No.	Ready-to Wear	Made-at Home	Previously Owned by Another Person	Gift	Original Price or Price Range Which Mother Is Willing To Pay
Undershirts						
Panties						
Socks						
Shoes						
Overshoes						
Rubbers						
Hats						
Scarfs						
Mittens						
Gloves						
Others						

II. Reasons for purchasing garments in different kinds of stores:

1. People shop in different kinds of stores for various reasons.

Where do you buy (coats) for your daughter? _____

I should like to know why you buy (coats) where you do. _____

Will you look at this list of reasons for shopping in one kind of store and tell me why you buy coats where you do? (Check number if answer is taken from card:) 1__, 2__, 3__, 4__, 5__, 6__, 7__, 8__.

Reasons presented on card:

1. Store has wide selection.
2. I get the most for my money.
3. Clothes are individualistic; not many alike.
4. Salespeople are helpful.
5. My relatives or friends shop there.
6. I can save time.
7. Store has charge accounts and special services.
8. Other reasons.

2. Why do you buy dresses at _____? (use same card).
1__, 2__, 3__, 4__, 5__, 6__, 7__, 8__.

3. Why do you buy sleeping garments at _____?
1__, 2__, 3__, 4__, 5__, 6__, 7__, 8__.

4. Why do you buy socks at _____?
1__, 2__, 3__, 4__, 5__, 6__, 7__, 8__.

5. Why do you buy shoes at _____?
1__, 2__, 3__, 4__, 5__, 6__, 7__, 8__.

III. Garments for special occasions:

1. (a) Does your daughter take any private lessons outside of school such as tap, ballet, or ballroom dancing, riding, swimming, music, etc.? Yes __, No __.

(b) If yes, what lessons does she take? _____

(c) What does she wear during these lessons? _____

(d) Does she have any other clothes or costumes for the practice or the performance of this activity? _____

2. (a) In what athletic activities does your child take part? _____

(b) What does she wear for these athletic activities? _____

3. (a) What did your daughter wear to school today? _____

- (b) Is this typical? Yes ____, No ____.
- (c) If no, how does it differ from what she usually wears to school? _____

4. What would your child wear if she went to a birthday party tomorrow? _____

5. (a) About how often does your child go to movies?
Once a week or more often _____.
Once or twice a month _____.
Less than once a month _____.
Almost never _____.
- (b) What does she usually wear when she attends movies? _____

6. (a) How often does your child go to church or Sunday School?
Once a week or more often _____.
Once or twice a month _____.
Less than once a month _____.
Almost never _____.
- (b) What does she usually wear to church or Sunday School? _____

- (c) What church or Sunday School does she attend? _____

7. (a) What clubs or organizations in school and outside of school does your daughter attend? (Interviewer may need to comment on organization, not extracurricular activities in general.)
Name or describe organization or club: _____

- (b) What does she usually wear when she attends these meetings?

8. (a) Are there fads in clothes for girls of your daughter's age?
 Yes____, No____. _____

- (b) If yes, can you describe any fads which are popular at present? _____

- (c) Would you buy your child a garment like these which you knew to be a fad?
 Almost always____.
 Frequently____.
 Seldom____.
 Never____.
- (d) Why? _____

9. (a) Some of the designs and colors of adults' clothing are considered to be more stylish than others. Some people call them "high-style". Are there high-style clothes for children who are the same age as your daughter? Yes____, No____,
 Don't know____.
- (b) If yes, can you describe any children's garments which are high-style at present? _____

- (c) If yes, would you buy garments for your child which you knew to be high-style?
 Almost always____.
 Frequently____.
 Seldom____.
 Never____.
- (d) Why? _____

IV. Practices in shopping procedure:

1. Some women prefer to go out alone to do the clothes buying for the members of their families. Other women prefer to have the person along for whom the clothing is being purchased. When you buy clothes for your daughter, do you take her with you to the store?
 Almost always____.
 Often____.
 Seldom____.
 Never____.

2. Do you have the child try on garments before you purchase?

Frequency	Wraps	Outer Wear (such as dresses)	Underwear	Sportswear	Shoes	Hats
Almost always						
Often						
Seldom						
Never						

3. If you do have the child try on the garments before you buy, what do you want to find out by having her try them on? (The interviewer may have to probe with: "Is it to see if the design and color are becoming?" "Do you have her try them on to see how they fit?")

4. Do you examine the workmanship of garments when you are selecting?
- Almost always ____.
- Often ____.
- Seldom ____.
- Never ____.
- Comments: _____

5. Sometimes garments for children are labeled by the actual measurements, such as height and girth of the child, rather than by age. Do you buy garments which are sized by weight, height, or girth of children?

(a) Yes _____. No _____.

(b) Why or why not? _____

(c) What garment? _____

6. Would you buy a garment because it was becoming to your daughter if you did not like the price?
 Almost always ____.
 Often ____.
 Seldom ____.
 Never ____.
7. How important to you are the opinions of other members of the family about the way this child is dressed?
- (a) Very important to you ____, Moderately ____, Not at all ____.
- (b) Whose opinion do you consider the most important? _____
- (c) Why do you consider that person's opinion the most important? _____
8. (a) How important to you are the opinions of friends and acquaintances about the way this child is dressed?
 Very important to you ____.
 Moderately important ____.
 Does not make any difference ____.
- (b) Is there some specific person? Yes _____ No _____
- (c) If yes, why do you consider that person's opinion to be the most important? _____
9. (a) How important to your daughter are the opinions of other members of the family about the way she is dressed?
 Very important ____.
 Moderately important ____.
 Does not make any difference ____.
- (b) Within the family, whose opinion is most important to her concerning what she wears? _____ (not name)
- (c) Why is this family member's opinion important to her?

10. (a) How important to your daughter are the opinions of your friends and acquaintances about the way she is dressed?
 Very important ____.
 Moderately important ____.
 Does not make any difference ____.
- (b) Is there some specific person? Yes _____ No _____
- (c) Why is this person's opinion important to her? _____

11. (a) How important to your daughter are the opinions of her friends and acquaintances about the way she is dressed?
 Very important _____.
 Moderately important _____.
 Does not make any difference _____.
- (b) Among her friends and acquaintances, is there some specific person whose opinion is most important to her? Yes ___, No ____.
- (c) Why is this person's opinion important to her? _____

12. Do you have a definite amount or percent of the family income which you plan to spend for the clothing for the whole family?
 Yes ___, No ____.
 Comments: _____

13. (a) Do you have a definite amount of money or percent of income which you plan to spend for your daughter's clothing?
 Yes ___, No ____.
- (b) If yes, how did you decide upon the amount? _____

- (c) If no, how do you go about deciding when and what to purchase?
 (The interviewer may have to probe with: Growth of child?
 Wearing out of garments? Change of Season?) _____

14. When they are shopping for children's clothes, some people think first about the price range while other people look for certain brand names and then consider the price.
- (a) Which do you consider first? Price ___, Brand ____.
- (b) In most cases, is it the price of the garment which determines whether or not you purchase?
 Almost always price _____.
 Often price _____.
 Seldom price _____.
 Never price _____.
15. Do you buy certain garments because of the brand names which are attached to them?
- (a) Yes ___, No ____.
- (b) If yes, what garments? _____
- (c) Why do you (or do you not) buy garments because of the brand names? _____

V. Child's participation in the selection of her clothing:

1. Do you like to have your child go along and actually take part in the selection of her own clothing?
 Strongly favor ____.
 Favor ____.
 Indifferent ____.
 Do not favor ____.
 Strongly disapprove ____.
2. If you do like to have your child go along and actually take part in the selection of her own clothing, is it because of any of these reasons? (Interviewer presents card with these reasons on it:)
 1. She will learn sooner to buy her own clothes and thus save me time ____.
 2. By doing this, she will learn how to select her clothes ____.
 3. She will take better care of clothes which she helps to select ____.
 4. Other reasons: _____
3. If you are not in favor of having the child go along and take part in the selection of her own clothing, why are you not in favor?

4. Some mothers select a few garments from all the garments in the store before making the final decision. If you take your child along and want her to take part in selecting her own clothing, do you limit her selection to several garments in this way?
 Almost always ____.
 Frequently ____.
 Seldom ____.
 Never ____.
5. When you take your daughter along with you, what part does she play in making the final decision?
 Always makes final decision ____.
 Frequently makes final decision ____.
 Seldom makes final decision ____.
 Never makes final decision ____.
6. At what age did your daughter begin to participate in the selection of her own clothing? _____
7. When your child is allowed to indicate her preference, does it seem to you that her choice is determined by:
 a. Desire to have what other children have ____.
 b. Desire to imitate an adult ____.
 c. Color ____.
 d. Type of garment ____.
 e. Some other reason ____.
8. If your preference is not the same as the child's, what do you do?

9. How often do you try to guide her selection by explaining the reason for your preference?
 Almost always ____.
 Often ____.
 Seldom ____.
 Never ____.
10. Can you remember any time when you let your child make an unwise selection as a way of teaching her how to select clothing?
 (a) Yes ____, No ____.
 (b) Did it work? Yes ____, No ____.
 (c) How did you try to make sure that she recognized it as unwise?

11. How often do you find it necessary to give in to the child's demands concerning clothing in order to "keep peace" while you are in a store?
 Almost always ____.
 Often ____.
 Seldom ____.
 Never ____.
12. When you and your child disagree about the selection of a garment, how is it usually settled, in your favor, your child's favor, or by compromise?
 Your preference ____.
 Child's preference ____.
 Compromise ____.
13. Would you say that your child likes to wear clothes which are like the other girls' in her grade at school or different from the other girls'?
 Like others' ____.
 Different from others' ____.
14. (a) How does your daughter feel about mother-daughter costumes?

- (b) How do you feel about mother-daughter costumes? _____

VI. Sewing at home:

1. (a) Do you or does someone else make any of your daughter's clothing at home? Yes____, No____.
- (b) If yes, who does most of the sewing? _____(not name)
- (c) About how many garments were made for her during the last year? _____
2. What are your reasons for making (or not making) your daughter's clothing? _____
3. Do you compare the actual cost of buying garments ready-made and making them at home?
 - (a) Almost always____.
 - Often____.
 - Seldom____.
 - Never____.
 - (b) If you have compared the actual costs, what are your conclusions? _____
4. (a) Do you own a sewing machine? Yes____, No____.
- (b) Is one available for your use? Yes____, No____.
5. Do you enjoy sewing for your daughter? Yes____, No____.
- Comments: _____
6. (a) Does your daughter seem to like to have you sew for her? Yes____, No____.
- (b) What makes you think she does (or does not)? _____
7. (If not answered in 6). Does your daughter like to wear the clothes which have been made for her?
 - Almost always____.
 - Often____.
 - Seldom____.
 - Never____.
8. (a) Does your daughter do any sewing? Yes____, No____.
- (b) If yes, what? _____
- (c) If yes, at what age did she begin? _____
- (d) If yes, did she ask you to teach her? Yes____, No____.
- (e) If no, she does not do any sewing, has she asked you to teach her? Yes____, No____.

- (f) If she does not sew, are you going to teach her? Yes __, No __.
- (g) If you are going to teach her, at what age will you have her begin to learn? _____.

VII. Care of clothing:

1. (a) Will you look at the inventory of your daughter's clothes and tell me how many of these garments require special treatment such as dry cleaning rather than regular washing and ironing?

2. How many garments does your daughter have which are difficult to iron? _____.
3. If you liked the appearance of a garment for your daughter, would you buy it if you knew that it would be difficult to iron?
Almost always _____.
Often _____.
Seldom _____.
Never _____.
Comments: _____
4. (a) Do you do your own washing and ironing at home? Yes __, No __.
(b) If yes, what equipment do you use? _____

(c) If no, how is the laundry done? _____
5. (a) When your daughter comes home from school does she change clothes?
Almost always _____.
Frequently _____.
Seldom _____.
Never _____.
(b) If yes, she does change clothes, what does she usually put on? _____
(c) If yes, she does change, is it her own wish to change, or do you have to suggest it? Child's idea __, Mother suggests _____.
(d) If yes, why does she change or why do you have her change? _____

(e) If she does not change clothes when she comes home from school, why do you think that she does not? _____

6. (a) Does your daughter mind wearing mended clothes? _____
(b) How do you feel about having your daughter wear mended clothing? _____

7. (a) Does your daughter take any part in the care of her own clothing? Yes____, No____.
(If no, the interviewer may say, "By that I mean hanging up, putting soiled in clothes hamper, polishing shoes, washing socks, etc.)
- (b) If yes, what does she do? _____
- (c) If yes, at what age did she begin? _____
- (d) If no, do you intend to teach her to care for her own clothing? Yes____, No____.
- (e) If you do intend to teach her to take part in the care of her own clothing, at what age do you intend to have her begin to learn? _____.

VIII. Using and discarding clothing:

1. (a) Do you lay out what your daughter should wear, or does she select what she wants to wear from closet and drawers?
Lay out____.
Child selects____.
Mother tells child____.
- (b) On what occasions is the method of selection indicated in question (1a) above used?
Every day____.
School days____.
Sundays____.
For parties____.
Never____.
2. (a) Does your daughter use clothes borrowed from other members of the family?
Almost always____.
Often____.
Seldom____.
Never____.
- (b) Whose clothes? _____ (not name)
3. (a) Does your daughter use clothes borrowed from anyone who is not a member of the family?
Almost always____.
Often____.
Seldom____.
Never____.
- (b) If so, from whom? _____ (not name)
4. (a) Do other children use her clothing?
Almost always____. Seldom____.
Frequently____. Never____.
- (b) If so, who uses it? _____ (not name)

5. Some mothers buy durable children's clothing which they know will last for a long time. Other mothers feel that a child outgrows clothing so rapidly that durability of a garment is not important. Do you buy durable children's clothes which will last for a long time, or do you feel that durability is not important?
 Buy durable clothes _____.
 Durability not important _____.
 Qualifying comments: _____
-
6. When we were making the inventory of your child's clothing, you said (or did not say) that your daughter has some garments which were previously owned by another person before your daughter owned them. If she owns some which were handed-down or made-over for her, how often does your daughter wear these garments?
 Almost always _____.
 Frequently _____.
 Seldom _____.
 Never _____.
7. Some children seem to like to wear handed-down and made-over garments as well or better than clothes which were new when they got them. Other children do not seem to like to wear handed-down and made-over garments. How does your daughter feel about wearing garments which were previously owned by another person?
 Likes to wear them as well as new ones _____.
 Likes to wear them better than new ones _____.
 Does not like to wear them as well as new ones _____.
 Refuses to wear them _____.
8. People seem to disagree about when a child's garments should be discarded from her wardrobe. How do you go about deciding when to have your daughter discard them? _____
-
9. What do you do with most of the garments which your child outgrows or no longer uses? _____
-
10. Is the answer to question 9 for all garments? Yes _____, No _____.

Information about family: Would you mind telling me in which range your total family income falls?

- a. less than \$2,500
- b. \$2,500-4,999
- c. \$5,000-7,499
- d. \$7,500-9,999
- e. \$10,000 and over

ENCLOSURE

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[REDACTED]

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