

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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(Name) (Degree) (Major) Related Arts

Date thesis is presented May 6, 1965

Title CLOTHING RELATED TO ASPIRATIONS FOR STATUS AMONG  
LOWER MIDDLE CLASS WORKING WOMEN

Abstract approved

Redacted for Privacy

(Major professor)

The aim of the study was to explore the possibility of relationships existing between social aspiration and the use of clothing for prestige among lower middle class working women.

A review of the literature dealing with aspirations among various groups indicated that more aspiring individuals generally used clothing for prestige purposes than those who were not socially aspiring. Furthermore, several studies indicated significant relationships between prestige use of clothing and social participation among the subjects studied. Those individuals who felt that clothing was important for prestige were active in organizations and social activities.

In order to investigate the relationships between social aspiration and prestige use of clothing among lower middle class working women an interview questionnaire was developed which consisted of seven scales measuring aspiration, use of clothing for prestige,

and social participation. One hundred working women who met the qualifications--lower middle class, between the ages of 19 and 30, and self-supporting--were selected through the cooperation of various types of business firms in the Salem area. Interviews were conducted during the summer of 1964.

Two general hypotheses were presented for analysis. First, it was hypothesized that there would be a relationship between the marital status of the lower middle class working woman and her prestige use of clothing to aspire to higher social status. Upon analyzing the data no significant relationship was found between marital status and social aspirations or the use of clothing for prestige. Thus it was concluded that the single and married subjects were similar in their clothing behavior and social aspirations. However, there was a relationship between marital status and organization participation. More single than married women belonged to two or more organizations.

The second general hypothesis stated that there would be a relationship between social aspiration among lower middle class working women and the use of clothing for prestige. However, no relationships were found between aspiration and the use of specific items of clothing for prestige, although there was a tendency for more aspiring women to place higher importance on clothing for prestige use than the nonaspiring women. Low aspiration tended to be related

to one of the clothing prestige variables, reduced price buying in that more nonaspiring women practiced reduced price buying than the aspiring women. This tendency became a trend among the non-aspiring married women.

It was, therefore, concluded that aspiring and nonaspiring lower middle class women living in Salem regardless of marital status appear to have similar attitudes toward the prestige use of clothing, and that social aspirations for these women are not related to the prestige use of clothing as measured in this research.

CLOTHING RELATED TO ASPIRATIONS FOR STATUS  
AMONG LOWER MIDDLE CLASS WORKING WOMEN

by

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A THESIS

submitted to

OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY

in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the  
degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

June 1965

APPROVED: Redacted for Privacy

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Date thesis is presented May 6, 1965

Typed by Marcia Ten Eyck

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express her sincere appreciation to her advisor, Dr. Anna Mary Creekmore, for her personal interest, competent guidance, and inspiration throughout the study.

Grateful appreciation is given to Dr. Lyle D. Calvin and Mr. Donald Guthrie for their understanding patience and guidance during the development of the statistical analyses and to Mr. John Curry for his interest and suggestions during the initial development of the study.

Acknowledgemnt is also given to the Salem business firms and to the young women who participated in the study for their cooperation.

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# CLOTHING RELATED TO ASPIRATIONS FOR STATUS AMONG LOWER MIDDLE CLASS WORKING WOMEN

## INTRODUCTION

Today there is accumulating evidence which indicates that in addition to the utilitarian and aesthetic purposes, clothing is being worn to gain social prominence in the community and to display wealth "conspicuously" (Veblen, 1899). Vance Packard, a popular writer of today, has commented on man's use of clothing as conspicuous evidence of his wealth and prominence in the community and his use of clothing as a tool to move to a higher social position. Consequently, the doors have been opened to scientific research concerning the social aspects of clothing behavior.

The recent studies which have supported to some degree current popular ideas about the use of dress are Vener (1953), Gates (1960), Stone and Form (1957), Kittles (1961), and Ditty (1962). These studies from different parts of the country are concerned with specific investigations into the relationship of clothing behavior to social aspiration. However, very little or no research has been found concerning the clothing behavior of working women.

During the past 50 years a revolution has occurred in the employment and education of women which has taken them out of the home

and into occupations and professions. This change in women's status has steadily grown until today there is a higher percentage of women, married and single, in the labor force than ever before in history. The clothing behavior of this new working force would surely reflect something of their attitudes about clothing and their aspirations in life. The working woman, because of daily impersonal contacts, would be greatly concerned about having the visible symbols, status items of clothing, which would reflect the social position to which she or her husband belong. Even though she does not have the income or social position to warrant such expenditures she may incorporate these symbols in her wardrobe because she aspires to belong to a higher social position. Since it appears that clothing reflecting status would be increasingly important to these women there is a special need for research to determine the extent of the use of clothing for prestige purposes among working women.

In view of the above this study was designed to investigate the following questions: Does marital status among the working women affect their use of clothing? Do more women who aspire to higher social status use clothing to gain prestige than those who do not aspire socially? Social aspiration is defined by Webster as the strong desire or ambition for advancement or honor, and according to sociologists it is observable active behavior characteristic of individuals attempting to achieve a higher position in a society.

Considering previous research it was assumed that social aspiration could be measured in terms of job requirements for the ideal occupation, organization membership and officership, and participation in social activities; and that prestige attitudes toward clothing could be measured through ownership of prestige clothing, reduced price buying, judging others on the basis of clothing, and placing importance on the prestige use of clothing. Furthermore, clothing behavior might be defined as an individual's attitudes toward clothing and his use of it in various social situations.

It seemed to the writer that this study might ultimately contribute to a general understanding of the relationship between social status, social aspiration, and selected attitudes of individuals toward the use of clothing to gain prestige. It is hoped that the findings from this effort will contribute to the general understanding of the social significance of clothing to the individual.

#### Specific Statement of the Problem

The aim of the study was to explore the possibility of relationships existing between social aspiration and the use of clothing for prestige among lower middle class working women. It was also of interest to determine whether more single or married women were concerned with prestige use of clothing.

### Hypotheses

Two general hypotheses were presented for investigation. Under the first one there were two specific sub-hypotheses and under the second there were five sub-hypotheses. These hypotheses were expressed in the alternative form, while the tests of significance were performed using the null hypothesis form of no difference.

Hypothesis I: There is a relationship between marital status among lower middle class working women and the use of clothing for prestige to aspire to higher social status.

Sub-hypothesis:

- a. More single working women will be socially aspiring than the married working women.
- b. More single working women will seek prestige in clothing than the married working women.

Hypothesis II: There is a relationship between social aspiration among the lower middle class working women and the use of clothing for prestige.

Sub-hypothesis:

- a. More aspiring working women will seek prestige in clothing than nonaspiring working women.
- b. More aspiring single workers will seek prestige in clothing than the aspiring married workers.
- c. More nonaspiring single workers will seek prestige in clothing than the nonaspiring married workers.

- d. More aspiring single workers will seek prestige in clothing than nonaspiring single workers.
- e. More aspiring married workers will seek prestige in clothing than nonaspiring married workers.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Clothing may be symbolic of an individual's social position or may be used as a means to achieve a higher one in that some clothing items which seem to denote a degree of prestige to people in certain groups are indicative of either status position or desired position in the community. The literature reviewed concerning various aspects of clothing behavior and social aspiration will be discussed in the following order: importance of clothing to denote prestige; social aspiration; selection of the measures; and the characteristics of the lower middle class.

### Importance of Clothing to Denote Prestige

There has been some research reported concerning the relationship of clothing importance to status, to aspiration, and to social participation. It should be noted that many of the references cited used the term "clothing importance" to include, among other aspects, the use of clothing to gain prestige.

### Social Status

Both Stone and Form (1957) and Vener (1953) studied the relationship between clothing importance and social status. Stone and Form found in their study of the local community clothing market

that women who perceived the shopping situation as enhancing their social status "dressed up" in a suit or sheer dress with hat and accessories while shopping for clothes. The higher the social status of the shopper the more she tended to shop in the larger cities outside the local shopping center.

The greatest proportion of out of town shoppers was found among women who believed the clothing they wore while shopping played a very important part in the development of the shopping situation (p. 4).

In a study of stratification aspects of clothing importance, Vener developed a scale in which he equated clothing importance with clothing interest. In measuring the relationship between clothing importance and social status Vener found that the upper middle class had the greatest proportion of individuals who received high clothing importance scores. In comparison clothing seemed to be of less importance to those in the upper class (p. 83).

Vener concluded that there were three possible reasons for the clothing differences between upper middle class and upper class members: (1) inappropriate scale used in the research; (2) mass production of clothing decreased its value as a status symbol for the upper class members who emphasized birth, inheritance and culture for status purposes; and (3) the upper middle class rated clothing importance higher in an effort to aspire to the upper class, while the upper class displayed less emphasis on clothing because they were

already at the top of the hierarchy (p. 83).

Both of the studies indicated that clothing was important to the upper middle class not only in the shopping situation but also in social situations. Vener implied in his conclusion that clothing was important to the upper middle class person as a means to aspire to the upper class.

### Social Aspiration

The literature cited referred to occupational status and aspirations as indicators to the broader concepts of social status and social aspirations. Although Vener (1953) did not specifically measure social aspiration he stated that:

A person who is striving to a higher status is more likely to become sensitive to the symbols which differentiate the social strata. In order to be identified as a higher status member it is necessary to manipulate and incorporate the symbols which distinguish this strata. In impersonal or secondary group relationships, clothing is an important symbol in influencing towards a desired direction, 'others' initial judgement of ones social status (p. 59).

Two other studies which associated men's occupational status with clothing behavior indicated that clothing was thought to be important to a man's occupation and to his aspirations for a better job. Frank Jasinski (1957) found that man's occupational status seemed to affect his business attire in that there were certain accepted modes of dress within an office or plant. These codes of dress



served the following purposes:

- (1) It provides a clue to the identity of the individual and his position in the organization.
- (2) It establishes an immediately recognizable level of achievement which elicits the right behavior from others and thus is rewarding to the wearer (p. 35).

Form and Stone's (1955) research supported Jasinski's findings concerning the importance of clothing for businessmen aspiring to a higher occupational position.

Over nine-tenths of the sample believed that failure to dress as expected in a job would adversely affect occupational mobility and the failure of the man in question (p. 5).

It would seem from the literature cited that some individuals emphasized the "impression-on-others" aspect of clothing and wished to create a better impression for the purpose of obtaining a job with higher prestige value.

### Social Participation

Several studies, including Vener (1953), Stone and Form (1957) and Kittles (1961), have sought the relationship between the importance of clothing to an individual and his social participation--specifically organization memberships and social activities.

In his social stratification study, Vener found that individuals who participated in several organizations, especially those who held an office, rated high on the clothing importance scale and were

mainly from the upper middle class (p. 86), while Stone and Form found in the study of the clothing market that the importance of "wearing dress up clothes for shopping tended to be positively associated with the number of memberships held in voluntary organizations" (p. 10).

A measure of clothing importance was also developed by Kittles (1961) to find whether or not college women believed that clothing was an important symbol of status. She not only found, as Vener had, a positive relationship between clothing importance and organization memberships but also found that clothing importance was related to the amount of social activity. The students who belonged to three or more organizations scored higher on the clothing importance scale than those who belonged to one or no organizations. Those individuals who frequently participated in several social events regarded clothing as more important than did the students who never participated in any of the social events (p. 95). In all three studies no mention was made of the type of organizations in which the subjects participated. Apparently the number and the fact of officership was more important than the actual type of organization.

## Summary

From the literature cited it appeared that among the upper middle class and some college women those who were active in social activities and organizations, or those who perceived the shopping situation as enhancing the social position, placed higher importance on clothing. In addition businessmen felt it was important to dress on the job as was expected in order to be successful. Therefore, clothing seemed to be important to many individuals in their aspirations for success not only in occupations but also in social life.

## Social Aspiration

In addition to the literature relating the importance of clothing to social status, aspiration, and social participation, a few studies have shown relationships between social aspiration and other aspects of clothing behavior which have been found to reflect prestige. The clothing behavior included: ownership of prestige clothing, judgment of others on the basis of clothing, and reduced price buying. Furthermore, the studies cited found relationships between social participation and social aspiration when occupational aspirations were used as an index to the broader concept of social aspiration.

### Ownership of Prestige Clothing

In an extensive study with a group of upper middle class non-employed wives, Ruth Gates (1960) found that a highly significant relationship existed between social aspiration and ownership of clothing items assigned prestige. According to the results women high in aspiration were more likely to own items assigned prestige than were women low in aspiration (p. 120). Kittles (1961) also dealt with the ownership of prestige clothing but did not relate it to aspiration.

### Judgment of Others on Basis of Clothing

Vener (1953) concluded that "in impersonal or secondary group relationships, clothing is an important symbol in influencing, in a desired direction, 'others' initial judgement of ones social status" (p. 59). Gates' (1960) results supported Vener's conclusion. She found a significantly positive relation between the subject's judgment of others on the basis of clothing and the subject's social aspirations. Women high in aspiration were more likely to use clothing in judging others--when meeting them for the first time--than were women low in aspiration (p. 123).

### Reduced Price Buying

Other findings from Gates' study indicated that when the aspiring and nonaspiring women were compared with respect to the practice of reduced price buying the women high in aspiration preferred to buy many of the clothing items listed at a reduced price while women low in aspiration did not do so (p. 112). As defined by Gates, reduced price buying was the activity of seeking out sales, discount prices, and wholesale stores when shopping for clothes, and the practice of studying sale advertisements in the newspapers.

### Organization Membership

Both Vener (1953) and Ditty (1962) have found organization membership related to social aspiration among upper middle class individuals and college students respectively. According to Vener:

Individuals of the upper middle class seem to be the active members of an organization...they are more often the office holders . . . . In this respect social participation is looked upon as a means of enhancing ones social prestige... (p. 71).

In a study of clothing preferences of college women, Ditty found that those who were active in campus organizations had high social aspirations as well as those who participated in several social activities such as parties, dates, and dinners.(p. 94).

### Summary of Social Aspirations Studies Related to Clothing

From the various studies cited it would appear that clothing was an important factor in the lives of socially aspiring upper middle class members, college students, and businessmen. Those who aspired to higher social status as indicated by occupational aspirations were more active in organizations and activities and placed higher value on clothing as a symbol of their status. Judgment of others on the basis of clothing, ownership of prestige clothing, practice of reduced price buying, and emphasis on clothing importance were all found to be related to social aspiration among the subjects studied.

### Selection of Measures

The studies reviewed indicated that there were relationships between various aspects of clothing behavior, social participation, and social aspiration, and that the scales used for measuring these variables were found to be effective. A discussion of the various scales investigated for use in the present research follows.

### Measurement of Clothing Importance

Clothing importance scales were developed in three different studies, (Vener, 1953; Kittles, 1961; and Sharpe, 1963).

In a study of stratification aspects of clothing importance the scale developed by Vener was really a clothing interest scale and rather limited in scope, while Kittles' instrument measured attitudes toward clothing in greater depth than mere interest. She evaluated the aesthetic and prestige use of clothing among college women. The scale items ranged on a continuum from high to low in terms of prestige significance and measured the presence or absence of preference for clothing characteristics generally attributed to one who has high regard for clothing (p. 51). Sharpe also developed a clothing importance scale in which she not only measured the same aspects of clothing importance as Kittles but in addition identified five statements which specifically measured the importance of clothing for prestige (p. 26). Since the purpose for using a clothing importance scale in the present study was to measure the prestige use of clothing among the lower middle class women, Sharpe's five statements were selected as an appropriate instrument.

#### Measurement of Ownership of Prestige Clothing

Both Kittles (1961) and Gates (1960) developed instruments to measure ownership of prestige clothing in their respective studies with college women and wives of executives. The scores for the clothing prestige variable, as measured by Gates, were based on the assignment of prestige to certain clothing items by the subject and on

ownership of these items (p. 118). Kittles' measure included a list of "prestige" clothing items from which she asked college women to indicate whether they owned the items or would like to own them (p. 49). Weights were assigned to the choices of responses and a high score on the scale indicated ownership or desire for ownership of several prestige items. Kittles' instrument was chosen for use in measuring ownership of prestige items of the lower middle class working women since her list of items appeared to be more realistic in terms of actual ownership by the lower middle class individuals. Also considered was Gates' instrument but it was too sophisticated, indicating prestige items that most young lower middle class working women probably would not know about.

#### Measurement of Reduced Price Buying

A measure of reduced price buying was developed by Gates (1960) and found to be related to social aspiration among upper middle class women. In developing the measure she included questions dealing with selected buying practices, lists of items purchased at clothing sales, and actions related to sales (p. 55). Subjects who received a high score on the scale were considered to engage in extensive sale buying. Although no other research, to the writer's knowledge, used or developed a similar instrument, it was felt that it would be effective in measuring reduced price buying practices



among the lower middle class working women and was, therefore, included in the questionnaire.

### Measurement of the Use of Clothing in Judging Others

Again Ruth Gates' study (1960) was the source of the instrument for measuring attitudes toward judging others. She asked each subject to rank a list of six factors as to their importance in deciding if the individual would wish to make further efforts to know someone she had just met for the first time (p. 60). Three of the items considered some aspect of clothing such as neatness, fit, and style, and three statements were not concerned with clothing. If the individual ranked all three clothing factors first, second, and third in importance, she was considered to emphasize clothing in judging others. Since Gates found a relationship between aspiration and her measure of judging others through clothing, her instrument was included in the present research to measure lower middle class women's use of clothing in judging others.

### Measurement of Organization Membership

The organization membership variable was included in this study because it was felt to be related to social aspiration among lower middle class working women. Although the research cited did not indicate the type of organization participated in, it was

expected that lower middle class organization membership would be mainly church and job oriented (Hollingshead, 1957). Measuring devices for this variable were similar in several studies (Vener, 1953; Kittles, 1961; Ditty, 1962); however, Ditty's method was selected since it was the least complicated in structure and scoring procedure (see appendix B).

#### Measurement of activities

Although both Kittles and Ditty developed measures of activities and used them in their respective studies of college women, a modified version of Kittles' instrument was used for this study since it was more specific in structure than that by Ditty. Ditty merely asked the subjects to list all their social activities, whereas Kittles presented a list and asked the subjects to indicate the degree of participation--frequently, seldom, rarely--in each activity. It was felt that Kittles' measure would be more effective in measuring activities of lower middle class working women.

#### Measurement of Aspiration

Some studies (Gates, 1960; Reissman, 1953; Ditty, 1962; Empey, 1956) have measured various aspects of aspiration in different social strata and in different specialized groups, such as college students or high school seniors. For the purpose of the

present research it was necessary to find an appropriate and reliable measure of social aspiration for lower middle class working women. The literature cited describes the measurement of aspiration in a variety of ways.

Two studies measured occupational aspiration among male subjects. Leonard Reissman investigated factors related to opportunity for occupational advancement in order to determine aspirations of adult males, while Empey, working with a group of male high school seniors, measured future occupational plans and aspirations of the students by both an absolute and a relative standard (p. 703-704).

A clothing preference study of upper middle class college women was conducted by Ditty in which she used a combination of scales covering three different aspects of aspiration. Included were Reissman's job advancement inventory, Cramer's complicated scale measuring maximum expected success in a community, and Ditty's own scale measuring materialistic aspirations (p. 63). Another scale of aspiration was developed by Rosenberg (1957) that was more in keeping with the requirements of this study. In his research concerning occupations and values Rosenberg found that people planning to enter real estate, sales promotion, and other businesses placed greatest stress on the extrinsic rewards of money, status, and security (p. 16). Therefore, it could be said that people in the business world who valued these rewards and who have striven to achieve

them were socially aspiring. Ruth Gates, in fact, used Rosenberg's measure of aspiration as the basis for a scale which she developed to apply to wives of businessmen. In order to disguise the intent Gates also included statements which would reflect the American ideal (p. 37). Each subject was asked to consider to what extent her husband's position would have to satisfy each of the listed requirements before she would consider it an "ideal" position. The individual was then asked to rank each item as high, medium, or low in importance to her in evaluating a job for her husband (p. 37). Those individuals who scored high on the scale were considered socially aspiring. Job requirements found to be highly important by these women were:

- Give social status and prestige
- Provide an opportunity to earn a good deal of money
- Make it possible for him to look forward to a stable and secure future
- Give opportunity to meet and work with people who are socially prominent
- Give an opportunity for rapid promotion (p. 37)

In reviewing the literature it was found that several of the aspiration scales cited were not appropriate for use in the study of lower middle class working women. Both Reissman and Empey studied the responses of male subjects with respect to job advancement and future aspirations of the subjects. The type of questions asked of these male subjects could not be applied to women and, therefore, the scales were rejected. Although Ditty worked with college women and measured their responses to aspiration, it was

felt that the measure was too long and complicated to be suitable for working women whose free time was at a premium. Since Gates' modification of Rosenberg's measure was short and simplified as compared to that of Ditty, and was also found by Gates to be an effective measure of social aspiration among businessmen's wives, it was considered appropriate to use in measuring social aspirations among working women.

#### Determination of Lower Middle Class

For the purpose of this study it was important to distinguish lower middle class from other social levels since the attitudes toward clothing of the lower middle class were being tested and compared with those of the upper middle class. Many of the scales considered were rejected because they were inappropriate or were too complicated to use. Among these were Sewell's Family Socio Economic Status Scale (Miller, 1964) because it dealt only with rural sections of the country and Chapin's Living Room Scale because his list of culture objects, last revised in 1952, was considered out of date and, therefore, a poor measure of social class today. Another reject was Lloyd Warner's Evaluated Participation Scale (1949). Although it gave a careful measure of evaluated class participation it required more time than was available and skill beyond the capacity of the investigator. The Hatt-North Occupational Prestige Scale

(Miller 1964) was also rejected because it appeared to be least reliable when differentiating the two middle classes or the lower middle class and working class.

After evaluating the three remaining scales, (Edwards, 1930; Warner 1949; Hollingshead, 1957) it was decided to exclude Edwards' Socio Economic Scale since the occupation rankings were not as precise and clear cut as those found in Warner's Index of Social Class. The major decision lay between use of Warner's Index based on four criteria--occupation, residence, source of income, and amount of income--or Hollingshead's Simplified Index of Social Position based on two criteria--occupation and education. According to Hollingshead, occupation was presumed to reflect the many maintenance functions in the society, which range in value from low evaluation of unskilled, physical labor toward the more prestigious use of skill in creative ideas and manipulating men. Education was believed to reflect not only knowledge, but also cultural tastes, assuming that men and women who possess similar education will tend to have similar tastes and similar attitudes and they will also tend to exhibit similar behavior patterns. In both the occupation and education scales there was a seven point range or rank. Rank of one in each scale indicated highest occupation position (executives and professionals) and highest education level (graduate professional training), while a rank of seven in each indicated lowest occupation (unskilled

physical labor) and least amount of education (less than seven years of school). The factors of occupation and education were combined by weighting the individual scores obtained from the scale positions. Each factor was weighted according to its relative importance in measuring social class.

Hollingshead's scale was chosen for use in the present study for two reasons: (1) Education has become a much more important and necessary factor today for determining occupational position than may have been true during the time of Warner's research. (2) Hollingshead's two factor scale was more simplified and workable than Warner's four factor scale. More accurate information concerning the subject's occupation and education could be obtained under the limitations of time and ability than could be obtained from questions concerning the amount of income or dwelling area. Since the latter required a subjective decision, the interviewer did not feel qualified to determine accurately the type of dwelling area of each subject.

#### Lower Middle Class Characteristics

Part of the lower middle class have semi-professional or semi-managerial occupations and another part are small businessmen or small farmers. According to Kahl (1957) they are at the bottom of the various ladders that lead upward and can be

distinguished from the working class in that the latter is more or less static (p. 202). The lower middle class traditionally included white collar workers but some blue collar workers must be included too.

The foremen belong; management claims them and workers reject them. Many skilled craftsmen also belong; they make high salaries and often assert middle class values. Even a number of operatives should be included (Kahl 1957, p. 202).

People in the lower middle class are in the fast growing middle income groups. They live in the same parts of town, in small, single family houses, in two family dwellings, or in small but fairly modern apartments. Most of these people have had a high school education, and a great many have had some additional special training. Hollingshead's (1957) classification of the lower middle class was similar to that of Kahl. According to his five class levels, Class III was considered lower middle class consisting of a range of occupations from the lesser professionals to skilled workers with high school or partial college training.

### Leisure Time Activities

According to Hollingshead (1957) people in the lower middle class belonged to organizations of one kind or another (church groups, fraternal orders, and political associations) from neighborhood and community organizations to nationally affiliated associations.



However, the most prevalent memberships for women were the church related associations (p. 102). In a stratification study of New Haven, Connecticut, Hollingshead found that among the lower middle class 87 percent of the women belonged to at least one formal association and 71 percent belonged to two or more organizations. They were not only active members but also held or were willing to hold office (p. 102). "They believe in the importance of taking part in community associations to work for the 'good of the community' (p. 103)."

#### Values and Aspirations

It is generally accepted that lower middle class people tend to emphasize the respectability of their jobs and styles of life. According to Kahl (1957) they express respectability in various ways through education, religion, and home ownership. People are proud of the high school diploma and training beyond it and have a strong desire for their children to go to college even if it means a hardship on the family. Religious attitudes toward family morality are typical. "Moral and well behaved children are a central goal for lower middle class families; it is more important for them to be 'good' than free to 'express themselves' (p. 203)." Kahl also stated that lower middle class people feel that it is respectable and a symbol of family stability and solidarity to own one's own home. They are very proud

of their small homes and take good care of them (p. 204). As far as their social aspirations Kahl stated that, "people of the lower middle class accept many of the career values of the upper middle class and are constantly trying to get ahead...." (p. 203). Stone (1960) in his study of city shoppers described the young aspiring lower middle class housewife as the economic consumer. These women were socially mobile but their mobility aspirations were found to be affected by the presence of children and by ethnic status in the local area (p. 42).

### Summary

The lower middle class was difficult to identify precisely since it shaded imperceptively into the working class. Included in the former were individuals ranging in occupations from the lesser professionals to skilled workers. The following characteristics describe the lower middle class. Most of these people have completed high school and some have had advanced technical training. Their organization activity is mainly centered around the church which exemplifies their concern for respectability through religion. Education and home ownership are also marks of respectability to these people. Lower middle class people are constantly striving to get ahead.

## PROCEDURE

In order to test the specific hypotheses in this study several steps were taken to develop the procedural plan. First, the selection of the measures was made based on the findings of previous research. Next, the questionnaire and scoring procedure were developed and then the sampling and interview procedure. Finally, the statistical methods of data interpretation were selected.

### Selection of the Measures

The findings of previous research indicated that social aspiration and attitudes concerning prestige use of clothing could be observed and measured. Since it was assumed that there were valid and reliable devices available to test the hypotheses presented, the attitudes and behaviors to be measured were aspiration, reduced price buying, use of clothing in judging others, importance of clothing for prestige, ownership of prestige clothing, organization membership, and participation in social activities.

The aspiration scale was an adaptation of Gates' (1960) measure which was considered the most appropriate for determining social aspirations among lower middle class women. Also selected were Gates' measure of reduced price buying and judgment of others on the basis of clothing. The source of the clothing

importance scale was from Sharpe's (1963) study which identified five statements specifically measuring prestige attitudes toward clothing, while the scale measuring ownership of prestige clothing was derived from Kittles' research (1961). Also taken from Kittles' research was the instrument measuring social activities since it was considered to be a more effective measure than Ditty's for lower middle class women. Although several of the investigations reviewed dealt with organization membership, the instrument measuring this variable was derived from Ditty's research (1962).

A measure of social status was needed in order to obtain a sample of lower middle class women. Therefore, a description of the husband's or father's education and occupation, according to Hollingshead's Simplified Index of Social Position (1957), was secured in the questionnaire to determine the individual's social class level.

#### Development of the Questionnaire

A pretest of the first draft of the questionnaire was given to fourteen women, seven married and seven single, to test the items for clearness of meaning and discriminatory power. Eight of the subjects tested were graduate students in Home Economics. Each individual was asked to criticize the questionnaire for clarity and to give suggestions for possible revisions. After checking the results, two of Gates' measures, social aspiration and judging others on

basis of clothing, were modified because the statements appeared to be too sophisticated for lower middle class women. Kittles' list of social activities was also modified to include only activities in which lower middle class women would be likely to engage (see appendix A). After the first pretest Sharpe's (1963) five statements measuring the prestige importance of clothing were substituted for Kittles' scale because they seemed to be more accurate measures of prestige for the subjects selected (see appendix A).

A second preliminary trial was given to ten working women in Keizer, Oregon, to test the writer's approach when greeting prospective subjects at their door, and to verify the modifications made from the previous test. As a result of the trial it was necessary to modify the list of social activities.

The final draft of the interview questionnaire was developed from the modifications and test trials described above. The introduction consisted of a short paragraph explaining briefly the purpose of the interview and the subject's part in it.

As a general rule the scoring procedure for each of the seven variables followed that of the study from which the instrument was taken. However, in the case of Kittles' measure of the ownership of prestige clothing the scoring was simplified by assigning weights to only "yes" answers, instead of to both "yes" and "no" answers. In every case scores were obtained for each of the

variables by assigning weights to the subjects' responses and adding together the weighted answers for a total score on each variable (see appendix B).

### Sampling Procedure

A sample of lower middle class working women was needed for the study of the relationship between social aspiration and prestige use of clothing among working women of this class.

The subjects were from Salem, Oregon's third largest city and trade center for an important farming region. Included in Salem's main industries are food processing, lumber, pulp and paper. Because it is the state capital many of the state institutions are located there and employ a large percent of the working force.

The Salem Business Directory which consisted of a list of all persons living in Salem and their occupations was used to estimate the distribution of occupations classified as lower middle class. A random selection of two hundred women who held lower middle class jobs was analyzed for the percentage of different types of jobs represented in Salem. This percentage was the basis for determining the number of women needed in each job category for a sample of one hundred subjects. In calculating the percentages some occupations represented less than one percent or were similar to other occupations and were, therefore, dropped from the sample or

combined with the similar occupations. For example, doctor and dental assistants were combined with laboratory technicians.

Since Salem is the capitol of Oregon and a large percent of the working force are government employees, it was necessary to determine the proportion of the sample that should be represented by government workers. Thus government positions were listed separately from nongovernment jobs.

In order to obtain the lists of possible subjects two firms considered representative of each job category were approached. These firms included

- insurance companies
- banks
- hospitals
- department stores
- government agencies
- telephone company

The writer found that several companies approached were not willing to cooperate or had rigid policies against giving out such lists. After attempting to follow the plan of two companies for each business area mentioned above, the final sample was derived from the following types of firms:

- one insurance company-district office
- two banks
- five retail stores
  - two department stores
  - two specialty shops
  - one drug store
- one telephone company
- four government agencies
- one hospital and two doctors clinics

Since only one insurance company was willing to cooperate it was necessary to obtain the required number of subjects from the one company. However, the firm was exceptionally large and therefore was thought to be an adequate source for subjects for this study.

In the case of the remaining five types of companies, three types selected did not employ enough eligible subjects to fulfill the sample requirements. In such cases it was necessary to go to additional companies in the respective categories until the required number of eligible women was obtained.

From the lists that were obtained a random selection was made until the required number of persons were chosen for each job category. As interviews were conducted, ineligible individuals, based on Hollingshead's Index of Socio-Economic Position (1957), were rejected and new random selections were made from the list of remaining subjects. In nine cases the list of subjects in a specific category was depleted; therefore, selections were made from another category. An attempt was made to keep the original 40 - 60 ratio of government to independent employees consistent. Table 1 gives the final breakdown of job categories showing both the planned and the actual number of subjects obtained for each category.



Table 1. Distribution of Employed Women in Nine Occupations

Job Category	Planned	Actual
Government employees Total	40	38
Machine operators	4	3
Clerks	14	7
Typists	10	10
Secretaries	12	18
Nongovernment employees Total	60	62
Sales clerks	16	16
Bank tellers	6	7
Telephone operators	4	4
Bookkeepers	6	8
Secretaries	8	8
Laboratory technicians	4	4
Clerks	16	15

The final sample contained a representative selection of 100 lower middle class working women in the Salem area.. Fifty of the subjects were single and 50 were married and all were between the ages of 19 and 30 years.

#### Interview Procedure

An attempt was made to standardize the interview procedure by interviewing each person at home, but this was not possible in cases where employers were not willing to give out a list of their female employees but were willing to allow interviews during company time. Forty interviews were conducted on the job, 13 of which

were government employees and 27 were employees of independent firms. Of those for which a list was available, most (69 percent) of the subjects were notified by their respective employers before being put on the list, and any subject who was not willing to participate in the study was not listed. All the selected subjects who were previously notified as to the general purpose of the study were called by telephone for an interview appointment. However, there were 19 exceptions (all government employees) in which the subjects were not notified by their employer beforehand. For these cases no attempt was made to telephone for an interview appointment. Therefore, introductory statements were needed at the door to explain who the interviewer was and her purpose for asking for the prospective respondent's cooperation.

To help standardize the interview situation, the same type of clothing was worn for each interview, and the same general directions were read to each individual from the questionnaire. It was made clear that the interview was not a test and that the subjects would remain anonymous. After going over the general directions, the subject proceeded to fill out the first three pages of the questionnaire. At the end of the third page, the questionnaire was returned to the interviewer who read the questions on the last page and filled in the answers as given to her by the subjects.

### Statistical Methods of Data Interpretation

An analysis of data included the range, mean score, and standard deviations for each of the seven variables. The raw scores were ranked and then divided into high, medium, and low categories with approximately  $33 \frac{1}{3}$  percent of the scores falling in each group.

A correlation matrix was used to determine the degree of relationship among the seven variables measuring prestige use of clothing, aspiration and social participation. In the event that the variables were highly correlated one might assume that they were all measuring some aspect of the same thing, and in later research perhaps fewer factors need be considered in measuring the use of clothing for prestige.

The "t" tests of mean differences were computed to establish the homogeneity of the sample. Since no differences between selected groups were expected the tests were merely a precautionary measure to check for possible influence of background variables.

The groups compared were:

1. The condition of children present versus no children in the sample of 50 married subjects.
2. The condition of living in an apartment versus living with parents in the sample of 50 single subjects.
3. The condition of two different types of work Groups:  
Group I versus Group II.  
Group I: secretaries, banktellers, sales girls

Group II: laboratory technicians, telephone operators, typists, clerks, machine operators, and bookkeepers

In order to test the alternative hypotheses that relationships exist between marital status, aspiration, and each of four aspects of prestige use of clothing (clothing importance, judging others on the basis of clothing, owning prestige clothing, and reduced price buying) and the two aspects of social participation (organization membership and social activities) chi squares and their confidence levels were determined. The chi square test was used to determine significant relationships between frequencies of scores on the seven variables for the following categories:

1. Single versus married women
2. High versus low aspiring women
3. Aspiring single versus aspiring married women
4. Nonaspiring single versus nonaspiring married women
5. Aspiring single versus nonaspiring single women
6. Aspiring married versus nonaspiring married women

If significant relationships were found the null hypotheses were rejected in favor of the alternative hypotheses stated in this research. Significant relationships between scores were said to exist at the .01 level and .05 level of confidence, with a trend indicated by the .10 level and a tendency by the .20 or less level of confidence.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings from the interviews with one hundred lower middle class working women conducted during the summer of 1964 are presented in the following sequence: (1) descriptive findings concerning the participants, (2) correlation of the variables with each other, (3) analysis for intervening variables, and (4) testing the hypotheses.

### Descriptive Findings

The subjects ranging in age between 19 and 30 years were selected from the single and married working women of the lower middle class. There were 38 government employees included in the sample and 62 employees of independent firms. A further breakdown of the women's occupations revealed that 26 were secretaries, 22 clerks, 16 sales girls, ten typists, eight bookkeepers, seven bank tellers, four laboratory technicians, four telephone operators, and three machine operators. Among the 50 married subjects in the sample 19 of them had children. Twenty-eight of the 50 single women lived in apartments and 22 lived with their parents or relatives. All of the subjects had a high school education but only three had some degree of college training.

Two distinct social class levels emerged after a closer

inspection of the data and were classified as Class III and Class IV according to Hollingshead's technique. Under this classification individuals whose scores were between 22-43 were considered Class III while those between 44-60 were considered Class IV. There were 34 subjects in Class III and 66 subjects in Class IV.

Information from the questionnaires was obtained for each of the seven variables measuring aspiration, prestige use of clothing, and social participation. The raw scores for each variable were then determined by adding previously assigned weights to corresponding responses given by the subjects. Range, mean score, and standard deviations computed for each variable from the raw scores are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Range, Mean Score and Standard Deviation For Each of the Seven Variables

Variable	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation
Aspiration	15 - 6	10.65	1.6959
Prestige use of clothing			
Clothing importance	24 - 12	19.15	2.7938
Owning prestige clothing	18 - 1	9.18	4.0661
Judging others on basis of clothing	6 - 15	12.07	2.7015
Reduced price buying	32 - 0	11.82	7.8835
Social Participation			
Organization membership	3 - 0	.88	1.0375
Social activities	18 - 2	9.48	3.2426

As can be seen from Table 2, the mean for the variable, organization membership, was low. This was because half the sample did not belong to any organizations which was contrary to expectations.

After standard deviations were determined the range of scores was divided into high, medium, and low categories for each of the variables. The number of subjects in each category is indicated in Table 3.

Table 3. Frequencies and Range of Scores in the High, Medium and Low Categories for Each Variable

Variables	Categories			N=100		
	High	Fre- quency	Medium	Fre- quency	Low	Fre- quency
Aspiration	15-12	33	11-10	41	9 - 6	26
Prestige use of clothing						
Clothing importance	24-21	33	20-18	38	17-12	29
Owning prestige clothing	18-12	30	11- 8	35	7 - 1	35
Judging others on basis of clothing	6 -10	31	11-13	28	14-15	41
Reduced price buying	32-15	28	14- 8	35	7 - 0	37
Social Participation						
Organization membership	3 - 2	28	1	22	0	50
Social activities	18-12	27	11- 9	35	7 - 0	37

As is shown in Table 3 all of the variables except organization membership had relatively equal distributions of subjects in the high, medium, and low categories. On this variable the tally showed a heavy concentration in the low category. During the interviews some of the subjects mentioned reasons for not belonging to organizations. The more common reasons were: "just moved into the area", "just got married".

#### Correlation of Variables With Each Other

Pearson "r" correlations were computed for each of the seven variables to determine the degree of relationship between them. Table 4 shows, in addition to the correlation coefficient for all the variables, that significant relations were found between the following variables: (1) aspiration and the importance of clothing for prestige (.01 level), (2) owning prestige clothing and judging others on the basis of clothing (.05 level), (3) owning prestige clothing and social activities (.01 level). Although the coefficients were not high enough numerically to indicate strong relationships between the variables those that showed a significant correlation were noted since some relationship appeared to exist.

The significant relationship found in this study between social aspiration and the importance of prestige clothing among the lower middle class women is in line with Vener's theory that people who



Table 4. Pearson "r" Correlation Among the Seven Variables

	Aspiration	Clothing Importance	Own Prestige Clothing	Judging Others	Organ- izations	Social Activities
Aspiration	-					
Clothing Importance	.2627**	-				
Own Prestige Clothing	.0927	.1452	-			
Judging Others	.0054	-.0804	.2099*	-		
Organization Membership	-.0012	-.0007	.0339	-.0294	-	
Social Activities	.0382	-.0025	.4645**	-.0327	.1614	-
Reduced Price Buying	-.1332	.0939	.1504	.0836	.1319	.0611

Significant at:

\* .05 level of confidence

\*\* .01 level of confidence

strive to get ahead place high importance on clothing. However, when the relationships between owning prestige clothing, judging others, and participation in social activities were compared with the findings of other studies similar relationships were not found or were not reported. The subjects in the present study who owned prestige clothing were generally higher scorers on judgment of others on the basis of clothing. Also the women who owned prestige clothing were more active in social activities. However, judging others was not found to be related to owning prestige clothing as was reported by Gates (1960).

On the other hand some relationships were found in other research which were not in evidence in the present one. Clothing importance was found to be related to social activities, to organization membership, and to ownership of prestige clothing in Kittles' (1961) research, and three aspects of aspiration were found to be related to participation in organizations, and social activities according to Ditty (1962). Finally, participation in organizations was shown to be related to participation in social activities by both Vener (1953) and Ditty.

Since there were no high correlation coefficients among the variables for the subjects in this sample, it was possible that these measures which appeared to be effective in assessing prestige attitudes among the upper middle class and college students were not

as effective for the lower middle class. Facets of clothing behavior other than those tested might have been better to use when measuring prestige for these women. Another explanation for lack of significance among the variables might be that the lower middle class style of life which reflects the basic value system might have influenced negative reactions of the measures and thus reflected "no prestige" when indeed there was.

#### Analysis For Intervening Variables

A "t" test of mean difference was calculated in order to test the sample consistency on each of the seven variables for the following paired characteristics (see Table 5 and 6):

1. Children versus no children
2. Single women living in an apartment versus living with parents
3. Social Class III versus Social Class IV
4. Women's occupation groupings
  - a. Group I - sales girls, bank tellers, secretaries
  - b. Group II - typists, clerks, machine operators, laboratory technicians, bookkeepers, telephone operators

After computing the "t" test it was found that the sample was consistent on all seven variables except ownership of prestige clothing. Table 5 shows that there was a significant difference (.05 level) between the two social classes in ownership of prestige clothing. Class III owned more of the items than did Class IV. Also indicated was a significant difference (.05 level) between the two occupation

Table 5. The Significance of Difference Between the Mean Scores for Social Class and Occupation Groups for the Seven Variables

	Social Class				Occupations			
	Total (100)	Means		t value	Total (100)	Means		t value
		Class III (34)	Class IV (66)			Group I (51)	Group II (49)	
Aspiration		11.03	10.45	1.62		10.86	10.43	1.28
Prestige Use of Clothing								
Clothing Importance		19.09	19.18	- .16		19.10	19.20	- .19
Own Prestige Clothing		10.44	8.53	2.27***		10.16	8.16	2.52***
Judging Others		12.12	12.05	.13		11.71	12.45	-1.38
Reduced Price Buying		11.03	12.23	- .72		11.78	11.86	- .05
Social Participation								
Organizations		.94	.85	.42		.92	.84	.41
Activities		9.97	9.23	1.09		9.94	9.00	1.46

\*\*\* significant at .05 level of confidence

Table 6. The Significance of Difference Between the Mean Scores of Married and Single Subjects for the Seven Variables

Variables	Married Subjects*			Single Subjects*		
	Presence of Children Means Yes (19)	No (31)	t Value	Place of Residence Mean Apartment (28)	At home (22)	t Value
Aspiration	10. 68	10. 97	-. 56	10. 14	10. 82	-1. 45
Prestige Use of Clothing						
Clothing Importance	19. 37	18. 90	. 52	19. 43	18. 95	. 64
Own Prestige Clothing	9. 53	9. 52	. 01	8. 43	9. 36	- . 84
Judging Others	12. 00	11. 32	. 78	12. 82	12. 23	. 90
Reduced Price Buying	13. 32	11. 16	. 89	10. 54	13. 09	-1. 20
Social Participation						
Organizations	. 84	. 52	1. 17	. 93	1. 36	-1. 45
Activities	9. 26	9. 48	-. 27	8. 93	10. 36	-1. 37

\*N = 50

groups with respect to ownership of prestige clothing with Group I owning more items than Group II.

After checking to see if there was an overlap of the two categories, social class and occupation group, it was found that 18 subjects were classified in both Social Class III and Occupation Group I. A "t" test was computed between the means of those 18 subjects falling in both classifications and the 49 subjects who were either in Social Class III or Occupation Group I to see if there was a significant difference between them in ownership of prestige clothing. No significant difference was found. Therefore, it would appear that due to social class differences, people in Class III owned more prestige clothing than those in Class IV possibly because of economic ability, while women in occupation Group I (secretaries, banktellers, and sales girls) falling in both Class III and Class IV owned more prestige clothing than Group II, possibly because of the nature of their job. Since the "t" test revealed no other inconsistencies among the population it was concluded that the sample was relatively homogeneous.

### Analysis of the Hypotheses

In order to test the alternative hypotheses that positive relationships exist between both marital status and aspiration levels and the six variables concerning the prestige use of clothing and social participation the chi square test was employed. The variables were ownership of prestige clothing, judgment of others on the basis of clothing, practice of reduced price buying, clothing importance, and participation in organizations and social activities. Generally, when analyzing the hypotheses only the high and low categories were compared. One exception was made in the analysis of the first two sub-hypotheses comparing single and married subjects. It was felt that a complete tally of the subjects' placement on each of the variables was needed for clarification of data; therefore, the middle range was included and is shown on Table 7.

It was hypothesized that there would be a relationship between the marital status of lower middle class working women and prestige use of clothing to aspire to higher social status. Specifically sub-hypothesis 1a stated that more single women would be socially aspiring than the married women. As indicated on Table 7, a tendency (.20 level) toward a difference was found but it was in the reverse order of the predicted direction with more married women showing higher aspiration than the single women. It could only be surmised

Table 7. Relationship Between Marital Status and Social Aspiration, Prestige Use of Clothing, and Social Participation

Variables		Marital Status			$\chi^2$ Value	
		Total (100)	Single (50)	Married (50)		
Aspiration		H	33	12	21	4.432 <sup>*</sup>
		M	41	25	16	
		L	26	13	13	
Prestige Use of Clothing						
Clothing Importance		H	33	15	18	NS <sup>a</sup>
		M	38	23	15	
		L	29	12	17	
Ownership of Prestige Clothing		H	29	13	16	NS
		M	35	19	16	
		L	36	18	18	
Judgement of Others on Basis of Clothing		H	28	11	17	NS
		M	31	15	16	
		L	41	24	17	
Reduced Price Buying		H	28	11	17	5.416 <sup>**</sup>
		M	35	23	12	
		L	37	16	21	
Social Participation						
Organization Participation		H	28	19	9	6.632 <sup>***</sup>
		M	22	12	10	
		L	50	19	31	
Social Activities		H	27	17	10	NS
		M	40	18	22	
		L	33	15	18	

Levels of Significance:

\*\*\* .05 level of confidence

\*\* .10 level of confidence

\* .20 level of confidence

<sup>a</sup>NS - not significant



that the married women aspired for their husband's welfare whereas the single women did not have as much incentive to aspire for themselves. However, there was so little apparent difference between the two groups that they would seem to be relatively similar in social aspiration, thus indicating no significant relationship between marital status and social aspiration. Therefore alternative sub-hypothesis Ia was rejected.

Sub-hypothesis Ib stated that more of the single working women would seek prestige in clothing than the married working women. No difference was found between single and married women on any of the scales concerned with the use of prestige clothing or with social activities. However, as can be seen in Table 7, there was a significant difference (.05 level) in the predicted direction between single and married women in organization participation. More single women participated in organizations than did the married women. A trend (.10 level) to practice reduced price buying was found for more married women than single women which was in the reverse of predicted direction.

No research has been found in which single and married working women and their differential attitudes toward the use of prestige clothing was investigated. From informal observations of working women's behavior it was theorized that single women would be more inclined toward higher aspiration and prestige use of clothing than

the married women. The young single girl who lives at home often has less economic responsibility giving her more money to spend for prestigious clothing. Of the single subjects interviewed nearly half (44 percent) lived with their parents and paid room and board. All of the 28 single girls living in apartments had no economic responsibility for anyone except themselves. Thus, one would expect that single girls would at least have the means if not the desire to pursue prestigious attitudes toward clothing. Perry Meyers (1958, p. 42) contrasted the married woman's situation with that of the single woman:

In contrast the married woman would have more economic responsibility and less spendable income for her clothing desires. A young married woman with children, living on a moderate income spends 60 percent less on her own clothing than the young single or married woman without children.

Since there was a tendency for more married women to practice reduced price buying than single women it might have been they were more highly motivated, as the difference in aspiration indicated (.20 level), than the single women, or because they needed to be more frugal in buying clothing.

There were no significant differences between single and married women on any of the variables except organization membership. As a result it would seem that they are more or less alike with regard to the four factors measuring use of clothing for prestige, and

to one of the two factors measuring social participation. Because there were no significant differences between the married and single women on the variables measuring prestige use of clothing, no significant relationships were said to exist between marital status and the use of clothing for prestige. However, a significant relationship was found between marital status and organization membership. Therefore, alternative sub-hypothesis Ib was partially accepted.

Hypothesis II stated that there would be a relationship between social aspiration among the lower middle class working women and the use of clothing for prestige. Under the general hypothesis there were five sub-hypotheses a through e.

Sub-hypothesis IIa stated that more aspiring working women would seek prestige in clothing than the nonaspiring working women. Upon analyzing the data no really significant differences were found between the aspiring and nonaspiring women on any of the following six variables: owning prestige clothing, clothing importance, reduced price buying, judging others, participation in organizations and social activities. However, Table 8 shows that there was a tendency (.20 level) for more aspiring women to place higher importance on clothing for social prestige than nonaspiring women, and a trend (.10 level) for more nonaspiring women to practice reduced price buying than aspiring women. However, the latter trend was in the reverse of the predicted direction.

Table 8. The Relationship Between Aspiration and Prestige Use of Clothing and Social Participation

Variables	Aspiration			X <sup>2</sup> Value
	Total (59)	High (33)	Low (26)	
<hr/>				
Prestige Use of Clothing				
Clothing Importance	H	21	13	2.1732*
	L	16	6	
	Total	37	19	
Ownership of Prestige Clothing	H	20	12	NS <sup>a</sup>
	L	21	11	
	Total	41	23	
Judgement of others on Basis of Clothing	H	19	11	NS
	L	23	15	
	Total	42	26	
Reduced Price Buying	H	17	7	2.8456**
	L	22	15	
	Total	39	22	
Social Participation				
Organization Partic- ipation	H	16	8	NS
	L	28	15	
	Total	44	23	
Social Activities	H	11	6	NS
	L	24	12	
	Total	35	18	

\*\* significant at .10 level of confidence

\* significant at .20 level of confidence

<sup>a</sup>NS - not significant

In her study of upper middle class housewives, Gates (1960) found a significant difference between aspiring and nonaspiring women in ownership of prestige clothing, judging others on basis of clothing, and reduced price buying. Both Kittles (1961) and Vener (1953) reported in their respective studies that those who considered clothing highly important also were active in organizations and social activities, and Ditty (1962) found a relationship between social aspiration and participation in campus activities. Based on the results of previous research, it was expected that aspiring individuals among the lower middle class also would score high on all of the above mentioned variables. However, the findings in this research did not support those of previous studies. The tendency for more nonaspiring women to practice reduced price buying than aspiring women was opposite to the behavior of the upper middle class women in Gates' research. Thus, it would seem that lower middle class women of Salem bought clothing on sale for reasons other than prestige. It might be that lower middle class women shopped at the less expensive stores where prices were low in the first place and to buy on sale was a necessity. Therefore, buying a sale item in a less expensive store would not necessarily give the owner prestige. The way the subjects responded to the interview question concerning reduced price buying indicated that they bought on sale if one happened to be in progress when they needed a particular item. Some of the

respondents mentioned that they did not have time to look for sales and that if they did go to a sale, they could not find anything they liked. In contrast, Gates' subjects shopped in the more exclusive shops which correspondingly had more expensive clothing items. To buy an item on sale gave the aspiring woman the opportunity to own the clothing items of the upper class.

Since there was little difference between the aspiring and non-aspiring working women in their attitudes toward prestige use of clothing or in their social activities no significant relationship was said to exist between aspiration level and the prestige use of clothing. Therefore, alternative sub-hypothesis IIa was rejected.

Sub-hypothesis IIb stated that more aspiring single workers would seek prestige in clothing than aspiring married workers. After analyzing the data no significant differences were found between aspiring single and aspiring married workers on the four variables concerning clothing behavior--clothing importance, owning prestige clothing, judging others on the basis of clothing, and the practice of reduced price buying--and on one of the variables measuring social participation--social activities. However, a significant difference (.05 level) was found in the predicted direction between aspiring single and aspiring married women in participation in organizations, as was shown in Table 9. More aspiring single women participated in organizations than did the aspiring married women.

Table 9. The Relationship Between Married and Single Women of High Aspiration and Prestige Use of Clothing and Social Participation

Variables		High Aspiration			X <sup>2</sup> Value
		Total (33)	Single (12)	Married (21)	
Prestige Use of Clothing					
Clothing Importance	H	13	5	8	NS <sup>a</sup>
	L	6	1	5	
	Total	19	6	13	
Ownership of Prestige Clothing	H	12	4	8	NS
	L	11	5	6	
	Total	23	9	14	
Judgement of Others on Basis of Clothing	H	11	3	8	NS
	L	15	7	8	
	Total	26	10	16	
Reduced Price Buying	H	7	2	5	NS
	L	15	4	11	
	Total	22	6	16	
Social Participation					
Organization Partic- ipation	H	8	6	2	6.5668***
	L	15	3	12	
	Total	23	9	14	
Social Activities	H	6	2	4	NS
	L	12	4	8	
	Total	18	6	12	

\*\*\* significant at .05 level of confidence

<sup>a</sup>NS - not significant

The findings dealing with aspiring single and aspiring married women (sub-hypothesis IIb) were in line with the previous findings dealing with single and married women in general (sub-hypothesis Ib). Specifically, there did not seem to be any differences between aspiring single and aspiring married women with respect to attitudes toward prestige use of clothing. Also, as was found between the single and married group in general, the difference between the aspiring single and aspiring married workers on organization participation was significant (.05 level) and is shown in Table 9.

Since there did not appear to be any difference between the single and married aspiring women in their attitudes toward prestige clothing, except that the aspiring single person seemed to occupy more of her time in organizations than her married counterpart, no significant relationship was said to exist between single women of high aspiration and their use of clothing for prestige. Since there was a significant relationship between the aspiring single women and organization membership, the alternative sub-hypothesis IIb was partially accepted.

Sub-hypothesis IIc stated that more nonaspiring single workers would seek prestige in clothing than the nonaspiring married workers. Contrary to prediction, no significant differences were found between nonaspiring single and nonaspiring married women in each of the six variables (see Table 10). Since there were no apparent



Table 10. The Relationship Between Married and Single Women of Low Aspiration and Prestige Use of Clothing and Social Participation

Variables		Low Aspiration			X <sup>2</sup> Value
		Total (26)	Single (13)	Married (13)	
Prestige Use of Clothing					
Clothing Importance	H	8	4	4	NS <sup>a</sup>
	L	10	5	5	
	Total	18	9	9	
Ownership of Prestige Clothing	H	8	3	5	NS
	L	10	6	4	
	Total	18	9	9	
Judgement of Others on Basis of Clothing	H	8	3	5	NS
	L	8	5	3	
	Total	16	8	8	
Reduced Price Buying	H	10	3	7	NS
	L	7	3	4	
	Total	17	6	11	
Social Participation					
Organization Participation	H	8	5	3	2.0319*
	L	13	4	9	
	Total	21	9	12	
Social Activities	H	5	3	2	NS
	L	12	6	6	
	Total	17	9	8	

\* significant at .20 level of confidence

<sup>a</sup>NS - not significant

differences between these two groups of women it appeared that they were alike regarding their attitudes toward prestigious clothing and social activities, and therefore, no significant positive relationship was said to exist between the nonaspiring single workers and their use of clothing for prestige. Alternative sub-hypothesis IIc was rejected.

Under sub-hypothesis II d it was felt that more aspiring single workers would seek prestige in clothing than nonaspiring single workers. As shown in Table 11, a tendency (.20 level) was observed in the predicted direction on only one of the scales, clothing importance. However, no really significant differences were found between aspiring and nonaspiring single workers in any of the six scales thought to measure attitudes toward prestige use of clothing and participation in social activities.

It would appear that the aspiring and nonaspiring single women in this study were similar with respect to attitudes toward prestige clothing and social activities, thus indicating no significant relationship between aspiration levels within the "single" group and the use of clothing for prestige. Therefore, alternative sub-hypothesis II d was rejected.

In sub-hypothesis II e it was stated that more aspiring married workers would seek prestige in clothing than nonaspiring married workers. As was found among the single workers there was no

Table 11. The Relationship Between High and Low Aspiration of Single Women and Prestige Use of Clothing and Social Participation

Variables		Single Women			X <sup>2</sup> Value
		Total	Aspiring	Non- aspiring	
		(25)	(12)	(13)	
Prestige Use of Clothing					
Clothing Importance	H	9	5	4	2. 2648*
	L	6	1	5	
	Total	15	6	9	
Ownership of Prestige Clothing	H	7	4	3	NS <sup>a</sup>
	L	11	5	6	
	Total	18	9	9	
Judgement of Others on Basis of Clothing	H	6	3	3	NS
	L	12	7	5	
	Total	18	10	8	
Reduced Price Buying	H	5	2	3	NS
	L	7	4	3	
	Total	12	6	6	
Social Participation					
Organization Partic- ipation	H	11	6	5	NS
	L	7	3	4	
	Total	18	9	9	
Social Activities	H	5	2	3	NS
	L	10	4	6	
	Total	15	6	9	

\* Significant at . 20 level of confidence

<sup>a</sup>NS - not significant

significant difference between aspiring and nonaspiring married workers on any of the variables. There was a tendency (.10 level), however, for more nonaspiring married women to practice reduced price buying than the aspiring married women. This tendency is shown in Table 12 and was found to be in the reverse order of the predicted direction.

It was interesting to note that the results under sub-hypotheses IIa, b, c, d, and e, were similar in that no significant differences were found with respect to attitudes toward prestige clothing or social activities between: high and low aspiring workers in general, aspiring single and aspiring married women, nonaspiring single and nonaspiring married women, high and low aspiring single women, and high and low aspiring married women. The lower middle class value orientation might explain the relatively little difference found between the aspiring and the nonaspiring working women at this social class level. According to Kahl (1957), in contrast to the upper middle class the lower middle class members recognize that they are not "in the know" about important decisions and they recognize that they do not make as much money as they need in order to live in elegant style as do the upper middle class members.

Lower middle class people 'are on the fence', they are more conscious of being in-between than are any other group. They cannot cling too strongly to a career as the focus of their lives for their jobs do not lead continuously upward. They tend to emphasize

Table 12. The Relationship Between High and Low Aspirations of Married Women and Prestige Use of Clothing and Social Participation

Variables	<u>Married Women</u>			$\chi^2$ Value
		Total	Non- Aspiring	
		(34)	(21) (13)	
<hr/>				
Prestige Use of Clothing				
Clothing Importance	H	12	8	NS <sup>a</sup>
	L	10	5	
	Total	22	13	
Ownership of Prestige Clothing	H	13	8	NS
	L	10	6	
	Total	23	14	
Judgement of Others on Basis of Clothing	H	13	8	NS
	L	11	8	
	Total	24	16	
Reduced Price Buying	H	12	5	2. 7648 <sup>**</sup>
	L	15	11	
	Total	27	16	
Social Participation				
Organization Partic- ipation	H	5	2	NS
	L	21	12	
	Total	26	14	
Social Activities	H	6	4	NS
	L	14	8	
	Total	20	12	

<sup>\*\*</sup> significant at . 10 level of confidence

<sup>a</sup>NS - not significant

the respectability of their jobs and styles of life, for it is their respectability that makes them superior to shiftless workers (Kahl, 1957, p. 203).

Kahl also stated that education and religion are the marks of respectability among the lower middle class people who are the most regular church goers in our society. Such values as respectability, good behavior, self restraint, and conservatism might have influenced the subjects in this study. For example, it might not be considered respectable or "good" to judge others on the basis of the clothing that they wear and, therefore, not admitted by the subject. To consider clothing highly important on the basis of giving prestige in the community or to place high value on ownership of prestige clothing might be considered too self-expressive and lacking in conservative taste. In spite of these values it was expected that those who aspired to higher social levels would attempt to copy the behavior and the attitudes of the class immediately above them, the upper middle class. However, this was not true of the subjects in this study.

Another possibility for the lack of relationship between social aspiration and the prestige use of clothing might be because the questions asked were not subtle enough to get the subjects to answer them honestly.

It was interesting to note (see Table 12) that more nonaspiring married women tended to practice reduced price buying than the aspiring married women. This might be due to the fact that sale buying was different for the lower middle class members than for the upper

middle class. The nonaspiring woman might buy on sale for practical reasons and not for prestige. The aspiring women of the lower middle class on the other hand might view the sale item as "unprestigious". They might have the idea that being able to afford the full price was more prestigious.

Since there were no significant differences between aspiring and nonaspiring married women on any of the six variables no significant relationship was said to exist between aspiration levels within the "married" group and the use of clothing for prestige. Therefore, alternative sub-hypothesis IIe was rejected.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The relationships between social aspiration and attitudes toward the prestigious use of clothing by lower middle class single and married working women were analyzed and reported. The review of literature provided the basis for assuming that social aspiration and attitudes toward prestigious clothing could be measured and, therefore, the hypotheses presented could be statistically tested. The findings of past research among the upper middle class, college students, businessmen, and clothing shoppers indicated that relationships existed between social aspiration and attitudes toward the prestige use of clothing. When Gates (1960) made a study of executives' wives she found a relationship between aspiration and three aspects of prestige use of clothing: judging others on the basis of clothing, owning prestige clothing, and buying clothing at a reduced price. Ditty's (1962) results indicated a relationship between aspiration and participation in organizations and social activities among college women. Relationships were also found between clothing importance scores and organization activity among upper middle class people, college women, and among clothing shoppers as reported by Vener (1953), Kittles (1961), and Stone and Form (1957) respectively. The findings of all three studies indicated that those who were active in several organizations place high value on



clothing in their social contacts with other people. Among the businessmen clothing was considered highly important as an indication of one's occupational status and one of the prerequisites to further advancement in the particular company (Jasinski, 1957). From the existing evidence of the behavior demonstrated by several groups it was hypothesized that among the lower middle class women, those who were aspiring would have high regard for and use prestigious clothing and would participate in organizations and social activities.

The measures chosen for the interview questionnaire were modifications of those found in the research cited. Pretests were administered to a small sample of working women to make sure that the directions were clear and that the measures differentiated between the individuals. The final interview questionnaire consisted of seven parts, each measuring one aspect of aspiration and clothing prestige. The last page consisted of questions about the subject's background which was necessary to qualify each as to lower middle class status.

During the summer of 1964 a random sample of 100 lower middle class working women was taken from selected categories of businesses located in Salem, Oregon. The sample consisted of 50 single and 50 married women who were between the ages of 19 and 30. The women selected represented nine occupations which were considered lower middle class in rank according to

Hollingshead's Simplified Index of Social Position (1957). A list of names of potential subjects was obtained from firms representing Salem's business district. Since Salem is the capitol of the state and a good percentage of the population is employed by the state the list of women was obtained from both government agencies and independent firms.

An attempt was made to conduct all interviews in the subjects' homes but in some cases this was not possible since some employers were not willing to give out a list of their employees but were willing to allow interviews on company time. As a result 60 subjects were interviewed at home and the remaining 40 were interviewed at the place of business. While interviewing the subject all the necessary precautions were taken to standardize each interview in order to minimize any outside influences that would affect the subject's responses. As the interviews were conducted those who were ineligible, due to social status based on the husband or father's position, were rejected and another selection was made from the list.

The scoring procedure was generally the same as that of the studies from which the measures were taken. The raw scores were derived for each variable by assigning weights to the statements and adding them up for a total raw score. Raw scores for all the subjects on each of the seven variables were tabulated and from them range, mean score, and standard deviation were determined. The

frequencies of subjects falling into high, medium, and low categories of scores on each variable were used to test the hypotheses. Before the hypotheses were tested, the "t" test of mean difference was used as a precautionary measure to insure that the sample selected was homogeneous. In addition a correlation matrix was used to determine the degree of relationship among the seven variables measuring prestige use of clothing, aspiration, and social participation. Although no strong relationships were found among the variables there were significant positive relationships among five of the variables. After completing the correlations the chi square test was used to determine relationships between frequency scores on the seven variables for the seven sub-hypotheses presented in the study.

The purpose of this research was to find out whether or not more single women were socially aspiring and used clothing for prestige than the married women of lower middle class. Furthermore, an attempt was made to find out whether or not more aspiring than nonaspiring women used clothing for prestige.

Two general hypotheses, stated in alternative form, were presented for analysis. First it was hypothesized that there would be a relationship between the marital status among lower middle class working women and the prestige use of clothing to aspire to higher social status. Specifically, it was stated (sub-hypothesis 1a) that more single women would be socially aspiring than the married

women. However, no significant differences were found between the two groups with respect to aspiration level, thus indicating no significant relationship between marital status and social aspiration.

Therefore, the alternative hypothesis was rejected. It was also stated (sub-hypothesis Ib) that more of the single working women would seek prestige through clothing than the married working women. With the exception of organization participation, the two groups were similar on all of the six scales measuring prestige use of clothing: clothing importance, reduced price buying, judging others on basis of clothing, owning prestige clothing, and measuring social participation: organization membership and social activities. There was a significant difference (.05 level) in the predicted direction for more single women to participate in organizations than the married women. There was also a trend (.10 level) for more married women to practice reduced price buying than single women, but this was in the reverse of the predicted direction. Since there was a significant relationship between single women and their organization membership, alternative sub-hypothesis Ib was partially accepted.

In the second general hypothesis it was stated that there was a relationship between social aspiration among lower middle class working women and the use of clothing for prestige. Specifically, sub-hypothesis IIa stated that more aspiring working women would seek prestige in clothing than the nonaspiring working women. The

findings indicated that no significant differences existed between them on any of the six scales which measured prestige clothing and social activity. However, a trend (.10 level) was indicated for more nonaspiring women to practice reduced price buying than aspiring women, but the trend was in reverse of the predicted direction. Furthermore there was a tendency (.20 level) for more aspiring women to place higher importance on clothing for social prestige than the nonaspiring women. This tendency was in the predicted direction. As a result of the analysis no significant relationship was said to exist between aspiration level and the use of clothing for prestige. Therefore, alternative sub-hypothesis IIa was rejected.

Sub-hypothesis IIb stated that more aspiring single workers would seek prestige in clothing than aspiring married workers. A significant difference (.05 level) was found between aspiring single and aspiring married women in participation in organizations. More aspiring single women participated in organizations than did the aspiring married women. No other significant differences were found between the two groups and, therefore, it was said that no significant positive relationship existed between aspiring single women and their use of clothing for prestige. The alternative sub-hypothesis was partially accepted.

The third sub-hypothesis (IIc) stated that more nonaspiring single workers would seek prestige in clothing than the nonaspiring

married workers. Contrary to prediction, no significant differences were found between the two groups on any of the six scales. As a result of the findings no significant relationship was said to exist between marital status among the nonaspiring group and the use of clothing for prestige. Therefore the alternative sub-hypothesis was rejected.

The fourth sub-hypothesis (IIId) stated that more aspiring single workers would seek prestige in clothing than nonaspiring single workers. No significant differences were found between the aspiring and nonaspiring single workers on any of the six scales measuring prestige clothing and social activity. However, there was a tendency (.20 level) for more aspiring single workers to place high importance on prestige clothing than the nonaspiring single women. Because there were no apparent differences between the two groups on each of the variables, it was felt that no significant positive relationship existed between aspiration level within the "single" group and the use of clothing for prestige. Hence, alternative sub-hypothesis IIId was rejected.

Under sub-hypothesis IIe it was felt that more aspiring married workers would seek prestige in clothing than nonaspiring married workers. No significant differences were found between the two groups on any of the six scales, although there was a trend (.10 level of confidence) for more nonaspiring married women to practice

reduced price buying than the aspiring women. The trend was in the reverse of predicted direction. As a result of the findings no significant positive relationship was said to exist between aspiration level among the "married" group and the use of clothing for prestige. Therefore, alternative sub-hypothesis IIe was rejected.

From the findings of the present study it would seem that there were no real differences between single and married lower middle class women or between aspiring and nonaspiring lower middle class women with respect to their attitudes toward prestige use of clothing and with social activities. The only significant relationship found was between the single women and the amount of organization participation. This relationship did not appear to be due to social aspirations on the part of the single girl but was more than likely due to more free time to belong to an organization. When the aspiring and nonaspiring women were compared they appeared to be similar in their attitudes toward the prestige use of clothing. Tendencies and trends toward a difference between the aspiring and nonaspiring women were noted but two of these trends were in the reverse order of the predicted direction.

Based on the results of the study it was concluded that aspiring lower middle class working women living in Salem generally did not indicate the prestige use of clothing for social aspiration as measured by the scales employed in the study. These women did not buy

clothing items on sale nor did they attempt to buy on sale by looking for advertisements in magazines or newspapers. In addition they indicated that they did not pass judgment on others on the basis of the clothing that they wore, nor did the aspiring women differ from the nonaspiring in their attitudes toward the importance of clothing for prestige.

As previously indicated the only difference found among the working women in Salem was associated with the marital status of the individuals. The single women were more active in organizations than the married women and aspiration did not seem to have any effect on the amount of organization participation. On the whole only half of the young women in Salem belong to any organizations and among those who did, the single women were more active perhaps due to more free time and less responsibility at home.

The married women in Salem tended to practice reduced price buying more than the single women and the fact of buying on sale tended to be associated with low aspiration only for the married women.

Aspiring and nonaspiring lower middle class working women living in Salem appear to have similar attitudes toward the prestige use of clothing.



### Limitations

The lack of significant relationships between aspiration and attitudes toward the prestige use of clothing might be partially explained because of certain limitations of the study. In the determination of lower middle class too wide a range of scores might have been used. Two social classes emerged in spite of efforts to obtain only one social level and might have affected the results concerning the scale measuring ownership of prestige clothing. Upon analysis it was found that Social Class III owned significantly more clothing than Social Class IV. However, the two classes were similar when compared for differences on the other six variables.

In addition, results concerning the variable, ownership of prestige clothing, might have been affected by the presence of two occupation groups. Group I--secretaries, banktellers, and sales girls--owned significantly more clothing than Group II--typists, telephone operators, laboratory technicians, and office machine operators and clerks. Salem women who had constant contact with the public owned more prestige clothing than the women whose job afforded them less contact with the public. The differences found between the two social classes and the two occupation groups on ownership of prestige clothing were intervening variables, but since it affected only one variable it was concluded that these groups were relatively homogeneous.

Furthermore, the sample studied might have been too young for a comparison of aspiration levels related to prestige use of clothing. Many of the subjects were just getting started on their own and had not established themselves in the community.

Even though an attempt was made to modify the scales to suit lower middle class working women, the items and terminology selected might not have been specifically appropriate to measure attitudes of this particular group of women, although the tests might be suitable for another group in the same social class. There is always the possibility that scales used effectively in one research will not be suitable for study with another group of subjects in spite of efforts to modify the items and terminology.

Further limitations were present in the sampling and interview procedure. It was difficult to standardize the method of interviewing the subjects since the employers approached differed in their policy of cooperation. There was little control in this area because the employers' policies had to be accepted in order to get their cooperation.

### Recommendations

Considering the limitations of this research it is recommended that further study be done in the area of aspirations among lower middle class working women using different subjects and more

refined procedures such as:

(1) selecting lower middle class working women in the 30 to 45 age group.

(2) selecting subjects from a different city which would be more representative of the state than the capital which, by its nature, may be more conservative than other cities.

(3) further standardization of the interview and sampling procedure.

Since it is felt that the measuring devices used might not have been effective for lower middle class women it is recommended that further investigation be made into the use of more effective instruments and that additional study be done to develop and test effective instruments which will measure the aspirations and the prestige use of clothing for lower middle class working women.

Because of the nature of social investigations there is a constant need for further research in the area of social aspirations and the individual's use of clothing.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A  
INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE



## APPENDIX A

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Some people believe that clothes play a very important part in their lives, while other people believe that clothes are relatively unimportant. Your responses to the following statements will help in my study of the importance of clothing to the working woman.

I have a three page questionnaire I'd like you to fill out. This is not a test in that there aren't any right or wrong answers. The only right answer is your opinion. Your responses cannot be associated with you in any way; therefore you should feel free to give your honest opinion.

You will notice on the third page it says to stop. I'll take the questionnaire then, and ask you the rest of the questions orally.

#### PART I.

Indicate for each statement whether you feel it is "Definitely True" (DT), "Partly True" --- more true than false (PT), "Partly False" --- more false than true (PF), "Definitely False" (DF), or "Undecided" (U). Circle the abbreviation which shows how you feel.

- (DT) (PT) (U) (PF) (DF) 1. Being well-dressed is essential to help people establish a place for themselves.
- (DT) (PT) (U) (PF) (DF) 2. I am unhappy if I do not have a new outfit to wear to a special function.
- (DT) (PT) (U) (PF) (DF) 3. I avoid wearing certain clothes because they do not make me feel distinctive.
- (DT) (PT) (U) (PF) (DF) 4. I try to keep my wardrobe in line with the latest fashions.
- (DT) (PT) (U) (PF) (DF) 5. I do not notice whether other people are dressed suitably for an occasion.
- (DT) (PT) (U) (PF) (DF) 6. A person who is in the public eye should be clothes conscious at all times.
- (DT) (PT) (U) (PF) (DF) 7. I enjoy window shopping for clothes.
- (DT) (PT) (U) (PF) (DF) 8. I am not too concerned with fashion.
- (DT) (PT) (U) (PF) (DF) 9. A woman should be fashionably dressed when doing routine neighborhood errands.
- (DT) (PT) (U) (PF) (DF) 10. I enjoy talking about clothes.

#### PART II.

Please indicate whether you own the items listed below by placing a check ( ) in the appropriate space. If you do not own the item, indicate whether you would like to own them ( ). It is very important that you respond to each item.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Do you own this item</u>	<u>Would you like to own this item</u>
Fur piece, stole, or coat	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___ Possibly ___
Fancy hats (latest styles)	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___ Possibly ___
Well tailored wool suit (latest style)	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___ Possibly ___
High fashion cocktail dress	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___ Possibly ___
Spike heel shoes	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___ Possibly ___

<u>Item</u>	<u>Do you own this item</u>	<u>Would you like to own this item</u>
Long leather gloves	Yes _____ No _____	Yes _____ No _____ Possibly _____
Expensive jewelry	Yes _____ No _____	Yes _____ No _____ Possibly _____
Cashmere coat	Yes _____ No _____	Yes _____ No _____ Possibly _____

## PART III.

1. Most people come to some tentative opinions about people whom they meet for the first time in order to decide if they wish to make further efforts to know them. These opinions are based on selection from among many available clues. Please rank from first to sixth the following clues in order of their importance to you in forming such tentative opinions.

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1) the clothing the person is wearing looks appropriate for the occasion and the person.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (2) the tone of the person's voice and the way they speak.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (3) the person's clothing is up to date.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (4) expression of a person's face and eyes.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (5) posture and actions of the person.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (6) the person's clothing fits well and is neat and clean.

2. When women think of and discuss their occupation they often compare their jobs with an ideal. Some basis of comparison are listed below. As you read the list, consider to what extent a position for you would have to satisfy each of these requirements before you would consider it IDEAL.

Indicate your position by checking:

H. (high) next to the requirements you consider highly important.

M. (medium) next to the requirements you consider of medium importance.

L. (low) next to the requirements you consider of little or no importance.

H    M    L

- \_\_\_\_\_ A. Be work in which I am vitally interested.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ B. Be work from which I would derive great personal satisfaction.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ C. Give a distinctive position in the community.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ D. Give opportunity to meet and work with people who are well known in the business world.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ E. Provide opportunity to use my special abilities and aptitudes.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ F. Provide opportunity to earn a good deal of money.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ G. Give an opportunity for recognition and promotion.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ H. Be work which I feel is important and worthwhile.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ I. Make it possible for me to look forward to a stable and secure future.

3. List the organizations to which you belong and any responsibilities which you may have.

Example: PTA, Eastern Star, YWCA; responsibilities such as treasurer, chairman, etc.

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4. Which of the following social events do you attend? Place a (2) beside those you attend frequently: (1) beside those you attend occasionally: and (0) beside those which you seldom or never attend.

\_\_\_\_\_ Sports events you watch  
\_\_\_\_\_ Sports events you take part in  
\_\_\_\_\_ Plays  
\_\_\_\_\_ Movies with male escort  
\_\_\_\_\_ Lectures, Discussion groups  
\_\_\_\_\_ Other, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Semi formal dances  
\_\_\_\_\_ Dinner with male escort  
\_\_\_\_\_ Club or organization meetings  
\_\_\_\_\_ Dinner parties  
\_\_\_\_\_ Card parties  
\_\_\_\_\_ Church activities

STOP HERE

## PART IV.

Buying habits of people vary a great deal. Some people do most of their buying at reduced prices. This may include sales such as end of season sales, buying at discount houses or outlet stores, or buying wholesale. Other people almost always pay full price when they buy. I'll read a number of statements representing some aspects of this question. For each one I'd like you to answer "Yes" if it is usually true of you, or "No" if it is usually not true of you.

Yes No

- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 5. I plan to do all or nearly all of my purchasing of major clothing items at sales or at reduced prices.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 6. I would make a real effort to attend clothing sales in the stores where I usually shop.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 7. I nearly always watch the paper for advertisements of sales of clothing and study these ads quite thoroughly.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 8. I make nearly all of my purchases of major clothing items at reduced prices such as sales or special outlets.

Following is a list of clothing items. Try to remember whether or not the last time you bought each of these, the item was bought at a reduced price, like sales, discount houses, special outlet stores, or wholesale buying. If it was bought at a reduced price answer "Sale". If it was purchased at full price, answer "Full Price".

Sale Full Price

- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 9. Hat for afternoon wear or dressy wear.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 10. Dress - a good dress or afternoon dress.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 11. Blouse - a good blouse to wear with your better suits.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 12. Suit - for fall or winter.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 13. Shoes - to wear with suits or afternoon dresses.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 14. Coat - the winter coat you wear for most social functions.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 15. Slip.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 16. Bra.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 17. Girdle.
- \_\_\_ \_\_\_ 18. Stockings.

The following is some background information that I need for the study.

Single Working Woman

Living in an apartment Yes\_\_\_ No\_\_\_

Living with parents Yes\_\_\_ No\_\_\_

Supported by parents (50%) Yes\_\_\_ No\_\_\_

Self supporting (+50%) Yes\_\_\_ No\_\_\_

(Pay room & board)

Father's occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Description \_\_\_\_\_

Education of husband or father

Grad. professional training \_\_\_\_\_

College degree \_\_\_\_\_

Partial college (1 yr. +) \_\_\_\_\_

High School degree \_\_\_\_\_

Partial H. S. 10th or 11th Gr. \_\_\_\_\_

Married Working Woman

Do you have any children? Yes\_\_\_ No\_\_\_

Number 1\_\_ 2\_\_ 3+\_\_

Ages less than 1 yr. \_\_\_

1-2 years old \_\_\_

3-5 years old \_\_\_

6 or over \_\_\_

Number of male children \_\_\_\_\_

Number of female children \_\_\_\_\_

Husband's occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Description \_\_\_\_\_

Your occupation \_\_\_\_\_

Description \_\_\_\_\_

## PART IV. Continued

## Education of husband or father (continued)

Junior H. S. 7th-9th Gr. \_\_\_\_\_

Less than 7 years of school \_\_\_\_\_

Does your mother work? Yes\_\_\_ No\_\_\_

Type work \_\_\_\_\_

Description \_\_\_\_\_

## Education of respondent

Grad. professional training \_\_\_\_\_

College degree \_\_\_\_\_

Partial college (1 yr +) \_\_\_\_\_

High School \_\_\_\_\_

Partial High School \_\_\_\_\_

Junior High School (7th-9th) \_\_\_\_\_

Less than 7 years \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX B  
SCORING

## APPENDIX B SCORING

### PART I. CLOTHING IMPORTANCE

Subjects were asked to state how they felt toward ten statements concerning clothing importance. Only the five statements concerning clothing prestige were scored (numbers 1, 3, 6, 7, 9).

For each "Definitely True" answer a weight of 5 was given.  
For each "Partially True" answer a weight of 4 was given.  
For each "Undecided" answer a weight of 3 was given.  
For each "Partially False" answer a weight of 2 was given.  
For each "Definitely False" answer a weight of 1 was given.

Total range (25-5) high score = high value of clothing importance designating prestige.

(Source: Elizabeth Sharpe, 1963)

### PART II. OWNING PRESTIGE CLOTHING

Eight clothing items were listed. The subject was asked to check whether she owned or would like to own each item.

For each owned item a weight of 3 was given.  
For each item the person would like to own a weight of 1 was given.

Total range (24-0) high score = high ownership of prestige clothing.

(Source: Ruth Gates, 1960)

### PART III.

#### 1. JUDGING OTHERS

Subjects were asked to rate in order of importance six factors when meeting a person for the first time. Three of the six were clothing factors.

A score was obtained by adding the numerical ratings of the clothing factors. If a person rated all three clothing factors as 1st, 2nd, and 3rd in importance, her score would be 6, equalling high importance of clothing in judging others. Score of 15 = low importance.

Total range (6-15) A low numerical score in this case = high use of clothing in judging others.

(Source: Ruth Gates, 1960)

PART III. Continued.

## 2. ASPIRATION

The subject was asked to rate each of five statements as high, medium, or low in importance concerning job requirements for the "ideal" job.

For each "High" (in importance) answer a weight of 3 was given.

For each "Medium" answer a weight of 2 was given.

For each "Low" answer a weight of 1 was given.

Total range (15-5) high score = high aspiration.

(Source: Ruth Gates, 1960)

PART III. Continued.

## 3. ORGANIZATIONS

Persons were asked to list organizations and officership in them. Each organization listed was given a weight of 1 and if the person held an office the person was given another weight of 1. Scores were added to find total score.

Actual range (3-0)

(Source: Dona Doreen Ditty, 1962)



### PART III. Continued.

#### 4. ACTIVITIES

The subject was given a list of activities; beside each activity a weight of 2 was given to each activity frequently attended; a weight of 1 for those occasionally attended, and a weight of 0 for those seldom or never attended.

Total range (24-0) high score = high attendance in activities.

(Source: Emma Louise Kittles, 1961)

### PART IV. REDUCED PRICE BUYING Two parts (Interview)

Part 1: Subjects were asked four questions with respect to buying clothing on sale. For each "Yes" answer, a weight of 5 was given, for each "No" answer a weight of 0 was given, totaling a possible score of 20.

Part 2: A list of clothing items was given to the subject. She was to indicate whether she bought the item at full price or sale price. For every "Sale" answer a weight of 2 was given, for every "Full Price" answer a weight of 0 was given. Total possible score was 20.

The two scores were then added to get total score for reduced price buying.

Total range (40-0) high score = high practice of reduced price buying.

(Source: Ruth Gates, 1960)