AN INTERPRETATION OF CLOTHING BEHAVIOR BASED ON SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY

DISSERTATION

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By

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Effective college teaching depends on the continued efforts of educators to evaluate, revise, and improve college curricula. Rapid technological developments in our society in recent years and changes in family functions and manner of living challenge college educators in home economics to appraise their offerings in light of the changing needs of students.

There is grave concern regarding the content of some college courses in the area of textiles and clothing. Forward looking educators ask, Where should major emphasis be placed? Are teachers being realistic in their approach to today's clothing problems? Day Monroe deftly pinpoints these concerns in the following remarks.

Granted, some women find satisfaction in sewing and because of their skill can be better dressed than if they bought all their clothing ready made. But such women are a relatively small proportion of the women of this country, according to carefully constructed studies. Shall clothing courses and curricula be oriented primarily toward serving this minority? Or shall major emphasis be upon helping the majority, who do not sew, improve their clothing consumption?¹

¹College Teachers of Textiles and Clothing, Central Region, Proceedings of the Thirteenth Conference (University of Illinois, 1957), pp. 13-16.
Unfortunately the wheels of educational change move slowly in the light of cultural advances. Much deliberation is required before words crystallize into action and new trends gain momentum. The present study aims in a small way to help alleviate a need which has been persistent: the need for clothing teachers to enhance their understanding of the social-psychological forces in clothing behavior and to use these as bases for fundamental learnings important to intelligent clothing consumption. A necessary beginning step is to search out a coherent set of general principles or guiding theory which will provide a basis for explaining observed facts related to clothing behavior. It is hoped that this initial step can serve as a foundation for future studies planned to validate or disprove hypotheses which the theory suggests. Behavior theory should provide a scientific orientation for the social-psychological aspects of clothing behavior which are commonly explained on the grounds of observation, experience, and personal convictions. This orientation would make possible the planning of research to test the theory in action. The following hypotheses were developed in light of the need for a guiding theory which is applicable to the area of clothing behavior.

**Hypotheses**

1. Relevant behavioral concepts from the field of social psychology can be applied in the area of clothing behavior.
2. Relevant social-psychological concepts involved in clothing behavior can provide the basis for the development of learnings fundamental to understanding the function of clothing in behavior.

Two major objectives evolve in the process of testing these hypotheses: (1) to select basic concepts from the literature of social psychology which are relevant to an explanation of social behavior and (2) to apply relevant behavioral concepts in a theoretical explanation of clothing behavior.

The writer is aware that home economists have done little research in the realm of clothing behavior and that investigation in the social science field related to clothing behavior is limited and mostly dated. There seem to be several obvious reasons for this dilemma. One is that most social scientists feel that there are more pressing problems in need of investigation than those concerning the role of clothing in the lives of people. Another factor hinges on the complications surrounding interdepartmental research, especially as related to orientation of viewpoint and time and personnel involved. A third and serious factor is the dearth of home economists prepared to participate in or direct social-psychological research in clothing. George W. Hartman predicts, "Home economics education in the field of sound clothing behavior must ultimately contribute something
to the making of the superior personality, or its activities will be found fatally defective."^2

As long ago as 1947 when the Conference on Textiles and Clothing Research Related to the Social Sciences was held at Teacher's College, Columbia University, teachers of clothing at the college level were attempting to clarify and interpret social-psychological aspects of clothing and their contributions to the textiles and clothing curriculum.3 In the lengthy interval since that conference a meager amount of cooperative research has been reported in the literature.

Reports of several meetings indicate that the topic continues to be one of primary concern. The Clothing Conference of College Teachers of Textiles and Clothing in the Central Region in 1950 and 1957 focused its discussions on the social, psychological, and economic aspects of clothing in today's society, attempting to define and interpret these topics and their application in the college clothing pro-

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4College Teachers of Textiles and Clothing, Central Region, Proceedings of the Sixth Conference (Chicago, Illinois, 1950).

5Conference Report, op. cit., 1957.
The plans and proposals of a work conference of college teachers of textiles and clothing from all regions of the United States as reported in the October, 1956, Journal of Home Economics emphasizes the contributions to education of the study of social-psychological aspects of clothing.6

Although the past twelve years of consideration have resulted in general awareness and agreement that the social-psychological aspects of clothing are important, little positive action has been aimed toward investigation and elucidation of the meaning of these aspects of clothing. It is paramount that educators cease bandying around the impressive and abstract term "social-psychological" and endeavor to find out what the phrase, social-psychological aspects of clothing, actually means.

Aside from the interest and concern of clothing leaders in the subject, the writer perceives an immediate personal need and responsibility to be able to differentiate between a scientific understanding of clothing behavior and practical knowledge. Rule-of-thumb reasoning and tradition-based explanations are weak supports when one tries to substantiate his convictions about clothing behavior to students.

The generalizations which follow are typical examples of statements which should be explainable according to concepts of social behavior.

Clothing is a visible symbol of personality; clothing helps to indicate one's concept of his personal worth and esteem; clothing may serve as an outward expression of personal feelings such as self-confidence, respect, achievement, gaiety, and satisfaction; clothing makes real the role one is performing. Clothing choices are influenced by group pressures.

The realization that other teachers might also benefit from an investigation of concepts of social behavior as they apply to the field of clothing strengthens the writer's conviction that the problem is a worthwhile one to investigate. The initial step, dealing with theory, may instigate future development and testing of hypotheses related to clothing behavior.

Assumptions

The problem involved in this study of selecting concepts of social behavior which are applicable and basic to an understanding of clothing behavior is predicated on certain assumptions. The following assumptions are considered essential to the development of the hypotheses.
1. **Clothing behavior is an aspect of social behavior.**

Man is a social being, living in a social world. "Social behavior" is a term used to designate all of man's behavior whether it be his perception of colored papers, his performance on an intelligence test, or his decision to join a club.

Social behavior is that behavior which takes place in direct reference to other people as in any kind of face-to-face situation or that which takes place in the absence of people but is affected by reference to other people.7

Clothing behavior is considered in this study as one facet of the complex, encompassing term, social behavior. It includes the need-satisfactions which the behaver experiences in the use of clothing as it functions in his perceptual field.

2. **The field of social psychology is a fundamental source of basic concepts which explain social behavior.**

This assumption is based on descriptive definitions of social psychology by authors of literature in the field.

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According to Kimball Young, "Social psychology is the study of persons in their interactions with one another and with reference to the effects of this interplay upon the individual's thoughts, feelings, emotions, and habits." Sherif and Sherif define social psychology as:

...the scientific study of the experience and behavior of individuals in relation to social stimulus situations. Social stimulus situations are composed of people (individuals and groups) and items of the sociocultural setting.

"Social psychology is that branch of the social sciences which seeks to understand individual behavior in the context of social interaction," according to the definition by Hartley and Hartley. Krech and Crutchfield state, "Social psychology may be broadly defined as the science of the behavior of the individual in society."

Limitations

The study is limited to the field of social psychology due to the urgency for investigation in this area, the

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11Krech and Crutchfield, op. cit., p. 7.
time involved, and the manageability of the problem. This is not to deny that investigation of the application of basic concepts from other areas such as art, sociology, or economics would be valuable.

A further limitation is the confinement of the study to theoretical concepts, their interpretation, and application. This limitation was necessary from the standpoint of procedure and manageability of the problem.

The study is also limited by the personal attributes of the investigator - ability to perceive relevant social-psychological concepts and their implications for clothing behavior, and personal bias in interpretation and application.

**Procedure**

The design of the procedure required to test the hypotheses is set forth in the ensuing steps:

1. Survey the literature in the field of social psychology in order to select concepts basic to an understanding of social behavior.
2. Justify the specific choice of concepts.
3. Clarify and elaborate on these concepts in their social-psychological context.
4. Present the findings of relevant behavioral concepts to a social psychologist for approval as to their appropriateness for the study.
5. Apply theoretical concepts in an analysis of the following aspects of clothing behavior.
   a. Individual Clothing Behavior.
   b. Individual Clothing Behavior as Related to Family Environment.
   c. Fashions and Fads in Clothing Behavior.

6. Suggest hypotheses for future empirical research directed toward validation or disproof of the theory set forth in the study.
CHAPTER II

CONCEPTS OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR SELECTED FROM
SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL LITERATURE

PART 1

Selection of Basic Propositions

The study of man and human nature with its numerous complexities and multidimensional aspects have intrigued philosophers, theologians, and scientists from early times. Various theories and concepts explaining man's behavior have been formulated, reorganized, consolidated, and discarded over the years. The study of human nature at the present time appears to be shifting from an emphasis on the individual to an emphasis on the individual-in-relation-to others.¹ As late as twenty years ago much theory was posited in the nonsocial aspects of personality—man in relation to his instinctual past, his racial past.

Today man is viewed as a uniquely social being, always involved in crucial interactions with his family members, his contemporaries, his predecessors, and his society. All these factors are seen influencing and being influenced by the individual.²

As noted previously, human beings have long been interested in social-psychological problems, but social psychology has only recently been recognized as a specialized field of scientific inquiry. Consequently this branch of the social sciences is still actively engaged in accumulating a significant body of knowledge which seeks to understand human behavior in the context of social interaction. Selecting basic behavioral concepts on which there is consensus of opinion presents a rather difficult task since one finds various approaches and theories presented in explanation of human activity. The field is marked by diversity.

Most social psychologists of the nineteenth century tended to select and develop one simple and sovereign formula that seemed to them to hold the key to social behavior. Favorite among these unitary solutions were pleasure-pain, egoism, sympathy, gregariousness, imitation, and suggestion. Although few modern writers focus on a single motive or mechanism and claim it to be an all-sufficient explanation of social behavior, there are some who favor one predominant factor to the relative neglect of others. Typical are such concepts as conditioning, reinforcement, anxiety, frustration, and role. The reason for this kind of approach seems to be that every writer aspires to a coherent system of explanation and wishes to reduce the number of variables in his system to the minimum.
Two contemporary theories which are looked upon favorably today are based on a single mechanism, the Interpersonal System of Personality and the theory of Role. They will be considered briefly here because they are indicative of the trend of thinking regarding emphasis on the individual-in-relation-to-others.

The Interpersonal System of Personality, developed by the Kaiser Foundation Psychology Project, is relatively new and promising. It is directed at interpreting one facet of behavior considered a key factor by its originators. The theoretical system is based on one assumption about the motivation of emotional behavior.

Personality is the multilevel pattern of interpersonal responses (overt, conscious, or private) expressed by the individual. Interpersonal behavior is aimed at reducing anxiety. All the social, emotional, interpersonal activities of an individual can be understood as attempts to avoid anxiety or to establish and maintain self-esteem.3

Although this theory and its empirical system of personality were developed for the purpose of clinical diagnosis and prognosis in a psychotherapeutic setting, it may be applied to problems of interpersonal diagnosis outside the clinic. Researchers report that it has been tried successfully in the analysis of group dynamics in an industrial management group and in group psychotherapy.

3Ibid., pp. 15, 16.
The theory of Role which is less recent than the Interpersonal theory has gained adherents as a basis for understanding people in their intimate relations with other humans. According to Theodore R. Sarbin, it attempts to conceptualize human conduct as a relatively complex level. The broad conceptual units of the theory include role, the unit of culture; position, the unit of society; and self, the unit of personality. The following description provides an overview of the theory.

Persons occupy positions or statuses in interactional situations. Psychologically considered, positions are cognitive systems of role expectations, products of learning. Role expectations are bidimensional, for every role expectation of other there is a reciprocal role expectation of self. The organized actions of the person, directed toward fulfilling these role expectations comprise the role. Variation in role enactment is a function of at least three variables:

1. The validity of role perception
2. Skill in role enactment
3. The current organization of the self— a cognitive structure that exercises a selective and directive effect on role perception and role enactment.

Role theorists, more than any other group, have developed and used the concept of "self." The social self

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5. Ibid.
becomes the major factor in directing a person's activity toward motive satisfaction according to role theory. Carl Rogers in an effort to explain observed behavioral facts has formulated a theory of personality and behavior based on the self-concept. The phenomenological approach of Snygg and Combs to individual behavior is also posited in the self-concept. Since 1948 social psychologists in increasing numbers have carried out empirical studies based on the key concepts of this theory—self, role, and interaction. One of the most recent tests of role theory is that conducted by Neal Gross and associates at Harvard University.

A comparison of Role theory and Interpersonal System of Personality indicates that although based on different concepts, both systems involve interpersonal action and the goal-directed nature of human activity.

The writer's search for a systematic position of theory whose concepts and principles could be generalized and translated to new data resolved itself to a study primarily of handbooks and textbooks. Most authors, no doubt, would claim that they are presenting a systematic point of


view, but often their product is merely a matter of weighted preferences for certain concepts. Throughout the investigation three major behavioral structures appeared to permeate the literature; namely, motivation, perception, and learning. Certain authors tended to emphasize one or two of these behavioral aspects more than another, but no evidence was found to refute the fundamental relationship of these structures to behavior. Attention will be directed first to motivation.

Motivation

The consideration of motivation should be prefaced with the reminder that behavior is a very complex phenomenon and that motivation, while presented separately, actually functions as intertwined with and interrelated to perception and learning; also, that there is general agreement among social psychologists that behavior is motivated. The problem revolves around such controversial issues as the nature and origin of motives and the role of motivation in determining behavior. Present emphasis seems to concern the latter issue.

Theodore M. Newcomb makes the following statement in discussing motivation in social behavior. "Motive refers to a state of the organism in which bodily energy is
mobilized and selectively directed toward parts of the environment." He uses the term "mobilized" in the same sense as drive as used by psychologists and "selected parts of the environment" as the equivalent of goal, or a state of affairs toward which behavior is directed. In other words, motive is a concept which joins together drive and goal, according to Newcomb.

In his analysis of behavior, Leonard W. Doob describes the influence of motivation in this manner. "There is something within people which impels them to action and which keeps them moving until they secure what they want." Doob stresses the importance of "wants" as moving people hither and yon, but seldom completely blindly or aimlessly. Although he emphasizes wants or goals as prime forces in motivation, he does not deny the presence of some kind of impelling force.

Many words have been written and hours of study devoted to the problem of whether or not certain drives or motives are inherent in man and consequently do or do not form the building blocks on which complex secondary motives develop.


The normal infant has certain basic needs or psychological imperatives which must be met if he is to survive. Fortunately the infant is provided with a flexible neural-muscular-glandular system which will assist him in making adaptations to his environment. Cycles of activity follow in an effort to satisfy basic needs or drives, seeking of stimuli or situations which will release the tension or satisfy the drive. Young states:

On the foundations of demands for food and drink, for bodily protection, and later, for sexual satisfaction, there are built up various reactions, both oppositional and cooperative, which relate to dependency, love, protection, and security. These are the underpinnings on which all the later motives and the cultural imperatives are constructed.11

Gordon W. Allport, a psychologist, holds to the view that secondary motives have their origin in primary drives but that they can become independent and self-sustaining.

Somehow in the process of maturing the manifold potentialities and dispositions of childhood coalesce into sharper, more distinctive motivational systems. Pari passu with this emergence, these systems take upon themselves effective driving power, operating as mature autonomous motives quite different in aim and character from the motivational system of juvenile years, and very different indeed from the crude organic tensions of infancy.

Adult motives (must be regarded) as infinitely varied, and as self-sustaining, contemporary systems, growing out of antecedent systems but functionally independent of them. Just as a child gradually repudiates his dependence on his parents, develops a will of his own, becomes self-active and self-determining, and outlives his parents, so it is with motives. Each motive has a definite point of origin which may lie in the hypothetical instincts, or, more likely, in...organic tensions and diffuse irritability....Theoretically all adult purposes can be traced back to these seed forms in infancy. But as the individual matures, the bond is broken. The tie is historical, not functional.12

Concern with problems of origin and classification of motives has more recently shifted to emphasis on the role of motivation in determining behavior as evidenced by the following question. "What impels a person to continue along a prospective line of action until he reaches a desired goal?" queries Hubert Bonner.13 He notes that it is not easy to answer this question for human motives cannot be directly observed.

Bonner continues:

Although social psychologists accept the use of the term drive to describe universal organic needs, they prefer to use the term motive to designate socially conditioned needs. Motives are derived from the social group in different learning situations. They are habits built up in the individual through early and constant exposure to social and cultural values and expectancies....Men strive for such values as


success, self-esteem, security, affection and the like, not because they are biological animals, but because they are social beings responsive to the attitudes and evaluations of other social beings.

A motive is a determinant of behavior in two ways: (1) it is the modification or transformation of a drive by social expectancies and (2) it is a derived need to achieve individually and culturally established goals.14

In conclusion Bonner states:

Motives are directional thrusts toward satisfaction....If behavior is predictable at all, it is predictable only when we know both the tensions which impel a person to action and the cultural situation in which the tensions operate.15

The point of view of Krech and Crutchfield follows in the same vein.

In any account of the behavior of people we start our description with reference to some kind of active, driving force: the individual seeks, the individual wants, the individual fears. In addition, we specify an object or condition toward which that force is directed: he seeks wealth, he wants peace, he fears illness. The study of the relationship between these two variables, the driving force and the object or condition toward which that driving force is directed, is the study of the dynamics of behavior or motivation.16

The initial and most extensive consideration in the structured concepts of Krech and Crutchfield is the question of motivation or the question of "Why."

14Ibid., p. 148.
15Ibid., p. 170.
16Krech and Crutchfield, op. cit., p. 29.
Why does Mr. Arbuthnot go to church? Why did his brother go out on strike and parade in the picket line eight hours a day? Why does his maiden aunt rigorously observe all the cultural taboos of her set?17

A review of progressive changes in viewpoint regarding social motivation as presented in Handbook of Social Psychology, Volume II, concludes that the trend emerging today appears to concentrate on the immediate influence of the participant in a social situation.

...although social motives are often accepted and regarded as depending on inner biological dispositions, they are regarded as crude, essentially amorphous dispositions, the meaning of which appears only when the social context is defined. We find therefore in the modern theories of social behavior, two emphases: (1) One is to the effect that everything in society must be anchored to a social motive. (2) The other is to the effect that however important the inherent motives of an individual may be, social activities are more appropriately conceived as aspects of a social situation. The former approach emphasizes drives which guide the process of perceiving, feeling, and acting. The latter defines these processes mainly in terms of the social context in which they appear.18

The problem of human motivation has been considered: What makes an individual behave the way he does? To summarize, the underlying reason, the initiating cause for behavior was discovered to be in an analysis of needs, goals, and tensions.

17Ibid.

Perception

Perception is the second behavioral factor which was prominent in the literature. According to Krech and Crutchfield, a motivational analysis as suggested above provides only a partial basis on which to build an understanding of behavior. "If we are to understand social behavior, we must know how all perceptions, memories, fantasies are combined or integrated or organized into present cognitive structures." They point out further that the fundamental importance of perception for social psychology is clearly indicated when it becomes evident that all of man's total behavior acts are shaped by his "private" conceptions of the world.

Hartley and Hartley in their discussion of the socialization process remind their readers that this process involves at least three major aspects of human behavior: motivation, perception, and learning. "The process of perception itself is susceptible to social influences and in turn largely determines social behavior."

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19 Krech and Crutchfield, op. cit., p. 77.
20 Ibid., p. 106.
Leonard W. Doob states that attention only to the fundamental processes of motivation and learning in an attempt to understand or predict human behavior is too limited since people must be located within a social setting, in which case contact is established between the person and his environment and perception occurs.\textsuperscript{22}

In their summary statements on "The Perception of People," Bruner and Taguiri conclude:

One point upon which most social psychologists would agree...The first step in reacting to another is forming an impression of him. Later reactions depend on this first step. If there is to be a science of interpersonal behavior, it will rest upon a cornerstone of social perception.\textsuperscript{23}

What people "see" is the result of the interaction between their own anatomy, the physical aspects of the universe, and what they have learned in their past experience. A.S. Hallowell's observation on perception as described by Hartley and Hartley adds clarity to the term, what men "see."

When he speaks of man "viewing" the world, he is obviously referring not to the mere sensation that results from exposing the eye to complicated patterns of light waves, but to

\textsuperscript{22}\textsuperscript{22}Doob, op. cit., p. 70.

perception, the process by which we register what is in the field of view in a way that is meaningful... We are speaking figuratively, not confining ourselves to the function of the eyes alone, but implicitly including all the means of obtaining information and interpreting it according to our concepts of the external world.24

What is perceived depends upon several factors, according to Doob.25 The first, and one naturally associated with perception, is the nature of the sense organs. It is fairly obvious that impairment of the sense organs reduces one's perceptual field. The blind and the deaf, for example, lack sensory capabilities which limit their perceptual acumen.

A second factor affecting perception is determined by the situation or stimuli which affects the sense organs. Man does not register all the stimuli that exist in the physical field. He ignores some, adds others, and organizes the whole so that certain stimuli are more important than others.

Perception may be affected by a third factor which is comprised of such individual variables as mood, attitude, memory, hearsay, needs, goals, and perception of the self.

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25 Doob, op. cit., pp. 70, 71.
The following example illustrates differences in perception experienced by two individuals exposed to the same stimuli. Summer tourists are viewed as an economic blessing by a small-town business man whereas a wealthy, long-time resident in the same community perceives them as intruders, pests. Doob also notes that all three of these factors which determine perception may be affected by social conditions.

Although the organization of perceptual determinants proposed by Krech and Crutchfield and also by Hubert Bonner is arranged in a different manner than the factors presented by Doob, both plans are basically in agreement. The former writers group the major determinants of perception into two main categories: the principles relating to the structural factors of perception and those relating to the functional factors involved in perception.

By structural factors are meant those factors deriving solely from the nature of the physical stimuli and the neural effects they evoke in the nervous system of the individual.

The functional factors of perceptual organization are those which derive primarily from the needs, moods, past experience, and memory of the individual.

26 Bonner, op. cit., p. 95.
27 Krech and Crutchfield, op. cit., p. 81.
28 Ibid., pp. 81, 82.
These two groups of factors are interrelated; neither set operates alone since every perception involves both kinds of factors. Therefore, Krech and Crutchfield emphasize that their principles of perception are based on the concept of the interrelated operation of both factors although no attempt is made to distinguish between them or to point out those which may be "learned" or "unlearned."

One may conclude that in order to comprehend social behavior, it is necessary to understand how individuals perceive the world; motivational analysis alone provides only a partial picture. The next consideration is that of learning, the third major aspect believed fundamental to understanding the complex phenomenon, social behavior.

Learning

Man is actually one of the most helpless of animal organisms at birth, so much so that he must be aided for months and even years following birth before he is able to look after himself. But from birth on, his personality is constantly being affected by experiences. New patterns of behavior are acquired which determine how he will behave in a variety of situations.

If the fundamental processes of motivation and perception apply to all individuals as inferred in the previous presentation, it would seem that social behavior should be
quite uniform and similar for everyone, yet we know from observation that people react differently depending on their specific needs, goals, and perceptions. Explanation hinges on the fact that the same processes, operating with different material or different media, yield different end results. Social behavior among men reflects differences in their cognitive structures as a result of differences in the kinds of problems they meet, and in the various trainings to which they have been subjected. The perceived world of each individual, although structured and meaningful, is constantly changing.

Psychologists generally agree that learning is involved in diverse behavior, but they have found it difficult to reach decisive agreement on a single theory of learning.

Leonard W. Doob, a social psychologist, posits his explanation of behavior change in the psychological principle of reinforcement and extinction. "This principle suggests that behavior which leads to drive reduction or drive satisfaction is reinforced and that behavior which does not do so is extinguished."\(^2\)

The motive is the heart of the learning process, according to this conceptualization.

Steuart Britt in his *Social Psychology of Modern Life* states that behavior patterns apparently are acquired

\(^2\)Doob, op. cit., p. 67.
through the mechanism of trial-and-error learning, or by means of the conditional response. New responses become integrated into larger and more effective behavior patterns.

The aspects of learning which seem especially relevant to an understanding of how perception is influenced and socialization progresses are considered by Hartley and Hartley. These include repetition, generalization and differentiation, and transfer and dominance. To the social sphere they apply a fourfold schema for learning offered by Miller and Dollard and based on Hull's theory. This plan consists of motive, cue, response, and reinforcement or reward, essential elements to learning.

Without motivation no activity can be expected; without perceptible cues in the environment to guide him, the individual cannot know what response is appropriate; without a response from the individual, there is nothing to be retained; and without reinforcement or reward, no connection will be established between response and motivation. Hence, no learning will take place.

Kimball Young points out that "learning has three principal effects on the adaptive process: first, on the drives; second, on the goals; and third, on the means of

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31 Hartley and Hartley, op. cit., p. 234.
32 Ibid., p. 274.
33 Ibid.
getting from drive to goal." He cites three important general principles or "laws" as basic in the learning process:

1. The law of effect

   When a modifiable connection between a situation and a response is made and is accompanied or followed by a satisfying state of affairs, that connection's strength is increased; when made and accompanied or followed by an annoying state of affairs, its strength is decreased.

2. The law of substitution

   Not only may overt responses be linked together, but substitute stimuli and substitute reactions may also be associated.

3. The law of reward

   Reward and punishment reinforce any conditioning.

Young observes, in conclusion, that certain features of learning - imitation, suggestion, praise or blame, and competition or co-operation - serve to facilitate or inhibit particular kinds of social adaptation.

Krech and Crutchfield, whose ideas concerning motivation and perception have been quoted previously as having merit in understanding social behavior, consider behavior

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34 Young, op. cit., p. 93.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., p. 103.
change as involving more than learning or education or training.

The behavior of an individual can change when (1) the individual is placed in a problem situation, (2) when significant changes occur in the physiological state, and (3) through the operation of the dynamic factors involved in retention. 38

The integrating factor in each of these three different change-inducing conditions is cognitive reorganization. "The processes of thinking, problem solving, learning, forgetting, and the 'sudden' appearance of new goals and insights, all become special cases of the process of cognitive reorganization." 39 Therefore, instead of proposing learning propositions only, Krech and Crutchfield formulate propositions which are generalized statements of cognitive reorganization.

The reasoning behind this approach to behavior change which integrates the large number of fields of learning, is that cognitive structures are not static. "They are constantly changing - in response to the individual's changing situations (learning), his changing physiological state, and through the effects of the dynamic factors involved in retention (forgetting)." 40 Cognitive reorganization is a process similar to cognitive organization except that it

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38Krech and Crutchfield, op. cit., p. 111.
39Ibid., p. 112.
40Ibid., p. 142.
operates through a series of events. In other words, Krech and Crutchfield address themselves to a broader, more inclusive structure than learning as being fundamental to understanding behavior.

In summary, it may be concluded that the three complex structures - motivation, perception, and learning - are crucial to understanding behavior and that they are dominant, highly relevant components of this complicated phenomenon. Their relationship is interdependent and intricate. Such a point of view brings the investigator to the problem of finding available basic concepts or propositions of motivation, perception, and learning that are helpful in understanding social behavior.

In order to maintain unity and consistency in the over-all selection of concepts of social behavior, it appears more advantageous to follow one theoretical system than a mixture of concepts from various authors. That is, provided it meets the criteria for a systematic position of theory whose concepts and propositions could be generalized and applied to social situations.

The writer found the structured scheme of David Krech and Richard Crutchfield to meet most closely the criteria cited.\textsuperscript{41} In addition, the authors present

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid.
verification of their systemized set of propositions by applying them in an analysis of selected social problems. The phenomenological approach of Krech and Crutchfield presents a systematic position which ties the data of social psychology to a coherent psychological frame of thought. Their theory bears the influence of Lewin's Field Theory, but it is more comprehensive and inclusive than that of Lewin. According to the authors:

The analysis of the individual's behavior proceeds by a determination of the properties of the psychological field of the individual - what his existent goals and his persistent tensions are, what he perceives and how he perceives it, how his perceptions are organized together to make up the cognitive structure of his psychological environment, and how the present organizations give way to subsequent organizations. These field properties can be understood in terms of the basic principles of motivation, perception, and learning, the development of which has been the major task of general psychology.

Krech and Crutchfield have proposed a framework for motivation which binds facts and theories into a logical whole in keeping with the trend to concentrate on the immediate influence of the participant in a social situation; they recognize the desirability of looking for properties of behavior in the experienced world of the individual with


43 Krech and Crutchfield, op. cit., p. 25.
full awareness of the involvement of the self and the importance of ideals and values in shaping needs and goals. They are cognizant of how the individual's conceptions about his world influence and direct his action. Their approach to behavior change is more exhaustive and integrative than approaches which consider only learning, yet their propositions are congruent to those of learning. In light of the fact that the propositions set forth by Krech and Crutchfield are organized into a systematic theory based on motivation, perception, and learning, and that they can be applied to social situations, the writer feels justified in selecting their basic propositions as referents in understanding social behavior.

The conceptual scheme of Krech and Crutchfield will be presented in the next section with explanation and clarification of the propositions. This over-all consideration will be followed by a summarization in which the interrelatedness and relevancy of the propositions for purposes of this study will be noted.
PART 2

Motivational Propositions

In fairness to the authors of the propositions which follow, it is necessary to note that they treat emotional behavior as inseparable from the dynamics of behavior. "Strong motives are emotional, and fears and loves, and hates do motivate."  ④4

Proposition I

"The proper unit of motivational analysis is molar behavior, which involves needs and goals." ④5

The unit of analysis, molar behavior, can be clarified by comparing it with a molecular unit. The former involves discrete, total behavior acts, such as getting married or participating in a card game whereas the latter refers to simple, segmental activities such as movements of the limbs, swallowing, and crying.

In the absence of molar units, the description of behavior can be little more than an enumeration of unsystemized bits and pieces of momentary, limited, and unrelated responses. Viewed wholly, in the context of needs and goals, on the other hand, the behavior of the

④4Krech and Crutchfield, op. cit., p. 30.
④5Ibid.
individual can be seen as meaningfully organized ... the individual is a dynamic unity, a whole person, and it is as such that he takes part in social phenomena. \textsuperscript{46}

In other words all the behavior of the individual occurring at the same time - needs, emotions, thought, perceptions, actions - constitutes molar behavior. Molar behavior consists of relatively discrete, unified episodes with a beginning and an end.

What gives unique character to each episode is the direction of behavior, i.e., the tendency for each phase of the episode to succeed the preceding phase in a way that is consistent, bringing the end of the episode (the goal) closer and closer and thus reaching a point where the tensions that initiate and sustain the activity are eliminated. \textsuperscript{47}

Proposition I, in emphasizing that behavior is initiated through needs and guided by goals, relegates such concepts as habit, conditioning, imitation, suggestion, and social custom to the position of shaping and determining needs, goals, perceptions, and meaning, not in operating directly to cause behavior.

\textsuperscript{46}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 31.

\textsuperscript{47}\textit{Ibid.}
Proposition II

"The dynamics of molar behavior result from properties of the immediate psychological field."\textsuperscript{48}

The distinguishing characteristic of Proposition II is the word "immediate." "All motives can be treated as contemporaneous."\textsuperscript{49} This approach sets aside the "genetic" problem of how these needs and goals and this situation have come into being and the controversial issue that physiological instigators such as hunger, thirst, and sex are the real source of all motivation. Analysis of the immediate dynamic situation is the task to be undertaken.

If we know that Mr. Arbuthnot has a need for social approval, that he recognizes that membership in the country club is likely to satisfy that need, and that he sees that one way to achieve membership is by associating with certain people and avoiding certain others, then we can, with considerable assurance, predict how he will behave toward the people and we can understand why he will behave in this way.

The clinician, the psychoanalyst, the child psychologist, the cultural anthropologist, the applied psychologist may wish to study the developmental and socialization process by which this need for social approval has come into being for this man and why the achievement of a particular social role seems to him to be a way of satisfying his need, but such problems must

\textsuperscript{48}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{49}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 71.
be segregated from the problem of understanding what he does about it now that these specific needs and goals exist.50

Snygg and Combs state this proposition in terms almost identical to those of Krech and Crutchfield. All behavior, without exception, is completely determined by and pertinent to the phenomenal field of the behaving organism.51 This field is not open to direct observation by any outside observer; however, the individual's behavior is open to observation. As a result of this proposition which indicates a one-to-one relationship between the individual's behavior and his phenomenal field, it is possible from a study of the individual's behavior to reconstruct, by inference, his phenomenal field.

What do the authors mean by psychological or phenomenal field? They compare it with a cross section in time of the continuously functioning person or to the entire universe, including himself, as it is experienced by the individual at the instant of action. The following definition by Krech and Crutchfield indicates the complexity of this concept.

The psychological field is a state of neuro-psychic processes which are reflected in the form of the experienced world of the individual and in the form of patterns of neural processes in the brain. It is a dynamic unity of influences.

50Ibid., p. 34.

51Snygg and Combs, op. cit., p. 15.
arising out of (1) the external physical environment, (2) the internal physiological environment, and (3) the neural traces of past experience. However, this dependence is not simple. There is a far from one-to-one correspondence between the psychological field and these "real" worlds (external, internal, and past). 52

There is one disruptive element which may upset predictive accuracy in analysis of the psychological field—the intrusion of alien factors. These factors are changes in the internal or external environments of the person that are not brought about independently. 53 Examples of alien factors are unpredictable and unexpected events such as serious illness, financial reverses, death, and calamities. Consequently, predictions must be conditional; if certain conditions prevail, the person will react in a certain way.

Proposition III

"Instabilities in the psychological field produce 'tensions' whose effects on perception, cognition, and action are such as to tend to change the field in the direction of a more stable structure." 54

Krech and Crutchfield describe "tensions" in the following manner:

52 Krech and Crutchfield, op. cit., p. 71.
53 Ibid., p. 71.
54 Ibid., p. 40.
The pattern of the psychological field is not rigid; it is constantly subject to change due to the dynamic interaction of its parts. This pattern is likely at any given moment, therefore, to be in some way unstable. By "instability" is meant that the way in which the various parts of the psychological field are organized is likely to involve some degree of disharmony, discrepancy, imbalance, lack of "closure" and the like. These instabilities are stresses in the imperfect pattern, which are called tensions. And it is tensions that lie behind restlessness, anxiety, desires, needs, and demands - in a word, behind that aspect of behavior we refer to as "motivation."55

The concept of tensions appears to be the hub around which behavior revolves; tensions supply the potential for active forces of readjustment in the psychological field. Their effects are evidenced in behavior that serves to reduce tensions.

They induce goals that demand action on the part of the individual; they influence the perception and thinking of the individual in such a manner as to make certain paths to a goal outstanding; they result in a higher level of reorganization of the entire psychological field.56

Predominantly all the changes which tensions produce in the psychological field are directed toward tension reduction, but where tensions are not successfully reduced maladjustment may result. The fact that tension has been reduced in achieving a goal should not be interpreted to mean that a state of "static equilibrium" has been reached. "The

55Ibid., p. 40.
56Ibid.
Increasing striving of human beings for need satisfaction places all of us under some degree of tension at every moment of our lives.\footnote{Snygg and Combs, op. cit., p. 114.} The very fact of achievement of a goal so restructures the psychological field as to make possible new instabilities, new tensions, and new goals.

Tensions may appear in the form of certain outward manifestations or conscious correlates as well as unconscious motives. The authors indicate three discernable types: (1) vague feelings (2) needs and goals, and (3) demands.

The first type, vague feelings, takes the form of restlessness, dissatisfaction, discomfort, tenseness, or anxiety having no specific reference to any explicit features of the field. It does happen as the tension increases, in these instances, that the vague feelings may give way to more crystallized feelings of specific needs or emotions, which the individual is able to recognize and to adjust to meaningfully.

The second, and a very influential type of tension, appears in the individual's consciousness as feelings of needs and emotions which in turn lead to certain features of the field being desired or sought after. These things which are needed are called goals.

\footnote{Snygg and Combs, op. cit., p. 114.}
The Interpersonal System of Personality referred to previously is based on the belief that all the social, emotional, interpersonal activities of an individual are determined by the need to avoid anxiety and the desire to establish and maintain self esteem. The goals toward which behavior is directed, according to this theory, would be chosen in terms of the specific needs cited. For example, the need to establish and maintain self-esteem may motivate a person to extensive pursuance of education in order to secure a highly remunerative and respected position in the community, to strive for higher status and recognition among associates and would be friends, and to hold as a major goal acceptance into a higher social stratum. On the other hand, the same need may be responsible for the driving force behind behavior of the gang leader or star athlete.

Those who adhere to the Role theory would explain needs and goals in terms of the "self." The social self becomes a major factor in directing a person's activity toward motive satisfaction. Krech and Crutchfield also convey considerable importance to the self in determining needs and goals.

58 Leary, op. cit.
Some of the most potent of all needs and the most effective of all goals have to do with the defense of the self, i.e., with the adjustment of the field in such a way as to enhance feelings of self-esteem, self-regard, etc., or to remove threats to self-esteem and self-regard. The self is the most important structure in the psychological field, and it is likely, under normal conditions, to be one of the strongest structures. The nature of the relationships of the self to other parts of the field - to other objects, to people, to groups, to social organizations - is of critical importance in understanding the individual's perception of a connection between various objects, individuals, and groups and himself.\(^{60}\)

Gardner Murphy notes that "social motives relate in some way to the awareness of the self and the need to enhance and defend the self."\(^{61}\) What the individual is striving for, according to Snygg and Combs, "is to preserve not his physical self but the self of which he is aware, his phenomenal self."\(^{62}\) As a result it has been found that competition for status and the struggle to avoid social failure constitute primary motives in social groups of any complexity.

As new tensions arise due to instabilities in the psychological field, new needs and new demands may arise and old ones disappear. There is no set of fixed needs

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\(^{60}\) Krech and Crutchfield, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

\(^{61}\) Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 628.

\(^{62}\) Snygg and Combs, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
and demands in the conceptual scheme of Krech and Crutchfield. "Every change in the physiological picture and every change in the social situation has the potentiality of resulting in new needs and demands."\textsuperscript{63} Allport's conception of "functional autonomy" which stipulates that meaningful, purposive activities, however they may have arisen, may continue to be carried out for their own sake without requiring constant backward reference to the source of motivation, lends support to this idea.\textsuperscript{64}

The third type of conscious tension is categorized as demands. Demands are similar to orders or commands. The individual feels compelled either internally or externally to act in certain ways. For example, one's moral conscience may demand that he attend church and relinquish Sunday morning golf with "the boys" or a student may feel driven to achieve the career which his parents believe he should attain. In carrying out these demands, the individual feels he is doing what he has to do. Krech and Crutchfield point out:

Goals once set up in conjunction with needs may, in time, assume something of this demand character; these goals themselves are perceived as demanding attainment, compelling sustained effort in their direction. But goals are differentiable from the other demanding aspects of the field in that they are perceived as ways of

\textsuperscript{63}\textsuperscript{63}Krech and Crutchfield, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{64}\textsuperscript{64}Allport, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 194.
satisfying desires, wishes, needs. Demands, on the other hand, require no supplementary or reciprocal need.65

In discussing the various forms in which tensions may be manifested, it was noted that tensions may be outwardly discernible or hidden from the individual. The former types are referred to as conscious motivation and the latter as unconscious motivation. It is not significant in this study to examine why certain motives may become unconscious but it is essential to understand that motives function now and in their own right, whether conscious or unconscious, determined by their present nature and regardless of how they came into being. The important considerations to keep in mind are (1) that one cannot accept conscious motivation of social action at face value and (2) that deep therapy techniques may be required to uncover unconscious motives which are frequently involved in social behavior.

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65Krech and Crutchfield, op. cit., p. 43.
Proposition IV

"The frustration of goal achievement and the failure of tension reduction may lead to a variety of adaptive or maladaptive behaviors."

Frustration occurs when progress toward a goal is blocked and the underlying tension is unresolved. According to Krech and Crutchfield:

Such thwarting of needful, goal-directed behavior is a very common occurrence in all of man's social activities. New ways of satisfying needs occur primarily as a consequence of frustration; changes in perception and cognition follow frustration; severe emotional states are engendered by frustration; the structure of the individual's personality may be influenced by frustration and his mode of adaptation to successive frustrations.

Although many and varied situations may frustrate man's motives, the source can be traced to four main categories: "(1) man's physical environment (2) man's biological limitations (3) the complexity of man's psychological make-up, and (4) the nature of man's social environment."

It is point four, the nature of man's social environment, which is probably the most important source

66Ibid., p. 50.
67Ibid.
68Ibid.
of deep and persistent frustrations and the most significant for social behavior. Even the casual observer is aware that society surrounds the individual with all sorts of mores, rituals, and institutional regulations which frequently tend to create frustrating situations or blocks between his motive and his goal achievement. His psychological field is constantly being restructured.

Allison Davis points up the problems of adjustment which children from different family backgrounds must make in order to maintain status in their peer groups and simultaneously satisfy family expectations. Adolescents in particular are victims of this kind of frustration. Is it not ironical that society tries to instill ideals of democracy, tolerance, and brotherly love in the citizenry and at the same time sanctions discrimination, race hatred, and wars? A persistent situation resulting in frustrations also arises from the fundamental theme of the "American Dream" that each citizen has the right to the chance of reaching the top. "The fact that the proportion of any one class that reaches a higher level is small does not detract from the belief." The struggle to reach the top is a constant and frequently a frustrating one. Educators

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are well aware of frustrated students who are trying to cope with two competing goals: achievement of academic success and recognition as an active participant in social affairs of the campus. Some meet the challenge with an harmonious compromise of goals but others never manage to perceive the problem or arrive at a satisfactory solution.

The fact should not be overlooked that—

Among society's most pervasive effects on the individual is the development in him of self-regard. Self-regard, essentially, is the social in man. Self-regard is related to one's conception of himself, his proper role in life; his ideals, standards, and values. And in connection with self-regard some of the most potent demands and needs of the individual develop.

It is just such demands and needs that society, through many of its complex cultural patterns, is best prepared to thwart.71

It should be apparent that most individuals meet with numerous frustrations in the course of a day. What are the consequences in terms of behavior?

The consequences of frustration are not necessarily bad. Most of the blockages experienced by the person in his daily life are not deleterious in their effects; the tensions are resolved without disrupting the successful adjustment of the total person.72

The most common adaptive measures of resolving tensions and overcoming frustrations involve intensification of effort to overcome the barriers, reorganization of

71Krech and Crutchfield, op. cit., p. 52.
72Ibid., p. 54.
perception of the problem, and the discovery and acceptance of alternative goals. But sometimes the nature of the psychological situation in frustration does not lend itself to these adaptive measures.

Then the frustration persists and intensifies, resulting in less adaptive or maladaptive consequences. Although maladaptive behavior tends to reduce tension, "the dynamic restructuring of the psychological field is likely to be such as to impair the healthy functioning of the whole person and to disrupt his successful adjustment to the society in which he lives."73 Since maladaptive behavior is not particularly relevant in this study, it is sufficient to merely indicate the maladaptive reactions to frustrations that are of greatest importance to an understanding of social behavior: "(1) aggression, (2), regression, (3) withdrawal, (4) repression, (5) sublimation, (6) rationalization and projection, (7) autism, (8) identification."74

73Ibid., p. 55.
74Ibid.
Proposition V

"Characteristic modes of goal achievement and tension reduction may be learned and fixated by the individual."\textsuperscript{75}

Characteristic of the complex psychological world in which human beings live is the enormous diversity of ways of reducing tensions. An individual who desires prestige may seek satisfaction through display of expensive material possessions such as his home, clothing, an art collection, automobiles, or by means of superior skill in a particular sport, or through civic and political leadership, depending on which goal serves his need best. He finds that only a limited number of goals exist which meet his specific need and that not all of them are equally satisfactory. Therefore, certain goals have higher demand-character than others and whenever possible he will seek the preferred choice.

Several factors influence the degree of discrimination among the various goals within the preference hierarchy. One factor is the momentary intensity of the need. A man may ordinarily prefer steak instead of rabbit but in case of extreme hunger, the range of acceptable meats may

\textsuperscript{75}Ibid., p. 62.
reasonably extend to grasshoppers and snails. When the need is acute, goal preference becomes less significant.

Another factor influencing the demand-character and preferability of a given goal as a way of satisfying a need relates to the individual’s past experience with it.

A goal that has proved satisfactory for need reduction in the past may now tend to be perceived by the person as a good way to satisfy his present need; ways of behaving that proved inadequate as satisfiers of need in the past may now tend to be avoided.

The effect of past experience on present goals is mediated by cognitive processes. Whether a mode of response that was successfully utilized in the past resolution of a need will function as a preferred way of satisfying that need in the present situation depends upon how the present situation is perceived and the "meaning" of the response as determined by the entire psychological field of the moment.76

When a particular goal has demand-character and compels behavior in numerous significant ways, it may become an object of fixation. The student, in allaying his feelings of loneliness, joins a fraternity. Gradually on the basis of repeated experiences in this organization, he discovers all sorts of convivial attractions about it and comes to love it. It calls out strong emotions, loyalty, support; the fraternity may become for him an object of fixation.

76Ibid., p. 63.
Proposition VI

"The trend of behavior often involves progressively *higher* levels of stable organization of the psychological field."\(^{77}\)

The view stated in Proposition III that tensions arise out of instabilities in the psychological field and that the changes which tensions produced in the field are all tension reductive, tending to reestablish a stable field, must not be misinterpreted as leading to a static state of equilibrium as understood in the field of mechanics. It will be recalled that the psychological field is constantly restructuring, often toward progressively higher levels, never returning to a state in which it existed before.

From this description one could easily get the impression that the psychological field consists of a chaotic mixture of tensions, needs, demands, and goals churning around in search of equilibrium. Fortunately, such is not the case. Krech and Crutchfield point out:

> In view of the heterogeneity and frequent incompatibility of needs, goals, and demands, any adaptive functioning of the individual must

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\(^{77}\)Ibid., p. 66.
involve an organization of the needs, demand, and goals in such a fashion as to set up priorities and hierarchies of importance among them. For the integrated personality, many potential conflicts are resolved by the fact that one need or goal or demand takes automatic precedence over others...Integration of the personality also involves the dominance of remote over immediate goals.\textsuperscript{78}

If an integrated personality is one in which the needs, demands, and goals work together optimally in a way that is self-consistent, mutually reinforcing, and nonconflicting, there must be an integrating system which guides this function. Such integration is accomplished through the development of a system of ideals, ideology, and values within the individual which serves as a governing framework for the various needs, demands, and goals. This system "controls the behavior in such a way as to ensure the highest amount of need satisfaction and goal achievement consistent with the total functioning of the person."\textsuperscript{79}

It follows that values, ideals, and ideology form the basis by which the individual judges himself and that his feelings of self-esteem, self-regard, and self-respect will be perceived in relation to how he measures up to his values, ideals, and the like. It is characteristic of people to wish to hold the self in good esteem and to aspire

\textsuperscript{78}ibid., p. 68.

\textsuperscript{79}ibid.
to achieve a desired position for the self. Raising one's sights to new levels of accomplishment leads to behavior aimed at higher levels of stable organization in the psychological field. "When the individual achieves a desired level of performance, his standards are thereby changed, and this immediately calls out new action toward higher levels."80

It should be reiterated that in the process of growth and socialization the psychological field becomes more intricate and the involvements of the self in these more complex social relationships give birth to new needs, new goals, and new demands as the individual's interests, aspirations, and experiences continuously expand.

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80 Ibid., p. 69.
PART 3

Perceptual Propositions

Proposition VII

"The perceptual and cognitive field in its natural state is organized and meaningful." 81

This seventh proposition is based on the affirmation that all experiences, all perceptions take on structure and meaning as opposed to confused, unrelated, discrete impressions. From this proposition it can be inferred that even a small child who plays with a dog for the first time perceives the dog in a way that is meaningful to him. Perhaps it is in terms of a cat with which he is already familiar or in terms of certain characteristics such as a wagging tail, long ears, and fur. The main point is that the dog takes on a certain meaning as interpreted by the child and becomes more than a mere object or mass of confusion. To interpret a perception in an organized, meaningful way has no bearing on whether that interpretation is right or wrong. The child may perceive the dog as a cat, meaningful in terms of his experience, but an incorrect interpretation nevertheless.

81Ibid., p. 84.
It is almost impossible to conceive of a situation or event in which man does not perceive in an organized, meaningful manner. In fact it is difficult for him to refrain from organizing his perceptions into a whole as soon as he has any data. This universal characteristic of the cognitive process which often leads man to misinterpret and misunderstand strange or foreign customs, habits and values, to jump to conclusions, and to form an over-all impression of a man's personality from knowing only one or two facts about him accounts for what appears to be impatience and prejudice on the part of man. This principle also sheds light on why people tenaciously hold onto some "disproved" theories or dogmas. The old theory integrates facts into an organized whole which individuals are reluctant to give up until they have another integration to take its place.

Proposition VIII

"Perception is functionally selective."82

No matter how alert and observant a person may be, no one perceives everything that there is around him to be perceived. One's mental apparatus screens out certain stimuli, reorganizes, adds, and relegates certain features

82Ibid., p. 87.
of the field to a position of importance so that only cer-
tain physical stimuli are "used" in making up the organized perception. But why this selectivity? What purpose does it serve? It has been observed that objects which play the major role in the organized perception are usually those objects which serve some immediate purpose of the perceiving individual. This does not necessarily mean that the individual will ignore all other stimuli, but may place them in various minor positions. Bruner and Goodman make the suggestion that with habitual selection, the stimuli which are thus selected for major attention tend to become progressively more vivid and achieve greater clarity. 83

The determining factor of why certain objects are selected to play major roles goes back to the dynamics of behavior, to a consideration of the molar unit in terms of needs, tensions, and goals. A commonplace illustration concerns three members of a family, mother, father, and teenage son inspecting a new car which they tentatively anticipate buying. The father perceives the car in such terms as cost versus performance compared to the advisability of keeping their old car, safety features, and gas consumption while the mother is much more aware of color, the type of upholstery fabric, and its prestige value among her friends.

and neighbors. The son has an entirely different view of the new car. His major considerations are its sleek appearance, high speed, and quick pick-up. Each member perceives the car in the way it will function best for him in terms of his own needs, own emotions, own personality, own previously formed cognitive patterns. "Data do not have a logic of their own that results in the same perceptions and cognitions for all people."^{84}

It seems important to note here that failure to understand that perception is functionally selective explains in part why educators are disappointed in their students' ability to perceive what is presented and why parental guidance may fall on heedless ears.

**Proposition IX**

"The perceptual and cognitive properties of a sub-structure are determined in large measure by the properties of which it is a part."^{85}

For purposes of clarification of Proposition IX the structured mental world of the individual will be compared with the structured organization of a department store. It

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^{84}Krech and Crutchfield, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

^{85}Ibid.
is known that every perception is embedded in an organization of other percepts - the whole going to make up a specific "cognitive structure." A department store has a similar organization. A store is comprised of a number of departments according to the kind of variety of merchandise carried and these departments are then grouped into a limited number of large divisions. For example, the ready-to-wear division may include an infants' and children's department, a junior department, a misses department, and a men's department. Each of these departments carries a great diversity of merchandise in many sizes, colors, and styles, but in keeping with its particular classification of merchandise. Therefore, one would not expect to look for women's clothing in the men's department or infants' clothing in the junior department. The customer expects the department store to be organized so that related items of merchandise are grouped together in such a way that he can perceive their organizational relationship. Compared with the hierarchy of structure in the department store based on related types of merchandise by departments and divisions, the mental world of an individual is organized into hierarchies of cognitive structures which can be broken down into related substructures.

A reformulation of this whole-part principle by Krech and Crutchfield defines it in more specific social terms:
When an individual is apprehended as a member of a group, each of those characteristics of the individual which correspond to the characteristics of the group is affected by his group membership, the effect being in the direction of either assimilation or contrast.

The tendency to organize people into groups on the basis of certain supposed "personality traits" frequently causes the perception of specific individuals to be distorted, influenced by the nature of the perceiver's major cognitive structures. People are apt to apply a stereotyped picture to individuals who are Communists, Negroes, college professors, artists, Jews, and others in an effort to ascribe to them the qualities of the group with which they associate them.

Yet it happens from time to time in the experience of an individual that he becomes acquainted with a person who does not fit into the stereotype of his group. American soldiers during World War II discovered that some German soldiers were kindly and honest and did not conform to the Nazi stereotype. Certain Japanese, interned in this country during the war, were found to be loyal supporters of the United States. It is also a fact that not all Russians are Communists.

These exceptions raise a logical question. How does an individual handle these new facts, facts that seem

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86 Ibid., p. 92.
not to fit in with his existing "rigid" cognitive structures or that even contradict them? One solution, and the least likely, is a radical reorganization of the existing major structures of his cognitive field. A second and more likely solution is to "assimilate" these new facts into his rigidly structured organization. To comprehend what frequently happens when "contradictory" perceptions occur, Krech and Crutchfield reformulate Proposition IX in the following way: "Other things being equal, a change introduced into the psychological field will be absorbed in such a way as to produce the smallest effect on a strong structure."^87

In other words, the major structure retains its constancy through the creation of new substructures. What actually happens is that a person's original perception of Germans, Japanese, and Russians remains intact, and he adds a new substructure for those exceptional cases that do not conform. This second reformulation of Proposition IX points up the stability of man's strongest beliefs despite contradictory facts and experiences and adds clarity to the reason why contradictory facts are not always effective in changing one's appraisals of the motives and actions of people.

^87Ibid., p. 98.
Proposition X

"Objects or events that are close to each other in space or time or resemble each other tend to be apprehended as parts of a common structure."

Proposition X explains why certain perceptions are organized together with other perceptions to make up a single cognitive structure. Two important organizing factors, especially pertinent in visual perception, are proximity and similarity. This does not infer that two novel objects, perceived as similar by one individual, will necessarily be perceived as similar by another individual but the probability is high.

One must not overlook other influencing factors such as the needs of the perceiver, his moods, his past training, his cultural background. A foreign student, for instance, may be confused by the association in this country of the opening of college and the football season, or Thanksgiving, turkey and pumpkin pie. These traditions are foreign to his training and culture.

Each culture has specific cues that are selected by its people for major attention and therefore will affect their cognitive structures. Individuals in the United

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88 Ibid., p. 102.
States are more likely to perceive such cultural cues as signs of wealth, bigness in industry and business, emphasis on technology, and urbanization rather than ancestor worship, belief in magic, or the right of a few to dominate the many.

Because so much of man's social action is shaped by the way he perceives cause and effect - the perception of one object or event as a "cause" of another object or event - one of the most important kinds of cognitive structures is that involved in "causal organization." The following statements are illustrative of typical cause and effect perceptions: the bank moratorium of 1932 saved the country from economic disaster; heavy armament prevents war; foreign aid combats the spread of Communism; and, there is no doubt as to his guilt for he looks like a criminal.

The perception of causations is affected by several factors which tend to emphasize the cause and effect relationship. One factor is the proximity of two events, such as getting caught in the rain and the development of a cold shortly after. A second factor is that of similarity. Heider observes that, "A bad act is easily connected with a bad person." His observation points to the fact that cause and effect perception is very definitely determined by a person's value judgment, his needs, his emotional reactions.

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PART 4

Learning Propositions

Proposition XI

"As long as there is blockage to the attainment of a goal, cognitive reorganization tends to take place: the nature of the reorganization is such as to reduce the tension induced by the frustrating situation." 90

Proposition XI is primarily a reaffirmation of the fourth proposition under motivation which states that "frustration of goal achievement and the failure of tension reduction may lead to a variety of adaptive or maladaptive behaviors." 91

Frustration occurs when progress toward a goal is blocked and the underlying tension is unresolved. The nature of the blockage to a goal may be infinitely varied from a simple physical barrier to a complex theoretical problem which defies solution. Consequently, the nature of the cognitive reorganization that will enable the individual to remove the block and achieve his goal may also vary from the very simple to the very complex. In addition, it should be emphasized that while the existence

90 Krech and Crutchfield, op. cit., p. 112.
91 Ibid., p. 50.
of a goal and a block to that goal typically initiate cognitive reorganization, one must not assume that the resulting cognitive reorganization will be adaptive in every case. Cognitive reorganization can lead to fantasies and bizarre thinking which do not aid the individual in adjusting to the situation although, from his point of view, the reorganization is in the direction of tension reduction.

Whether a blocked goal will lead to a distorted cognitive organization or to an adequate and useful one seems to depend upon a number of factors: (1) strength of the need tension, (2) individual's characteristic manner of responding to frustration, and (3) perception of the block to the goal.92

There is an intimate relationship between cognitive reorganization, needs, tensions and blocks (dynamics of behavior) which has strong implications for social behavior. Most learning and thinking that takes place in man in society can be best understood if this intimate relationship is kept in mind.

92Ibid., p. 114.
Proposition XII

"The cognitive reorganization process typically consists of a hierarchically related series of organizations." 93

This proposition pulls into the reorganization process propositions VII and IX of perceptual organization. These propositions, in review, are (VII) "The perceptual and cognitive field in its natural state is organized and meaningful" 94 and (IX) "The perceptual and cognitive properties of a substructure are determined in large measure by the properties of the structure of which it is a part." 95

The entire cognitive reorganization process is described as a series of organizations in which each successive step in the learning, or thinking, process is (1) meaningfully organized and (2) arranged hierarchically in a series of adaptively designed structures which cover a period of time. Each successive structure is a function of what the individual perceives at that time and each is organized in those perceived terms.

The different cognitive organizations that occur, one after the other, before the final cognitive organization is arrived at can be

93Ibid., p. 117.
94Ibid., p. 107.
95Ibid., p. 108.
said to belong to one process because they all reflect the activities of the same individual, who is attempting to solve the same problem, created by the desire to achieve a single goal.\textsuperscript{96}

The description of the cognitive reorganization process as consisting of a series of unitary organizations is contrary to the laws of frequency and effect which stress repetition of a succession of events plus consequence in order for cognitive organization to take shape and acquire goal-directed meaning. According to Krech and Crutchfield, repeated situations provide the opportunity for continued cognitive reorganization but do not, through mere cumulative effects, gradually build up the final structure.

...it is not the frequency of occurrence of an event or the objective sequence of cause and effect which determines the nature of the resulting cognitive organization but only those things which are perceived and attended to that play a role in the new cognitive organization.\textsuperscript{97}

This generalization can help in understanding the apparent failure of people to learn from experience. Let it be assumed that excessive speed is responsible for an automobile accident. No matter how many times the individual may live through the sequence high speed - accident, there is nothing in the situation to guarantee that he will

\textsuperscript{96}Ibid., p. 119.
\textsuperscript{97}Ibid., p. 120.
arrive at the correct cognitive organization. The first time it happens, the driver may "learn" that accidents are caused by poor brakes; the second time, that they are caused by blinding headlights on an approaching car; the third time, by smooth tires on an icy road.

In each case his cognitive field has undergone a reorganization - he has "learned" and has "profited from experience," but in each case he has arrived at the wrong solution, because his cognitive structure was organized in terms of the particular events that were dominant in his perceptual field at that moment.98

People learn from the sequence of events that they themselves perceive - and their perceptions may not include the correct organization.

The hierarchically related series of organizations referred to in Proposition XII infer that the first cognitive organization that occurs in problem solving is general in "range" and that each succeeding one, conditioned by the previous hypothesis, narrows down the field of attention until the final hypothesis and solution are achieved. The sequence leads from the more general to the more specific. Despite the fact that the thinking process consists of a series of cognitive structures, it is a unified and interdependent one.

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98ibid.
Proposition XIII

"Cognitive structures, over time, undergo progressive changes in accordance with the principles of organization."\(^9^9\)

Proposition XI states that as long as the achievement of a goal is blocked, cognitive reorganization tends to take place. Krech and Crutchfield point out however that not all behavior changes are due to tension-reductive activities. "Some very important cognitive reorganizations occur when a period of time intervenes between the moment a cognitive organization is formed and the moment it again functions in the behavior of an individual."\(^1^0^0\)

A generally accepted view of the forgetting process is that once a cognitive organization is achieved, it tends to persist for some time and then slowly disintegrates and parts of the pattern are gradually lost. This interpretation infers that an individual would know less about a perceived event after a long interval of time than after the immediate experience of the event.

Proposition XIII is a more generalized and useful statement of what happens to cognitive organizations with

\(^9^9\)Ibid., p.125.

\(^1^0^0\)Ibid.
the passage of time than the latter view. It allows for several kinds of changes in cognitive structure based on principles of organization.

1. In certain cases the original cognitive structure may become more stable and more resistant to forgetting as time goes on.

2. In other cases the original cognitive organization will change to a radically different one - involving properties that were not at all present in the original structure.

3. Under some circumstances the original organization may disappear completely.101

Just as immediate perception is not a true reflection of what is "out there" to be seen, so is the remembered event not simply a "pale" reflection of the original structure. The original structure is ever-changing, acquiring new meanings, shaping and fitting itself in response to structural and functional organizing factors.102

Krech and Crutchfield propose several subpropositions that help to specify the exact nature of the change that will occur, in memory, in the original cognitive structure. The first of these is concerned with the relationship that exists between the properties of the original cognitive structure and the changes that take place, over time, in this structure. "The specific

101Ibid., p.130.
102Ibid., p.131.
changes that a cognitive organization undergoes in retention are a function of the structural and functional properties of the original cognitive organization." 103

If the original perception is simple and well organized, there can be no marked changes in the direction of sharpening and leveling of the structure. On the other hand, if the original perception is of a figure that lacks form and organization, then, during the retention process, such sharpening and leveling will tend to take place. These predictions are based on the structural organizing principle that states, "an object will be perceived in terms of the most stable organization possible." 104

In the previous discussion of perceptual propositions it was pointed out that individuals tend to perceive objects and events in terms of their needs, moods, and cultural frames of reference. Therefore, it can be predicted: if the original cognitive structure is such as to fit in with these factors, the reorganizations that will take place over time will be minimal; but if it does not fit in, then there will be relatively extensive reorganization.

The second reformulation of Proposition XIII is as follows: "The specific changes that a cognitive organization undergoes in retention are a function of the relation

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103Ibid.

104Ibid., p. 108.
between the properties of the original structure and the intervening perceptions."\textsuperscript{105}

It is understandable that an original cognitive organization cannot be set aside in a vacuum. Over a period of time, new perceptions and organizations will probably intervene. Frequently, an intervening perception influences an old perception or an old perception and an intervening perception coalesce to create an entirely new cognitive organization. New goals, new tensions, and new needs also may redirect a cognitive structure.

In other words, the original perception or cognitive structure will change not only in terms of the originally existing needs but also in terms of the later developing needs. Thus an individual can remember the same event in one way at one time and in quite an opposite way at another time.\textsuperscript{106}

Proposition XIV

"The ease and rapidity of the cognitive reorganization process is a function of the differentiation, isolation, and rigidity of the original cognitive structure."\textsuperscript{107}

It is apparent through personal experience and casual observation that the cognitive reorganization process

\textsuperscript{105}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 134.
\textsuperscript{106}\textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{107}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 135.
differs not only from one person to another but also from problem to problem for the same individual. One frequently hears the comment, "He's very quick to grasp an idea and perceive a solution," or "The problem doesn't register; he's thick as paint."

Usually differences in rate of cognitive reorganization among people are attributed to differences in native intelligence which are inherent in the physiological organism. Some individuals appear to have specific native abilities which enable them to excel in one or two fields and at the same time they lack ability in other fields. Undoubtedly, in many instances, the biologically determined capacities are influential in understanding differential rates of cognitive reorganization, but this explanation will take one only a limited distance in explaining the differences in ease and rapidity of cognitive reorganization.

Cognitive fields can differ with respect to the property of complexity; some fields consist of simple, undifferentiated cognitive structures while others may have highly differentiated and complex structures. In addition to this property of complexity or differentiation, there is also the property of isolation which refers to the interrelationships and interdependencies that exist among various structures in the cognitive field. The following example of Krech and Crutchfield illustrates the functioning of isolation.
For one individual the structure relating to religious phenomena may be relatively isolated from his structure relating to economic matters. The changes that may take place in his economic thinking may have very little influence on his religious thinking. Another individual, on the other hand, may have a high degree of communication between his religious and his economic structures, and a reorganization of one is immediately reflected in a reorganization of the other.\footnote{Ibid., p. 136.}

The focus of attention for the first individual is narrower than for the latter; fewer items are involved; and items are more definitely segregated from the rest of the field. These properties of differentiation and isolation in cognitive structures will influence the rate of cognitive reorganization, creative thinking, and ingenuity in problem solving.

...when man is up against various social problems, it is generally true that the more simple, undifferentiated and isolated any cognitive structure is the less available it is for reorganization and the less creative and ingenious will the solution attempts be.\footnote{Ibid., p. 138.}

Whether an individual's cognitive structures are simple or differentiated, isolated from other structures or integrated with them depends upon several major factors that determine the properties of the cognitive structure:

(1) the biologically determined capacities of the individual, (2) the operation of the principles of organization, (3) the manner and
frequency with which the original structure is experienced, and (4) the motivational and emotional factors of behavior.\textsuperscript{110}

These factors are instrumental in determining the ease and rapidity of the cognitive reorganization process.

Proposition XIV points out the error in attributing differences in the rate of cognitive reorganization, creative thinking, and ingenuity in problem solving to variations in innate abilities alone. It also helps one to understand that it is the nature of the cognitive structures formed under various conditions which explains why some individuals have difficulty in cognitive reorganization and seem to be "butting their heads against the wall."

\textsuperscript{110}\textit{Ibid.}
### Summary of Propositions

#### Motivation

**Proposition I**  
The proper unit of motivational analysis is molar behavior which involves needs and goals.

**Proposition II**  
The dynamics of molar behavior result from properties of the immediate psychological field.

**Proposition III**  
Instabilities in the psychological field produce "tensions" whose effects on perception, cognition, and action are such as to tend to change the field in the direction of a more stable structure.

**Proposition IV**  
The frustration of goal achievement and the failure of tension reduction may lead to a variety of adaptive or maladaptive behaviors.

**Proposition V**  
Characteristic modes of goal achievement and tension reduction may be learned and fixated by the individual.

**Proposition VI**  
The trend of behavior often involves progressively "higher" levels of stable organization of the psychological field.

#### Perception

**Proposition VII**  
The perceptual and cognitive field in its natural state is organized and meaningful.

**Proposition VIII**  
Perception is functionally selective.

**Proposition IX**  
The perceptual and cognitive properties of a substructure are determined in large measure by the properties of the structure of which it is a part.
Proposition X  Objects or events that are close to each other in space or time or resemble each other tend to be apprehended as parts of a common structure.

Learning

Proposition XI  As long as there is a blockage to the attainment of a goal, cognitive reorganization tends to take place; the nature of the reorganization is such as to reduce the tension induced by the frustrating situation.

Proposition XII  The cognitive reorganization process typically consists of a hierarchically related series of organizations.

Proposition XIII  Cognitive structures, over time, undergo progressive changes in accordance with principles of organization.

Proposition XIV  The ease and rapidity of the cognitive reorganization process is a function of the differentiation, isolation, and rigidity of the original cognitive structure.\textsuperscript{111}

An awareness on the part of the reader of the interrelated character, similarities, and reinforcement relationship of the propositions designed to cover those aspects of motivation, perception, and learning which seem essential to an understanding of social behavior will facilitate their application to new data. Integrated behavior involves these processes operating simultaneously rather than separately and independently. Yet, certain propositions are particularly

\textsuperscript{111}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 70, 106, 142.
pertinent and will appear more frequently than others in an analysis of clothing behavior. A brief summary of relationships is included to indicate why this is so.

Propositions I, II, III, and VII are statements which may be described as constants, common to any social situation under contemplation. They set the stage, so to speak. Any motivational analysis must consider discrete acts as opposed to segmental behavior and involves needs and goals. The motives, needs, desires which impel individuals to seek satisfaction are the product of imbalances and deficiencies in the current psychological field; whenever these imbalances, referred to as tensions occur, needs and demands will be operative. It is tensions that lie behind motives and needs; behavior is aimed toward tension reduction. Furthermore, any situation or experience is perceived by the behavior in an organized meaningful way. His perceptions may appear mistaken and confused to others, but to the perceiver they are organized and meaningful. This organizing tendency is so strong that few individuals can resist organizing perceptions in a meaningful way even when data are sketchy and of questionable authenticity.

The similarity between Propositions IV and AI will be considered next. Both propositions refer to the individual's reaction when the avenue to a goal is blocked and tensions are not released. Failure to reach a goal results
in a state of frustration. Therefore, in order to relieve the frustration created by the blockage, the individual seeks another way to reach his goal. The major difference in these two statements is that Proposition IV predicts what will happen when there is blockage to a goal; blockage leads to adaptive or maladaptive behavior. Proposition XI, on the other hand, defines one of the most characteristic situations, namely frustration, in which cognitive reorganization occurs, and stresses the dependence of cognitive reorganization which takes place on the needs, goals, and tensions of the individual.

Proposition VI deserves special mention because it holds important implications for clothing behavior. The high order of integration found in the extremely complex psychological field of necessity involves an organization of the individual's needs, demands, and goals in such a fashion as to set up priorities and hierarchies of importance among them. This brings up the involvement of the self which is the most important and one of the strongest structures in the psychological field.\textsuperscript{112}

Some of the most potent of all needs and the most effective of all goals have to do with defense of the self....The nature of the relationship of the self to other parts of the field - to other objects, to people, to groups, to social

\textsuperscript{112}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 69.
organizations - is of critical importance in understanding the individual's perception of a connection between various objects, individuals, groups, and himself. It can be anticipated therefore that clothing, which is a personal kind of object, will be closely associated with an individual's self concepts and involved in behavior directed toward defense of the self.

Proposition XII, XIII, and XIV deal with such characteristics of the cognitive reorganization process as the complexity and nature of organizations, changes which take place over time or during a series of events, and the ease and rapidity of the cognitive reorganization process. These three propositions deal with behavior at a complex and frequently abstract level. Since a considerable amount of clothing behavior will probably take place at less complicated levels, the application of these propositions may be somewhat limited.

113 Ibid.
CHAPTER III

APPLICATION OF RELEVANT SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL PROPOSITIONS TO CLOTHING BEHAVIOR

A forward looking program in textiles and clothing was proposed in 1956 as a result of the combined effort and thinking of a work conference of college teachers of textiles and clothing representing the Eastern, Central, and Western Regions of the United States. It was stated that such a program should provide as a major goal the acquisition of certain basic appreciations and understandings of the social-psychological aspects of clothing. This goal included three primary areas of concern; namely, the individual, the family, and the culture. The emphasis in the analysis which follows deals mainly with the area of the individual due to the nature of the behavioral theory involved. Attempts are made to show that insight obtained through relevant behavioral concepts contributes to understanding of individual clothing behavior, individual clothing behavior as related to family environment, and fashions and fads in clothing behavior.

Individual Clothing Behavior

An individual's clothing is a personal object intimately involved in his self concepts, his varied needs, experiences, frustrations, problems, and beliefs. Any theoretical diagnosis of the function of clothing in behavior must be a multidimensional one as pointed out in the consideration of motivation (Proposition III, page 75): the needs of men are varied in kind and potentially limitless in number and derive from the nature of the psychological field of the individual. Consequently one need or demand cannot be expected to lie behind the function of clothing; neither can clothing be expected to function with the same intensity and expression for all individuals. The analysis of individual clothing behavior will be divided into two major topics and considered in the following order: (1) the functions of clothing related to the self and (2) the functions of clothing in role performance.

Self Concept

The effect of the individual's concept of self on his cognitive organization and goal directed activity will be the first consideration. As noted previously, Rogers, Snygg and Combs, Leary, and Murphy are in accord with Krech and Crutchfield's statement that "the self is the
most important structure in the psychological field, and it is likely, under normal conditions, to be one of the strongest structures." This primary position ascribed to the self in the psychological field makes it evident that the relationship of the self to other parts of the field is very essential in understanding the individual's perception of a connection between various objects, individuals, and groups and himself. The individual can be expected to adjust his psychological field in such a way as to enhance such feelings as self-esteem, self-respect, self-realization, self-worth, self-expression, power, prestige and superiority. This need to defend the self and to guard it from appearing in a bad light is very strong.

A brief survey of the theory explaining the development of personality and the self should help the reader realize why the self structure and clothing behavior are closely related in this analysis.

Current concepts of self and personality development are based on the theories of Cooley and Mead. A

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person's cluster of attitudes which form the self reflect
the appraisals of the group in which he is participating.
In other words, the estimate of one's personality by his
associates makes up the attitudes called "self." Lundberg,
Schrag, and Larson describe the origin of personality and
the rise of self-consciousness as proposed by Cooley in
terms of sympathy and imitation.

The child begins very early to imitate behavior of the primary groups such as the family or the neighborhood play groups to which he is first exposed. This imitation includes vocal behavior as well as facial expressions and gestures of every kind. From his interpretation of this behavior with reference to himself, the child secures his estimate of himself. This is the self he sees reflected in the behavior of others toward him, or as Cooley called it, the looking-glass self. There is no other way in which he can have any opinion of himself - self-consciousness, self-esteem, or other self-feeling - except through this imagined judgment of what others think of him.

This accumulation of imagined judgments is a process which continues to operate throughout life. Gradually the child internalizes and assimilates the attitudes of other persons who are significant to him; he learns to see himself as an integrated person. According to Mangus, "The fact that the social self is an object of perception and awareness to the individual implies that the total self

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must exist both as a perceiving subject and at the same
time as perceived object."^6 Both facets intertwine to
comprise one's personality. The present concern is with
the social or objective self rather than the subjective
self which makes up the inner organization of the individual.

It is understandable that the approval of oneself
by other people and what others think is very important in
an abstract as well as practical manner since the indi-
vidual is apt to structure his psychological field whenever
possible in defense of the self and to enhance self feel-
ings. How then does clothing function to fulfill needs
allied to self-enhancement and self-defense?

Functions of Clothing Related to Self

Self-Expression

A prevalent function which clothing performs re-
lates to expression of the self-image, the individual's
own estimate of his self-regard and self-esteem. Proposi-
tion VI (page 75) points out that the psychological field
is constantly being restructured, often toward progressively
higher levels. The integrating system which guides this
restructuring process is a system of ideals, ideology,

^6A.R. Mangus, "Role Theory and Marriage Counselling,"
Social Forces, XXXV, No. 3 (March, 1957), 204.
and values within the individual which form the basis by which he judges himself. An individual's feelings of self-esteem, self-regard, and self-respect will be perceived in relation to the way he measures up to his values, ideals, and the like.

It is characteristic of individuals to wish to hold the self in good esteem, to aspire toward higher levels of achievement. An individual by means of dress inadvertently conveys to others his self-attitudes. His clothing behavior permits others to arrive at an estimate of the degree to which he holds himself in good esteem. For example, the clothing of a bum on skid row portrays his despair, defeat, and loss of self-respect as contrasted to a banker's attire which signifies his personal estimate of self-importance and self-esteem. Clothing serves to show what an individual thinks of himself; it reflects his self-image.

People have learned also an adaptive type of behavior in which clothing fulfills a need for self-regard by serving as a camouflage for one's true self-image (Proposition IV and V, page 75). Since it is natural to wish to hold the self in good esteem, some individuals resort to deception in order to defend the self in the presence of important others. They deliberately wear clothing which is incongruous with their self-image. A man whose personal estimate of himself adds up to failure and little hope of ever becoming outstanding in the estimate of others may
conceal this self-image by dressing as if he were reasonably successful when he meets with his old classmates at an alumni gathering.

Because perception is organized and meaningful as well as functionally selective, there is no guarantee of correspondence between an observer's judgments and an individual's personal concept of self-esteem and self-regard as revealed by his clothing behavior (Propositions VII and VIII, page 75). An observer selects and organizes what he sees so that it is meaningful to him even though his interpretation may be erroneous. In other words, the way an individual believes he appears to others, and the impression he thinks he makes, may be quite different from the way others actually perceive him.

**Self-enhancement**

It is not unusual for people to experience a need for self-enhancement, a desire for some sort of extension or enrichment of the self. Clothing may function to buoy the ego and make one feel more important, especially in his own estimate.

The maid whose mistress gave her a discarded fur coat is a more important person when she wears the fur coat than when she wears her old cloth coat. The fur coat gives her a lift and boosts her morale. The woman who resorts to buying a new hat when she feels dejected or upset about
a problem is using clothing for self-enhancement. She believes she is a better person with the hat than without it.

Hartman observes, "The subjective worth of an article of attire is proportionate to its contribution to some sort of extension or differentiation or enrichment of the self." The differentiation of the self achieved by a boy's first pair of long trousers or a girl's first pair of nylon hose is illustrative of Hartman's observation.

Individuals who achieve satisfaction of need for self-enhancement through dress have learned that tensions can be reduced, at least temporarily, and the self made to feel enriched through the use of clothing. Frustrations which arise due to unresolved tensions typically initiate cognitive reorganization (Proposition XI, page 76). Whether this reorganization will be adequate and useful depends upon several factors: (1) strength of the need tensions, (2) the individual's characteristic manner of responding to frustration, and (3) perception of block to the goal (page 64). The use of clothing for self-enhancement is a manner of responding to frustration which some individuals have learned through experience (Proposition V, page 75). An experience with a neighbor's child illustrates

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how early and simply an individual may learn that clothing contributes to self-enhancement.

The little girl visited her next door neighbor frequently. The neighbor had watched and enjoyed her progress from a six pound infant to an alert three year old. The practice of going next door to show off her new clothes, to share her pleasure in them, and to solicit approving comments was well established by the time she learned to talk. On Easter Sunday before her third birthday the little girl posed while the neighbor took pictures in color of her new outfit. She was so pleased with her appearance, with the swish of her full skirt, and the compliments she received that tears of protest resulted when she had to change her clothes.

The behavioral pattern of the child described above indicates that in her world of experience she perceived certain clothing as making her an object of admiration, a more important and attractive person. The child could scarcely help forming a satisfying opinion of herself since the neighbor always expressed approval and admiration in terms of how pretty she looked and how lovely she was. It is not difficult to understand the child's association of clothes with a feeling of self-enhancement when considered in relation to Proposition X. "Objects or events that are close to each other tend to be apprehended as parts of a common structure" (page 76). In this situation the child's
"causal organization" perceived clothing as a "cause" of compliments, admiration, and attention because new and pretty clothes achieved this effect. In sum, the individual met with success in the use of clothing as a means of reducing tension. The child will continue its use under similar circumstances as long as it yields satisfaction.

Self-confidence

Research supports the observation that clothing may function to elevate feelings of self-confidence. Ryan found in a study with college girls that knowing they were well dressed in appropriate attire enhanced their feelings of self-confidence, made them feel at ease with others, and contributed to their enjoyment of a social event. Silberman reports from a study of teen-age girls:

The desire for approval, the internal satisfactions of feelings of poise, self-confidence, and happiness, and the belief in advantages in vocational and social areas to be achieved from good clothing appearance were found to be factors operating in the motivation of clothing choices and attention to appearance for the major portion of 12 and 13 year old groups, and throughout the total group with relatively slight differences for age.9

8Mary S. Ryan, Psychological Effects of Clothing, Part I (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, September, 1952).

When an individual is certain that his attire is appropriate in all respects and that it compliments his personality, tensions and feelings of uneasiness are minimized. The result is a rise in self-confidence and poise. Tensions influence an individual's perception and thinking in such a manner as to make certain paths to a goal outstanding. For some individuals appropriate clothing serves to reduce tensions and tends to change the psychological field in the direction of a more stable structure (Proposition III, page 75). When one experiences an increase in self-confidence through the use of clothing, this mode of behavior and tension reduction is learned and referred to again when needed (Proposition V, page 75).

Clothing behavior as it relates to the self-image, self-enhancement, and self-confidence has been considered. Clothing may function also as a cue to personality.

**Personality Expression**

Bruner and Tagiuri state, "The first step in reacting to another is forming an impression of him."\(^{10}\) Dress is one of the chief means whereby an individual conveys to others an impression of his personality, the kind of person he is. According to Holtzclaw, the clothes people wear

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give information to those who wish to understand them, who wish to know what is important to them.\footnote{Katherine Holtzclaw, "Costume and Culture," \textit{Journal of Home Economics}, XLVIII (June 1956), 501.}

Today's pattern of living and working curtails the opportunity for people to know one another well. In brief face-to-face meetings where individuals are not well acquainted but where favorable impressions are desirable, individuals have learned through experience that dress may function to help convey impressions of personality to others (Proposition V, page 75). Clothes are visible symbols of personality, of one's personal and social traits.

It was observed in the discussion of Proposition VIII (page 75) that objects which play the major role in the organized perception are usually those objects which serve some immediate purpose of the perceiving individual. The determining factor of why clothing is selected to act as a cue to personality is that it serves individual needs for impressing others and helps in goal achievement.

The emphasis which an employer places on dress and appearance of a job applicant elucidates the importance attached to clothing in conveying one's personal qualities. Such elements as neatness, good taste, conformity, austerity, gaiety, conservatism, and boldness may be revealed through one's appearance. It is obvious that the applicant
for a secretarial job who appears wearing a low necked, tight sheath dress, high heeled ankle-strap sandals, with neither hose nor hat will convey a different impression than an applicant who wears a tailored dress accented by appropriate and flattering accessories.

The belief that social success is in large part a consequence of the judgments others make of one's personal appearance motivated Hoult to study the attractiveness ratings for a group of men. He found that attractiveness ratings for men previously rated low went up when the men were pictured wearing clothing independently rated high in appropriateness.¹²

A college freshman was dismayed that other students seemed unfriendly and were so involved with their friends and interests that she was seldom included in their activities. She had been well liked by her high school friends and active in school affairs. This student did not realize that the crux of her problem centered around her appearance. To the other students she was a drab, naive, mousy person who lacked style and appeal. The girl's clothing failed to help convey her good personal qualities to others in this new situation where first impressions were very important, where others were not familiar with her past social success.

The fact should be kept in mind that perception is functionally selective (Proposition V, page 75) and that it is what one thinks others think of him which determines his estimate of himself, his personality, and his behavior. The personality and character one thinks his clothing portrays may be quite different than that perceived by others. For instance, the inappropriately dressed job applicant previously described may not be aware that her estimate of her personality as revealed by her clothing and the evaluation of the employer are markedly different. Therefore, it behooves people to learn what kinds of clothing contribute to making the impression they hope to make. Do they appear to others as they think they do? Do their clothes convey their personalities to others in the way they wish to be evaluated? This is an area in which clothing teachers have a special responsibility - to help students comprehend that clothing is a cue to personality, that it conveys an impression to others of what they are and what they are achieving to be.

Recognition

The need to gain recognition appears to permeate all walks of life. The sports pages praise the competitive achievements of athletes who exceed previous records; business lauds its tycoons; politicians struggle for attention in their bailiwicks; inventors of new gadgets and
discoverers of new drugs seek recognition for their work. Even a select number of individuals have achieved recognition as the best dressed members of society, an instance where clothing functions directly and specifically to gain recognition.

In contrast to these specific strivings for recognition is that mass of individuals who hope for some degree of attention, deference, and prestige from their associates, friends, and neighbors. The reason for gaining recognition may be as simple as being the leader of a youth group or as complex as being the city mayor. Whatever the situation, individuals may utilize clothing to assist them in gaining recognition.

A familiar occurrence is that of the young woman who uses dress to gain the attention of a man she wishes to attract. A common practice in the armed forces is the recognition of outstanding service by use of various decorations and styles of clothing which call attention to the wearer. Certain individuals who wish to gain recognition and stand out from the crowd use extremes in dress as a means of achieving their goal. Numerous organizations designate prestige and confer recognition by means of special dress. Even neighborhood, business, and church groups have individuals who strive to gain recognition by means of dress.
It can be inferred from the typical mode of behavior of the individual who purposely uses clothing to gain recognition that the attention gained enhances his feelings of self-esteem and self-importance. Recognition acts as a stimulus and spurs on the individual to seek it again.

To gain recognition through clothing behavior frequently involves a series of events over a period of time. Such behavior calls for progressive changes in the cognitive structures involving a plan of action and the means to carry it out. One must survey his competition and on the basis of past experience plan how he will proceed to use clothing effectively to gain recognition. Each triumph or defeat leads to new ideas, new needs, and restructuring of the field toward goal achievement (Propositions XI, XII, XIII, page 76).

Power

Closely related to the need for recognition is the need for power. This need varies markedly from individual to individual, and there are fewer opportunities to achieve or exert power through clothing behavior than to gain recognition.

Individuals who are in a position to influence what others wear can use clothing to command compliance. Such people as social chairmen in organizations, celebrities, designers of fashions, and fashion leaders are in
positions which enable them to sanction what others should wear. Those who follow style changes of the fashion leader or designer, those who identify with a celebrity, and those who belong to a social group come under the dominance of these leaders. People of influence know that their wishes and ideas concerning dress will affect what others wear. The effects of this kind of power are quite extensive due to mass media. Not only are adults subject to fashion arbiters, but hundreds of children emulate the dress of their favorite celebrity.

Power through clothing sometimes manifests itself in high schools and colleges where popular students initiate and direct fads in dress. There are also instances where specific students serve in a nonofficial but authoritative capacity. These students set the pattern and give their approval to what is correct and acceptable in matters of dress for those who want to be considered in the social clique.

What satisfactions does an individual receive who has acquired a reputation or position in which clothing behavior contributes to his desire for power? No doubt the possession of a controlling influence over others elevates one's concept of self. It can be expected that any object or individual or group which enhances the self-structure will be looked upon favorably and retained if possible.
Clothing behavior related to power is a more complex level of human conduct than that associated with self-enhancement or the self-image. Power implies control which infers control over something. Proposition VI (page 75) states that "the trend of behavior often involves progressively 'higher' levels of stable organization of the psychological field."

It was also stated, "When the individual achieves a desired level of performance, his standards are thereby changed, and this immediately calls out new action toward higher levels" (page 52). The involvement of the self in these more complex social relationships creates new needs, new goals and new demands as the individual's interests, aspirations, and experiences continuously expand (Propositions XI, XII, XIII, page 76).

To Impress Others

Another kind of clothing behavior concerns the need of individuals to impress others. Clothing is used as a status symbol to display what one has or to make others think that he has something.

In small towns in the United States where every man may know almost every other, it is more difficult to use clothing to imply that one has more than his circumstances warrant, yet clothing can serve effectively to impress others regarding one's ability to consume. The following situation serves to illustrate the use of clothing to impress others.
One of the founders of a successful industry in a small community was an unassuming, hard-working, self-educated man. His two main interests seemed to be his work and his family. He seldom participated in local political or social events although he could be depended upon to support a worthy cause. Because of his personal lack of ostentation and reserved manner, it was surprising to discover the extent to which he showered his family with what were considered "luxuries" in this community.

Private schools and academies preceded college in the east for the children; trips abroad were part of their experience despite a business recession. The wife and daughters each had several fur coats, beautiful jewelry, and more than adequate wardrobes. There were several cars available for them to drive. Compared with other people in the community, this man's family had material possessions far surpassing those of anyone else.

The father would probably say that the motive behind this conspicuous display of ability to consume was his desire to provide all the things for his family that he had never been able to have. But was this the only satisfaction which the father received? It was pointed out in the previous discussion of needs that some needs may be perfectly apprehended by the individual; others may be hidden from him (page 44). Underlying the obvious need to be a good
provider, it can be inferred from this man's behavior that he was actually meeting needs for recognition and self-esteem through impressing others of his ability to consume. He learned that the provision of numerous items of expensive apparel for his family was an avenue by which he could convey to the public his financial success. His self-esteem was bolstered because he knew that only he could afford to spend money to this extent for luxuries and that everyone in the community was aware of this fact.

Krech and Crutchfield emphasize that there are many different goals that can satisfy a person's need (page 48). This situation involves a man who had learned that his needs could be satisfied in a subtle way by impressing others of his extensive ability to provide luxuries for his family (Proposition V, page 75).

In contrast to the intimate and enduring appraisals of the small town may be placed the anonymous and often fleeting appraisals of the city. Here strangers and passing acquaintances have a definite need to impress others in their brief social contacts. Clothing may function effectively in this capacity.

Clothing can serve as an indicator of social and economic success. Consequently, individuals have learned through experience that clothing can be used to impress others and even mislead them to conclude that one belongs
to a different socio-economic level than is actually the case (Proposition V, page 75).

One high quality suit with accessories of comparable value may be sufficient to impress one's numerous but brief contacts in the city that his level of consumption is high and that he is a man of means. In a society where success is measured largely in terms of money, one's clothing can serve to impress others of one's financial worth.

There are instances also where clothing is used in an opposite manner. Prominent people of extensive means whose presence would be impressive may use clothing to detract rather than to impress others. They dress to appear similar to numerous others who pass by unnoticed. Clothing used in this way has a leveling effect and makes the individual one of the crowd.

In a discussion of the needs and desires of today's women, Wolff concludes:

In daily living, women usually evidence more concern than men with making a good impression on others, improving their personalities, appearance, and manners. In general, women will seek social prestige through their own appearance and the appearance of their homes and families, as well as in the selection of their friends and activities.\(^{13}\)

Paths to goal achievement are varied and devious. Clothing is a visible, material object which can be displayed advantageously to others. Because of their materialistic values and the importance attached to ability to consume by Americans, clothing holds considerable potential for anyone who wishes to impress others. Proposition X states, "Objects or events that are close to each other in space or time or resemble each other tend to be apprehended as parts of a common structure" (page 76).

**Group Acceptance**

Man is a social being, always involved in crucial interactions with his family members, his contemporaries, his predecessors, and his society. Because of his fundamental nature, man needs group acceptance and approval. This is a preliminary step to achieving group belongingness. The acquisition of some of the valued external characteristics of the group, including style of dress, is a prerequisite for gaining group acceptance.

A simple example of the function of clothing in promoting group acceptance may be found in the school room. A child who comes to school wearing clothing that is markedly different from that worn by other children is frequently

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14 Timothy Leary, *Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality*, p. 3.
looked upon by them as odd, peculiar, a misfit. In fact the child's style of dress may prove to be a barrier to group acceptance. Cavan observes that city students who identify rural students by mannerisms of speech or style of dress may exclude them from social activities.¹⁵

The need for group approval by one's peers is very urgent during the adolescent period. In this age group clothing is one of the chief means for obtaining approval and as such frequently assumes demand character. The following experience is indicative of the pressure of this need.

A group of ninth grade girls organized a basketball team. They played informally at a nearby recreation center with girls from other junior high schools who attended the center. A group discussion of what the ninth grade girls would wear while playing basketball included gym suits, blue jeans, slacks, bermuda shorts, and shorts. They decided to wear bermuda shorts and white blouses. One of the girls had each of the items mentioned except bermuda shorts. She dropped out of the activity rather than appear in play clothes that were different from those worn by the other girls in her group.

Why did this girl feel that it was so important to have the same kind of clothes as her friends in order to take part in an informal, out of school activity? The fact

that there would be other girls present in a variety of play clothes made her behavior more perplexing.

It can be inferred that a strong need to conform, the need to win approval of others and to be identified as belonging to the group were influential factors motivating this girl's action. Krech and Crutchfield state, "The frustration of goal achievement and the failure of tension reduction may lead to a variety of adaptive or maladaptive behaviors" (Proposition IV, page 75). Several possible adaptations to the situation may have been considered by the girl: (1) buy a pair of bermuda shorts, (2) borrow a pair of bermuda shorts, (3) wear a different kind of outfit, (4) drop out of the activity.

Lack of money would eliminate solution one; group opinion regarding borrowing or lack of a lender could have eliminated solution number two; number three held no promise because of the girl's need to conform. She could not afford to be "different" and run the risk of ridicule by her peer group. Therefore, in order not to jeopardize her status in the group, she could drop out on the pretext of some conflicting activity. "As long as there is blockage to the attainment of a goal, cognitive reorganization tends to take place: the nature of the reorganization is such as to reduce the tension induced by the frustrating situation" (Proposition XI, page 76).
Adolescents who are frustrated because they don't achieve group approval may seek to reduce tensions by adopting extravagant behavior such as startling fads in dress and speech and unusual mannerisms. Barnett cites the following description of male fashions among the "drapes" - those among the adolescents who pride themselves upon their "sharp" dressing - as typical of those denied social approval.

In Baltimore last week, the true drape wore his hair seaweed-long. His shirt was pastel pink and buttoned at the throat (no tie); the jacket was loose, wraparound and without lapels. But the distinctive mark was the black zaks - slacks, that is, that are sharply nipped at the bottom to a narrow cuff. The effect was something between a sagging pair of plus fours and badly fitting jodhpurs.16

The same tendency toward flamboyant dress and bizarre mannerisms can be observed among Filipinos in San Francisco, Negroes in Los Angeles, Indians in Oregon, and Mexicans in Arizona. All are manifestations of compensatory wants that have emerged when these marginal individuals have been denied the avenues to social approval that are open to members of the dominant group. These second class citizens, like our peripheral adults, have had to get around the blockage and satisfy their demands for self-importance in an indirect and striking way.17

Cavan also emphasizes the adolescent's urgent need for approval and his devotion to conformity, so characteristic of adolescent culture. She states, "Extreme dependence


17 Ibid.
upon the peer group for approval and friendship is a passing phase of adolescence."\textsuperscript{18}

The use of clothing to gain group acceptance at the adult level is also very common although less fanatic than at the adolescent stage. Adults frequently inquire about the expected pattern of dress for social functions and feel ill at ease when their dress is noticeably different from that worn by the group. Many adults make a conscious effort and go to considerable expense to make certain that their clothing contributes to group acceptance. Only those individuals who are accepted because of their reputation for unusual talent or achievement can afford to risk non-conformity.

For purposes of analysis, group approval may be considered as a need which gives rise to frustrations when its attainment is blocked. The problem is how to achieve group approval and remove the frustration. It is known that cognitive reorganization will take place when a blocked goal exists in the individual's psychological field (Proposition XI, page 76). It is also known that the objects in the problem situation that will be perceived and hence available for the cognitive reorganization will be selected in terms of need (Proposition II, page 75). In the process of

\textsuperscript{18}Cavan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 293.
gaining group approval, clothing is perceived by individuals as a useful object in their cognitive reorganization directed toward group approval.

**Group Belongingness**

Group belongingness is a need closely related to the need for group approval. One must be approved or received with favor before he can belong to a group. The function of clothing in achieving the first step has been discussed. The function of clothing in group belongingness will comprise the second step.

There is frequently need for some visible evidence of membership when one is accepted and taken into a group. A common sign is to wear clothing which signifies one's belonging to a particular group. The practice is so prevalent that this aspect of clothing behavior is very familiar. For example, athletic groups in a wide variety of sports use uniforms to indicate membership. The wearing of characteristic garb identifies members of various religious orders and sects. Members of different work groups such as policemen, chauffeurs, mailmen, nurses, maids and musicians may be identified by dress, and students in some institutions wear uniforms which mark them as belonging to a particular school.

Clothing functions symbolically to bind one's obligations and responsibilities to the group. It is a constant
remainder of one's membership and its demands. Clothing functions also to inform others of one's group belongingness, in which case it may serve as a means to convey one's status or social level.

In both instances clothing assists individuals in satisfying their needs for belongingness. Group ties are frequently gratifying and rewarding so clothing is perceived as an important adjunct in meeting one's needs to belong. Although there is a multiplicity of functionally equivalent ways of reducing tensions, the use of clothing in meeting belongingness needs is a manner of tension reduction which members have learned and continue to use on the basis of satisfactory experience (Proposition V, page 75).

Rebellion

Clothing may function to indicate rebellion or striking out against mores and customs which are frustrating to individuals. It is a type of indirect protest which serves to reduce tensions by the adoption of unusual clothing behavior.

A previous reference by Barnett points to the startling fads in dress among adolescents who have been denied social approval.\(^{19}\) The same tendency can be observed in some minority groups especially in large cities. Bizarre

\[^{19}\text{Barnett, op. cit., p.140.}\]
fashions give individuals a degree of unity and at the same time compensate for their inability to satisfy their demands in a direct way. There is probably some satisfaction attached also to the attention getting value of their unusual pattern of dress.

An interesting example of this kind of clothing behavior is that of the Beatniks in San Francisco. These individuals use clothing to exemplify their disregard for the pressures and compulsions of modern living. Clothing is a means of proclaiming that they are different and a protest against those who are conformists.

Individuals who use clothing as a substitute for something unacceptable or unattainable have met with frustration of their goal achievement. It may involve such blocks as failure to gain social approval, lack of group belongingness, and conflict with the structures and institutions of society which they are powerless to change. Individuals resort to adaptive measures of behavior. In order to change the psychological field in the direction of a more stable structure and reduce tensions, unusual styles of dress serve to reduce tensions induced by the frustrating situation (Propositions II, IV, XI, pages 75 and 76).

Moods and Feelings

According to anthropologists, clothing and decoration have functioned since early times to convey mental
states, moods, and feelings of individuals to others. Such feelings as dejection, sorrow, gaiety, freedom, and joy were and still frequently are transmitted by means of one's dress. Theatrical costumes vividly illustrate the degree to which moods and feelings can be conveyed to an audience through different kinds of dress. The combined use of color, fabric, and design can be so effective as to literally relay a message to the perceiver.

This function of clothing provides a means of self-expression that has considerable utility for individuals since it assists them in communicating subtle nuances of personal concern to important others. The utilization of clothing to convey moods and feelings is an adaptive kind of behavior which is learned by individuals and practiced because it contributes to strengthening the self structure (Propositions IV, V, XI, pages 75 and 76).

Role Performance

Role Theory

It is pertinent at this point to summarize the major ideas in the concept of role in order to better comprehend the function of clothing in role performance.

Role theory is of special interest and concern because it helps to explain human conduct and provides insight in understanding of people in their relations with other humans. Roles are the guideposts to the special
tasks and functions which a person is expected to perform in the life of his community. They tend to standardize behavior and make it predictable since certain privileges and obligations are attached to roles by the members of a group. Neal Gross in his recent and detailed study of role analysis defines role as follows: "A role is a set of expectations, or in terms of our definition of expectations, it is a set of evaluative standards applied to an incumbent of a particular position." This concept of role permits the actor occupying the social position and/or the group of which he is a member to define the anticipated behavior.

One may well ask how an individual becomes a role player. This question points to a reconsideration of the concept of self which is fundamental to the concept of role. A child in the process of socialization and maturation internalizes and assimilates the attitudes, values, and culture patterns of others, particularly those of his family and later those of a widening circle of associates. These complex factors are organized and integrated to form the social self. In his early years a person performs the social role of child, internalizing the attitudes appropriate

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20 Neal Gross and Others, Explorations in Role Analysis, p. 60.
for that role and in addition incorporating many of the ideas, habits, and attitudes on which his future roles will be based. At the same time he plays other social roles in the school, the play group, the gang, and other groups of which he is a member. Maturation or socialization is largely a process of learning roles and attaining competence in their perception and performance. Mangus observes, "Each of a person's important roles forms a subordinate phase of the social self. The self is an ever changing system of attitudes, feelings, and dispositions."21 According to Sarbin:

The self is what the person "is"; the role is what the person "does." When interested in the self, we regard the person as an organization of qualities. When we study roles, we regard the person as an organization of acts.22

A person cannot enact a role for which he lacks the necessary role expectations. These must be acquired through experience.

Roles, as patterns of conduct, are organized in response to prescriptions and expectations of significant others in a person's life as these expectations are adopted by the person himself.23

Neal Gross phrases this concept in a slightly different manner when he says, "Human behavior is influenced to

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21 Mangus, op. cit., p. 204.
some degree by the expectations individuals hold for themselves or which other individuals hold for them." Effective role enactment is based on knowledge not only of one's own part in the social act but of each reciprocal part as well. The role of teacher is learned and practiced as it relates to students; the role of salesclerk is based on the anticipation of the customer's role. Theodore Sarbin states that "role expectations are bidimensional, for every role expectation of other there is a role expectation of self."25

The system of role reciprocity in action can be visualized in a situation of teen-agers out on a date. The young lady had an awareness of how one is supposed to behave on a date - role perception. She endeavored to be charming, attractive, interesting, a good sport, and an attentive listener. At the same time she held certain expectations for her date such as courteousness, consideration, skill in dancing, and good conversational ability. Each of these young people placed himself into the thinking, attitudes, and feelings of the other or adopted the role expectations of him. In other words:

Individuals who are engaged in evaluating each others performance are, simultaneously,

25 Sarbin, op. cit., p. 244.
taking the role of each other in an attempt to understand how the others in the situation are evaluating one's own performance.26

The degree of success accorded role enactment hinges on whether the player knows not only his own part but also knows it in relation to all the reciprocal parts expected of others.

The overt performance of role enactment according to Sarbin:

...includes among other segments of behavior, gross skeletal movements, the performance of verbal and motoric gestures, posture and gait, styles of speech and accent, the wearing of certain forms of dress and costume, the use of material objects, the wearing of emblems or ornamentation including tattoos.27

It is evident that not all roles are alike as individuals and groups perform their many roles in organized society. For instance, some are vague and uncertain, others specific and rigid. Reference will be made here to several important types. The most common and frequently cited classification is that of ascribed roles and achieved roles.28 Ascribed roles are assigned to a person more or less automatically by the culture of a society on the basis

27 Sarbin, op. cit., p. 225.
of his age, sex, race, or some other category into which he falls. There is little that can be done to alter this type of role assignment. The fact that one is a male rather than a female, or Negro rather than white determines certain role expectations which cannot be avoided.

Achieved roles, on the other hand, give an individual a certain measure of choice. One may aspire to enact the role of a private secretary. Adequate training and experience make it possible for most individuals to achieve this role assuming they have the ability and desire to acquire it. There is considerable freedom in choice of occupational roles and in a number of group membership roles, but it should be pointed out that achieved roles are not equally within the reach of aspirants. Certain factors such as differences in innate ability, socio-economic background, family, and education may place some roles out of the range of many aspirants.

Certain roles may be designated as pervasive roles, while others are limited. A pervasive role determines the other roles an individual may take and the manner in which these roles may be filled."^29 As a male member of a community, a man is expected to perform certain behaviors and not others. It is acceptable and expected that he will

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assume such roles as boyfriend, husband, or father and will reject the roles of homemaker, maid, and cook. Certain behaviors associated with the sex role are included in every other role taken; a man is expected to dress and act in the manner approved for men whether he is enacting a role in his immediate family, business organization, or some other group.

Other roles are exceedingly limited. The shopper, commuter, or bowler for example drops his role as soon as he returns home. Many employees work at jobs which can be set aside after working hours. The person taking an annual two week vacation on a luxury cruise ship is enacting a limited role. Roles in groups may be dropped also, either by withdrawal from the group or the dissolving of a temporary group.

Generally speaking, social roles are not limited to single functions or behaviors. The role of mother, for example, may encompass the duties of teacher, nurse, disciplinarian, playmate, cook, and membership in the Parent-Teacher Association as well as others. Also, the role of mother cannot be described in terms of overt behavior alone for it implies a congruent pattern of feelings, attitudes, values, and concepts. All of these kinds of behavioral expectations are held by the mother and various others for an individual who performs the role of mother. Consequently, the role of
mother has a wide scope of expectations and considerable freedom in interpretation.

Functions of Clothing in Role Performance

Role Assumption

Each individual is confronted with the task of assuming numerous roles in the course of his interaction with other humans and his role assumptions may be as diverse as skin diver, company manager, and father. The overt performance of role enactment, according to Sarbin, may include among others the wearing of certain forms of costume. Clothing functions to make real the role one is performing; it speaks a silent language to role participants. No doubt the most outstanding example of the use of clothing to portray a role is that of the stage, movies, and television. If a person is to perform the role of a vampire, she is dressed in clothes which are associated with this character in the minds of the audience. If an individual is to portray the part of a hick, his mismatched, ill fitting, and unsuitable clothes convey the role of hick to the role participants.

To summarize, role theory calls attention to the fact that roles are reciprocal. They involve various

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30 Sarbin, op. cit., p. 225.
participants in social acts. In any social action there must be communication between individuals if behavior is to move toward motive satisfaction. It is within this communicative realm that clothing functions to facilitate role assumption.

The function of clothing in role assumption is pointed up in the hypothetical example which follows.

The senior prom was the highlight in the social career of a high school miss. Detailed planning and shopping went into finding the right dress in the exact shade and style for the big occasion. Accessories were carefully chosen to add just the proper effect. Each step in the process was crucial because the success of the whole evening depended on whether the young lady felt that her costume was what it should be and that her appearance measured up to her expectations and that of important others. She may have perceived herself as a sophisticate, a coquette, the belle of the ball, or anyone of a number of roles. Her dress constituted one of the major devices whereby she conveyed her role to others.

This individual perceived herself performing an important and relatively short role in which there was no opportunity to correct any miscalculations. It was a "once only" experience in which she had to look the part for the role she was performing both in her own estimate and that
of important others. Her costume had to contribute to her major goal which was to perform successfully her role in a major social function.

This example was selected intentionally because clothing functions dramatically to promote successful role assumption.

Children are excellent subjects for the study of role assumption and performance. Little girls, for example, can quickly assume the role of mother with the assistance of a few borrowed props such as a pair of high heeled shoes, long dress, pocket book, and hat. These pieces of clothing help the children identify with the mother role, making it real. Their actions involve various participants who constitute role partners of the mother. This "make believe" situation is mainly a process of learning roles and attaining competence in their perception and performance in preparation for future enactment.

Small boys sometimes identify themselves with a particular role model such as Davey Crocket or a western hero. One of the prime necessities for this kind of role assumption is to have some apparel which is typical of their heroes - the more the better. A Davey Crocket hat and suede jacket with fringe or cowboy boots, levis, and gun and holster make their imitative roles come alive. They work so diligently at performing their roles that they almost forget their true identity.
The children in both situations are practicing patterns of conduct which constitute roles. Even at this early age they perceive clothing as facilitating their imitation of a role model. Clothing also helps them convey to their role participants who they are and what behavior to expect (Propositions VIII, X, XI, pages 75 and 76). Clothing functions in role assumption at adult levels in much the same way that it serves the children, by making the role real and conveying meaning to role participants.

There are times when an individual's use of clothing to aid in portraying his role may fail to convey the desired impression. The experience of a teacher who was to give a talk at a professional meeting serves to illustrate this point.

It was important to her as a representative of the profession and her subject matter area to handle her assignment commendably. She wanted others to conclude that selecting her had been a wise choice and that she had delivered a stimulating and worthwhile message. Her speaking assignment was a situation in which first impressions needed to be favorable for her contact with the audience was limited. What was their reaction when she spoke as an authority on fashion? They saw a conservative, neat, conformist whose appearance contradicted her imaginative ideas on how to enhance one's personality through use of color and design in
dress. In other words, her clothing and her role did not communicate the same idea.

The teacher's situation involved frustration both on the part of the role participants and the role performer. Her audience was disappointed and let down when she did not measure up to their expectations. Whether or not the teacher ever fully realized that her role performance was at fault depended on whether she perceived the block to her goal. Krech and Crutchfield's generalization of Proposition XII helps in understanding why the teacher may have failed to profit from her experience.

...it is not the frequency of occurrence of an event or the objective sequence of cause and effect which determines the nature of the resulting cognitive organization but only those things which are perceived and attended to that play a role in the new cognitive organization (Proposition XII, page 66).

The use of clothing in role performance involves at least two aspects. Each individual selects the type of dress which he perceives as conveying his specific role according to his experiences and expectations. At the same time his selection must be in keeping with the customs and mores which society tends to describe and identify for members in similar role performances.

It can be anticipated that the cognitive reorganization process which perceives clothing as an attribute to role assumption includes thinking and learning at a rather complex level, since roles are learned patterns of behavior.
which are intricately involved with the expectations of others and the social self. It is known too that any behavior involving the self structure will be directed toward defending and enhancing it. People learn through experiences and instruction both intentional and incidental, that clothing can meet individual needs involved in performing role behavior (Propositions V, XII, XIII, pages 75 and 76).

Role Change

Clothing performs a very positive function in helping individuals change from one role to another. This statement may seem trivial unless one realizes that an individual seldom performs the same role for extensive periods at one time and that any day may account for several role changes involving various participants.

The man of the house, for example, started his day in a robe and slippers. His dress conveyed his intimate family role of husband and father. After he had breakfast and had read the morning paper, he appeared dressed for work. His role may be perceived as that of an executive who directs others or as an employee who takes orders in the office hierarchy where he works. Since his job entailed a game of golf in the afternoon with a prospective customer, he changed into his golf clothes at the club. His change of dress conveyed that he was no longer the boss but a good sport intent on favorably impressing his opponent.
When this man arrived home after work, he changed into clothes which connote relaxation or depending on his plans, dressed for a dinner engagement. If he followed the latter schedule, he probably assumed the roles of husband, escort, and guest during the evening.

The same pattern, a number of changes, is typical of other individuals in any household. A mother has different clothes for her homemaking role, for shopping, for entertaining, and participation in sports and social events. It is not unusual for her to assume several roles in the course of a day. The busiest role changers in any family are probably teen-agers, especially daughters. For example, the daughter started out in the morning dressed for her student role in an outfit that closely resembled the dress worn by all the other girls in her school. After school she had a special role as cheer-leader for the inter-mural basketball game so she quickly changed into her cheer-leading outfit. There was an interval between the game and dinner in which she dropped her school roles and relaxed. Relaxation called for a change into jeans and a shirt. A date for the early movie meant that she changed into clothing appropriate for the role of girl friend. If she had a job as a baby-sitter for the evening instead of a movie date, her role required different kind of dress.

A record of all the role changes that occur every day would yield no doubt an astounding figure. Yet most
individuals switch from one role to another or drop roles with facility. Roles are learned patterns of behavior, extensive in kind, involving various participants in social acts. Clothing has proved significant in defining and segmenting the varied and frequent role changes which are typical of individuals in today's society. Individuals have come to expect and associate different styles of dress as indicative of specific roles. Therefore, dress functions to distinguish and separate one role from another in the kaleidoscopic pattern of changes.

The relationship of clothing to role changes depends upon the functionality and organizational qualities of perception as stated in Propositions VII and VIII (page 75). The significance of clothing to role varies in intensity and meaning depending upon the structure of the perceiver's immediate psychological field - the urgency of his needs and goals - and relative to his experience. It would appear plausible then that clothing may be perceived as essential in changing from the role of sweetheart to bride but of less value in changing one's role from mother to grandmother.
Individual Clothing Behavior as Related to Family Environment

Level of Analysis

Families are made up of individuals who exhibit separately and in varying intensities all of the needs previously considered under individual need satisfactions related to clothing. It is mainly within the family setting that individuals acquire their attitudes and values which affect clothing behavior. Therefore, any insight which broadens the concept of the place of clothing in the family should be helpful in understanding clothing behavior.

The social behavior of the individual is the level of analysis which has been used and for which the behavioral propositions of Krech and Crutchfield are designed. The reader is reminded that one cannot treat the group as a unit of analysis by merely substituting the word "group" for the word "individual" in the behavioral propositions and assume that he now has equally valid laws of group dynamics. Consequently, the interpretation of family clothing behavior in this study must of necessity be restricted to the individual's behavior as a function of the kind of family environment in which he exists. This approach concerns primarily the individual's need structure as it
relates to his perceptions, his emotions, and his goals in relation to his family.

Family Cycles

Families normally progress through a series of stages or cycles. The first cycle includes the period of early married life when the young couple is making adjustments and getting established. During this period the function of clothing may be somewhat subordinate due to the more pressing needs to establish a home and since normally both husband and wife have fairly complete wardrobes at the time of marriage. If the husband and wife are from different socio-economic or ethnic backgrounds, there may be problems of differences in clothing behavior patterns.

Consider the college girl from a medium income family who married a young man from a wealthy eastern family. After their marriage they lived in New York City. The husband, who belonged to the upper social stratum, expected his wife to entertain regularly. They frequently went west or south during the winter and traveled elsewhere. The wife's entire wardrobe had to be revamped and her fashion tastes reoriented to fit in with those of her new acquaintances and to measure up to her husband's expectations.

The wife in this situation had taken on a new role, a role more demanding than that of many new wives, because
she aspired to achieve the social acceptance of her hus­
band's friends to whom she was an outsider. She had a press­
ing need to win the approval of others, to be accepted on a
status equal to her husband's, and to be identified as
belonging in his social class.

The wife and probably her husband perceived that
she must quickly fill in any gaps in her social skills and
that she should look the part for the role she was perform­
ing. To meet her needs and achieve her goal she acquired
among other things some of the valued external character­
istics of the class into which she hoped to be accepted.

The fact that the wife revamped her wardrobe indi­
cates that in the cognitive reorganization which took place
as she struggled to solve her problem, clothing was per­
ceived as a means to meet her goal and to reduce the ten­
sion (Propositions III, IV, VIII, XI, pages 75 and 76).

With the coming of children the family enters the
second cycle, that of the expanding family which usually
covers a long period compared to the beginning family. This
cycle includes various stages as the family moves from
child-bearing and preschool age children through high school
and college age members. It is possible for families to
have to face the problem of two or more stages at once since
many of them have more than one child. The focus of the
discussion of the individual's need structure related to
family clothing which follows is directed mainly toward this cycle, the expanding family with its increasing demands and problems.

The final cycle of the family begins when the children launch out on their own and the family contracts to that of parents once again. Although clothing is still a consideration in the family during its later years, it has in many cases lost its demand character. There is an increasing need to investigate the clothing problems of the aging due to the larger numbers of persons in this age group and the increased duration of the period itself. Knowledge of the nature and scope of clothing problems experienced in the final cycle of the family is limited.

Family Influences and Individual Clothing Needs

The significance of attractive clothing for self-enhancement is evident. It would seem therefore that the opportunity for individuals in the family to secure new clothing should lead to satisfaction. In reality the process may be a frustrating one depending on an individual's perception of his varied roles, the attitudes of dominant members, personal relationships within the family, and the importance which families attach to individual clothing needs. The reason for making this prediction is that observers overlook the fact that perception is functionally
selective and that there are numerous ways of reducing tensions (Propositions V and VIII, page 75).

Assume that mother and daughter went shopping for a dress for the daughter's music recital. As they walked past the shop windows the daughter saw only the dark sophisticated models while the mother was charmed by the youthful, feminine designs with ruffles and bows in pastel tones. Their concepts of the correct dress for the occasion were scarcely similar. Or, consider the familiar case of the young woman who wanted to buy a strapless formal; her parents saw her as a young girl and she saw herself in the role of a young adult. These incidents exemplify the differences in perception which may lead to frustrations regarding what is appropriate for both an age group and an occasion.

There are many times when an individual believes that his present clothing is not appropriate for a certain occasion and role. The son who was about to graduate from junior high school considered it essential that he have a suit to wear to the functions entailed with graduation. His parents, on the other hand, considered his slacks and sport jacket adequate and suitable. Clothing needs related to role performance may be exhibited by any family member but will be particularly evident among the adolescent age members. During this period the adolescent's need to conform to the clothing pattern of his peer group is very
In addition, some adolescent fads in dress seem frivolous and unwarranted to many parents, and as a result, parents do not give them enough consideration.

Dominant family members may exert considerable influence over others in determining clothing choices. The mother may select clothing for her children which fulfills her own deprivations for clothing when she was an adolescent. She may lavish large amounts of the family clothing money on certain members at the expense of others. The mother may also take on the responsibility of making all selections with little consideration for individual preferences and needs. Occasionally the father dominates and controls the selection and purchase of family clothing to the extent of doing all the buying. In these cases the family members wear whatever he selects. King found that there was considerable frustration felt by teen-age girls because of parental dominance and interference in respect to their free choice of clothing.\[31\]

Family attitudes and beliefs regarding the importance of clothing have much to do with the attitude of individual members and their need satisfactions. Strong

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religious beliefs of a parent or parents may not permit them to sanction certain fashions in dress which children wish to follow. For example, the father may view shorts as immodest and the feminine members of the family may perceive them as fashionable. Other values such as music, travel, and education may take preference over clothing needs. Previous experience and family background of parents are influences which affect a wide variation in the degree of importance that families attach to clothing needs of individual members.

The facility and harmony attached to selection of clothing which meets the needs of individual family members relate to a number of factors. Some of these include: the degree of freedom which an individual may exercise in the selection of clothing considered by him to be adequate and appropriate, the perception of individual family roles by members of the family group, the importance which families attach to clothing in role performance, understanding by family members of the adolescent's need to conform to the style of dress of his peer group, and previous experiences and background of dominant members in relation to clothing needs of family members.

Adaptive Behavior of Family Members

Only a limited number of families have sufficient means to meet the clothing needs of the various individuals
In the group with ease. Consequently individuals have learned some adaptive measures in clothing behavior which contribute to the satisfaction of clothing needs of family members and help to lessen the financial strain as well (Propositions IV, V, page 75).

New clothing may be purchased for the older children in families where the age range of the children is fairly close. Outgrown clothing is then passed on to younger family members. If the practice is handled tactfully and the younger members receive enough new clothing so that they do not feel deprived, everyone can benefit from this extension of the wardrobe. Sometimes second hand clothing is donated by a favorite relative or friend, in which case it is often in more demand than new items.

Family members who are similar in size may enhance their limited wardrobes by borrowing, trading, and sharing apparel with other members. College students indicate that it is a common practice when more than one child is in college at the same time to exchange clothes at vacations so that they can return to their respective schools with new clothes. In some cases, especially during the adolescent period, clothing is purchased jointly rather than individually. This practice is prevalent with less frequently worn items such as formals and cocktail dresses. Thus one investment may fulfill a dual need. Perhaps one reason that
adolescents, in particular, find satisfaction in sharing and trading their clothing is that the emphasis at this developmental stage seems to be on quantity of clothing rather than quality.

Another means which some families use to meet individual clothing satisfactions is home production of garments. Where members are skilled in construction techniques, it is possible to provide better quality in clothing in the exact styles desired with less capital outlay. This means that families can be better dressed in terms of their clothing needs than would be possible if they had to purchase the same clothing ready-made.

The phenomenon of constant changes in fashion constantly confronts family members and frequently taxes their ingenuity to keep in fashion. Older family members who are less apt to follow fashion changes closely tend not to be disturbed if their clothing is not in accord with the latest fashions. But younger members like change and anticipate each season's new ideas in dress. Cobbler investigated the rigid conformity of individuals to standards in fashion using college women over 20 years of age.

Most of the subjects expressed themselves as satisfied with the uniformity and periodic change in style which fashion imposes....In social life they would feel uneasy, uncomfortable, and self-conscious if they did not comply with fashion. There is little resentment of fashion, and even
in situations where they do not feel "up to
date" they will not attack fashion as such.\textsuperscript{32}

Any force, such as fashions in dress, which contributes to strengthening the self structure must be reckoned with in meeting family clothing goals for it frequently assumes demand character. Satisfaction with one's clothing has considerable correlation with its fashion rightness. Frustrations are bound to occur when an individual feels that his clothing does not meet fashion standards and that he is not appearing at his best to important others. Several kinds of adaptive behavior are commonly resorted to as a means of relieving the tensions involved: (1) the family member or members withdraws and avoids participation in affairs where one's mode of dress is important; (2) individuals find ways to earn extra money so that they can buy the styles of clothing which will enable them to participate on an equal basis with others; and (3) they use their skill and available resources to remodel present clothing to make it more fashionable (Propositions IV and XI, pages 75 and 76). The success with which families handle the pressure of fashion change and meet individual clothing needs will affect their group relations and satisfactions.

\textsuperscript{32}W. Godfrey Coblner, "Feminine Fashion As An Aspect of Group Psychology: Analysis of Written Replies Received by Means of a Questionnaire," \textit{Journal of Social Psychology}, XXXI (May, 1950), 285.
Status

It was noted previously that certain clothing practices and functions may contribute to family harmony and individual satisfaction within the group. But the family is more than an isolated assemblage of individuals; its members perform various roles in community organizations in competition with other individuals and groups. Children learn at an early age, particularly in middle class families, that their achievement is status-oriented. They learn that high status is approved, wanted and that low status is undesirable. 33

By status, we refer to social honor as its signs and symbols are differentially distributed among the social groups and aggregates which constitute the social organization of the community. 34

Hartley points out that—

...maintenance of status in peer groups is of critical importance for pre-adolescents and adolescents. Changes in interests, skills, and other personal characteristics, with progression in chronological age, are found to correlate highly with group values associated with prestige at each stage. 35

Students of the American scene assert that status-striving is an important value in the culture and that the

33 Hartley, op. cit., p. 583.
35 Hartley, op. cit., p. 577.
strongest striving for higher status in class terms is to be found among members of the middle class. It is to be expected that some outward and visible sign of a man's place in the status hierarchy would be necessary for smooth social functioning since status is of central importance in social organization and to a large extent dominates relations among individuals. "Such 'signs' are known as 'status symbols' and can be found throughout the social system."\textsuperscript{36}

Stone and Form report:

In the mass society of the city many social contacts are segmental and the participants often strangers. Consequently, the urbanite may frequently rely upon appearance rather than reputation: status may be temporarily appropriated by the "correct display" and manipulation of symbols, while in the small town it is more permanently manifested by the direct enactment of rights and duties. The bestowal of status in the city is often an inference from symbolism to social position; in the small town the bestowal of status proceeds from the evaluation of rights and duties appropriate to social position, and the relevant symbolism is basically symptomatic.

In general, matters of taste and style may be crucial in setting the temporary status arrangements formed in the anonymous situations of city life.\textsuperscript{36}

To maintain or raise one's status level calls for constant striving and successful competition. The effect of a prestige-oriented society is to impose on an individual

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., p. 574.

or family continuous strain to prove his worthiness. Concern for status becomes a primary value through the precepts of the parents and through its association with those signs of acceptance which are necessary to every individual for psychic survival. Family members usually learn from their parents the degree of importance which the family attaches to status. During the early stages of the expanding family cycle the children follow the status pattern of the group, but as they reach adulthood, they may form their own status goals.

Clothing Behavior and Family Status

One of the most prevalent modes of displaying status is through clothing behavior. Clothing has great social value as a status symbol. It serves to make known one's prestige rank or to pretend it. Vener's finding that the degree of importance which a person places on clothing will be related to that individual's social status reinforces the postulate that clothing functions in social life as a symbol of status.38 The fact that an individual's apparel is always in evidence and affords an indication of his pecuniary standing, taste, and culture to all observers at first

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glance is crucial in making clothing a valuable status symbol.

Expensive items of clothing are customarily used to infer high status. Original Paris designs and luxurious furs are two items preferred presently as indicative of high status. One of the primary criteria of a man's class status and that of his wife and dependent children, according to Barber and Lobel, is his occupational position - his ability to pay - to consume. They observe:

At least on first glance we all apply the following social equation: consumption equals wealth or income, wealth or income equals occupational position, occupational position equals social class position, and therefore, consumption equals social class position.39

On the basis of this equation, it is understandable that an individual's ability to consume expensive clothing may infer high social status to others.

Each stratum of society more or less attaches importance to certain clothing symbols which infer status at a given level. For example, business executives such as bankers, accountants, and sales managers wear suits for work even during the hottest summer days. There is little doubt that they would be more comfortable and could work more efficiently in cool, casual dress. But because a business

suit is symbolic of their status and role, these executives feel that it is necessary to conform to the social standards for their stratum.

Clothing may function also as a status transformer. Its utility in this respect is particularly advantageous in communities large enough to guarantee relative anonymity to individuals. Individuals, with the correct display of clothing, can affect membership in a social class or stratum without actually belonging to status groupings which are recognized as such. Stone and Form point out that "the cocktail lounge offers a stage par excellence where the actors may play roles which in their estimate, connote a higher social status than their family, occupation, or education warrant." They hope that others will perceive them as having the quality of dress which is associated with higher status and will thus place them in that higher category (Propositions IX and X, pages 75 and 76).

Status-striving is a characteristic behavior pattern of the culture and as such is perceived by individuals and families as a social goal. Many individuals perceive clothing as contributing to their goal achievement and have learned how to utilize clothing to best advantage to meet their need for status (Propositions V and VIII, page 75).

Social Mobility

A fundamental theme of the "American Dream" is that each individual has the right to the chance of reaching the top. The dream is kept alive because opportunity for advancement is present sufficiently to permit the rise of a few from the bottom and a still larger number from the middle to the higher economic levels. "The fact that the proportion of any one class that reaches a higher level is small does not detract from the belief."41

At birth the baby has no individual status but automatically receives the social class and ethnic status of his parents. From this time forward the family inducts the child into the class or ethnic culture so that he is well aware of his own and other children's social class placement by the time he finishes his elementary schooling. Identification with the parents during childhood is a normal part of the process of maturing in the culture. Later, if the child or young adult moves into another class, "he must change some of his most deep-seated attitudes and convictions; he must abandon one culture and acquire another - the process of acculturation."42

41Cavan, op. cit., p. 233.
42Ibid., p. 236.
Social mobility is the term which social scientists apply to the movement of people up and down the social status scale. Lundberg, Schrag, and Larsen specify that certain conditions favor social mobility, the most important of which are: (1) a high rate of social change, (2) a system of communication which fosters knowledge of the conditions of life in other classes, and (3) the degree of division of labor that exists in a society.

Many families today hope to reach a higher social level or at least give the impression that they belong in a higher class than they actually do. They are especially ambitious for their children to move upward if such a move is out of the reach of the parents. In discussing the process of upward mobility, Cavan observes that—

Rarely does an entire family achieve upward mobility. Instead, one or two members forge ahead and gradually establish themselves in a class one or, more rarely, two or more ranks ahead of the general family status. The most frequent advances are made by those in the lower-middle and lower classes.

There has been considerable study and discussion as to which avenues offer the best opportunity to achieve upward mobility. Sociologists agree generally that the use of

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money, education, occupation, talent, skill, philanthropy, sex, and marriage compose the principal forms of social mobility in this country although no one formula has been found.

Cavan points out that regardless of the means used to climb upward, certain steps comprise the process of upward mobility and lead to acceptance as a member of a higher class. The following steps taken from Cavan appear to hold special significance for understanding the function of clothing in facilitating upward mobility of family members:

1. Psychologically the person must identify himself with the higher class and be able to destroy his identification with the class he is leaving.

2. He must associate himself with the higher class.

3. The person (or couple) must acquire some of the valued external characteristics of the higher class.\[46\]

Clothing Behavior and Social Mobility

It was noted previously in the discussion of role that clothing may serve to enable individuals to identify with a role model. Emulation of the pattern of dress and manner of another enables an individual to assume the outward appearance of his model. This is a fundamental step

\[46\] Ibid.
in helping the individual destroy his identification with the class he is leaving; he perceives himself as belonging to a different class.

Identification through dress is learned behavior which has been acquired through experience and training. Clothing contributes to goal satisfaction and is perceived as a necessary attribute in meeting the need to forge ahead (Proposition V, page 75).

The judgment was made earlier that first impressions may be lasting and that one's appearance plays an important part in conveying an impression of self to others. Therefore, it can be deducted that the person who aspires to associate with individuals in a higher class will have to be perceived by them as if he belongs. One of the first steps will include wearing clothing which is appropriate for the new role. Clothing can make real the role one is performing, both to the perceiver and the observer.

The following description illustrates the functionality of clothing for those who aspire to move upward on the social ladder. It is typical of what occurs frequently in any sizable community.

The observation of the heterogeneous mixture of individuals who frequent a luxury restaurant, terrace room, or supper club was an interesting experience. Who were these people? From what social level did they come? What did they do? An observer could only surmise as he appraised
their actions and analyzed their appearances. One fact was quite evident: status groupings in the relative anonymity of city life were hard to distinguish on the basis of manner of dress. Clothing served in this setting as a status transformer. That couple at the next table may have been an executive and his wife or a secretary on a special date with the office file clerk.

Appropriate clothing is now available in such a wide range of styles and prices that large numbers of people can be dressed attractively regardless of their family status. Only the most critical observer can distinguish between an expensive original design and a less costly but smart copy.

In the social setting just described, some of the people present aspire to achieve at least temporary acceptance into a higher social stratum. The use of a style of dress that is worn by members of the higher strata facilitates a subjective sense of upward mobility on the part of the "climbers." They hope that their dress will be perceived in terms of the characteristics of the larger group of which they are a part, and, by assimilation, that the qualities of the group will be ascribed to them.

When an individual is apprehended as a member of a group, each of those characteristics of the group is affected by his group membership, the effect being in the direction of either assimilation or contrast (Proposition IX, page 75).
Young points out that when there are no fixed symbols to mark the social elite in a stratified society, external features of life are often used for this purpose.\textsuperscript{47} Cavan's third point also states that acquisition of some of the valued external characteristics of the higher class is a prerequisite for moving into a higher rank.\textsuperscript{48} These would include such features as amount of education, cultural attainments, style of living, manners, and style of dress.

If individuals aspire to move into a higher social stratum and they perceive appropriate clothing as an asset in helping them attain this goal, it can be predicted that they will use dress in helping them meet this need (Propositions VI, VIII, XI, pages 75 and 76).

The needs which clothing meets for individual family members are varied and numerous; the present analysis enumerates some of the more obvious. It is a certainty that clothing performs a fundamental task in helping family members meet their personal and social needs. The degree of success with which clothing fulfills individual needs depends upon the beliefs, perceptions, experience, motives, and goals of the family members involved.

\textsuperscript{47}Kimball Young, \textit{Social Psychology}, pp. 419-20.
\textsuperscript{48}Cavan, \textit{op. cit.}
PART 3

Fashions and Fads in Clothing Behavior

The American way of life is characterized by certain behavior patterns which are reflected in clothing fashions and fads. Americans attach special honor to change and innovation; progress on all fronts seems to be their motto. They stress bigness in business and industry and measure success largely in terms of financial gains. Special emphasis is placed on ability to consume and the display of material possessions. Even the economy is considerably dependent on the consumer's desire for the new and dissatisfaction with the old.

Within this dynamic setting of competitive consumption there has risen a special aspect of change known as fashion. It now pervades many facets of everyone's existence and dominates especially the area of clothing. Fashion in clothing has taken on such demand character in many instances that understanding of this social phenomenon relative to clothing behavior may shed light on its influence and the reason it has gathered so many followers.

It seems essential to remind the reader at this point that the level of analysis being used is the social
behavior of the individual in his psychological world. Since it is not scientifically sound to extrapolate sociological laws from propositions governing individual behavior, the approach will be confined to individual behavior in order to gain insight regarding the underlying explanation of the fashion process.

Barber and Lobel in a discussion of fashion in women's clothes define it this way.

Fashion in clothes has to do with the styles of cut, color, silhouette, stuffs, etc., that are socially prescribed and socially accepted for certain roles, and especially with the recurring changes in these styles.\(^{49}\)

Young emphasizes that "fashions, in contrast to mores, are highly temporary and are always in flux. This shift in modern fashion is perhaps its outstanding characteristic."\(^{50}\) No sooner is a new silhouette, color, or fabric accepted by the general public than it is passe. Fashion is like a clock; as soon as it stops, it has lost its utility.

It is evident from previous discussions that behavior is directed toward the satisfaction of needs relative to an individual's goals. This fact makes it possible to assume that fashion in clothing meets certain needs of individuals or they would not pursue it. It is also known

\(^{49}\)Barber and Lobel, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 325.

\(^{50}\)Young, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 411.
that some motives are hidden and may not be evident even to the person who is motivated. Nevertheless these motives do operate and are expressed in behavior regardless of how they came into being. Adherents to fashion change find satisfaction in following its dictates because fashion meets some of their personal or social needs directed toward goal achievement. It is likely also that the individual may not apprehend all of the needs which motivate his fashion behavior.

An urgent goal for many individuals is that of group acceptance leading to group belongingness. If one of the prerequisites for group acceptance and social approval is adoption of the standards or norms of behavior of the group, including such external evidences as speech, manner, and style of dress, it can be expected that conformity to fashion in dress may be perceived as an important need in the estimate of the person who wants to belong. It is not surprising that such individuals will endeavor to conform within a permissible range to the standards of the group. Fear of social disapproval is a strong stimulus because it threatens the self structure.

Naturally, not all individuals wish to conform and be considered a part of a group or stratum. Instead, they consider themselves non-conformists and hope to gain recognition, prestige, and leadership by being different, by
standing out from the crowd. A satisfactory means by which one can advertise his individuality is through the medium of dress. One can be an innovator, the first to adopt the new and different. Fashion leadership is a status position for which many individuals strive. They perceive clothing as an insignia which indicates that they hold a social position of envy and admiration. They have arrived. Individuality in dress meets the need of an aspiring leader to achieve a position of prominence in the social group.

These two opposing individual needs -- the need to conform and the need to be different -- largely account for the constant change in fashion. When one class begins to aspire to that above, the distinct and outward signs and symbols, such as dress of the higher class, become imperiled. Therefore, as soon as the distinctive fashion of the individualist is emulated by those who look upon him as a leader or prestige-bearer, he must immediately seek a new fashion in order to hold his distinctive position. This circuitous route becomes self-perpetuating. New fashions evolve and are copied, and as soon as they spread downward, the leaders begin to change their fashions and the cycle repeats. Instabilities in the psychological field of upper class individuals follow when lower class individuals imitate the dress of a higher class. The resulting tensions immediately set in motion new motives and goals aimed at
protecting the fashion leader's position (Proposition III, page 75).

There are sometimes fringe satisfactions attached to conformity and individuality in fashion which may not be apprehended by the behaver. The need to conform may be evidence of a deeper need for security which group approval and belongingness support. The individualist who seeks recognition through dress may find that fashion is a means of compensating for a sense of inferiority. The attention and recognition which his dress makes possible, serve to lessen his feelings of low-esteem.

There is a multiplicity of functionally equivalent ways of reducing tensions. Those individuals who stand out as fashion leaders and those who follow the dictates of fashion in dress have experienced tensions that influence their perception and thinking in such a manner as to make certain paths to a goal outstanding. They have learned through experience that keeping pace with fashion changes leads to goal achievement and tension reduction (Propositions III and V, page 75).

There are other benefits which may accrue from and promote the fashion sequence. Fashion imitation assists members of the lower class to assimilate themselves upward into the higher strata. The desire to rise in social status is a powerful motive for trying to be in fashion. High fashion in dress is one of the means whereby higher social
classes retain signs of superiority. Consequently, when people with prestige and reputability adopt a fashion, their imitators perceive themselves as possessing properties in common with the fashion leaders (Proposition IX, page 75).

The fashion process enables many individuals to satisfy their need for change, for something novel and different. It stimulates feelings of anticipation and excitement as each season unfolds its new creations. Fashion changes create a spark in an otherwise tedious routine. It is exhilarating, for example, to replace heavy winter garb with new fashions in tune with the coming of spring.

Fashions in dress also alleviate needs related to the self concept. One's desire to be attractive, to express his personality, to enhance the self, and to portray a role may be furthered through adherence to fashion. The degree to which individuals follow fashion changes depends upon the urgency of their needs and goals and the way that they perceive fashion as contributing to goal achievement. As a result, there are all stages of conformity extending from fashion slaves to those who are scarcely cognizant of its force.

The whole fashion movement which is based on change -- the perpetual introduction of the new followed by discard of the old -- exemplifies a ruthless and insensitive giant
on the march. In its wake may be discovered some individuals for whom fashion, because of its intrinsic nature, creates problems.

Consider the case of a young married couple, ambitious to improve their social status in the community. Keeping abreast of fashions in dress was perceived by this couple as an important need in relation to their social goals. Newspapers, fashion magazines, and television extolled the beauty and smartness of the latest fashions. Last year's silhouette was no longer in vogue; new colors, new textures, and new details made one's old wardrobe dated.

Fashion obsolescence resulted in frustrations for these individuals and many others like them. They were confronted with two conflicting courses of action and had to make a choice, either of which were difficult to assimilate into their cognitive structure (Proposition XIV, page 76). The first choice supported following fashion's dictates in order to achieve higher status for which they were striving. This meant discarding a large number of clothing items that were now out of date by fashion standards. The trouble with this choice was that it conflicted with their values concerning thrift and economy. The second choice proposed wearing last year's clothes which were comfortable and in good condition but
not fashionable. Such a decision tended to make their goal for higher status less attainable.

Fashion obsolescence is a block to their goal. How adequately this couple or other individuals will adapt to the frustration of goal achievement relates to their ability to perceive the block to their goal. Their final decision and the resulting behavior will depend on the relative importance which they attach to their needs and goals in light of their values (Propositions IV, VI, VIII, page 75).

One point which this interpretation of fashion refutes is the common belief that fashion is irrational. Young states, "In fashion -- as in prejudice, crowd behavior, public opinion, and most social attitudes and activities -- men and women are illogical and impulsive rather than rational." Bogardus comments in the same vein. "Excitement furthers fashion, for it paralyzes one's critical powers and releases the native impulses to act irrationally." According to the behavioral theory which forms the basis for this interpretation, emotional behavior is inseparable from the dynamics of behavior; strong

51 Young, op. cit., p. 427.

emotions do motivate.\textsuperscript{53} The following excerpts from Krech and Crutchfield point up the rationality of behavior.

In terms of our molar unit, the behavior of the individual is always concerned with needs and goals. [Proposition I, page 75]. Often a behaver may seem unmotivated because we have failed to identify correctly the need or goal involved, or because we have artificially abstracted a part of the individual's behavior from its integrated context.\textsuperscript{54}

They comment further:

A great proportion of the motivational life of the individual is unconscious. He is not aware of the real nature of his tensions or the real meaning of the actions in which he engages. Not only to others, but to the individual himself, his behavior may often appear irrational, purposeless, unorganized. Yet if, through deep analytical procedures, the underlying motivation is laid bare, the behavior of the individual is then understood as meaningful, purposive, and organized. Whether or not the person is conscious of his motives, they seem to work in their own dynamic fashion, guiding his behavior as though independent of conscious direction.\textsuperscript{55}

Probably one of the reasons responsible for the generally held belief that fashion in dress is irrational has a connection with its disutility value. It would appear that anyone who wears open style shoes, nylon hose, and a puff of veiling for a hat in the dead of winter

\textsuperscript{53}Krech and Crutchfield, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 30.

\textsuperscript{54}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{55}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 44.
certainly could not have used much reasoning in their selection. Why does the individual who lives in a warm climate such as Florida or California need a fur coat? It would be difficult to convince others that a fur coat is needed for warmth. Dozens of similar instances of the disutility of fashion can be found in clothing practices.

No doubt the partisans of fashion do appear irrational to the casual observer as well as students of social phenomenon, because they are not aware of the wide variety of needs that fashion can alleviate for those individuals. Observers perceive only the external expression of fashion which very often does seem irrational to those not advised of the relationship of behavior to needs and goals.

Fashions in clothing reveal and are influenced by the diversity and expansion of the roles of women. There are fashions for practically every role from the insignificant to the essential. A partial list includes fashions for beach wear, sports wear, travel, gardening, entertaining, business, shopping at a downtown store, shopping at a suburban center, and relaxing at home. An interesting aspect of the fashion rightness of clothing is the change in dress adopted by young married women and mothers who perceive their role as encompassing a more challenging career than that of housewife. Gone is the lowly housedress.
Coordinated outfits consisting of shorts of varying lengths or slacks and blouse are much more fashionable than housedresses. Attractive coordinates connote youthfulness, leisure, an awareness of fashion, comfortable and practical attire, and they appear to carry more prestige in the mind of the wearer than a housedress.

Closely related to fashions which are designed especially for the many varied activities of the individual is the change in the concept of the appropriateness of a costume for a specific occasion. Women now visit suburban shopping centers wearing shorts or sunsuits; men perform chores around the home attired in shorts, with or without a shirt. College students wear shorts or slacks on the campus. Hats are frequently optional, and the working woman finds it possible to transform a basic costume so that she can go to dinner and the theater in the same dress that she wore to work. The casualness which typifies American life today is reflected in the casualness of fashion for all except the most formal occasions.

Individuals learn through experience and training as they mature, the degree of conformity to fashion in dress which meets their needs and leads to goal achievement (Proposition V, page 75). Younger people are apt to adapt more readily to changing concepts of the fashion rightness of dress because of their marked need to
conform to the behavior pattern of their peer group, and (2) their cognitive structures regarding fashions in dress are not yet as rigid and set as that of their elders who are likely to have developed set attitudes about the correct manner of dress for various occasions (Proposition XIV, page 76).

Fads, which are short lived fashions, have considerable value for those who follow them during their brief existence. In many instances fads are confined to a town or locality and are considered out of place in other areas beyond their limited coverage. College campuses are frequently subject to fads in clothing behavior, especially among women students. Knee-length socks or colored leotards worn with white tennis shoes are examples of fads which met with considerable but brief success this past season on a mid-west college campus.

One of the reasons why fads in clothing have utility value is that they gain attention for the wearer. This attention is not necessarily flattering, but it puts the behaver in a noticeable position. Fads in dress are usually novel and different, even daring. Therefore, they tend to create a certain feeling of excitement and help to fulfill a desire for change on the part of the behaver. Some fads are adopted by a specific age group or interest group in which case they may serve to identify an individual as belonging or as being congenial to certain beliefs and attitudes.
There is no doubt that a fad is meeting a need for its followers in those instances where some aspect of dress has spectacular but limited acceptance. As soon as it fails to fulfill this function, it is quickly dropped.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

It was hypothesized (1) that the field of social psychology provides a source of relevant behavioral concepts which could be applied to new data, clothing behavior, and (2) that these concepts and their application would provide a basis for the development of learnings fundamental to understanding the function of clothing in behavior.

Three major aspects of clothing behavior involving the individual, the individual in the family environment, and fashions and fads in clothing behavior were selected as units of analysis for the interpretation.

The behavioral theory of Krech and Crutchfield embodied in the set of propositions used as a basis for the analysis and interpretation of clothing behavior is designed to investigate social behavior on the level of individual behavior. The propositions provided a theoretical foundation for explaining why individuals use clothing as they do and pointed up the need satisfactions which clothing may contribute to meeting individual goal achievement. They proved adequate in making clear the
function of clothing in the social behavior of individuals, especially as related to the self structure and role performance.

The investigation was also concerned with the individual's behavior as it functions in the kind of family environment in which he exists. Family environment includes such problems as individual reaction to authority and dominance, to problems of status and role within the hierarchy, and the development of adaptive behaviors and attitudes regarding clothing.

The propositions as a basis for analysis of individual clothing behavior as related to family environment proved suitable but as a basis for analysis of family clothing behavior they had inherent limitations. The study of family clothing problems involves the behavior of a group under various conditions, such as, how the family makes group decisions regarding clothing, and how it works out clothing problems cooperatively to present a united front. These and similar group problems must be approached at the level of group dynamics and are not covered by propositions of individual behavior. There is no doubt that a study of the characteristics of individual human beings may add to understanding of the underlying basis of group dynamics. The point is that the individual approach in itself is not
comprehensive enough for analyzing all family clothing problems.

Fashions and fads in clothing behavior was the third aspect of clothing which was analyzed in terms of the propositions. It was necessary to study the fashion phenomenon in terms of individual behavior since the propositions are theoretically sound only at the individual level of analysis. The propositions proved suitable in providing a basis for explaining individual behavior in relation to fashion leadership and conformity and to other need satisfactions which fashions in dress may fulfill. It was shown that fashion must be in line with the times and is adapted to changes which are taking place within the cultural framework.

The application of the behavioral propositions of Krech and Crutchfield in analyzing different aspects of individual clothing behavior showed that they do have merit in clarifying and explaining individual clothing behavior. Therefore, the writer concluded that the propositions do provide the basis for the development of learnings fundamental to understanding the function of clothing in behavior. Certain goals for a beginning course in clothing selection can be formulated on the basis of these understandings.
Assumptions

1. It was assumed that clothing behavior is an aspect of social behavior.

This assumption proved to be operationally correct as evidenced in the behavioral propositions which were selected. They cover those aspects of motivation, perception, and learning which seem essential to an understanding of social behavior. These basic principles are designed to account for any individual behavior no matter how simple or complex and include as their unit of analysis all of the behavior of the individual occurring at one time.

2. It was assumed that the field of social psychology is a fundamental source of basic concepts which explain social behavior.

The field proved to be a fruitful source of behavioral concepts. The major problem was to select from the numerous points of view a body of concepts which seemed pertinent and applicable to the area of clothing behavior.

Recommendations

It must be emphasized that this study is a theoretical interpretation. The theory as a basis for explaining clothing behavior awaits validation by empirical research methods to determine its soundness and applicability.
Krech and Crutchfield suggest three methods which are complementary and should be useful in any investigation of motivation.

1. **Behavioral Approach**
   
   Characteristics of the actual behavior of the individual in any given situation are made the basis of inferences about the effective needs and demands that are driving him.

2. **Introspective Approach**
   
   The individual can report directly on his feelings of needs and demands, on the existence of perceived goal objects, on his emotions, on his feelings of success or failure.

3. **Approach by Projective Techniques**
   
   The essence of the projective method is that the individual is unaware of what his responses reveal.¹

A beginning step in proving or disproving a theoretical explanation is the testing of pertinent hypotheses. Several hypotheses which evolved during the course of the study are presented in hopes that they may prove challenging to others who may be concerned with testing the theory proposed as basic to understanding individual clothing behavior.

¹Ibid., p. 48.
Hypotheses

1. The degree of importance which an individual attaches to clothing will relate to his self-concept.

If the self structure is as important in determining behavior as it is believed to be, and if individuals naturally strive to defend the self and present it in a complimentary fashion, it can be anticipated that some individuals would perceive their dress as conveying an impression to others of their self-concept. The more highly one holds the self in a position of esteem, the greater would be the importance which he would attach to clothing.

2. First impressions of the personality of an individual are formulated on the basis of his external appearance.

Perception is functionally selective and individuals are prone to organize what they see into a meaningful whole. It seems, therefore, very plausible that people are judged largely by their appearances when encounters are brief. The validity of this hypothesis holds considerable importance to an individual's success in all social relations whether it be in the area of employment, marriage, or other activities. It has implications also for educators who emphasize that judgments are constantly
3. Clothing makes real the role one is performing, both to the perceiver and the observer.

If one believes that clothing speaks a silent language to important others and that it assists in communicating an individual's feelings and personal qualities to his associates, then it is justifiable to hypothesize that clothing contributes to role performance. This is an area in which students of clothing generally agree but for which valid proof is scarce.

4. Clothing functions in social life as a status symbol.

Considerable research has been conducted on material status symbols but very little related to clothing. A recent work, The Status Seekers, considers a number of possessions which contribute to status but devotes little consideration to clothing.\(^2\) Does clothing possess utility as a status symbol or has it been displaced by other material possessions? There is general awareness that status striving is an important value in American society. Investigation is needed which could point out the function of clothing in this area.

As a final recommendation, the writer wishes to point out a study which could be based on the theory of individual behavior: What effect has a progression of cultural changes had in determining individual clothing behavior? If one were to examine changes within various institution such as the church, home, and school over a period of time as well as changes in connotations of dress and moral conduct, one should find pressures and patterns which affected clothing behavior and to which the theory set forth in this study should be applicable.
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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, Anna Jean Treece, was born at Leechburg, Pennsylvania and received my elementary and secondary education in the Leechburg public schools. I received the Bachelor of Science degree from Carnegie Institute of Technology in 1934. From 1938 to 1939 I was in charge of food service and taught home economics at the Pennsylvania School for Girls, Morgantown, Pennsylvania. I accepted a position as home economics instructor at Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio, in 1938. During the summers of 1949-1953 I attended Ohio State University from which I received a Master of Science degree in August of 1953. I became a member of the resident teaching staff in the Textiles and Clothing Division of the School of Home Economics, Ohio State University in 1952 where I am presently employed. Since 1953 I have continued work to meet requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy.