APPEARANCE AND GENDER IDENTITY/ROLE

by

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ABSTRACT

Appearance is a topic of universal interest.
However, despite abundant popular speculation about its
meaning and function, little in the way of systematic analy-
sis has been undertaken.

The present series of studies was designed to evalu-
ate schematic aspects of appearance as they relate to gen-
der identity/role. They were carried out within the frame-
work of the symbolic interactionist model.

The purpose of the first study, with 32 boys and
girls aged five to eight years, was to determine if diffe-
rential schemata toward appearance occurred in young chil-
dren. The subjects were interviewed individually using a
preselected list of questions and they drew male and female
figures. Findings indicated that both boys and girls held
more comprehensive schemata in relation to the same-sex
models. They expressed different expectations for patterns
of dress; they used dress differently for fantasy purposes;
they liked or disliked garments for different reasons.

The second study used males and females aged 15 to
17 years in order to determine if differential schemata
toward appearance also occurred in adolescence. Seventy-
five students completed thequestionnaire. Findings showed
that the girls had a higher fashion interest and a greater
concern with their shape and aesthetic values.

The boys considered their personality or parents to be greater impediments to their ideal images.

The third study was composed of two parts. In the first part, 92 young female adults aged 18 to 21 years completed a questionnaire and had their photographs taken. In the second part, 24 young female adults in the same age range rated slides drawn from the previous group. The aim of this work was 1.) to determine if individuals who varied on gender identity/role differed on aspects of appearance and 2.) to determine if some of those aspects were communicated to others. The results indicated that there were a number of differences between gender identity/role groups and that the communication of aspects of appearance was limited.

Overall findings were discussed with relation to experimental and theoretical considerations and suggestions made for future research.

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> We have reason to believe that
> the group of young men, who
> were walking along the pavement,
> were dressed in a way which might
> have led an observer to think that
> they were not particularly enthu-
> siastic about law and order.
>
> Lord Justice Lawton
> quoted in
> The Guardian 08 - 06 - 79

For Lord Lawton, the appearance of the adolescents
before him was highly meaningful. To him it symbolized an
antagonistic value system, one which reflected an orientation
toward lawlessness.

But what was the basis for his conclusions? Does dress
really reflect aspects of personality? Can appearance be
meaningfully interpreted by others?

This dissertation will address these questions. It will
focus upon the conceptual analysis and empirical evaluation
of the relationship of appearance to one aspect of persona-
lity, namely gender identity/role. The dissertation will be-
gin with an overview of the main areas of interest to the
work. These are the psychology of dress, the nature of the
body image, the concept of identity, the construction of gen-

der and the symbolic interactionist perspective.

The studies presented in this dissertation will develop progressively finer discriminations. The first study, with young children, will address the most fundamental (and broadest) question, "Does dress serve in the early gender differential socialization of identities/roles?".

The second study, with adolescents, draws from the findings of the first study to ask "Do gender-differential schemata developed in childhood with respect to dress also occur in adolescence? What schemata are relevant?"

Finally, the third study, with young adults, specifically tests areas which the previous studies suggest might be meaningful and the expectation that the meaning of these will be shared with others. It asks: "Do individuals who endorse different gender identities/roles manifest different behaviours and meanings with respect to appearance? Are these communicated to others?"

Chapter 1

FUNDAMENTAL PERSPECTIVES

This dissertation developed as a synthesis of ideas
from a number of areas of intellectual interest. The aim of
this first chapter is to briefly introduce these fundamental
conceptual bases from which the research presented in the
subsequent chapters was formulated.

The Psychology of Dress

The first area is that of the psychology of dress. As
a topic, it has long been thought and written about, and ma-
nifold meanings have been attributed to the appearance of
individuals.

Early this century, Dunlap (1928) suggested that pos-
sible reasons for "why people wear clothes" could be reduced
to four main motives: protection, modesty, immodesty and
adornment. He analysed the power of each as an explanatory
rationale.

Protection from the elements and environment was seen
by Dunlap to be the most reasonable and basic motive for the
adoption and wearing of articles of dress. He argued that
while this might obviously hold for items such as coats and
hats, it also held for seemingly protectively useless gar-

ments such as loin cloths. For these, Dunlap cited the possibility that loin cloths might serve to protect the genitals from the stings of insects.

This notion was picked up and expanded by a contemporary of Dunlap's named J.C. Flugel in his comprehensive work The Psychology of Clothes (1930). Flugel included protection not only from physical or environmental dangers as Dunlap did, but also from psychological dangers such as evil spirits, bad luck, or moral temptations. Hair shirts and rabbits' feet would be examples of items worn for psychological protection.

In fact, no theorist of dress since Dunlap has omitted the contribution of the need for protection as an explanatory rationale for dress (Cunnington, 1941; Langner, 1959; Roach and Eicher, 1965; Hillestead, 1980). However, every theorist has also concurred with Dunlap in the belief that protection is a necessary but not sufficient motive to explain why garments are worn.

The second reason discussed by Dunlap was that people wore clothes because of some moral compunction related to modesty. He attributed the impulse to the effect of creationist myths which emphasized the concealment of the body. He criticized it on the basis that cultures which endorsed the myth contained no universal or enduring definition of modesty in dress. The sheer mutability of the notion of modesty was seen as its fatal weakness. Dunlap dismissed

it quickly, without the further thought that it obviously deserves.

Flugel (1930) approached the issue of modesty from another angle. As a psychoanalyst, he viewed it as a reaction formation against the more primitive tendency to display oneself, a movement against the inherently sexual aspects of dress. And so it was immodesty, or decoration, . which Flugel saw as the primary motive in dress.

Dunlap had earlier discussed this and dismissed it as largely irrelevant because he supposed that clothing was worn to avoid competing sexually. But his argument was quite implausible, especially compared to Flugel's more comprehensive and compelling analysis, the main points of which were that dress serves to symbolize sexual organs, emphasize parts of the body, suggest sexual preparedness. So, according to Flugel, the primary function of dress was sexual. Secondarily, it served to convey information of a social nature about the individual and to "extend the bodily self" (p.34) of a person.

The social factor has received much attention from other writers, who have focused upon the conveying of information about the age, sex, occupation or status of the wearer as relevant to social interaction.

Nearly a century ago, Veblen (1899) and Carlyle (1897) suggested that dress might, in fact, "order" social life. Veblen's The Theory of the Leisure Class (1899) contains many references to dress as an especially effective vehicle

for communicating the wealth, position, and respectability of the wearer. By announcing these qualities to others, dress was thought to set in motion socially determined forms of interchange.

Veblen provides many Victorian examples, but the social implications of dress are, perhaps, even more clearly manifest in the practices of feudal Japan where "sumptuary laws" controlled the wearing of fabrics, dyes, and forms of dress (Rudofsky, 1965). Japan, then, provides an explicit articulation of implicit regulators observed by Veblen. It is cited as an extreme example of a presumably universal principle of social differentiation through dress.

It is generally thought that dress serves a symbolic function because it provides cues which incorporate a much larger corpus of definitions and expectations than would be included if dress served only a direct or pragmatic function. Thus, for example, members of military or legal groups wear garments of certain cuts and colours. These indicate not only affiliation with particular groups, they also signify that the wearers hold certain powers or obligations.

One important concomitant of the interaction is that both the wearer and the viewer must share in the recognition of the meaning of apparel. The ultimate success of any encounter is thought to depend upon this and many apocryphal stories are told of failures of communication. One such tale is of a Western dignitary who was invited to dine in Japan. Wishing to honour his host, he chose to wear Japanese dress.

He was taken aback by the noticeably strained reception it received and so the next day he inquired of a Japanese acquaintance who had attended the meal if he had offended people by wearing kimono. The reply was that the wearing of the kimono was a laudable gesture but that they were closed right over left when worn. The dignitary had made the mistake of closing his left over right - which signified that he was dead!

Reams of material along these lines, delightfully anecdotal and largely speculative, has been written on the social significance of dress. Limited empirical analysis has been undertaken. What little has been done, however, does support the general opinion that garments suggesting the individual has power, such as uniforms or suits, have effects on the behaviour of others (Form and Stone, 1955; Lefkowitz, Blake and Mouton, 1955; Bickman, 1971). And effects have been shown to exist even when the legitimacy of the exercise of power has been questionable. Bickman's (1974) series of studies used experimenters dressed as milkmen, civilians, or security guards. It was considered that these might be perceived as low, medium and high authority figures. The experimenters asked naive subjects to comply with various requests in differents parts of the studies. They asked them to pick up a paper bag from the pavement, put a dime in an expired meter, or move away from a bus stop. In each situation, the subjects were significantly more obedient to the security guard's requests than to either the civilian or

the milkman.

These studies indicate that more obvioussocial as-
pects of dress are empirically verifiable. Other, pre-
sumably more fundamental, cues have not received much
attention, but there is no reason why effects of such com-
ponents as sexual differentiation should not be amenable
to analysis. If the works of Flugel (1930), Brob-Johansen
(1968), Horn (1975), Hillestead (1980), and Lurie (1981)
are to be credited then dress should discernibly contain
and convey symbolically specific meanings. The studies of
this dissertation will aim to address this with respect to
sexual differentiation.

They will also focus upon the third aspect of dress
discussed by Flugel, the psycho-physical function. Accor-
ding to that author, the psycho-physical function of dress
is to convey information about or alter the bodily image.
He describes how apparel creates impressions in which the
person is not judges distinctly apart from the garment s/he
is wearing. The process is termed "confluence", as the
clothed and bodily images merge. Flugel writes of feelings
of gracefulness being associated with long, flowing dresses;
of solidity and uprightness being linked to the stiffness
and thickness of suits; of moral purity being connected with
white garments, and wantonness with red.

Horn (1975) and others (Hartman, 1949; Schilder, 1950)
have endorsed the notion in one way or another. Horn's view
is that "Throughout life, clothing functions as an exten-

sion of the bodily self." (p.122). Appearance as a re-
flection of the body has not been subjected to any empi-
rical testing. However, the body image per se has recei-
ved some attention and this will be reviewed.

The Nature of the Body Image

The nature of the body image, like the psychology of
dress, has received scant attention from academic circles
and much from the popular press. One cannot help but feel
that, once more, academics have largely ignored a critical
area of human psychological experience. Why this should be
so is a question outside the purview of this work. What can
be addressed is the question of what might constitute the
body image and how it is formed and what effects it might
have.

Psychoanalytic writers go so far as to state that the
entire sense of ego or "I" is based upon the sense of the
bodily self (Schilder, 1950). Greenacre (1958) writes that
since the body is the continually present substrate of human
actions, it has also to be the bearer of identity.

Even putting psychoanalytic formulations aside, it
seems obvious that the experience of the body and its abili-
ties would be fundamental to one's definition of human life,
because as one lives one acquires knowledge through the in-
teraction of the body with the physical world - through the
sensory organs, through physical changes, through sensations.

One learns that muscular movements are easy or difficult.
One experiences hunger or pain or fatigue. One can see
external parts of the body or feel their smoothness or
roughness. One can hear the sound of one's voice, smell
the odours of one's body. One grows fat or thin.

All of these experiences and more coalesce to create
a mental awareness of one's body, a body image. However,
as described so far, the process of formation of that image
is no different from that involved in the learning of alge-
bra or geography. The key additional components that make
the acquisition and retention of the body image fundamen-
tally different from the learning of algebra are: 1.) unique
relation to the definition of each individual, and 2.) af-
fective responses to the acquired knowledge.

Of themselves, the size of one's hands or fleetness of
foot may have no particular affective connotations. They
might simply be. They might be more or less functional de-
pending on whether or not one needs to open jars or run from
tigers but there is no reason why, as large or small hands
or slow or fast legs they should be anything other than the
sum of their capabilities.

It is patently (often painfully) evident that this is
simply not the case. Co-developing with the knowledge of
the body is a feeling about that knowledge, the evaluation
of the adequacy of one's shape and smells and capacities.
Not only does one have large ears, but large ears are "ugly"
and further "No one will ever love me because of my large

ears (nose, hips, feet)."

Where do notions of adequacy or desirability come from? One answer is that they come from the ideals of a society - in the largest and most general sense through the media and in smaller, more idiosyncratic ways through the expectations of reference groups significant to the individual.

In an early study (Remy, 1953) evidence was found for the effects of particularly important members of the individual's reference group, namely parents. Subjects who believed that their parents disliked parts of their bodies or selves held similar body/self attitudes and they were generally less secure than subjects who did not believe this when scores on the Personal Orientation Inventory were compared.

Twenty years later, Berscheid, Walster and Bohrnstedt (1973) reported that one of the respondents to their questionnaire wrote that being disparaged by a parent had a great effect, even greater than peers' taunts, on their feelings about their bodies. Results of their survey indicated that "People who were teased as children and who felt homely are less satisfied with their bodies as adults." (p.122).

The impact of more general cultural norms upon the attitudes of members of a society has been demonstrated by Jourard and Secord (1955) who showed that a culturally ideal figure existed for women.

Sixty university women participated in their study. They completed a body-cathexis questionnaire on which they rated twelve body parts. They also estimated the size of certain of their own body parts, indicated their ideal measurements, and were measured. Results showed "...satisfaction with aspects of their bodies varies with the magnitude of the deviation between measured size and what they consider ideal size." (p.245).

Even though none of the women exactly matched the ideal, some of them must have come fairly close - yet not one of the women was satisfied with all of the part of her body that she rated.

The authors suggest that the cultural ideal is largely unattainable and is thus a source of much insecurity and anxiety among women. They also write that women are conditioned to accept the ideal as desirable. The implication. of this is that the majority of women strive after the 35"-24" - 35" figure. There is certainly some support of this notion in the economic success of diet plans, exercise clubs, fat farms, and anything else geared toward making women "desirable".

But the body image researchers suggest that nearly every woman would have body image problems. More recent research indicates that the situation may be more complex.

One aspect of that complexity may be that gender may be an inadequate basis for analysis. Recent sex role research has focused a good deal upon the extent to which an individual

does or does not subscribe to cultural expectations for his or her gender. Findings indicate, for example, that masculine individuals of either sex may think and behave differently in varying circumstances from feminine individuals (Bem, 1975).

These findings have not been related to body image. Given cultural expectations affect individual expectations, it would seem feasible to suppose that the extent to which an individual subscribes to cultural expectations would affect the way s/he would feel about his or her body. It would seem that gender identity/role would be a highly relevant referent, both with regard to the body image and to the previously discussed psychological aspects of dress.

The general concept of identity is fundamental to the more specific notion of gender identity/role, however, and so the former will be briefly discussed before the latter is addressed.

The Concept of Identity

This concept has a relatively short history as an academically meaningful construct. Though the notion is certainly not a new one, Erik Erikson is generally credited with its recent introduction into mainstream thought through publications such as <u>Childhood</u> <u>and</u> <u>Society</u> (1950). His work has influenced numerous subsequent writers, who have used it as a basis from or against which to develop understanding of the

concept.

Systematic analyses formulated jointly upon both theo-
retical and empirical evidence have yet to integrate the
diverse views which have evolved. These are many and this
brief overview will not attempt to cover them. However,
it will address those aspects of identity upon which theo-
reticians and researchers generally do agree (or at least
do not disagree) because it is felt that they must be con-
sidered to be the most salient.

In synthesizing those elements, identity will be defi-
ned as "...the psychological representative of social roles"
(Levita, 1967), and identity will be viewed, for the pur-
poses of organization, as having a history, a present moment
and a future potentiality.

History:

According to many theoreticians, the history of every
individual contains elements of past experience which consti-
tute what might be considered to be the static or fixed com-
ponents of identity. To some extent this may be erroneous
in that it seems likely that besides drawing from the past,
one also engages in re-creating the past, in re-writing one's
history. However, to a greater extent, past experiences
serve to shape and create one's psychological awareness of
oneself as a social being. They even reach back into time
to ante-date the birth if the infant, for every child is born
into a set of cultural expectations which, practically from
the moment of conception, work to establish identities for

the neonate. As the child appears, so it is acted upon
and labelled. Its presence is that of a social object and
it is expected that it will respond as such and fulfill
social roles. ✗ One study with primiparous parents (Rubin,
Provenzano and Luria, 1974) shows the labelling of male and
female infants. Different sets of lables were applied to
each sex and these were similar among the new parents who
were, presumably, drawing from some culturally shared refe-
rent related to the positions of boy-child and girl-child.
The implications of their labels were that boys would be
stronger, more aggressive, etc. and that girls would be pret-
tier, more docile, etc..

✗ While this study demonstrates something of the cultural
nature of the identification of others, it is also useful in
providing an example of another influence in the formation
of identity. While there were shared referents, there were
also individual differences among the parents - from which
more idiosyncratic aspects of identity could arise. Thus, the
influences on the formation of identity would be both col-
lective and unique, with perhaps the most unique component
of all being the individual him- or her-self. According to
Levita (1967) the body is the bearer of identity. Its forms
and capacities would, to a large extent, direct the labelling
which would occur.

Most writers are agreed that in the course of time, as
the child is identified, so it is acted upon by others - and
so it identifies itself. As the child develops, roles alter

and grow in number and complexity. Identity and potential
for action change. But throughout, researchers suggest
that the components of the individual's identity remain
largely congruent and continuous and, ultimately, invariant.

Present Moment:

The present moment of every individual draws elements
of history into the dynamic novel confluence of events of
the here-and-now. In the present moment, the individual
uses a fund of identities, selecting from them in order to
engage in the processes of social life. Many situational
and dispositional factors may determine the manifestations
of aspects of identities. The individual who has interna-
lized social expectations will select from those which may
be applicable on the basis of the opportunities which the
present moment offers. The possible "goodness of fit" must
be assessed. Thus, while one may include "athlete" as part
of one's identity, one will be unlikely to select aspects of
that role to enact while attending a church service. If the
situation will permit the manifestation of a number of iden-
tities, then those which are most salient, relevant or per-
vasive would be most likely to be chosen.

✗ The manifestation of identities appropriate to the
gestalt of the moment serves a number of ends. It allows
for greater efficiency in encounters. One identifies others'
positions and one positions oneself. Expectations about the
conduct of social interchanges, if not the actual interchan-
ges, will depend very much upon the identification. One

would not expect one's waitress to drive one to the bus
depot.

Ideally, the nature of the event would be mutually
satisfactory, as each enacts roles based upon social iden-
tifications. As the encounter succeeds, so the identities
of the participants are validated or confirmed. This is a
second end of the manifestation of appropriate role beha-
viours.

Future Potentiality:

The future potentiality of every individual is the
summation of their social history and present moments.
Though novel experiences may in some way alter aspects of
identity, it is widely held that one's identity is never-
theless continuous over time and more or less structured,
congruent, and consistent. Because of these qualities, it
is felt that future behaviours based upon social role iden-
tities are likely to follow predictable patterns.

This briefly summarizes the factors generally believed
to be relevant to understanding of the concept of identity.
It recognizes but does not endorse any particular models or
schools of thought because, while the notion of identity is
certainly relevant to the work of this dissertation, it is
somewhat subsumed within the more particularly relevant con-
cept of gender identity. It is to a discussion of this topic
that this chapter will now turn.

The Construction of Gender

Gender, most simply, is a biological phenomenon. Individuals possessing either a penis or a clitoris, XX or XY sex chromosomes, are determined to be either male or female. In this context, gender is a purely physical construction.

Psychologists have undertaken a good deal of research based upon this dichotomous biological inheritance. Much of it would seem to have been generated from a position which politically might be called "liberation psychology". It sought/seeks to clarify to what extent observed differences in male and female performances are attributable to genuine physiological / neurological / hormonal influences and what extent to the effects of acculturation. Its aim would seem to be to provide information with which to challenge chauvinistic assumptions of gender limitations, to help free society from needlessly inhibitory social and psychological accretions to fundamental human activities.

The line of inquiry if generally called sex sifference research. Developmental findings up to 1974 have been summarized by Maccoby and Jacklin in their book entitled The Psychology of Sex Differences (1974). They."attempt to understand the "why" and "how" of psychological sex differentiation" (p.1) through "...as accurate and detailed a knowledge as possible concerning the nature of existing differences and the changes these differences undergo at successive ages." (p.1). They do so by analysing research findings to determine which beliefs about sex differences have empi-

rical support and which do not. In their summary, they
state that a number of commonly held assumptions prove
to be unfounded. Girls are neither more 'social' nor more
suggestible than boys. They do not have lower self-esteem,
nor are they more affected by heredity or auditory stimu-
lation, nor do they lack achievement motivation. Boys, on
the other hand, do not seem to be more analytic nor more
cognitively complex. Neither are they more visually oriented
nor more environmentally determined.

Other sex differences seemed to have more evidence
supporting them. Maccoby and Jacklin found that research
indicated that girls have better verbal abilities and that
boys have better visual-spatial and mathematical abilities
and are more aggressive.

Maccoby and Jacklin's conclusions have been widely ac-
cepted. Research since 1974 has generally tended to sup-
port their conclusions and it has widened the knowledge
about sex differences quite considerably. Cognitive, emo-
tional, behavioural and cultural differences have been stu-
died in children, adolescents and adults. The literature
is so vast the rather than citing references, the journal
Sex Roles is cited. It serves as a primary reference for
contemporary research on sex differences.

Also, as the title suggest, it publishes research and
theoretical articles on sex roles because, beside the work
on sex differences,psychologists have also undertaken a good

deal of research based upon social and psychological com-
ponents of gender. In fact, along with the works analysing
sex differences, those studying sex roles have developed
into something of an academic growth industry. A handful
of articles in learned journals thirty years ago has mush-
roomed into vast numbers today. The Cumulative Index of
the Psychological Abstracts lists 32 references from 1927
to 1960, approximately 250 references for the period from
1969 to 1971, and over 1000 references for the period from
1975 to 1977.

The nature of the work on sex roles would seem to be
less comparative and perhaps more descriptive than the sex
difference research as it seeks to identify components of
the social / psychological construction of gender.

Although the fact is seldom acknowledged or addressed,
the actuality is thatthis corpus of research is sited with-
in a particular framework - that of roles. Gender-related
behaviours are generally viewed and studied within a social
context. And this seems to be the most logical focus. It
seems appropriate because gender is widely acknowledged as
providing one of the most pervasive sets of social cues
(Mischel, 1971; Money and Ehrhardt, 1972; Bem, 1981). In-
dividuals are seen to be learning or enacting behaviours
based upon cultural expectations for males and females. It
is inferred that they develop / hold particular psychologi-
cal self-representations or self-schemata with respect to

gender which constitute the gender identity.

This is not to say that the concept of gender may not be construed differently. Jungian psychologists, for example, would certainly do so. However, the social-role conception of gender is by far the most prevalent and pervasive view.

Over the course of time there have been disagreements about terminology (Stoppard and Kalin, 1978; Archer, 1980), but these have been largely resolved. "Sex" and "gender", for example, are now considered to be synonymous terms; the main criterion for their usage presently seeming to be phonetic preference. And though Stoppard (1978) attempts to distinguish between actions and attitudes in the definition of sex roles, Holter (1970) has argued that sex roles may be classified in terms both of gender specific activities and personality characteristics. This view has support from many researchers (Kagan, 1964; Kohlberg, 1966; Bem, 1975) who feel that behaviour is maintained by means of the internalization of sex role standards.

It is felt that some researchers have probably encountered difficulties with definitions of sex roles because the notion of "role" derives from a dramaturgic tradition which allies it with action. For the purposes of the work of this dissertation, the term gender identity/role will be used. Though a bit cumbersome, it is a term which clearly incorporates both private experiences related to gender and

public behaviour associated with it. The term is not
new. It can be attributed to Money and Ehrdardt (1972),
who recognized the necessity of incorporating the two con-
cepts.

There has also been a good deal of debate about the
operational definitions of sex roles, that is, how the
social representatives of maleness and femaleness, namely
masculinity and femininity are constructed and measured.

Traditionally, masculinity and femininity were con-
strued as bipolar concepts. Masculinity-Femininity scales
such as those of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality In-
ventory and the California Personality Inventory were devised
using this assumption as their basis. However, Constanti-
nople (1973) challenged it, arguing that the bipolar view
created a false dichotomy.

As a result, or perhaps because the time was ripe, a
number of new instruments were developed based upon the
concept that masculinity and femininity were a duality, that
individuals could hold both masculine and feminine charac-
teristics or neither (Bem, 1974; Brogan and Kutner, 1976;
Spence, Helmreich and Stapp, 1976). This represented a sig-
nificant shift in the empirical psychological construction
of gender. It is this particular point of view which will
be adopted in this dissertation.

However gender is formulated, there is little doubt
that it is a most significant referent in the course of so-
cial life (Mischel, 1966; Cohen, 1976). And the identifica-

tion of gender is thought to be fundamental to social dis-
course. According to Stone (1970):

> Everywhere we find vocabularies sexually
> distinguished: there are languages for
> males only, languages for females only,
> and languages employed to communicate
> across barriers of gender. Obviously,
> identifications of the other's gender
> must be established before the approp-
> riate language can be selected for the
> upcoming discourse. Seldom, upon encoun-
> tering another, do we inquire concerning
> the other's gender. Indeed to do so
> would impugn the very gender that must be
> established. The knowing of the other's
> gender is known silently, established by
> appearances.   (pp. 396-397)

The establishment of meaning through appearance will
be the focus of this dissertation. Literature which will
be reviewed in the following chapters provides clues to
possible processes and effects of appearance but, as yet,
there are few integrated findings relating appearance to
gender identity/role.

Stone (1970) states that gender must be established
in order that social discourse can occur satisfactorily.
This seems virtually unquestionable. However, while the
basic statement may be sound it may also be somewhat over-
simplistic. It may not go far enough. Contemporary re-
search suggests that discourse may be predicated not only
upon identification of the gender of the other but also
upon identification of that person's gender identity/role.

The discourse or actions instigated by the labelling of
the other individual as male of female may be tempered by
the additional qualifier of schemata related to mascu-
linity or femininity. Thus, for example, one might be
more willing to engage in a discussion of business stra-
tegies or in aggressive confrontation with a person per-
ceived as masculine, whether that person was male or female,
than with a person perceived as feminine. It would seem
that the gender cues themselves would provide gross cues
for interaction while gender identity/role information
would provide finer discriminators for meaningful discourse.
This research effort will initially consider gender dif-
ferences and, ultimately, focus upon gender identity/role
and perceptions of it.

It will do so within a specific conceptual framework,
that of symbolic interactionism. The final section of this
chapter will be devoted to a discussion of this model.

The Symbolic Interactionist Perspective

With the introduction of this perspective, one feels
that this chapter has come full circle. It began with the
psychology of dress and the nature of the body image and
continued with a discussion of identity. According to the
symbolic interactionists, appearance establishes identities
and identities are critically important aspects of social
life. Though there are theories which incorporate the con-

cept of identity, such as role theory, no other theory has developed explicit predictions related to appearance which could be tested, as Stone (1965) has done, and which have been tested, as Reed (1973) has done. 'ı'

The theory's prime concern is the acquisition and interpretation of meaning - and the main concern of the studies to be presented in the subsequent chapters is how meaning related to gender identity/role is established, maintained, and communicated to others through appearance.

Symbolic interactionism has been criticized for having a number of weaknesses (Stryker, 1980), but no theory lacks critics or faults, For the purposes of the work of this dissertation, it provides the very best theoretical framework available.

The symbolic interactionist model of behaviour is said to have roots in the pragmatist tradition of G.H. Mead (1934) and C. Cooley (1922). Mead formulateda conception of the effect of interaction in shaping minds, selves and societies and the effect of the symbolic on that interaction. Cooley emphasized the identification of the individual with others. He wrote, "...the social references takes: the form of a somewhat definite imagination of how one's self appears in a particular mind, and the kind of self-feeling one has is determined by the attitude toward this attributed to that other mind. A social self of this sort might be called the reflected or looking-glass self." (p. 184)

Contemporary forms arise primarily from the works of

Blumer (1969) and Kuhn (1964). Though there are considerable variations, every form ascribes to the three basic tenets articulated by Blumer (1969). These are:

1.) that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that those things have for them;

2.) that the meanings are a product of social interaction in human society;

3.) that meaning is modified by a process of interpretation by the individual in dealing with the signs s/he encounters.

(pp. 2-6)

Beside agreement on these basic tenets, there is also widespread agreement that human society is active rather than passive. Individuals are thought to interpret and react to their worlds rather than simply reacting to them. They are said to assess the meaning of objects on the basis of their experience and interact with the world from that position.

Objects, in symbolic interactionist terms, mean not only things in the environment, as is commonly held, but also events, other human beings, and even the self. All of these are construed as part of the perceptual field.

Because of the almost infinite variety of combinations of perceptions and experience, the symbolic interactionists suggest that even the most familiar social acts always hold

the promise of new forms of interchange and meaning .
They ground this, however, on the principle that though
new forms may emerge at any time, they are always based
upon previous forms and meanings so that nothing that is
entirely new emerges. It could not, in their terms, because
it would not make sense to anyone.

Given the limitations of space, this summary is ex-
tremely sketchy. However, there are several good texts
which describe the symbolic interactionist perspective more
fully (Kuhn, 1964; Blumer, 1969; Meltzer, Petras and Rey-
nolds, 1975; Lauer and Handel, 1977; Stryker, 1980). These
elucidate further the theory's general principles and are
recommended as resource texts.

More specific to this dissertation, Stone (1965) ap-
plies the tenets of symbolic interactionism to the analysis
if the meaning of appearance. He argues that the influence
of language (discourse) on the development of the self has
been studied to the exclusion of consideration of the in-
fluence of appearance. In an orthodox Meadian fashion, he
writes that meaning in any interaction ensues when the sym-
bol is recognized in a similar way by the parties in the
interaction and when the participants mentally take-the-
role-of-the-other.

Appearance, according to Stone, "...sets the stage for,
permits, sustains, and delimits the possibilities of meaning-
ful discussion.(p. 397).

> The meaning of appearance ... is the
> establishment of identity, value, mood,
> and attitude for the one who appears by
> the coincident programs and reviews
> awakened by his appearance.
>   (p. 398)

The terms "programs" and "reviews" are key terms along with "anticipations". Programs are said to refer to self-evaluations. Reviews are evaluations by others. And anticipations are expectations of others' evaluations. According to Stone, these three processes are critical to the establishment and communication of meaning. They must "more or less coincide" or the self will not be validated in an interaction. These three concepts will be assesses in the final studies of this dissertation.

Stone based his article upon research which was formulated and interpreted in the ideographic tradition of Blumer's Chicago school of interactionist theory. The studies to be presented in this work will be more nomothetic in that they derive from an empiricist tradition akin to that of Kuhn's Iowa school. This does not present any difficulties because they focus fundamentally on the development of the meaning of symbols, the maintenance of meaning, and the sharing of the meaning of appearance in relation to gender identity/role.

Chapter 2

CHILDREN'S CONCEPTIONS OF DRESS

According to Horn (1975), "Clothing aids in the stabilization of a central identity" (p. 139). Functional relations between dress and one central aspect of personality -- gender identity/role -- will be the focus of this chapter.

Children and Dress

"The Psychological Dangers of Tight Clothing in Childhood" were recognized by Chadwick in 1926. She wrote that parents little realized the lasting effect that clothing could have on the development of "character". As an example, she emphasized that clothing that was too tight or short could create behaviours such as fidgeting or crying. She wrote that it was possible that these would be attributed unfavourably to the child's personality when in fact they might be due to the qualities of the garments being worn. The consequences of the discomfort caused by the ill-fitting garments were thought by Chadwick to extend both to the onlooker -- who might treat a fretful child differently from a placid one -- and to the wearer -- who might become resentful of adults who would subject one to such misery.

Rea (1950) addressed the same issue at the Midcentury White House Conference on the development of the child.

Like Chadwick, she stated that parents found difficulty re-
lating the child's clothes to personality development. Rea
stressed that clothing had value in "establishing such per-
sonality characteristics as judgment, self-reliance, and
initiative...". Harmful effects were thought to arise from
garments which were different from those of peers and these
were thought to make the child "self-conscious" and "anti-
social" and even possibly lead to an "inferiority complex".

Reactions of children themselves have not been noted
but, in an interesting exercise, Rosencranz (1972) elicited
clothing memories from a number of individuals. Such recol-
lections were produced as:

> When I was about four, I had a pink and grey
> taffeta dress with pink velvet on the bodice
> front. I liked the dress very much because
> it rustled when I moved. (p. 6)
>
> Being forced to put on clean, fresh, scratchy
> long underwear on Sunday morning. (p. 8)

The memories were not dealt with in a systematic
experimental framework and no direct connection between dress
and subsequent personality development was articulated. How-
ever, the memories may provide some hints to the nature of
the dynamics involved.

In the adults, the memories were evoked with great
facility. They contained vivid details of garments and
occasions on which they were worn. Most importantly, per-
haps, they were frequently embued with emotional qualities.

Subjects spoke of being very embarrassed, of feeling self-
conscious, of feeling 'on top of the world', or wretchedly
inferior in association with memories of particular garments.

The approach was informally replicated by this author.
Subjects spoke willingly and eagerly of early experiences
with dress. They linked many of their current practices
about "how one ought to dress" to early clothing training
(as several people called it), and "what to avoid" to situ-
ations which they recalled with something akin to horror.

Even individuals who initially scoffed at the possi-
bility of having an interest in dress and appearance soon
became engaged in discussion of the topics. No individual,
male or female, was unable to provide rich personal memories.
No individual demurred from doing so. In fact, the opposite
often occurred. It was frequently difficult to stop people
from going on once they had got started.

All this by no means gives any definitive support to
the dress/development relationship but it does indicate that
garments and appearance might have high salience for the
child/adult and that the possibility of the relationship
(as earlier posited) is not completely speculative.

On an intuitive level the connection between dress
and subsequent personality development "makes sense", but
the validity of the construed relationship remains largely
hypothetical. Without empirical validation it is very diffi-
cult to substantiate, and empirically the phenomenon is far
from understood. This is not due to any intrinsic complexity

or caprice, but more simply, to the fact that Psychologists
have devoted little time to thought and less to experimental
effort in the area of the function of dress. Not that dress
or clothing are never mentioned in the psychological litera-
ture. They are, but for the most part they tend to be men-
tioned by-the-by, with the assumption that the manipulation
of garments or hair style conveys the information the re-
searchers intend to convey. Seavey, Katz, and Zalk (1975)
investigated the effects of gender upon an adult's inter-
actions with an infant. In this case "A three-month-old
white female infant, DRESSED IN A YELLOW JUMPSUIT, served
as the social stimulus" (p. 105) (my italics). The researchers
simply assumed that this would serve as a neutral stimulus with
respect to the conveying of information about the gender of
the infant. This is but one example of many studies which use
dress as an independent variable without explicit analysis or
description.

Dress is also used as a dependent variable, inter-
preted as having meaning and implications. For example,
Money and Ehrhardt (1972) saw gender identity/role signifi-
cance in the fact that girls who had received male sex hor-
mones in the womb preferred slacks to dresses.

This does not invalidate the findings of these studies.
Rather, they are cited to show that, on the whole, researchers
place confidence in a variable in which they should have little
if they were to go by the experimental literature. Few re-
searchers have dealt explicitly with the stimulus character-

istics of garments for children or for adults observing
children.

There is a true paucity of studies. Even those which
exist are generally lacking in experimental sophistication.
The following are the studies relating children and dress:

Early studies have demonstrated that infants are more
active and have stronger gripping reflexes when they are
unclothed than when they are clothed (Halverson, 1942; Irwin
& Weiss, 1934). These studies clearly show an effect of
dress but the psychological implications are unclear.

Perhaps more unambiguously, Wagoner and Armstrong (1928)
and Key, White, Honzik, Heiney, and Erwin (1936) showed that
girls learn to dress themselves and to button and unbotton
garments earlier than boys. In ratings by teachers, button-
ing ability was found to be related to self-dependence, self-
reliance, perseverance, and interest and care in detail.
That it might also have been related to bias on the part of
the raters or psycho-motor differences between boys and girls
seem not to have entered into the analysis. As these vari-
ables were neither considered nor controlled for, it is dif-
ficult to assess the study's findings.

A sequential development of dressing abilities for
children of both sexes up to the age of ten was demonstrated
by Gesell (1940) and Gesell, Ames, and Ilg (1977). The
so-called "growth gradients" ranged from taking off mittens
and hats at the age of eighteen months, to dressing and un-
dressing with little assistance at forty-eight months, to

being careless about clothes at seven years, to having some say in clothing selection at ten years.

This compilation was based upon extensive naturalistic observation and interviews with mothers. Psychological correlates were noted as well. For example, Gesell found that high expectations of self dressing for poorly coordinated children seemed to be related to disturbance in school adjustment.

Other studies have found that children are sensitive to colour and texture (Macaulay, 1929; Hunt, 1959; Burton, 1961). Hunt showed that both boys and girls preferred primary saturated colours and that the preferred colour combinations were the two favourite colours combined, regardless of social conventions of colour coordination. Fur and velvet were by far the favourite textures for the younger children but these declined with age.

Seeing what children like, it is interesting to see what mothers consider important in the purchase of their children's garments. Some possibility for conflict seems to occur. In order of priority, the factors mothers felt mattered were: 1) Durability, 2) Price, 3) Fit, 4) Comfort to the wearer, 5) Ease of laundering, 6) Colour, 7) Child's attitude to the garment, 8) Beauty (Blake, Glisson, and Tate, 1953).

Understandably, maintenance and economic factors would be more important to the mother than the child. However, many other conclusions could be drawn from this type

of listing which might be questionable. The implication of the first five items prioritized, for example, might be that mothers would be content with cheap canvas sacks! As well, such considerations as availability, appropriateness, or social acceptability are not listed. Colour is rated low at sixth, but if a garment for a boy was durable, cheap and pink would a mother buy it? And what is the effect of the child's attitude seeming to matter so little?

The point of all this is that this type of 'listing' radically distorts a complex decision-making process. Ranking does provide some information but it is of little utility. In a case like this it would be more fruitful to know what "hangs together" and is of critical relevance in the process. As well, it would be interesting to correlate mothers' and childrens' attitudes and to study the interactive effects upon personality development.

In a small study which compared mothers' and daughters' clothing values, Miller and Ryan (1960) found that mothers thought 'becomingness' was by far the most important feature, while daughters thought the beauty of the garment was. The daughters also felt that 'like friends' and 'self-help' features were of greater importance than their mothers did.

It is interesting to compare the findings of Miller and Ryan with the earlier speculations of Rea mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. She related dress to the development of such personality characteristics as self-reliance and initiative and stressed the importance of having clothes similar to those of peers.

One can reflect upon the implications of the differences between the mothers and daughters. The relevance of 'becomingness' vs. 'beauty of the garment' would seem to reflect a fundamentally different orientation to dress. 'Becomingness' means "befitting the wearer". It is a term which suggests that the user is considering the impression made upon an observer and, in effect, it could reflect the objectification of the person wearing garments. At the same time, it could imply a desire for a correspondence between the personality and external representation of that personality.

The 'beauty of the garment' suggests a process of personal pleasure, although the user might also be envisaging the effect which beautiful apparel might have upon the viewer. The term 'beauty of the garment' at any rate, does not inherently connect the personality of the wearer with the garment being worn. In fact, its aim would almost seem to be to obscure it, to make it seem more desirable than the individual really experiences it to be. All this is, of course, bald speculation. Miller and Ryan have not carried out any further studies following upon the one cited.

However, the relevance of dressing like one's peers has been linked with other experimental work. Indeed, dressing like one's peers does seem to be important. Kelley and Turner (1970) hypothesized that there would be a relationship between social class and feelings of satisfaction

or deprivation with clothing. Their findings did not bear
this out. The lower class children in their sample expressed
few feelings of deprivation even though they owned relatively
few garments and were aware of different clothing styles in
fashion. Kelley and Turner concluded that the homogeneity
of the social class of the peer group was the key to their
unexpected results. "Perhaps peer reference group acceptance
is sufficient, even though the clothing norms differ from
norms accepted in other groups" (p. 400).

Much has been spoken and written with utter confi-
dence about the possible effects of dress upon both the
wearer and the observer of what is being worn. From the
studies cited with respect to children, one can see that
on an empirical basis most of the confidence is unfounded.
While there is little doubt in anyone's mind that dress is
a potent psychodynamic force, one would be severely limited
in discussion of it if one were to cite only statistically
based information.

It can be stated that no findings contradict either
each other or writers' speculations on the topic. This
would seem laudable were it not for the fact that it re-
flects not the richness of the work but its pathetic poverty.

Harrington (1965) in writing about the camouflage
of economic impoverishment through the mass production of
cheap but fashionable garments wrote:

> Clothes make the poor invisible too:
> America has the best dressed poverty
> the world has ever known. (p. 163)

In a sense, the void that exists with regard to the developmental psychology of dress is covered as thinly and badly, obscuring the fundamental want of knowledge.

Children and Gender Identity/Role

The overview of the relationship of dress to personality and its development has indicated (1) that there is a widespread 'intuitive' knowledge of the subject, and (2) there is a paucity of substantiated experimental evidence. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to the conceptual analysis and empirical evaluation of the relation of dress to one area of personality, namely, the development of gender identity/role.

Gender identity is the private experience of attributes associated with being male or female. Gender role is the public behaviour associated with being male or female. As Money and Ehrhardt (1972) have suggested, there is no single term in the English language which accommodates the two concepts. Therefore 'gender identity/role, though cumbersome, will be used for this purpose.

One, arguably THE, key task of childhood is the development of appropriate gender-related behaviours and self-concepts. The process of acquisition and the nature and origins of differential behaviours for males and females are issues which are being hotly debated. Proponents of the various stances argue their positions well and forcibly but the various permutations and views seem to be reducible

to two principal influences--biological (nature) and social/
psychological (nurture).

The realm of this endeavour is social/psychological
and the biological influences do not really fall within the
scope of the work. However, the biological arguments in
many ways underpin and contextualize the social/psychological.
Therefore, a brief survey will be presented.

Biological Influences

The differential inheritance of genetic characteris-
tics in males and females has long been seen as a plausible
and sufficient explanation not only for observed (or inferred)
physical differences but also for variations in temperament,
interests, and abilities. Proponents of this view argue that
the potency of the sex chromosomes in their interactive
effects upon other chromosomes, hormonal and neurological
development, and ultimately gender behaviour and identity
is not to be underestimated. Research on abnormalities of
the sex chromosomes provides support for this. (This
material is drawn from the extensive work of Money and
Ehrhardt, 1972.)

The typical patterns of the sex chromosomes are XX
for a female or XY for a male. Individuals with only one X
chromosome and no additional X or Y (and who have the full
complement of other chromosomes) are labelled as having
Turner's syndrome. These individuals are viable and morphol-
ogically indistinguishable from females with two X's. How-

ever, they lack female hormones, suffer from a very specific
disability of space-form intelligence and have a very low
level of emotional arousal. From this single example, it
can be seen that the sex chromosomes affect not only mor-
phology or fertility, as one might expect, but neurological
and hormonal development as well.

The potency of the sex hormones is evidenced even
more forcibly by the case of the inheritance of only the Y
chromosome and the full complement of other chromosomes.
These foetuses are not viable and there are no known indiv-
iduals alive with this genetic pattern.

A number of studies have been based upon effects of
gonadal hormones. Hormone levels have been manipulated in
animals and the research has shown that, for example, aggres-
sion may be hormonally linked (Ward, 1969; Goy, 1970).

Human studies at the Gender Identity Clinic of the
Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine have demonstrated
the effects of male sex hormones on females. Money and
Ehrhardt (1972) report the findings of a study comparing
genetic females who had been subjected to male hormones
(androgenized) while in the womb with 'normal' females.
The fetally androgenized girls viewed themselves and were
viewed by their mothers as tomboys, with an abundance of
physical energy. They preferred careers to marriage, slacks
to dresses. They did not want to change their sex. They
were not aggressive. There was no statistical difference
between them and the controls on interest in adornment, on

manifest sexual activity, and on romantic interest.

Ehrhardt and Baker (1974) also found that androgenized females were more masculine than a matched sample of non-androgenized females. Their subjects preferred traditionally male toys, play style, and dress. The authors speculate that the male hormone played a key role in the development of typically masculine attitudinal and temperamental differences in the girls. These findings must be interpreted with caution, however, because in all instances the girls who had been subjected to masculinizing influences clearly fell within the spectrum of "normal" females.

Thus far, much of the basis for the case of the importance of biological influences has come from abnormal human or animal conditions. After reviewing the literature on sex differences, Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) concluded that physiological differences between normal male and female infants that have been pretty well substantiated are: that males are larger, have a higher muscle-fat ratio, tend to fail to thrive, and mature more slowly than female infants. Answers about less visible differences such as effects of hormones on neurological functioning and activity levels are not yet available.

It would seem that the greatest difficulty faced by those attempting to determine the biological components of gender identity/role development is the separation of the physical organism from the social condition. For example, such seemingly purely physiological findings as those which

indicate that male infants are larger could have been contaminated by social expectations that male infants should be larger. As a consequence of this expectation, adults might unknowingly feed the male infant more or weigh it on the 'generous' side.

Even 'in utero' there is the possibility of some effect of expectations. For example, there is a commonly held belief that male and female babies form a different shaped stomach in the mother. Girls are thought to 'ride high' up under the breasts and boys are thought to 'ride low' around the pelvic area. Much speculation about the gender of the infant-to-be is based upon this and a number of other social myths, so it is not inconceivable that the mother's self-care patterns might be altered by her ideas of the sex of the infant even before it is born. No research on the subject is known to the author, however.

Given the possible effects of differential biological inheritance, the expression of the inheritance would still seem to be dependent upon cultural factors. Money and Ehrhardt's work well underscores the point. As a most extreme example of the effects of "nurture", they describe cases where the sex of assignment was discordant with genetic and hormonal inheritance and even with external sex organs and where the individuals grew up to be virtually indistinguishable from others naturally of the assigned sex. They state "On the basis of today's evidence--and here one must be judiciously tentative--it appears that the

period of greatest risk for errors of gender identity forma-
tion, of long lasting effect in the brain, is AFTER BIRTH
(my italics), and at around the time of acquiring the native
language" (p. 245).

Social/Psychological Influences

This brings us squarely into the 'nurture' or social/
psychological side of the debate. Cross-cultural studies have
demonstrated that gender identity/role organization can vary
from culture to culture (Malinowski, 1932; Oakley, 1972).
Numerous personality characteristics and social behaviours
have been found to be gender linked. These have been shown
not to be constant across cultures. Mead (1935) concluded
that "Standardized personality differences between the sexes
are of this order, cultural creations to which each generation,
male or female, is trained to conform" (p. 191).

Indeed, it has been shown by more recent investigators
that the process of conformity begins as soon as the gender
of the infant is determined at birth. The child is labelled
'boy' or 'girl', tagged and often wrapped in symbolic blue
or pink, and given a distinctly masculine or feminine name.
The social stage is set, as it were, for a lifetime of gender
differentiated interactions.

Often cited in support of early socialization is the
study of Rubin, Provenzano and Lucia (1974) in which first-
time parents were interviewed within twenty-four hours of
the birth of their infants. The researchers were attempting

to determine if parental sex-typing appeared this early in the child's life.

Both parents, but especially fathers, were found to differentially label their infants. Daughters were rated as softer, finer featured, more awkward, inattentive, delicate, and weaker. They were labelled beautiful, pretty, and cute more often. Sons were rated as firmer, larger featured, better coordinated, more alert, stronger, and hardier and labelled as big more often.

In actuality, the infants did not differ in birth length, weight, colour, muscle tonicity, reflex irritability, or heart or respiratory rates. Rubin, Provenzano, and Luria concluded that the rated differences must have been a product of the set expectations for sex-typing of the parents.

Once home from the hospital, the child's world has also been found to be differentiated; with room, toys, and dress in keeping with gender (Rheingold and Cook, 1975). Brooks' and Lewis' (1974) study used opposite-sex twins. In Lewis and Brooks-Gunn (1979) the authors report that there was a distinct pattern of clothing differentiation as a function of the child's gender.

> Of these seventeen pairs, only one pair
> was dressed in identical outfits. Nine
> sets were wearing overalls, but sex could
> be identified by the color of the clothing
> .... The other seven pairs were dressed so
> that the boys wore pants and the girls wore
> dresses. (p. 268)

According to Money, Hampson, and Hampson (1957), the
child's gender identity/role becomes established as it learns
and begins to understand the multiplicity of signs indicating
that it is a boy or girl. By the age of two years or so,
with the acquisition of language, the child develops a rudi-
mentary awareness of gender. This theory is supported by
several studies (Katcher, 1955; Levin, Balistrieri, and
Shukit, 1971; Slaby and Frey, 1975).

Kuhn, Nash, and Brucken (1978) assessed role concepts
in two- and three-year-old children. They presented the
children with two paper dolls--one a masculine doll named
'Michael' and one a feminine doll named 'Lisa'. They then
asked the children to indicate which doll would make the
statement which was read by the experimenter. For example,
they were asked "which would say "I like to play with dolls".
Based on the results of the study, the researchers concluded
"... children as young as two years of age possess substan-
tial knowledge of sex role stereotypes prevailing in the
adult culture" (p. 445).

The exact mechanisms whereby gender identities/roles
are acquired are as yet unclear. Traditionally, the best
social psychological explanations have been thought to be
the social learning model originally proposed by Mischel's
(1966) and Kohlberg's (1966) cognitive developmental approach.

The social learning position maintains that boys and
girls acquire sex-appropriate gender identities/roles through
reinforcement of sex appropriate acts and punishment of

sex-inappropriate behaviours. Cognitive developmental theorists argue that sex-appropriate behaviours antecede the development of gender identity.

Both models have serious weaknesses. (For a thorough critique see Constantinople (1979).) As a consequence of the realization of this, contemporary thinking about the development of gender identity/role combines aspects of the two theories and focuses upon the dynamic interaction of the child with the environment.

This so-called cognitive/social learning model emphasizes growing cognitive abilities within the context of a system of social reinforcers. Cognitive abilities are thought to limit the acquisition of social cognitions and reinforcers are thought to serve to focus attention upon relevant stimuli and endow behaviours with affect (Lewis and Weinraub, 1979; Constantinople, 1979; Lewis and Brooks-Gunn, 1979).

In many respects, this model is fundamentally similar to that of the symbolic interactionists. Cognitive/social learning is based upon the acquisition of symbolic meanings through the lock-step processes of cognitive maturation and social reinforcement. While the interactionists may use a different terminology, the acquisition of the ability to manipulate those symbols is crucial to both, as is the salience of interpersonal exchanges.

The child is thought to develop meaningful social categories through organization of its perceptions. These organized groups of ideas, beliefs, attitudes or the like

have been termed schemata (Markus, 1977). These schemata
are composed of events which 'fit together' for the indiv-
idual in such a way that they can be used to predict future
events with some utility so that the individual will not
have to attend to specific details of all events. Schemata
are thought to serve to simplify the process of perceiving
by including relevant factors under some generalized 'umbrella
term'. For example, "mother" as a social schema might include
all female parents, or one's own female parent; it might con-
tain trait descriptions such as nurturant; it might be en-
dowed with affect such as love; it might carry expectations
for behaviour such as lending money when needed, or dressing
modestly. Thus, upon meeting a 'mother' one would not have
to look for specific instances of behaviours, but would have
a ready-made model upon which to interact. The utility of
the model would depend upon its 'goodness-of-fit'.

Given earlier findings on gender identity/role, one
would expect that the symbols associated with it are, at
least on a rudimentary level, fairly easy for the child to
acquire. The basic distinction between males and females
is probably one of the most concrete early social learning
tasks. The categories are discrete. An individual would
be visibly male or female, not abstractly good or bad. An
individual would sound, feel, look, taste, and likely smell
different from one of the other sex. And all interactions
would carry this pervasive set of cues upon which to form
associations.

Dress and Gender Identity/Role

According to Constantinople (1979)

> The language tags, hair, dress and activity
> differences would become truly distinctive
> features that would serve to activate diffe-
> rent expectancies; the child would use them
> in learning to screen his own and others' be-
> haviors for sex-role appropriateness. (p. 129)

The distinctiveness of features has been supported
by a number of researchers. Emmerich, Goldman, Kirsch and
Sharabany (1977) showed that children were highly dependent
upon stimulus cues with respect to gender identities of fi-
gures who would play with different toys, wear certain gar-
ments, or have their hair styled or cut in various lengths.

Katcher (1955) presented drawings of adults and
children to subjects aged three to nine years. Hair, clo-
thes, breasts, and external genitals were varied. He found:
"The sex differentiating characteristics of clothing were
most easily identified, followed in order by hair, genitals,
and breasts" (p. 135).

Sex-linked artifacts grouped as Female Appearance
Items, Female Task Items, Male Appearance Items, and Male
Task Items were presented to thirty- to sixty- month old
boys and girls by Vener and Weese (1965). The children
were asked to indicate whether the article belonged to "Mom"
or "Dad" or both.

Significantly fewer errors were made by both boys and girls on the female appearance and task items. The girls, however, made less than half as many errors as the boys on the items of the female appearance category. The boys did not demonstrate a similar same-sex item differentiation and the authors speculated that this might be due to American society containing more distinctly feminine appearance and task items than masculine.

> A father might never use a lipstick, a brassiere, or hosiery, whereas a mother might wear underwear that looks similar to men's briefs, or she might use a razor, a handkerchief, or don a shirt. (p. 51)

Many researchers claim that children attend more to and learn more from same-sex models than opposite-sex models (Kohlberg, 1967; Mischel, 1971; Grusec and Brinker, 1972; Slaby and Frey, 1975). If this is the case, it is understandable that the girls in Vener and Weese's study made fewer errors on the female items. However, it is difficult to see why the boys did not make fewer errors than the girls on the male appearance and task items. Presumably, they should have attended more to these than the female items.

While there is a fair corpus of evidence in support of the 'attention to same-sex model view', Vener and Weese's findings raise some doubt about the neatness with which the view may fit the process. Their findings suggest a differential process. However, since they go against so much established material, this may only be due to some fluke of chance.

HYPOTHESES

Though it is, for the most part, relatively weak, the literature reviewed in the preceding pages suggests that dress has meaningful psychological dimensions for young children. There are indications that it might be a factor in the development of gender identities/roles. Certainly, a number of artifactual behaviours have been shown to highlight gender identity/role differences.

According to symbolic interactionist theory, the salience of those artifacts should vary by gender as boys and girls and learn the symbols associated·with their sex-appropriate positions. 'Selective attention' should occur, with the stimuli attended to varying by gender as well. Cognitive schemata should differ as well, with the girls being oriented toward feminine gender identities/roles and the boys toward masculine gender identities/roles.

From discussions and interviews it also appears that an essential component, not previously empirically evaluated, is that of affect. It seems that differential endowment with affect should occur in relation to schemata of dress.

More formally, the following hypotheses will be tested.

Hypothesis I

There will be a sex difference in attention to the dress of others.

Operationally defined as:

1. Human figure drawings of the same-sex figure will contain more details of dress than those of the opposite-sex figure.

2. Numbers of garments listed will be greater for same-sex than opposite-sex figures.

Hypothesis II

There will be a sex difference in the schemata developed in relation to dress.

A. The rules governing dress behaviours will vary by gender.

Operationally defined as:

1. Boys and girls will learn different practices with respect to the wearing of clothes for actual events:

   a. after school

   b. to parties

   c. on Sundays.

2. Boys and girls will use dress differently for fantasy purposes:

   a. dress-up games.

B. Meta-knowledge of dress will vary by gender.

Operationally defined as:

1. Boys and girls will give different reasons for why people wear clothes.

Hypothesis III

There will be a sex difference in the endowment of affect to schemata related to dress.

Operationally defined as:

1. Boys and girls will refer to different schemata as their bases for liking garments.

2. Boys and girls will refer to different schemata as their bases for disliking garments.

METHOD

Subjects

Mussen, Conger and Kagan (1974) have stated that children under the age of five are easily distracted and have difficulty maintaining attention or communicating with another person for very long (p. 25). Bearing this and the fact that gender becomes constant at around age five in mind, subjects chosen for this experiment were sixteen boys and sixteen girls aged five to eight years. The mean age of the boys and girls was about 6.5 years. All attended a local primary school near the University of Liverpool.

The children were of working and lower-middle class backgrounds. However, their socioeconomic status was not considered relevant to this work. This study was limited to describing the function of dress in relation to gender identities/roles in a relatively homogeneous population. It did not concern itself with how those patterns might differ

from those of other social groups. Its aim was not to identify the specificity of codes but to determine if codicity exists.

Apparatus

1. A questionnaire was administered (See Appendix I). It consisted of twelve questions which were asked in random order, such as "What kinds of clothes do Mums wear?" and "What's your favourite outfit? Why.".

2. Two sheets of plain white writing paper 8.25 inches by 11.75 inches and a selection of coloured felt-tipped pens were provided.

Procedure

Groups of four to six students were brought to the experimental room in the Department of Psychology, University cf Liverpool from their classroom in a nearby school. The room was approximately 15 by 20 feet with a table and chairs in the centre and a pair of chairs in a far corner. On the floor in the opposite corner was a box with a variety of toys available for the children who were not involved in the experiment.

The students were introduced to the experimenter by their teacher and told they would get a chance to draw and play with toys and would be asked some questions. They were allowed to 'settle in' for a while. The experimenter then took them aside one by one while others drew pictures as instructed or played.

1. Interview

The child being interviewed was taken to a pair of

chairs facing each other. These were in a corner of the room, well away from the table, toys, and other children. The child was seated facing the experimenter, toward the wall to minimize distraction.

The experimenter then attempted to put the child at ease. The exact form this took varied, but very often included talking about "coming from America". The child was asked his/her name and age and a little about his/her family and then told:

> I'm going to ask you a few questions about
> clothes, but this isn't a test or anything.
> I'd just like to know what you think. I'm
> going to ask you questions like this ....

An interview question was asked. There were no real problems in understanding the questions and the interviews continued until all questions were asked. On average, the interviews took five to ten minutes to complete.

2. Human Figure Drawings

The child was seated at the table. If she/he had not previously been interviewed, the experimenter put him/her at ease. The form of the interaction varied and depended upon the reaction of the individual child.

When the child seemed comfortable, the experimenter then said:

> Do you see these two pieces of paper here?
> I'd like you to do some drawing for me.
> You can use any colour pen you'd like.
> I would like you to draw a man on one

sheet of paper and a lady on the other
(or "a lady ... and a man ...").

The child was asked to repeat the instructions back to the experimenter in order to determine if the child understood them. If she/he did not the experimenter explained the procedure once more or clarified the misunderstandings. The child then completed the drawings unsupervised. When finished, the child briefly discussed the drawings with the experimenter.

RESULTS

Human Figure Drawings

As there is no truly standardized procedure for the scoring of details of human figure drawings in experimental work, a list of features was compiled from previous studies (See Appendix B). It was separated into two areas: artifactual details of dress such as bows, buttons, trousers, etc., and physical details such as eyes, fingers, hair, etc.. As well, the height of the figure was calculated.

To avoid problems associated with differential drawing abilities, each child was compared to him- or her-self on the drawing of the two figures. (For a sample of drawings see Appendix C.)

Five drawings chosen at random from those produced were scored by two judges blind to the nature of the experiment using the list provided by the experimenter. The correlation of the judges' ratings with those of the experimenter were 0.89 and 0.92 respectively. Therefore, it was felt that

the experimenter's ratings alone could be used without unduly biasing the findings.

Sign tests (Siegel, 1956, pp. 68-75) were performed on the number of artifactual details of the male and female figures of the drawings. As well, Sign Tests were done on the numbers of physical details and on the comparative heights of the figures. Results are shown in Table 2.1.

TABLE 2.1

Comparison of Boys' and Girls' Drawings of

Male and Female Figures

	Boys	Girls
Artifactual details	$x=2$ $N=8$ p 0.15_{ns}	$x=3$ $N=13$ p 0.05_{*}
Physical details	$x=4$ $N=11$ p 0.30_{ns}	$x=3$ $N=13$ p 0.05_{*}
Height of figure	$x=5$ $N=13$ p 0.30_{ns}	$x=3$ $N=13$ p 0.03_{*}

ns   non-significant difference
 *   significant difference

The girls drew significantly more artifactual details on the female than on the male figure ($p < 0.05$). As well, they drew the female figure with more physical details ($p < 0.05$) and taller ($p < 0.03$) than the male.

For the boys, there was no significant difference in the artifactual details on either the male or female figures ($p < 0.15$). As well, they did not include more physical details for either males or females ($p < 0.30$) nor was either figure significantly taller ($p < 0.30$).

Garments Worn

To avoid problems of differential verbal abilities, each child was compared to him- or her-self with respect to the numbers of garments listed as being worn by adults and peers. Sign tests (Siegel, 1956) were used to determine the significance of the differences in the numbers of garments said to be worn by Mothers and Fathers, Girls and Boys, and Females and Males. The findings of these tests are shown in Table 2.2.

The girls named significantly more garments for Mothers than Fathers ($p < 0.00$), for Girls than Boys ($p < 0.01$), and for Females than Males ($p < 0.01$).

The boys listed no more garments for Mothers or Fathers ($p < 0.15$). However, as predicted, they named more Boys' garments than Girls' ($p < 0.05$) and, overall, more Male than Female items ($p < 0.01$).

TABLE 2.2

Comparison of Boys' and Girls' Listings

of Male and Female Garments

	Boys	Girls
Mothers/Fathers	x=5 $\quad$ N=15 p 0.15$_{ns}$	x=1 $\quad$ N=12 p 0.000$_{*}$
Girls/Boys	x=3 $\quad$ N=13 p 0.05$_{*}$	x=2 $\quad$ N=14 p 0.01$_{*}$
Females/Males	x=2 $\quad$ N=15 p 0.01$_{*}$	x=1 $\quad$ N=13 p 0.01$_{*}$

ns   non-significant difference
 *   significant difference

Clothing Practices: After School

When questioned if they changed from their school
clothes when they went home: "Do you wear different clothes
after school?" : ten boys and five girls replied that they
did,.six boys and eleven girls said they didn't. The
Chi-square test (Siegel, 1956, pp. 104-111) was used to
determine the significance of the differences between the
groups. They were found to approach but not reach an accep-
table level of statistical significance (x^2 = 2.01, $p < 0.10$).

TABLE 2.3

Matrix of Responses About Clothing

Practices After School

	Boys	Girls
Changed Clothes	10	5
Same Clothes	6	11

Clothing Practices: To Parties

When asked if they wore clothes different from their school clothes to parties, nine boys and all sixteen girls said they did. Seven boys said they didn't. Analysis of the responses by means of the X^2 Test (Siegel, 1956) indicated that there was a significant difference between boys and girls on this clothing practice ($X^2 = 5.41$, $p < 0.01$).

TABLE 2.4

Matrix of Responses About Clothing

Practices for Parties

	Boys	Girls
Changed Clothes	9	16
Same Clothes	7	0

Clothing Practices: On Sundays

The pattern of usage on Sundays was one in which eight boys and eleven girls said they wore different clothes on Sundays than they wore to school. Eight boys and five girls said they wore the same garments.

TABLE 2.5

Matrix of Responses About Clothing

Practices on Sundays

	Boys	Girls
Changed Clothes	8	11
Same Clothes	8	5

Analysis of the responses from this part of the study indicated that there was no significant difference between boys and girls on this clothing practice ($X^2 = 0.52$, $p < 0.25$).

Dress-Up Games

The children were asked if they played dress-up games and, if so, what their favourite game was.

Four of the sixteen boys and fourteen of the girls said they played dress-up games. Twelve boys and two girls said they didn't.

On the basis of these responses it was determined that there was a significant difference between boys and

girls on their involvement with dress-up games ($x^2 = 10.29$, $p \angle 0.01$).

TABLE 2.6

Matrix of Responses About the Playing

of Dress-Up Games

	Boys	Girls
Played Dress-up	4	14
Didn't Play Dress-up	12	2

The type of game played seemed to break down very distinctly into two types. These seem to be directly related to gender so that even when boys play dress-up games (and few do) it would seem that they play very different games from girls. The two game types found were what could be called 'heroic' and 'rehearsal of future roles', or 'fantastic' and 'realistic'.

All four boys who played dress-up games named 'fantastic' games as favourites: e.g., Action Man, Cowboy. All fourteen girls who said they played dress-up games named 'realistic' games: e.g., House, Boyfriends. House was by far the most popular with twelve of the girls choosing it. The other two preferred to play Getting Married and Boyfriends.

Favourite Garment

When asked to name their favourite garment and why they liked it, nine boys and two girls cited aspects of comfort such as warmth and fit as their reasons. Two boys and eleven girls named aspects of decoration such as detail, colour, and texture as their reasons. Five boys and three girls didn't articulate a reason. Since the aim of the analysis was to see if there was a difference in schema-related affect, these non-schematic replies were excluded from the analysis.

TABLE 2.7

Matrix of Responses of Reasons

for Liking Garments

	Boys	Girls
Comfort	9	2
Decoration	2	11

Once more, the X^2 Test was used for analysis of the results. The reasons for liking garments would seem to vary significantly by gender ($X^2 = 8.55$, $p < 0.01$).

Particular garment types seemed to be selected as categorical favourites. Ten of the sixteen boys named pants (trousers or shorts); nine of the sixteen girls named dresses.

The remainder of the responses were spread among other categories.

Least-Liked Garments

When asked to name the garment they liked least and describe why they didn't like it, nine boys and six girls cited aspects of comfort such as fit ("too tight") or warmth ("too hot") as their reasons. No boys but six girls named aspects of decoration such as colour ("green and grey, don't like the colour") and detail ("skirt has squares, don't like squares"). Seven boys and four girls gave no reason why they didn't like an item. These were excluded from the analysis on the same basis as earlier cited.

TABLE 2.8

Matrix of Responses-Reasons for

Disliking Garments

	Boys	Girls
Comfort	9	6
Decoration	0	6

The value of the x^2 for these data was 3.0 indicating that there is a significant difference between boys and girls in the reason given for disliking garments ($p < 0.05$).

No particular garment types seemed to be categorically disliked.

Why Clothes

Finally, the question asked was, "Why do you think people wear clothes?"

Reasons related to comfort were most frequently mentioned. Nine of the boys and six of the girls supported the notion that people wear clothes to keep warm. The rest gave a variety of answers, including that people wore clothes not to be rude or because they were told to do so. Four girls said they didn't know why people wore clothes and three boys.

TABLE 2.9

Matrix of Responses-Reasons for

Wearing Clothes

	Boys	Girls
Comfort	9	6
Other	4	6

Analysis of the responses show that there is no significant difference between boys and girls on the reasons given as to why people wear clothes ($X^2 = 0.32$, $p \angle 0.25$).

Of interest, there would seem to be a distinct developmental trend in the formulation of a rationale for

wearing clothes, although the numbers are too small to permit statistical confirmation. Of the five year olds, three didn't know why people wore clothes, three thought conformity the reason, and two thought comfort (warmth) the reason. Of the eight year olds, all thought comfort (warmth) the reason.

DISCUSSION

On the basis of the findings of this study there would seem to be little doubt that dress serves in the differential socialization of gender identities/roles in boys and girls.

To simply matters, the results will be discussed hypothesis by hypothesis and then integrated in summary.

Hypothesis I

There will be a sex difference in attention to dress of others.

Operationally defined as:

1. Human figure drawings of the same-sex figure will contain more details of dress than those of the opposite-sex figure.

2. Numbers of garments listed will be greater for same-sex than opposite-sex figures.

Part 1: Human Figure Drawings

Part 1 of this hypothesis is partially confirmed by

findings of this study. Girls attended more selectively to female figures in drawing significantly more details of dress on the female figures than the male figures. While the boys tended to draw more details of dress on the male figures, the difference between the male and female figures was not statistically significant.

The basis of this hypothesis was the supposition that salience of stimuli would be differentially linked to gender identity/role. Thus, if this were the case, boys would attend more to masculine signs and symbols and learn and reproduce these better than feminine signs and symbols. The opposite would hold for girls, with attention aimed at feminine signs and symbols.

While this was supported for the girls it was not for the boys. One might then ask what the basis might be for these discrepant findings.

Before this is addressed, however, a potential criticism which would seem to be quite fundamental must be dealt with because it might be argued that rather than reflecting the child's attention to same-sex figures the drawings simply reflect the "reality of the situation", the likelihood that females would wear more artifactual details of dress than males. While this may or may not be the case, if this criticism were tenable one would expect to find both boys and girls drawing more details on the female figure. This did not occur.

Further support in refuting this criticism that the

drawings might simply be accurate perceptions of reality comes from the fact that beside providing their female figures with more artifactual details, the girls also drew their female figure significantly taller than their male figure, and they added more physical details to the female figure than the male. Since males are typically taller than females and have roughly the same number of arms, legs, eyes, etc., the criticism seems seriously undermined.

Male figures tended to have the same numbers of artifactual details as female figures for the boys. And looking at the supplementary information, there was no difference in the heights of the two sets of drawings or in the numbers of physical details.

From the findings, one could conclude that girls attend more to the signs and symbols denoting femaleness and invest that state with greater salience than maleness; and that boys are largely non-specific in their attention to male or female modes. But this interpretation, while feeling intuitively wrong, also goes against a large corpus of research. A more likely basis for the findings might be the following:

Kohlberg (1966) states that due to some kink of cognitive organization, the child actively seeks out those objects that are "like self". This implies that once a child has identified itself as male or female it will attend to those parts of the environment which add to its self-conception and will, in effect, cathect them.

However, Kohlberg and Zigler (1967) suggest that male models are less available to young children than female models, e.g., fathers are traditionally at work much of the child's waking time. Mothers tend to be the primary care givers. Most elementary teachers are female. This is not to say that no learning of male signs and symbols occurs. Kohlberg and Zigler believe, however, that it is a more difficult cognitive task to reproduce male schemata. Thus, while children may be able to recognize some male symbols at a fairly early age (as witnessed by studies cited earlier in this chapter) they may lack the intimate and more thorough knowledge which would allow them to recall and manipulate those symbols.

With this in mind, the findings of this part of the study might be interpreted differently: not that boys are non-specific in their orientation but rather that they do attend more to male schemata but have a harder time reproducing them. It just may be that boys are doing very well to have equal numbers of male and female artifacts of dress incorporated into their drawing when, in fact, their environment might be largely female.

Finally, no obviously naked figures were drawn. Where dress was determinable--and in a few cases it wasn't because of the primitive quality of the drawing--it was seen to be the key identifying schema in the representation of male or female. This supports a number of earlier studies (e.g., Conn and Kanner, 1947).

An addendum to this part of the discussion and one outside the purview of this study:

It is based upon the fact that the same-sex figure in human figure drawings has been traditionally seen as a "graphic projection of the self" (Van Dyne and Carskadon, 1978). Assuming this to be so, one wonders if, in fact, the self-representation for girls is of a different order than that for boys. This is not to deny the salience of the same-sex models, but it seems possible that girls, even at this early age, are learning to 'objectify' themselves and take more care with the way they're being seen by others. At this point this notion is purely speculative. However, further findings of this study do lend support to the idea and it will be picked up again later.

Part 2 : <u>Garments Worn</u>

Part 2 of this hypothesis is largely confirmed by the findings of this study. Girls named significantly more garments for Mothers than Fathers, for Girls than Boys, and for Females than Males. Boys tended to list more garments for Fathers than Mothers but the difference was not significant. They did name significantly more garments for Boys than Girls and for Males than Females.

The basis of this hypothesis was the supposition that boys and girls would attend more selectively to those stimuli which reflected "like-self" gender identity/role correlates--and that these would be recalled differentially.

The findings of this part of the hypothesis seem, for the most part, to support this view. They are quite similar to the Human Figure Drawing findings. As for the visual representations, the verbal responses indicate that girls may be more easily attuned to things feminine than boys to things masculine.

In relation to the Part 1 findings, it has been suggested that they may in part be due to the fact that the father model is one that is cognitively more difficult to reproduce. In this second part the boys listed more garments as being worn by Boys than Girls but not by Fathers than Mothers. These findings show perhaps a little more clearly that it is more specifically the reproduction of schemata of adult male models as opposed to all male models which may be problematic.

In a similar vein, Vener and Weese (1965) found that the children in their study (both boys and girls) made considerably more errors in identifying male appearance and task items than in identifying female appearance and task items. These researchers attributed this to the fact that "In contemporary American society there are very few male articles which are as distinctly masculine as female articles are distinctly feminine" (p. 51).

The authors state that their preschool sample is "enmeshed" in a feminine world. It is felt that they erroneously conclude that these younger children would therefore observe mothers using and wearing items which

their near-peers KNEW to be masculine. They did not make any attempt to explain how the leap from erroneous non-knowledge to knowledge was made within a couple of years.

It is this author's contention that the younger children observe NO-ONE using the masculine items or wearing the masculine garments very much and that only with increased experience do they learn what their near-peers know.

Looking at the responses to this part of Hypothesis I:

The children listed 26 types of articles in their spontaneous recall. The garments listed were almost predictable. The most highly named Male garments were trousers, shirts, and (surprisingly) underpants. The most-named Female items were dresses, skirts and jewellery.

There was very close agreement overall between the boys and girls on the items which were named as being worn by Mothers, Fathers, Boys, and Girls. There were 49 matched responses (out of a possible 104), most of these occurring in 'empty sets' where neither boys nor girls listed that particular garment for that group.

EXAMPLE:

| CATEGORY | | MOTHERS | | FATHERS | | BOYS | | GIRLS | |
SUBJECTS		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
ITEMS LISTED	Dresses	10	11	0	0	0	0	10	12
	Shirts	0	0	7	3	7	5	0	0

No child erroneously named a garment for the wrong group.
Rather, both boys and girls were remarkably accurate in their
naming of garments for males and females. This supports the
contention that children learn both roles but learn to prac-
tice the one which is seemed appropriate to their gender.
This seems quite obvious when viewed in the context that this
type of learning is essential in order to make sense of en-
counters and vital in reciprocal social interaction.

Overall, there would seem to be support for the hypothesis
of a sex difference in attention to the dress of others. In
all cases, girls do seem to attend more selectively to female
figures (as well as more physical details and greater height).
They name more garments for Mothers and Girls than for Fathers
or Boys. Boys do not draw more artifactual details on their
male than their female figures. Nor do they list more garments
for Fathers than Mothers. They do name more garments for Boys
than Girls. It is argued that the boys are not necessarily
less selective in their attention to adult male models but
that, rather, the reproduction of the schemata involved is
cognitively a more difficult task.

Hypothesis II

There will be a sex difference in the schemata
developed in relation to dress.

    A. The rules governing dress behaviour will vary by
        gender.

        Operationally defined as:

        1. Boys and girls will learn different

practices with respect to the wearing

of clothes for actual events.

a. after school

b. to parties

c. on Sundays.

    2. Boys and girls will use dress differently

for fantasy purposes.

a. dress-up games.

  B. Meta-knowledge of dress will vary by gender.

Operationally defined as:

    1. Boys and girls will give different

reasons for why people wear clothes.

Section A, Part 1: <u>Clothing Practices</u>

    The findings related to this part of the hypothesis
are equivocal. There was a significant difference between
boys and girls in the pattern of dress when they were going
to parties. While there was a tendency toward different
practices after school this did not reach significance.
There was no significant difference between boys and girls
in their pattern of dress on Sundays.

    During the course of the testing it became apparent
that experiences and expectations about after school and
party times were similar. This had been a basic assumption
behind this part of the hypothesis. However, it soon became
clear that experiences and expectations about Sundays were
anything but homogeneous. Several patterns emerged. For

some the day was defined as one which specific rituals occurred, such as "going to visit Granny". For others the day was, in Goffman's terms, a "backstage" day unmarked by external social ritual. It is felt, as a consequence of this, that the findings of section c. are quite confounded and not interpretable in any meaningful way.

The schemata expressed in relation to dress 'after school' show no statistically significant difference between boys and girls. However, the general pattern would seem to be one in which boys tend to change into other than school clothes and girls tend to keep their school clothes on.

The schemata expressed in relation to clothing practices 'to parties' show a real difference between boys and girls. All of the girls said they wore different clothes to parties than to school and all the girls said they wore "party dresses"--mostly long ones. (Although it is utterly outside the realm of this study, would that it were possible to convey the smiles, wide eyes, and delicate gestures of the girls as they described their party clothes!) While some of the boys also said they wore different clothes to parties than they wore to school, there were no garments which were specifically labelled or chosen as such.

The implications of the party and, to some extent, the after school behaviours bear consideration because a pattern emerges of dress practices which facilitate behaviour that is active in boys and passive in girls.

Going to a party, a little girl dressed in a frilly

gown to her ankles is somewhat hampered when it comes to exploratory or active play. It seems likely that she is not expected to race about. Rather, she may be something to be viewed and admired. And the little girl who wears the same clothes to school and to play in may reflect the expectation that she will not spoil or soil them. Most of the children who said they did change clothes after school said they changed into 'old' or 'play' clothes--garments which might give them the freedom to engage in active play without concern for their condition.

Section A, Part 2 : Dress-Up Games

There would seem to be a profound difference between boys and girls in the use of dress for fantasy purposes. Only four of the boys said they played dress-up games while fourteen of the girls said they did so. When the boys and girls said they did play, they played very different types of games. Twelve of the fourteen girls said "House" was their favourite game. The other two preferred "Boyfriends" and "Getting Married". The boys said their favourite games were action-oriented games like "Cowboys". Unlike the girls, there was no unanimously chosen game. Unanimity occurred only in the statement that most of them did not play dress-up games.

Many questions arise as to the nature and function of dress-up games and the gender differences in practice.

Little has been specifically written about dress-up

games but there is a fairly extensive body of research and
writing on play in general (Levy, 1978; Herron and Sutton-
Smith, 1971; Bruner and Sylva, 1976). As seems to be largely
the case in developmental psychology, their work describes
"various parts of the elephant" but lacks a vision of the
whole. Nonetheless, certain aspects of the primary schools
of thought, psychoanalytic, social learning and cognitive,
if not actively supporting, at least do not contradict each
other.

Play, on this integrative basis, could be interpreted
as an activity which, in part, prepares children to partici-
pate later on in adult society. The child utilizes and
applies schemata which may have been acquired through ob-
servation but the nature of play is not purely imitative.
According to Piaget:

> ... there are only two ways that an absent
> situation can be represented; it can either
> be described by language or evoked by imita-
> tive gestures or images. This in no way
> means, however, that symbolic play can be
> reduced to imitation since play is exclu-
> sively an assimilation of reality to the
> self. (p. 339 in Herron and Sutton-Smith,
> 1971)

In play, then, the child can rehearse and re-enact
events or roles and thereby increase his/her personal reper-
toire of potential responses. The self-concept of the child
is both a crucial antecedent to play and a consequent devel-
opment. Through play, and especially through dramatic play,
the identity of the child as a being accommodating social

reality but also assimilating it in a unique way forms.

In symbolic interactionist terms:

> Drama is fundamental to the child's
> development of a conception of self
> as an object different from but related
> to other objects--the development of an
> identity. (Stone, p. 110 in Herron and
> Sutton-Smith, 1971)

The findings of this study are similar to earlier works which suggest that boys play 'fantastic' games and girls play 'realistic' ones (Sutton-Smith in Herron and Sutton-Smith, 1971). In interviewing adults, Stone (1970) reported that 41% of his male subjects responded in the affirmative to the question "When you were a child did you ever dress up in anyone else's clothes?". Eighty-four percent of the female subjects said they did.

So why don't most of the men in Stone's group and most of the boys in this group play dress-up games?

Initially it was felt that Levy's (1978) model of play might be useful in ferreting out the answer to this question. He contends that all play has three basic characteristics:

1) Suspension of reality or self-forgetfulness

2) Feelings of personal control, commitment
   and effectiveness

3) Internal locus of control.

On the basis of the first characteristic, one could argue that in order to engage in self-forgetful acts there

must first be a self to forget. It is possible that little
boys do not play dress-up games because they lack a feeling
of security in their own identity. Without this fundamental
confidence they might be unwilling or unable to suspend their
'actual' roles for 'fantasy' roles for fear of what might occur.

Extending this further, however, the implication of
the argument is that boys would not be able to play any games
very much and this, in the light of the observation of any
group of boys, is patently absurd. So while the model may
well describe what happens when children do play games it
does not seem to work in a reverse way to describe those who
do not.

The answer to the question would seem to come down to
this, that it seems most likely that the boys in this study
did not play dress-up games because there was "nothing in it"
for them--"nothing" from several perspectives.

Firstly, as has previously been discussed, there is
some doubt about the young boy's knowledge of male roles.
Unlike girls, who have an intimate awareness of adult female
roles, the boys may know little of adult male roles. If
feelings of effectiveness and commitment are characteristic
of play, then perhaps boys do not play games in which they
emulate male models because they could not do so effectively
or with awareness of the commitments involved.

An anecdotal account illustrating the above is to be
found in Herron and Sutton-Smith (1971). A girl and boy were
observed playing house:

> The little girl was very busy sweeping the
> play area, rearranging furniture, moving
> dishes about, and caring for baby dolls.
> The boy, on the other hand, would leave
> the play area on his tricycle, disappear
> to the back of the (real) house, remain
> for a brief while, reappear in the play
> area, and lie down in feigned sleep. The
> little girl had a rather extensive knowledge
> of the mother role but, for the boy, a
> father was one who disappeared, reappeared,
> and slept, ad infinitum! (p. 11)

Secondly, Montemayor (1974) demonstrated that the performance on and attraction to a game could be a function of the gender label of the game. He found a strong interaction between the sex of the child and the labelling of the game as masculine, feminine, or neutral. Both performance and attraction measures were highest when the game was labelled as sex-appropriate. Montemayor concluded that these findings indicated "that in the area of sex standards a child's behaviour was consistent with his cognition for that activity as appropriate or inappropriate" (p. 155), findings which are consistent with both the cognitive-developmental and social learning theories.

An earlier study by Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg (1961) looked at game preferences in children. "Dressing up" was rated 126th out of 180 games and pastimes by boys in 1959 and 83rd out of 90 in 1921. It was rated 16th out of 180 games and pastimes for girls in 1959 and 15th out of 90 in 1921.

While there are some difficulties based upon the samples and interpretation of the results, the sheer magnitude

of the difference between boys and girls in their preference
for dressing up suggests that dress-up might be considered
to be more a girls' game. If this is the case, the boys in
this study would likely not have played dress-up games because
they would have been seen to be sex-inappropriate. According
to Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg, contemporary boys would seem
to be avoiding any games not obviously masculine in an attempt
to define a distinct identity. Most of the boys in this study
certainly were avoiding playing dress-up games.

Those few who did play, played 'fantastic' games.
Something of these roles could be learned from television.
Their enactment might be relatively easy, then, because it
would be highly stereotypical and other participants in the
game would have as limited an exposure to them and thus not
serve as 'critical receptors' in ways that they might with
better known roles.

But the fundamental dynamic of all the games mentioned
by the boys was powerfulness. This is play as wish fulfill-
ment. According to Peller (1971) "He enjoys a power and
prestige denied to him in reality" (p. 111). To the younger
child, males have not the prestige or power--females have.
But there are strong social sanctions against boys playing
female roles, against what is seen as sex-inappropriate
behaviour (Fling and Manosevitz, 1972; Lansky, 1967). If
feelings of personal control are characteristic of play, the
only legitimately sanctioned expression of this in dress-up
games would be the enactment of available male models seem

to be powerful.

For girls, the function of dress-up games would be quite straightforward. Their enactments would be reflections of what Merton (1957) has called "anticipatory socialization". Identifying themselves as females, they have complex sex-appropriate models of mature femaleness available to them. Their behaviour in playing their 'realistic' games would serve to provide a fair repertoire of skills which would be useful in adult life. Not only the kinds of games played but playing dress-up games in themselves would be seen to be sex-appropriate. The entire experience would be highly congruent and functional.

And what about the "dressing-up" part?

Dress-up entails the donning of garments in order to create the identity of "other", in order to invite collusion from others. Identities are announced by the persons playing the roles and placed by those in reciprocal positions.

If one accepts that dress-up games are seen as primarily girls' games, then one might say that the girl acquires something of her identity through them. Anticipatory socialization has been mentioned previously. This is one aspect of the games. But the actual activity has other implications. It may be contended that through the process of socially sanctioned donning and doffing of dress in play the girl learns that she is/can be many different identities through a change in dress!

It might be contended that this, along with other

daily practices, may contribute to a fundamental fractionation of the girl's identity. Girls much more so than boys, may be compelled to 'play their roles' with their <u>attire</u> as an integral part. And because the learning is so basic and pervasive they may suffer the emotional consequences of internalized approval or disapproval of the appropriateness of their dressed enactment. This would be less so for boys.

Section B, Part 1 : <u>Why Clothes</u>

This part of the hypothesis was not confirmed by the findings of this study. There was no statistically significant difference between boys and girls in their responses to this question. Even though the findings were not supportive of the hypothesis they are, in themselves, quite interesting.

The most frequent response given was that people wear clothes to keep warm. One might have expected that the categories referred to would have been different, as the bases for liking and disliking garments will be seen to be, and as some of the practices and much of the orientation were shown to be.

What the findings suggest is a process of socialization which, for the boy, corresponds both consciously and unconsciously but which, for the girl, entails a discrepancy between conscious and unconscious, potently affect-ridden motivators.

One might have anticipated that the boys would refer more to keeping warm as their reason, as this would have been

congruent with their orientation toward comfort. Aspects of comfort carried most affect for the boys as will be seen in the discussion of the result of Hypothesis III. Comfort was articulated by them as the primary motive for wearing clothes.

One might have expected the girls to refer to something like "to look nice" as their rationale since aspects of decoration carried most affect for girls. Not so. Comfort was articulated by them as the primary motive for wearing clothes. What this would seem to reflect for the girls is a split between what one may think is desirable and what one may feel is appropriate.

Hypothesis III

There will be a sex difference in the endowment of affect to schemata related to dress.

Operationally defined as:

1. Boys and girls will refer to different schemata as their bases for liking garments.

2. Boys and girls will refer to different schemata as their bases for disliking garments.

Part 1: Favourite Garment

This part of the hypothesis is confirmed by the findings of this study. Boys named aspects of Comfort more and girls named aspects of Decoration more as their reasons for liking garments. Eighty-two percent of the responding boys (9)

named Comfort while only fifteen percent of the responding girls (2) did so. Eighteen percent of the responding boys (2) named aspects of Decoration while eighty-five percent of the girls (11) did so.

Interestingly, most of the boys named particular trousers or shorts and most of the girls named particular dresses as favourites. Out of all the potential categories --twenty-six were listed in the naming of garments--one is struck with the restriction of affect-related garments. These are so very sex-typed!

Earlier in this discussion it was shown that trousers were seen as masculine garments and dresses were exclusively feminine. The selection of these as favourites would point to the positive internalization of sex role standards, to the learning to like the type of garment that defines one's gender identity/role.

Part 2 : Least-Liked Garment

All of the responding boys (9) named aspects of Comfort as their reason for disliking garments. The girls were split--with fifty percent (6) citing reasons related to Comfort and fifty percent (6) naming aspects of Decoration as their reasons for disliking garments. In this case there was a significant difference between the boys and girls due largely to the fact that no boys named aspects of Decoration as their reason for disliking a garment.

It would seem either that boys don't bother to attend

to the deccrative aspects of their clothes or else they do not have clothes purchased which might offend their sensibilities. It seems more likely, however, that boys do attend to decorative aspects to some extent but attend much more to comfort.

Unlike the favourite garments, which reflected the valuing of like-sex symbols, no particular garment types were categorically disliked. The fact that this is so might indicate that sex-appropriate schemata may be internalized in a positive rather than negative way. This would be quite amazing when one thinks of the negative restrictions, the disapproval of sex-inappropriate behaviours which permeate the socialization of boys in particular (Fling and Manosevitz, 1972; Lansky, 1967).

Both parts of this hypothesis provide an interesting insight into the nature of the sex differences in the child's orientation to dress. Boys would seem to be primarily concerned with whether a garment is comfortable or not. This implies an internal or self-directed focus. One's clothes must mainly please oneself in order to be acceptable. One must not be hampered in one's movements.

Girls would seem to be primarily concerned with whether a garment has pleasing decorative features. The implication of this is that girls become more attuned to the way they're being seen. The focus is external or other-directed. One's clothes must please others in order to be acceptable. One must be seen to be.

The differences in orientation between boys and girls
pervade of the findings of this study.

SUMMARY

Previous studies have indicated that artifacts of
dress may serve as stimulus cues in the determination of
gender identity/role. Many of these studies tended to com-
bine the observations of both boys and girls. This study
posited that the orientation toward the artifacts would be
differential and gender based such that attention to models,
schemata developed, and affect endowed would vary by gender.

Hypothesis I: Attention to Models

This hypothesis was confirmed for the girls but only
partially confirmed for the boys. It was suggested that
what seemed to be lack of selective attention to male models
in boys was, in fact, partially attributable to difficulty
in reproduction of adult male schemata.

Hypothesis II: Schemata Developed

The findings related to this hypothesis were equi-
vocal. Schemata with regard to parties were significantly
different for boys and girls and tended to be so for after
school play. There was a real difference between the sexes
in their use of dress for fantasy purposes. But there was
no difference between boys and girls in their rationales
for why people wear clothes. It was suggested that the

party and after-school practices facilitate sex-typed behaviours; that dress-up play serves in the anticipatory socialization of girls but may be seen as largely sex-inappropriate for boys; that the process of socialization with regard to dress may be more congruent for boys than girls.

Hypothesis III: Affect Endowed

This hypothesis was confirmed. Boys and girls named different schemata as their bases for liking or disliking garments. It was suggested that sex-appropriate schemata may be positively, rather than negatively, internalized.

Chapter 3

ADOLESCENT ARTIFACTUAL BEHAVIOURS

Though you can't judge a book by its cover, it appears
that people feel others can be judged by their appearance. In
a study by Silverman (1945), eighty-four percent of the sub-
jects involved said they could do so.

This would seem entirely feasible. In the previous
chapter, it was shown that dress serves in the differential
socialization of gender identities/roles. If males and
females hold diverse schemata which relate to role enactment,
the manifestation of those schemata would have some shared
symbolic function. Because of cultural norms, one should be
able to discern information about individuals based solely
upon personal appearance. The information garnered should
coincide more or less with what the individual intends to
convey in order for interactions to 'make sense'.

The nature of the schemata held (Programs) in adol-
escence will be the focus of the study to be presented in
this chapter.

A review of the literature will 'set the scene' and
establish what is generally known of the psychological rela-
tionship of adolescents to their dress.

In an early study, Hall (1905) distributed a ques-
tionnaire on "The Psychology of Clothes". In it he asked

a variety of questions ranging from the effects of being well- or ill-dressed, to the effects of the sensory qualities of garments, to economic and hygienic considerations. His final question was a real gem:

> 15. Say something about canes, parasols, and fans, and also state any experience with masks, masquerades, theatrical costumes; the LIES (his parentheses) of clothing, e.g. padding of all kinds, fits, pinching, tight fits, and loose flowing raiments, and what changes are natural at different ages and periods of life. (As quoted by Flaccus, 1906, p. 63.)

Flaccus (1906) states "Judging from the answers, the questionnaire admits of improvement on several points". No one would dispute this, but flawed as it might have been, the questionnaire did generate responses which clearly indicated that dress was of psychological importance, especially as it related to self concept. For example, one young lady wrote "A broad hat makes me feel jolly" (p. 66). About being well-dressed, another wrote "I feel able to cope with any situation" (p. 76). When ill-dressed, a third conceded, "My opinion of myself takes a decided drop" (p. 77).

In analysing the responses to Hall's questionnaire, Flaccus divided the questions into three groups: 1) Minor and incidental matters—such as expenditure on clothes; 2) Changes of self-feeling and personality—such as differences in feeling tone, diffusive, and expansive effects; 3) Effects on the self as a social reflex phenomenon—such

as changes in social activity.

The first group, minor and incidental matters, while not seeming to be psychological, was interpreted in terms of the motives behind expenditure and interest. For example, a "defective inhibitory mechanism" was posited as the dynamic force behind impulsive spending. Rapid boredom with one's garments was explained thusly: "A man gets tired of wearing the same suit or the same tie. What he really wants is a change in his "material me" with whatever subtle emotional displacements that brings" (p. 64).

Subsequent research has not followed up much on this line of inquiry. One study was done by Evans (1964) to determine motives underlying clothing selection and wearing. Her subjects were tenth- and twelfth-grade students. They were asked to respond to questions about a recently purchased garment, a favourite garment and a seldom worn garment. A seeming contradiction was found in the results. While the primary motive in the purchase of garments was independence/ difference from others, the primary motives in the wearing of clothes were recognition by and dependency on similarity to others. The author interpreted this as indicating that "... the wearing of clothing served a different purpose than the purchasing of clothes for the adolescents of this study" (p. 743). This analysis seems inadequate. If the adolescents actually do buy clothes to be different from others then they would still be different from others when they wore them. It seems obvious that something breaks down somewhere. From the

information provided in the article, one potential weakness would seem to be in that part of the design of the experiment where one set of questions was used to assess favourite and seldom worn garments and another, more thorough, set to determine motivations involved in purchasing garments. Their comparability is not apparent.

Flaccus' second group was changes in self-feeling. These changes were related to changes in materials, textures, styles or colours of apparel. Many of Hall's subjects referred to feeling and acting differently in garments with different physical characteristics. For example, one 17 year old said that in an outing costume "I feel Bohemian; like a tom-boy" (p. 73).

Ryan ran a series of studies (1951, 1952a, 1952b, 1954) which focussed upon the "Psychological Effects of Clothing". Contrary to Hall, about two-thirds of the subjects who were questioned about the effects of colour, texture or type of costume in these experiments said they had little or no effect on their moods. They did, however, have some impact on their activity. This was particularly true for the adolescent girls in the study. They were far more likely to have refused to go out or engage in activities if they felt their dress was inappropriate than were the boys.

What is most unfortunate is that no follow-up studies have been done in which, for example, observations of behaviour in different attire or self-ratings of effects of garments being worn have been taken. Neither have there been experi-

ments set up to evaluate psychological responses to different materials, textures, styles or colours of dress.

The third group discussed by Flaccus was effects on the self as a social reflex phenomenon. Changes in a sense of worth or power, or loss of confidence in social interaction were mentioned in regards to feeling well or poorly dressed. One example related to being ill-dressed is "I am afraid people will think less of me" (p. 77).

This is the primary area of current interest. Many contemporary studies have been undertaken which assess dress in its social context more systematically than did Hall.

Dress has been shown by a number of researchers to affect social acceptance (Silverman, 1945; Cannon, Staples and Carlson, 1952; Hendricks, Kelley and Eicher, 1968). In the Cannon et al. study sociometric ratings of individuals chosen as companions for a picnic, for sitting in adjoining seats, and for 'best friends' were used by the experimenters as their social acceptance measures. This was correlated with personal appearance scores which were based upon rating scales of appropriateness of dress, grooming, neatness, cleanliness, becomingness, and fit of clothes and shoes. These investigators found that there was a close correlation between personal appearance and social acceptance in their junior and senior high school sample, but that the relationship held almost exclusively for girls. They were not closely linked in the boys' groups but "All of the most popular girls from the seventh through the twelfth grades

excel in or conform closely to the norm for personal appearance" (p. 712).

While the best dressed are highly chosen by all types of students, it would seem that affiliations and attractions are ultimately based upon similarity (Hendricks, Kelley and Eicher, 1968). The most cohesive groups have the most similar opinions about dress and appearance.

Confidence in judging characteristics of individuals on the basis of dress has been studied from two perspectives. The first is that of the determination of the level of 'social consensus' about the qualities of people dressed in discriminably different garments. This is equivalent to what Stone terms Reviews—responses made about the wearer of clothes by others. The second is the analysis of qualities of individuals seen to differ from each other in appearance. This is equivalent to what Stone terms Programs—responses made about oneself.

Reviews or 'social consensus' have been studied by a number of researchers (Gibbins, 1969; Hamid, 1968; Zellman, 1980).

In the Hamid (1968) study, attributions such as intelligent, religious, conventional and unimaginative were projected onto individuals wearing spectacles. Sophistication, immorality and attractiveness were qualities suggested by make-up, brightly coloured dresses and short skirts.

Gibbins (1969). like Hamid, showed a range of photographs. There was "high consensus as to the specific

attributes seen by the group as belonging to the likely wearers of each dress ..." (p. 19). For example, Dress I was judged as one that would be worn by a funloving, snobbish, rebellious model who smokes and drinks and is going to a nightclub. The person who would wear Dress V was seen to have high moral standards and to be quite shy.

While the Gibbins study used only female students, Hamid used both males and females and found that though subjects tended to make more extreme ratings of members of the opposite sex, dress had a greater effect on the male ratings. The female stimulus dressed in a uniform was rated 3.0 by females and 3.3 by males on the scale "beautiful". The same stimulus person dressed in evening wear was rated 5.9 by the males and 4.5 by the females on the same scale.

Generally, both female and male subjects tended to agree on ratings of stimulus figures. Zellman, Johnson, Giarrusso, and Goodchild's (1980) subjects produced mixed results. The teenagers in their study agreed that a see-through blouse on a girl was likely a sexual come-on. Open shirts and tight pants and jewelry on males were not. However, tight jeans, shorts and no bra on a girl suggested sexual interest to the males, while to the females these only meant that they were dressing in style.

The studies cited are few in number but quite well done. Though not systematic, they at least provide support for the notion of the shared social meaning of appearance as reviewed by others. According to Stone, appearance

establishes a milieu for discourse. It helps to guarantee
than an interaction will not be non-sensical. The above
studies indicate that appearance does call forth determinable
and specific responses from adolescent subjects, that there
may be symbolic components to dress.

A number of other researchers have probed differences
between members of visibly distinct groups. In Symbolic
Interactionist terms they have studies Programs held by
individuals. This will be the specific focus of this study.

Hamilton and Warden (1966) undertook an extensive
study "to investigate possible relationships between accept-
able and non-acceptable dress and academic achievement and
socio-psychological factors related to the student's role in
the high school community" (p. 789). They found that girls
with acceptable dress tended to have higher verbal and numer-
ical abilities as measured by the Differential Aptitude Test
(DAT) and higher Grade Point Averages (GPA's) than girls with
non-acceptable dress. For boys, there was a curious inter-
action. Boys with acceptable dress had lower scores on the
DAT but higher GPA's than boys with non-acceptable dress.
As well, students with acceptable dress were found to par-
ticipate more in extra-curricular activities and held more
offices in the school.

Gurel, Wilbur and Gurel (1972) add to the picture.
They undertook to examine whether observable differences in
appearance were related to personality and social inter-
action. Four groups were tested:

"Straights"--dressed in simple, classic, conventional
styles;

"Greasers"--dressed in neutral coloured and identical
outfits;

"Mods"--who wore expensive, high style, clothes;

"Hippies"--who wore clothing not bought in conven-
tional stores.

The researchers found significant differences among
the four groups on the California F-Scale of authoritarianism
and Rokeach's Dogmatism Scale (D-Scale). These were the
measures of conformity. The "Greasers" were found to be most
conforming. They had the highest scores on both the F- and
D-scales. Next highest were the "Straights", followed by
the "Mods" and finally by the "Hippies" who were least con-
forming. Gurel et al. summarized their findings:

> At a more general level, the results of the
> present study support the position that overt
> human behaviour reflects those integrated and
> organized systems of beliefs, values, and
> ideals commonly denoted by the term "person-
> alized" and, further, that dress and grooming
> practices constitute a useful, albeit badly
> neglected, behavioral avenue to personality
> study. (p. 46)

The studies cited so far seem to have drawn their
criteria on the basis of their possible prediction of differ-
ences between groups. The consequence of this is that a
random collection of 'facts' develops. It is useful and
necessary to simply "see what's out there" initially. How-
ever, some integration, some form of theory-making must be

the ultimate end. The study of dress is still much nearer
the beginning of the process. One researcher has attempted
to explore appearance within a systematic conceptual frame-
work.

Reed (1973) used the Symbolic Interactionist model
to predict differences between individuals based upon appear-
ance. According to Stone (1970), appearance is an outward
symbol of identity, value, attitude, and mood variables.
Reed's college population was divided into four groups--
high-, low-, non- and counter-fashion and tested to determine
if they varied in those areas. She found significant differ-
ences between the groups on all variables. The "best set"
of discriminators were value variables such as formal-informal
and tough-tenderminded, fashion interest, Machiavellian cyn-
icism, drug use, dogmatism, and age.

Differences in values in relation to dress of adol-
escents have received some attention. Ryan (1952) showed
that boys valued being well dressed because it was seen as
important for social achievement such as getting a job more
easily or making an impression on others. They believed
that clothes expressed other attributes of personality.
For example, they might say that "neatness showed reliability"
(p. 23).

The girls, on the other hand, felt being well dressed
served to allow them to "forget themselves and think of
others" (p. 23), or to be more pleasing to others. 'Becoming-
ness' was rated as most important in their choice of clothes.

Later studies (Good and Kelley, 1971; Kelley, Good and Walter, 1974) found that both their male and female subjects concurred on the role of clothing in occupational life. They viewed it as important in creating an impression and influencing others, a distinctly male view in Ryan's study.

As used by Ryan, the term 'value' is akin to the notion of self concept. One study which had related dress to self concept of adolescents was that of Humphrey, Klaasen, and Creekmore (1971). These researchers found that adolescents who were unstable with respect to their self concept were more interested in the buying and care of clothes than those who were more stable. Unstable boys also were more concerned with appearance and comfort, while unstable girls were more involved with experimenting with appearance. "The most unstable girls were significantly concerned only with comfort in clothing" (p. 249).

Sex differences in confidence in personal appearance have been noted in a number of studies. In the early 1950's, Ryan (1952) compared responses of 274 high school girls with those of 203 high school boys. While most of the students felt their dress was average, significantly more boys than girls felt they were better dressed than average. They also said they seldom or never lacked self-confidence in their appearance and they desired fewer physical changes than the girls. Both, however, cited lack of money as the main reason for dissatisfaction with their clothes.

A later study by Hambleton, Roach and Ehle (1972)

adds something to Ryan's. It was found that "Agreement between what the boys actually wore and what they preferred and the lack of similar agreement for girls suggests that desires concerning appearance may be quite different for boys and girls" (p. 33).

The study cited in the previous chapter showed that schemata differ for boys and girls. Boys in that study named aspects of comfort more and girls named aspects of decoration more as their reasons for liking or disliking garments. It seems possible that those schemata which develop at an early age might continue to hold in adolescence.

High fashion interest has been linked to personality characteristics such as sociability and dependence (Ryan, 1952) but, on the whole, there is little information of psychological interest about adolescents and fashion. It is generally assumed that fashion interest is predominantly a female characteristic. Wax (1957) suggests this might be so because the female is "experimenting with herself and has not yet developed a self-image with which she can be comfortable" (p. 591). This explanation seems both facile and apt--facile because it says nothing about why girls and not boys feel basically uncomfortable with their self-image and need to experiment with it; and apt because it seems likely, from what few research clues that we have, to be the case.

Dogmatism has been linked in only one study to dress of adolescents (Gurel, Wilbur, and Gurel, 1972). Reed, how-

ever, argued that since dogmatism was related to having open
or closed belief systems, that it might also be related to
receptivity towards or rejection of new clothing styles. She
cited a range of studies linking dogmatism to acceptance or
resistance to change (Mikol, 1960; Pyron and Lambert, 1967;
Ehrlich and Lee, 1969).

In Gurel et al.'s study, the researchers found that
the most fashionable group, the Mods, rated third of their
four groups on dogmatism. This provides some support for
Reed's view.

HYPOTHESES

On the basis of the work reviewed, two foci emerge.
The first is that of gender, the second that of clothing
style.

Gender

There are indications that females would have a greater
discrepancy between their real and ideal images than would
males and that they would be more fluid in their presentations
of self. Studies also suggest that males and females would
differ in their perceptions of impediments to an ideal, fashion
orientation and values with respect to dress.

Style

The literature also implies that clothing styles cor-
respond to personality variables. Individuals who dress in
different ways should be discernibly different on measures

related to personality.

If the symbolic interactionist model obtains, it should be demonstrable that the appearance of adolescents contains cues which could serve to provide a basis of meaning for social encounters. There should be consistent sex- and style-schemata.

Therefore, the following hypotheses will be tested:

Hypothesis I

Schemata related to dress will vary by gender.

Operationally defined as:

1. Males and females will differ in their

a. discrepancy between real and ideal self image

b. consistency of choice of clothing styles for social events

c. perceptions of impediments to achievement of an ideal clothed image

d. fashion interest

e. clothing values.

Hypothesis II

Personality characteristics will vary by clothing style.

Operationally defined as:

1. Males and females favouring different clothing styles will differ in

a. self-descriptions

b. clothing values

       c. dogmatism

       d. fashion interest.

METHOD

Subjects

      Subjects were 83 secondary school students from Liverpool and the surrounding district visiting the University of Liverpool. Questionnaires completed by 40 females and 35 male students were used in this study. Eight questionnaires were discarded because they were incomplete. The mean age of the subjects was 16.4 years. The range was from 15 to 17 years.

Apparatus

      The apparatus of the study was a questionnaire devised by the experimenter (See Appendix D). It consisted of questions dealing with:

    1) Real Clothing Image--Four categories were used. They were drawn from the work of Reed (1973). After discussion with a number of individuals, the names of the clothing styles were altered to conform with local terms. "Up-to-the-Minute" was retained and defined as "very fashionable". "Classic"--"slightly out of style" was retained as well. "Contemporary Youth" was changed to "Counter-Culture"--"never were in fashion:. "Casual" was dropped in favour of "Smart"--"fashionable but not faddy". A fifth category of "Other"--"specify" was added.

2) Ideal Clothing Image--The categories used in this part of the questionnaire were identical to those of the Real Clothing Image. The task differed. Rather than ticking which category most of their clothes tended to be in, they were asked to tick one which "Ideally, I would like most of my clothes to be ____".

3) Impediments to Ideal--This question was based upon the findings of Ryan (1952) whose subjects stated that lack of money was their main reason for dissatisfaction with their clothing. The implication of her question was that there was some impediment to achievement of an ideal. Time for grooming and shopping, interest, money, and poor choice were the categories from which Ryan's subjects were asked to choose.

These factors neglect important external influences such as friends and parents that have been shown to affect clothing selection and wearing (Evans, 1964). They also neglect internal motivators such as feelings about one's shape or personality. All of these seem quite relevant to clothing choice and might serve as impediments to an ideal clothing image. Consequently, subjects were asked to tick important impediments from a list consisting of Shape, Money, Personality, Parents, Friends, and Other (specify).

4) Consistency of Choice--A range of ten social events which might be familiar to an adolescent were selected. Subjects were asked to tick which type of outfit--Up-to-the-Minute, Smart, Classic, Counter-Culture, or Other--they would wear to each of these events. The events included "to a

disco", "to visit a friend", to the cinema", "out to dinner".

Consistency was determined to be the ratio of scores which were in the real clothing image of the subject compared to the sum of scores in all other categories. For example, if a subject rated himself as "Classic", then the sum of all events to which he wore "Classic" outfits would be compared to the sum of all events to which he would wear "Up-to-the-Minute", "Smart", "Counter-Culture", or "Other" styles.

5) Fashion Interest--This scale was based upon the measure devised by Sharpe (1963). Reed (1973) found it to be a good discriminator between female college students. Some changes were necessary in order to make the measure applicable to both males and females. Questions dealing specifically with females were dropped. For example, "A woman should be fashionably dressed when doing routine neighbourhood errands". Some terms were simplified as well. "Discussing" was changed to "talking about" and "study" to "look at". Items were summed to achieve an overall fashion interest score.

6) Clothing Values--The terms describing clothing values were drawn from the work of Creekmore (1965). Subjects were asked to complete the sentence "When I buy clothes it is important to me that they should be ___", with the terms listed and to assess the accuracy of the description in relation to themselves on a five-point scale ranging from 1.-Seldom to 5.-Most of the time.

Six clothing values were included: Aesthetic, Social, Modesty, Economy, Political, and Sensory. There were three adjectives within each category and the sum of the ratings of the adjectives was taken as the score for that clothing value.

7) Self Descriptions--Values related to self-concept of the social self were determined by Reed (1973) to discriminate between individuals who wore different styles of dress. Subjects in this study were asked to rate their actual and ideal selves on a five-point scale ranging from agree to disagree. Ten adjectives were listed such as conservative, attractive, conforming, etc.

8) Dogmatism--Reed (1973) also found dogmatism scores to be good discriminators among clothing groups. Dogmatism was measured by means of the short form Dogmatism Scale (Troldahl and Powell, 1965) based upon the full scale developed by Rokeach (1960). It consisted of ten statements. The short form correlated .79 with the full 40-item form. Responses were scored in the standard way.

Procedure

Students visiting the University of Liverpool were asked to participate in the study by a male or female experimenter.

"Hello, as part of 'Open Day', would you like to take part in a short Psychological experiment?"

"We're interested in finding out what young people think about clothes."

When they agreed to participate they entered the experimental room--a large room measuring about 25 by 35 feet in which twenty desks were set up in rows classroom-style. The experimenter of the opposite sex to the one who enlisted the student then lead him/her to an empty desk and gave him/her the questionnaire to complete with the following instructions:

"This is a survey we're doing to find out about teenagers' ideas about clothes. Please answer every part. If you have any questions feel free to ask me. When you are finished you can hand it in to me. Thanks very much for doing this for us."

The student then proceeded to fill out the questionnaire. The experimenter checked it over briefly when it was handed in. The student was asked to complete any sections that might have been left out.

The questionnaire took, on average, about twenty-five minutes to complete. New students were recruited when and as spaces became available, but about half were recruited by the female experimenter and half by the male. There was no difference in the responses to the experimenters.

RESULTS

Real Image

Forty questionnaires were completed by the female students. No female rated her real image as Up-to-the-Minute. Twenty-nine rated themselves as Smart; five as Classic; two

as Counter-Culture; four as Other (Elegant, Casual, Scruffy, Whatever).

Thirty-five questionnaires were completed by the male students. Three males rated their real image as Up-to-the-Minute. Twenty-nine rated themselves as Smart; one rated himself as Classic; one as Counter-Culture; and one as Other (Casual).

Ideal Image

Of the forty female subjects, twenty-four named their ideal image as being the same as their real image. Sixteen had ideal images that were different from their real. Eleven of these wanted to be Up-to-the-Minute; four wanted to be Smart; and one wanted to be Other (Sophisticated).

Of the thirty-five male subjects, twenty-five named their ideal image as being the same category as their real image. Ten had ideal images that differed from their real. Six of these wanted to Up-to-the-Minute; two to be Smart; one to be Classic; and one to be Other (Teds).

Analysis

Analysis of the responses by means of the Chi-square (Siegel, 1956) indicated that there was no significant differ-ence between the males and females in the discrepancy between their real and ideal clothed images ($X^2 = .63$, $p > .05$).

Consistency of Choice

Of the forty female subjects, 13 (32.5%) ticked off more clothes to be worn from the same category as their real

TABLE 3.1

Matrix of Responses: Real and Ideal

Clothed Image

	Males	Females
Real Image Same as Ideal Image	25	24
Real Image Differs From Ideal Image	10	16

TABLE 3.2

Summary of Impediments to Ideal

Clothed Image

	Males	Females
Money	28	37
Shape	4	14
Personality/Parents	13	5
Other	5	5

image than different categories for events such as going to a football game or party. Ten (25%) chose equally between their real and other images. Seventeen subjects (42.5%) chose more styles in images other than their real one.

Of the 35 male subjects, 12 (34%) ticked that they would more often wear clothes in the same category as their real image than they would styles in a different image. Ten (29%) chose equally between their real and another image and thirteen (37%) ticked that they would more often wear clothes in a category other than that of their real image.

Analysis

A Mann-Whitney U-test (Siegel, 1956) corrected for ties was applied to the findings of this part of the study. Results indicated that there was no significant difference between the males and females in the consistency of their choices of clothing styles for social events ($Z = 0.97$, $p \angle 0.15$).

Impediments to Ideal

Whether or not the real and ideal images coincided, the female subjects still listed impediments to some absolute ideal. Money was chosen as an impediment by 37 subjects. Fourteen named Shape. Five named Personality or Parents. Four named Other. None named Friends.

The male subjects also felt there were impediments to their ideal even if it was in the same category as their real image. They named Money 28 times. Shape was considered

to be an impediment four times. Personality or Parents got in the way for thirteen males and Other things for five. Friends apparently did not get in the way at all.

Analysis

The X^2 Test (Siegel, 1956) was used to analyze the results of this part of the study. On the basis of the responses, it was determined that there was a significant difference between males and females on their perceptions of impediments to achievement of an ideal clothed image ($X^2 = 9.36$, $p \angle 0.05$).

Fashion Interest

Female and male subjects had quite different scores on the Fashion Interest measure. The mean score for the females was 28.72, while the mean score for the males was 19.68.

Analysis

The Mann-Whitney U-Test corrected for ties (Siegel, 1956) was applied to the findings. The difference between the groups was highly significant. ($Z = 4.7$, $p \angle 0.001$).

Clothing Values

The Sensory qualities of dress were most highly rated by the females ($\bar{X} = 12.22$). This scale included endorsements of such terms as comfortable, nice feeling, and touchable. The Social qualities were next highest with a mean of 11.62.

Next in order came Economic ($\bar{X}$ = 10.10), Aesthetic ($\bar{X}$ = 9.35),
Modesty ($\bar{X}$ = 8.75), and Political ($\bar{X}$ = 8.15) aspects of dress.

The Sensory qualities of dress were also most highly
rated by the males ($\bar{X}$ = 12.98). The Social qualities were
also rated second ($\bar{X}$ = 11.94) followed by Economic ($\bar{X}$ = 10.14),
Modesty ($\bar{X}$ = 9.11), Aesthetic ($\bar{X}$ = 8.23), and Political
($\bar{X}$ = 8.17) aspects of dress.

TABLE 3.3

Summary of Mean Scores on

Clothing Values

	Males	Females
Sensory	12.98	12.22
Social	11.94	11.62
Economic	10.14	10.10
Modesty	9.11	8.75
Aesthetic	8.23	9.35
Political	8.17	8.15

Analysis

The Mann-Whitney U-Test corrected for ties (Siegel, 1956) was applied to the findings of this part of the study. The male and female subjects were found to differ significantly on the importance of Aesthetic considerations ($Z = 3.06$, $p < 0.01$). Males tended to rate Political values higher but the difference between them and the female subjects did not reach the required level of significance ($Z = 1.23$, $p < 0.10$). There was no significant difference between groups on the value of Economics ($Z = 0.28$, p 0.05), Sensory qualities ($Z = 0.09$, $p > 0.05$), Modesty ($Z = 0.75$, $p > 0.05$), or Social aspects of attire ($Z = 0.96$, $p > 0.05$).

Clothing Types

This part of the study was dependent upon the division of subjects into different 'clothing types'. Self-descriptions were used. It was expected that there would be an even spread among the types listed. Unfortunately, 83% of the males (29) and 73% of the females (29) rated themselves as Smart.

No females rated themselves as Up-to-the-Minute, while 5% (3) of the males did so. Twelve point five percent of the females (5) rated themselves Classic and 3% (1) of the males. Five percent of the females (2) and 3% of the males (1) rated themselves as Counter-Culture. Ten percent of the females (4) and 3% of the males (1) rated themselves as Other.

As a result of this highly skewed distribution and lack of sufficient numbers in all categories, comparative analyses between groups could not be performed as anticipated.

DISCUSSION

On the basis of the findings of this study, a number of questions arise as to the sex differences in orientation toward personal appearance. Patterns which might be expected do not always occur. Each hypothesis will be discussed separately and the conclusions integrated in summary.

Hypothesis I

Schemata related to dress will vary by gender.

Operationally defined as:

1. Males and females will differ in their

a. discrepancy between real and ideal clothed image

b. consistency of choice of clothing styles for social events

c. perceptions of impediments to achievement of an ideal clothed image

d. fashion interest

e. clothing values.

Discrepancy Between Real and Ideal Clothed Image

This part of the hypothesis was not confirmed by the findings of this study.

Though real and ideal images were expected to coincide more for males than females, the subjects were, in fact, remarkably similar in having ideal images that did not differ from their real images to any significant extent. Most of the subjects, 60% of females and 71% of males, had ideal images within the same category as their real images. While there was a larger percentage of females with ideal images different from their real, the difference was not statistically significant.

The basis of this part of the Hypothesis was the expectation that contradictions between explicit and implicit motivational factors found in female children in the study discussed in the previous chapter would ultimately lead to a basic dissatisfaction with one's image and consequent desires to alter it. Conversely, it was felt that because males would seem to have a less contradictory clothed experience that they would be more stable in their image.

The question to be asked is whether the findings of this study indicate that there really is no difference between males and females in adolescence or whether there is some problem with the measure employed.

This part of the study was based upon a self-report measure. Four principal categories were defined. There was a large response in favour of the category Smart-(fashionable but not 'faddy'). It was almost as if the question asked had been "What social class do you belong to?". As nearly everyone seems to believe they are Middle Class so

nearly everyone seems to believe that their clothes are Smart.

This seemed rather odd. Initially it was felt that the categories chosen might be faulty, since the responses were so skewed in favour of one of the styles listed. It was felt that perhaps, in ticking the term Smart, the students might be responding in the socially desirable direction to demand characteristics of the question.

Then, upon further reflection, it began to seem that that might just be the point--that most of the adolescents would want to be similar in their approach to dress and that most of them would want to present the socially desirable appearance! Whether or not the term used was more socially desirable than the others would be pretty much irrelevant. And whether or not the students who rated their image as Smart actually were so according to normative standards is another matter altogether.

But a number of factors would seem to impinge directly upon the possible results. In the first place, given the fact that the teenagers tested were still in school, it seems that it would be highly unlikely that they would have sufficient income to keep up with the most fashionable trends. As well, even if they could, it seems unlikely that the majority would do so, because to be fashionable means to be different from the 'masses' (Gibbins, 1975). Given the rate of physical growth in adolescence, it also seems unlikely that they would own many 'vintage' garments that, in the terms of this

study, might be considered Classic. And the notion of being Counter-Culture is that one does things which differ from the cultural norms. In fact, being trendy, slightly out of fashion, or disdainful of it, all smack of non-conformity.

On this basis, one should logically expect the greatest number of responses in the category reflecting the social norm, in this case, Smart. However, this casts some doubts on the procedure used by Reed in her study. She divided her subjects into groups by quartile scores. Given the above reasoning, this means that her data might be distorted and her findings questionable. This will be considered further in the discussion related to Hypothesis II.

Even with these considerations, the focus of this part of the study was the variability of males and females. As there is nothing to indicate that the measure in any way affected that, it must be assumed that, on the basis of the measure used, there really is no difference between teenage boys and girls in the discrepancy between their real and ideal images.

Consistency of Choice of Clothing Styles
for Social Events

Part b. of this hypothesis was not confirmed by the findings of this part of the study. While females tended to choose a wider variety of styles for social events, the difference between them and the males was not statistically significant.

The basis of this part of the hypothesis was the same as part a. and again, one must ask if the findings do indicate that adolescent males and females are similar in the consistency of their clothing image choices or whether the findings reflect more the nature of the measure employed rather than the issue under consideration.

The measure itself would seem to be most straightforward. No subject asked for any clarification of it or stated that any of the events listed meant nothing to them.

It cannot be said that if different events were listed that the males and females would have differed significantly. All that can be said is that given the range of social events selected, they did not.

The measure itself produced a pattern of 'personal dress strategy' for each subject which was quite interesting. The profiles seemed to be almost as individual as fingerprints. However, the large numbers of alternate choices did not seem really random and this suggested that perhaps there might be some 'demand characteristic' of the social event affecting responses. Perhaps they were reflective not only of the person but of the situation as well.

To see if this were so, the frequency of responses for each clothing image was calculated for each social event. Despite the overwhelming number of subjects whose real image was Smart, it seems that certain events call forth, demand, alternate images. Many males and females thought they would wear Up-to-the-Minute clothes to a Disco, a Party, and a

Pop Concert. Football Games called for Other images--namely casual, scruffy, etc.. Quite a few subjects of both sexes opted for casual images for going to the Cinema and Visiting Friends as well.

Although no females considered their real image to be Up-to-the-Minute, in fact 24 said they would wear such an outfit to a Disco, 19 to a Party, and 16 to a Pop Concert. Three males said their real image was Up-to-the-Minute. Thirteen said they would wear something in that category to a Disco, eight to a Party, and 14 to a Pop Concert.

Four females considered their real image to be Other than those listed but 23 said they would wear Other garments to Football games and 16 males would do so. Even those subjects whose real images differed from the norm of Smart seemed to conform to the norms of the social situation to some extent.

What is surprising about the findings of parts a. and b. is the striking similarity between the male and female subjects. While it was felt that adolescent females would be more variable in their self-images than males that would seem not to be the case. By the time adolescents reach the age of 15 to 17 years they would seem to be relatively fixed in their clothing style, satisfied with it, yet aware of the demands of the social situation and largely willing to conform.

Perceptions of Impediments to Achievement
of an Ideal Clothed Image

This part of the hypothesis was partly confirmed by the findings of this study. There was a significant difference between males and females on perceived impediments and this was principally due to two factors--Shape and Personality/Parents. Many more female responses than male referred to Shape. Many more male responses reflected the feeling that Personality/Parents were impediments. Both groups agreed, however, that Money was the primary block.

The basis of this part of the study was the expectation that male and female subjects would hold different schemata with respect to their clothed image. Ryan's (1952) work indicated that lack of money was the primary reason for dissatisfaction for both sexes. This finding was supported by this study. But on the basis of the findings of the study cited in the previous chapter, one might have predicted that other impediments to an ideal would be found, that males and females would have discrete cognitive orientations to their appearance. Given the restricted list of schemata from which the subjects chose the factors they considered impediments, this would seem to be so.

After Money, the female subjects viewed their Shape as the greatest block to their ideal image. This seems to indicate some dissatisfaction with their body image and imply that the "material me" does not satisfy expectations. The focus of Shape is external. It reflects how one looks to others.

.In contrast to this, the male subjects felt that their Parents/Personality stood in their way. The focus of this category would seem to be internal--the way one feels one is and others impinging upon that sense of self.

The findings in this part of the study are not particularly robust, especially in the case of the males with the combined category. However, they suggest fundamentally different orientations; that, in a sense, the locus of control for the acceptance of personal appearance may be external for females and internal for males.

Fashion Interest

.This part of the hypothesis was confirmed by the findings of this study. There was a highly significant difference between males and females in their fashion interest.

The basis of this part of the hypothesis was the expectation that females would show a higher interest in fashion than males. Other research has indicated that such a difference occurs (Ryan, 1952). This part of the study supports that position. The female subjects seemed more willing to skimp on something else in order to buy a bit of clothing or accessory they liked. They wanted to spend more money on garments. They felt good in fashionable clothes. The male subjects did not have a particularly low fashion interest score, but the female scores were higher.

So what could this mean?

In part, it may mean that it is simply more acceptable for females to have an interest in fashion. It could

be considered sex-appropriate for them. It could also be considered sex-inappropriate for males to admit to such things as enjoying talking about fashion changes with friends, or even to do so. On this basis, males would certainly have a lower tested score.

This does not mean that males are not fashion conscious. Rather, it is suggested that even if fashion is not a generally acceptable topic for males, as, for example, motorcycles might not be for females, that learning occurs anyway. The process is just probably different. Where the teenage girl has any number of fashion magazines and friends to convey the relevant information, the teenage boy is likely to rely on less intensive message bearing cues such as occasional comments or fashion leaders to determine what is in style. A recent study by Warden and Colquett (1982) considered just this issue. They found that by far the greatest source of information for adolescent males was their friends. Sixty-four percent of the subjects said this was so. The remaining 36% was divided among influence from store displays (11%), magazines (7%), pop stars (6%), and sales persons (5%).

Whatever the source of information, most do find out what is acceptable. Woe to those who don't. Even for males, the social pressure to conform to the dominant mode is great.

An example of this occurred in a social skills training group run by the author for adolescents with deficient skills. At one session, one of the boys bemoaned the fact that he was getting many rude comments on his new running

shoes. .He could not understand why as he himself was quite proud of them. In the ensuing discussion, every other member of the group was able to fill him in on what they all knew and he didn't--that the brand he'd bought was passé and that NOBODY wore BLACK running shoes! What was almost more surprising than the boy's lapse was the 'knowledge' held by all the others of the contemporary style. These were not socially adept young people but even to them having the appropriate dress was of fundamental importance.

Clothing Values

This section of the hypothesis was partly confirmed by the findings of this study. There was a significant difference between males and females on the Aesthetic value. Males tended to rate Political values higher but the difference between them and the females did not reach significance. There was no difference between the groups on the value of Economic factors, Sensory qualities, Modesty, or Social aspects of dress.

It was the expectation of this experimenter that males and females might hold different aspects of attire to be meaningful. This was drawn from the work of Ryan (1952) and Humphrey, Klaasen and Creekmore (1971). As well, it could be related to the finding of the study with children cited in the previous chapter. There the schemata developed by boys seemed to be oriented more towards valuing comfort in dress and those held by girls seemed more oriented towards decorative aspects.

.The males were more concerned with the status qualities but not significantly more so than the females. If the difference had been significant, it would certainly not have been out of line with current knowledge of sex roles or with the work of Alexander (1961) who found that males view clothes as instrumental in achieving ends. As the findings were not significant it could be said that contemporary youth are becoming more similar in utilizing schemata reflecting the valuing of the Political aspects of dress. On the other hand, it might also be that the adolescents in this study had not understood the terms used in the Political sub-scale because more questions were asked about these than any other part of the entire work. Consequently, it is impossible to say what really occurs until further, and better, investigation occurs.

Both males and females rated the Sensory aspects highest--endorsing the terms 'comfortable, nice feeling, touchable" as important. This scale value would seem to correspond to the schemata related to comfort in dress. The male response indicates that the schemata developed in childhood continue to obtain. The female response is similar to that given when a rationale for dress was asked for. The little girls mainly said that people wore clothes to keep warm, even though their affective responses were to the decorative aspects of garments. Some behavioural measure of choice would provide interesting information as to the basis of actual selection.

One potential difficulty arises in the fact that the Aesthetic scale would seem to be somewhat biased. The terms used in the measure had not been applied to male subjects previously. Some doubt must be entertained as to the validity of the findings of a sex difference in the schemata held because of the terms which constitute the scale. 'Aesthetically Pleasing' would seem sufficiently sterile to be non-biased, but 'Lovely' and 'Beautiful' would probably not share that distinction.

Hypothesis II

Personality characteristics will vary by clothing style.

Operationally defined as:

1. Males and females favouring different clothing styles will differ in

   a. self-descriptions

   b. clothing values

   c. dogmatism

   d. fashion interest.

This hypothesis could not be tested because there was a highly skewed distribution on clothing style, with most of the subjects (83% of males, 73% of females) choosing the same style category 'Smart' as their real image. This left insufficient numbers in the remaining categories for any meaningful comparisons.

The primary basis of this hypothesis was previous

work by Reed (1973) which found demonstrable differences be-
tween college-age females based upon appearance. Reed sug-
gested that her results supported a Symbolic Interactionist
interpretation of dress. Unfortunately, this could neither
be confirmed nor rejected on the basis of this work. Since
Reed's method was questioned earlier in this chapter, it
would have been doubly useful to have been able to analyze
adequate results.

SUMMARY

While the predictions of the second hypothesis could
not be tested, the findings of the first study were mixed
but largely unsupportive of the hypothesis. Male and female
adolescents would seem to be remarkably similar in many of
the schemata utilized in relation to dress--with the possi-
bility of the following exceptions.

Female adolescents would seem to be more concerned
with their Shape as an impediment to achievement of their
ideal clothed image, more interested in fashion, and more
valuing of Aesthetic qualities of apparel than male adol-
escents.

Males would seem to be more concerned with their
Personalities and Parents as impediments to their ideal
clothed image than females. They also tend to value the
Political aspects of attire more.

Both are equally discrepant and variable in their
clothed images, feel that money is the principal impediment

to an ideal image, and that friends form no impediment what-
soever. They highly value Sensory qualities of clothing and
are concerned equally with Economic and Social factors. For
both, Modesty is of lesser importance.

The findings are qualified by reservations about and
criticism of the measures used. Better psychometrically
derived scales might be utilized in future research. These
findings should be considered to be only suggestive of
possible relationships.

While more reliable and valid measures are recommended,
one other factor may also influence further research. Given
the many similarities between the males and females, it seems
possible that perhaps the consideration of gender differences
with respect to dress in adolescence may be less telling than
other variables. Gender identity/role might be a more prom-
ising focus.

According to Pleck (1975), sex-typing is strongest in
childhood and decreases steadily thereafter. As well, present
theoretical thinking suggests that traits associated with
gender are best construed as continuous and universal so that
an individual of either sex could be more or less masculine,
more or less feminine, both, or neither. Applying this to
dress schemata, feminine females, for example, might differ
more from masculine females than feminine males in the symbol
systems they hold and use. Comparing all females with all
males would obscure recognition of this.

Chapter 4

COMPONENTS OF APPEARANCE OF YOUNG ADULTS

> Man has always used general
> appearance and body build as
> an important gauge in assess-
> ing other human beings.
>
> (Rosencranz, 1972; p. 11)

How Rosencranz knows that appearance and body build
have <u>always</u> been used is a question which cannot be answered.
How they are used now is a question which this chapter will
address and, in a limited way, attempt to answer with respect
to young adults.

The literature pertaining both to children and to
adolescents and their appearance has been shown to be rela-
tively meagre. More research interest has been directed
toward university students. The resulting studies can
largely be divided into the two main areas of:

1) Reviews--in which subjects react to experimental
manipulations either verbally, through expressed inferences,
or behaviourally, through consequential activity.

2) Programs-- in which actual traits of subjects are
determined in relation to some category of appearance.

Inferential Reviews

A number of studies have been based upon stereotypical

ratings of individuals from their photographs (Rice, 1926; Husband, 1934; Lasswell and Parshall, 1961).

Rice asked his subjects to 'place' individuals on this basis in such social categories as Labour Leader, Financier, Manufacturer, Bootlegger, etc.. Numerous errors of placement were made but these were in a common direction, indicating that stereotypes, though not necessarily accurate, were operative.

Students rating photographs of individuals on personality traits such as self-assurance, executive ability, and refinement also erred in terms of the actual qualities of the people being rated. Their primary criterion for favourable ratings seems to have been attractiveness. "Two men who were rather handsome but not especially bright or colorful in a personal way, were universally given very high ratings. On the other hand, one of the older business men, who was not very prepossessing in appearance and who happened to have a grimaced smile when the camera was snapped, was given about the lowest ratings of all subjects" (Husband, 1934; p. 71). These studies were quite general and uncontrolled in their presentations and descriptions of appearance--both physical and artifactual. Other research efforts have made more specific attempts to manipulate dress as an independent variable.

Thornton (1943, 1944) ran two studies to determine the effects of wearing or not wearing spectacles on judgments made on six traits: intelligence, kindliness, sense of humour,

industriousness, honesty in money matters, and dependability.

In the first study, students were presented slides of individuals with or without spectacles. In the second, they viewed real individuals. In both cases they were asked to rate the stimulus persons on the above traits.

The persons wearing spectacles were "rated higher on dependability, industriousness, intelligence, and, to a lesser extent, higher in honesty" (p. 135) than non-wearers in the first experiment. In the second, the significant differences between spectacle wearers and non-wearers were that wearers were rated more intelligent and industrious. Thornton concludes that spectacles do affect ratings by others.

Argyle and McHenry (1971) challenged Thornton's findings. Ignoring Thornton's work with live stimulus persons, though citing the study, they hypothesized that individuals in photographs might not have the same impact as in person. Subjects in their study observed four videotapes of stimulus persons with or without spectacles for either 15 seconds sitting still or 5 minutes talking about holidays abroad. The researchers found a significant interaction between length of exposure and spectacle wearing. "Under brief exposure they were seen as 11.6 to 12.6 points more intelligent" (p. 28).

This, rather than refuting Thornton's studies, simply confirms his conclusions. But Argyle and McHenry's findings are suspect since the interview about "holidays abroad" would seem to contaminate the ratings. Had both the spectacled and

non-spectacled stimulus persons been discussing the theory of relativity the findings might have been different. This surmisal is based in part on aspects of the study which are problematic and in part on work which has shown that the context or gestalt of appearance has some effect (Stoppard, 1976).

A study by Rees, Williams, and Giles (1974) is another such work. In attempting to determine the symbolic meaning of the tie for undergraduates, the researchers presented a stimulus person with or without a tie saying he was on his way either to a lecture or to an interview. The researchers found a significant effect for tie wearing (more intelligent, ambitious, serious, conservative, less open-minded) but the social situation also influenced evaluations of intelligence. "It was found that the stimulus person in the interview situation was rated as more intelligent wearing a tie than not wearing one, whereas in the tutorial situation he was considered more intelligent NOT wearing a tie" (p. 5). Though this was not a large effect given the number of traits on which the stimulus person was assessed, it nevertheless indicates that where the situation varies it must be taken into account.

The basis for judgments of others has intrigued a number of researchers (McKeachie, 1952; Hoult, 1954; Lasswell and Parshall, 1961). Clothing and grooming are among the most frequently referred to categories used when consciously judging strangers (Jacobson, 1945).

Perhaps more interestingly, appearance has been shown to determine evaluations of others unconsciously.

McKeachie (1952) and Hoult (1954) have demonstrated that lipstick and appropriateness of dress affect ratings. McKeachie had male students interview female students who were wearing or not wearing lipstick. They rated them. Then they were asked what influenced their ratings. "All of them mentioned the girls' answers to questions and the topics they discussed. Two raters mentioned dress; two mentioned speech. No other factors were named by more than one rater. None of the raters was aware that lipstick had been a variable in the experiment" (p. 243).

Yet differences in the ratings--based solely upon whether or not the stimulus person wore lipstick were found. Females wearing lipstick were rated as less conscientious and more frivolous, introspective, worrying, and overtly interested in the opposite sex.

Hoult (1954) found that ratings of stimulus persons varied depending on the clothing they wore. Individuals initially ranked low on 'attractiveness' rose in ratings when they were shown in clothes that had been ranked high and vice versa. Men who had initially been ranked high on attractiveness received lower ratings when the clothes they appeared in had originally been ranked low.

Consequential Reviews

Petitioning is the favoured format for determining the behavioural consequences of impressions formed from appearances. Several studies have looked at the effects of

the dress of petitioners on petition-signing behaviour (Sued-
feld, Bochner, and Matas, 1971; Darley and Cooper, 1972;
McGovern and Holmes, 1976).

In the Suedfeld et al. study, the experimenters were
dressed as hippies or straights at a peace demonstration.
In the Darley and Cooper work they were of similar appearance
to the previous study but the locus was a shopping centre.
McGovern and Holmes used 'sloppily dressed' and 'neat' exper-
imenters in a student union.

Hippie types got more signatures at the peace march
and less at the shopping centre than straight types. The
findings were interpreted as reflections of the implied
attitudes of those appearing being in concordance with or
discrepant from the attitudes of the individuals approached
by the petitioners. These assumptions were not tested
further.

However, the study by McGovern and Holmes (1976)
rated both the appearance of the petitioner and that of the
petitionee. Their petitioners were either neatly or sloppily
dressed. The petition was considered non-controversial, having
to do with student parking. What was found was that sloppily
dressed petitionees signed the petition for either males or
females equally but neatly dressed subjects signed it less
often for a female than a male. The quality of dress of the
petitioner or similarity to that of the petitionee seems not
to have had any effect.

Suedfeld, Bochner and Matas, and Darley and Cooper

assume that similarity of implied/inferred attitudes is relevant. McGovern and Holmes' work suggests that this may not be so important. However, other work offers support for the assumed similarity argument.

When black and white male undergraduates dressed either in conventional or deviant attire approached subjects in a supermarket in a predominantly white area to obtain 'two nickels for a dime' there was a marked difference in response rates. The conventionally dressed white experimenter received most cooperation, followed by the conventionally dressed black. The deviantly dressed white and the deviantly dressed black received similar and significantly less cooperation.

When the same experiment was run in a predominantly black area the results for the conventionally dressed white and black experimenters were about the same, as were those of the deviantly dressed white experimenter. The deviantly dressed black experimenter, however, received as much cooperation as the conventionally dressed white (Raymond and Unger, 1972).

Findings were interpreted as consistent with the work of Rokeach and Mezei (1966) such that "... differences in belief were more important determinants of discrimination than differences in race" (p. 80). These beliefs were inferred from appearance and subjects were presumed to have acted on the basis of belief similarity.

Green and Giles (1973) studied the consequential effect

of varying one aspect of appearance, the tie. Their experimenter posed as a market researcher and sought addresses from individuals for participation in a survey. He approached men entering a Conservative Club, men entering a transport cafe, and men on a busy street in the city centre. The experimenter wore a tie in approaching half the subjects and no tie in approaching the other half.

The researchers found that significantly more Conservative Club members were willing to provide their home addresses to the tie-wearing experimenter. There were no significant differences in responses in the other two groups. The researchers suggested that the tie's effect was based upon similarity attraction since most of the Conservative Club members were also wearing ties.

Generally, inferred similarity of attitudes based upon appearance has been approached through open field studies. One wonders if, perhaps, the McGovern and Holmes setting of a university student union provides other cues to attitudinal similarity not provided by the other studies. It is just possible that the petitionees might have identified the petitioners as fellow-students and that this perceived similarity might have had greater salience than dress in the case of a petition for the lowering of parking fees on campus. One wonders what the results would have been if the petitioners had been of a different age than the students or the petition on a non-university-related subject such as, for example, abortion.

Finally, a study by Fortenberry, MacLean, Morris and O'Connell (1978) indicates that dress serves as a perceptual cue for deference behaviours in universities. Students were much more willing to pass between conversing individuals who were 'casually' dressed in Levis and T-shirts than between individuals who were more 'formally' dressed in suits and ties.

Programs

The evaluation of actual traits of individual young adults who fit various appearance categories has a less lengthy tradition than the evaluation of inferred traits. The main work occurred between 1968 and 1976. Studies were run using a variety of discriminating criteria such as conformity--non-conformity and innovation--non-innovation.

Taylor and Compton (1968) tested thirty-five students to determine if different values in dress were related to appearance preferences and personality characteristics. They found that an orientation toward comfort in dress correlated with both task- and self-orientations as measured by the Bass Orientation Inventory. More conforming types had the highest interaction orientation and those whose primary motive was economy held the highest religious values and were least self-oriented.

Fashion innovators have been compared to non-innovators (Pasnak and Ayres, 1969) and they would seem to differ signif-icantly from each other with the innovators higher in dressing

for self, experimentation, and the non-innovators higher in closure, intensity, and involution on a clothing attitude measure. The meaning of the terms in relation to dress are about as obscure as the measure used, however. No explanation or description of either is provided in the published study.

Fashionable people have been studied more meaningfully by Gibbins and Gwynn (1975). These researchers hypothesized that fashionable clothes communicate different messages from unfashionable and that wearers of fashionable clothes have self-images corresponding more closely to some fashionable image while wearers of unfashionable clothes have ideal self-images in closer correspondence with their real images.

Using female university students as subjects, the researchers found support for their hypothesis that fashionable clothes conveyed different messages. The fashionable outfits were seen as more youthful, novel, passionate, gay, and the wearers as more adventurous, enterprising, progressive, spontaneous. They also found the ideal images were generally closer to the fashionable image than real images and that fashionable people had self-images closer to the fashionable image. What surprised the researchers was that both groups were quite content with their real images. They saw themselves, basically, as they would like to be, a finding similar to that of the study with younger adolescents reported in the preceding chapter.

Lastly, the notion of communication of attitudes

receives some support from Levin and Black (1970). They found that conservatism in dress was related to right-wing ideology while radicalism in dress was related to left-wing ideology as measured by the Kerlinger Social Attitudes Scale.

Reviews/Programs

According to Stone (1965) the schemata of the person presenting and the one viewing should more or less coincide if meaning is to ensue from any interaction. A few researchers have compared Programs held by individuals with Reviews made of them.

Knapper (1969) discovered that high clothing interest was related to extraversion and poor adjustment. High clothing satisfaction was related to good social skills. But when these Programs were correlated with Reviews few correlations reached significance. One which did was that both wearers and perceivers of wearers who were satisfied with their appearance felt they were good, neat, original, coordinating dressers. Wearers with high interest in dress also saw themselves that way but were not rated so by their peers. Generally, there was a very low level of accuracy in judging others on the basis of appearance.

Two aspects of the study, however, raise doubts about the interpretation and application of findings. The first is that male subjects were used. While it just might be possible that accurate judgments cannot be made of others, it is also possible that males, to a greater extent than females, convey less information about themselves through their appearance.

The public manifestation of high or low interest in dress in males might be a very subtle show indeed. Secondly, the researcher asked reviewers to give their opinions about 'known others', but it has been shown that the greater number of cues that one has about another, the less one relies upon appearance to make judgments (Argyle and McHenry, 1971). This would certainly obscure any potential relations.

However, the discrepancy between perceivers and perceived shows up once more in a study by Mathes and Kempher (1976). These researchers determined frequencies of wearing of items and styles of clothing, sexual attitudes and behaviour, and beliefs about the frequencies with which sexually liberal and conservative undergraduate students wore various items and styles of apparel.

They found strong beliefs in the meaningfulness of appearance but few actual correlations between either items or styles of dress and judgments made. The students felt that sexually conservative students could be discriminated from the sexually liberal by the wearing of such styles as open shirts, hip huggers, and going barefoot. In fact, for the male subjects no item/style of clothing was associated with sexual activity. For the females, the wearing of tops exposing their midriffs, work shirts, and going braless did correlate with the number of sexual partners. The authors suggest "... for women, wearing certain clothing items and styles is indicative of liberal sexual attitudes and/or reported behavior" (p. 497).

Unfortunately, while the authors question the relationships between appearance and personality, they do not question their methods. They should have. Responses to questionnaires asking about the frequency of wearing items "in a typical week" are bound to be so distorted as to be virtually meaningless. What week is typical? Who remembers what they wore five days ago? (Unless, of course, something special occurred--which would then make the week atypical.)

Looking closer at the study, one sees that two groups of subjects were used and that one was tested in the summer and one in the spring. The likelihood of wearing sun dresses, sandals, or going barefoot would seem to be significantly reduced if there is still snow on the ground--as there might have been in Illinois at the time of the spring testing. How could the two sets of responses possibly have been lumped together? And even with anonymous replies, what relationship would responses to questions about the frequency of sexual activity bear to actual activity?

The work by Reed (1973), introduced in the preceding chapter, also had many components of both Programs and Reviews. Reed determined that there were differences among individuals with clothing styles ranging from 'high fashion' to 'counter fashion'. For example, the 'high fashion' coeds not only were most interested in fashion but also held religious activities to be important; they disagreed least with their parents on social issues; and they were right wing politically. They thought of themselves as social climbers, formal

and sophisticated. They had the lowest Grade Point Averages and tended to be majoring in the Humanities. The 'non-fashion' group, on the other hand, had the highest Grade Point Averages and tended to be majoring in science. They were politically conservative and dogmatic. The 'low fashion' coeds were generally moderate on all counts, while the 'counter-fashion' group were the most conscientious, liberal, and individualistic. They were also least status conscious, formal, sophisticated, and dogmatic.

Reviews, on the basis of replies to the questionnaire, were also significant. Individuals could be placed in their appropriate clothing category with 75 percent accuracy. No attempt was made, however, to have others directly evaluate the subjects on the variables used for self-rating.

Given these few studies, it would seem that the case either for or against the coincidence of schemata is not proven. There is a possibility that no correlation exists, but the confidence and frequency with which judgments are made on the basis of appearance suggests that the judgments must have some predictive utility.

The preceding review of the literature on young adults provides some support for the notion that individuals do differ on character traits on the basis of appearance. Fashionability, conservatism, varying orientations toward dress, correlated with self-images, ideology, task orienation, etc..

Does the opposite hold true? Do individuals who

differ in characteristics also differ in attitudes toward and components of appearance? Reed (1973) suggests that one can 'place' an individual in a clothing category if given attitude, value, mood or personality information. In other words, she implies that individuals holding different programs will <u>look</u> different.

Secondly, how well is information conveyed by appearance? Stone (1965) and Reed (1973) suggest that one could accurately place another, indeed, one must do so in order for meaning to ensue in any interaction. Other studies do not generally support this position (Knapper, 1969; Mathes and Kempher, 1976) but the studies themselves have limitations which make interpretation of their results difficult.

The research to be discussed in the remainder of this chapter will address these two questions. It is premised upon the assumption that one of the most fundamental, and, hence, most potent characteristics of any individual would be gender identity/role endorsement. Of all possible differentiating schemata, this should be most clearly linked to appearance/apparel.

HYPOTHESES

The following hypotheses will be tested.

Hypothesis I

Gender identity/role will be reflected in attitudes toward and components of appearance.

Operationally defined as:

1. Individuals endorsing different gender
    identities/roles will differ in terms
    of:

    a. attraction to styles of appearance

    b. locus of control i. I-E Scale

                        ii. self-rating on

                            locus of control

    c. dress i. Aiken Clothing Opinionnaire

            ii. self-ratings on dress

    d. clothing inventory

    e. comparison with others i. dressed

                            ii. undressed

    f. body image i.body satisfaction

              ii.body consideration

    g. measurements i. actual

                  ii. ideal

Hypothesis II

Anticipated ratings by others will coincide with
actual ratings by others.

Operationally defined as:

1. Anticipated ratings by subjects endorsing
   different gender identities/roles will
   correlate with ratings by others on:

   a. gender identity/role

   b. locus of control

c. dress

d. body satisfaction

e. comparison with others: dressed

f. measurements.

Preliminary Testing: Attraction to Styles
of Appearance

Selection of Stimulus Slides

Reed (1973) found that groups endorsing different clothing styles were attracted to models wearing styles similar to their own. Her groups were determined on the basis of fashionability. In this study, the groups were based upon gender identity/role endorsement. Therefore, it was necessary to assemble a set of stimulus figures pre-determined to reflect gender identity/role as their primary discriminating feature.

METHOD

Apparatus

Twenty-seven slides were prepared. These were female models drawn from the Peter Craig Catalogue—Autumn and Winter 1978-79 and Honey Magazine—October 1978. Models were selected initially because they appeared either Masculine or Feminine. to the researcher, with equal numbers in each category.

Two slides in each group were of models wearing slacks, three were in skirts, one in a dress, one in a coat, one in

coveralls, one in evening wear, one in night wear, and one in a suit. All were full face forward.

In all cases, the faces on the original photographs were blanked out and all slides were printed in black and white. These precautions were taken to reduce sources of variance. It was felt that responses might be made on the basis of the attractiveness of the model or colour to the subject when the style of the appearance was the variable under consideration.

Subjects

Subjects were student volunteers from the University of Liverpool. The age range was from 18 to 21 years, with the mean being 19.6 years. The range was limited by the researcher because it was anticipated that the subjects of the main study would be of that age range.

Thirty-two males and thirty-one females agreed to evaluate the slides. Two male and one female protocols were discarded because they were incomplete. Thirty male and thirty female protocols were completed and used in the selection of slides. All subjects were naive as to the purpose of the selection.

Procedure

Volunteers were seated at desk-chairs in the experimental room facing a screen. A maximum of twelve subjects viewed the slides, with groups ranging from two to twelve. In all cases, every subject had a clear view of the screen.

Protocols were distributed. Instructions were read aloud. They were as follows:

Thank you for participating in this study. You will be shown a set of 27 slides of women with the faces blanked out. Please look carefully at the way the woman in each picture is dressed. Then tick where you feel her appearance fits on the two five-point scales of masculinity and femininity. For example, if you think that the way she's dressed is more feminine than not and not masculine your ticks would look like this:

Feminine ___ ✓ ___ ___ ___ Not Feminine

Masculine ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ✓ Not Masculine

When you have done this, circle the suitability of the outfit for each of the two age groups given. For example, if you think that the way she's dressed is suitable for an 18 or 19 year old but not a 20 or 21 year old your circles would look like this:

Suitable For 18-19 Year Old   (YES)   NO

Suitable For 20-21 Year Old   YES   (NO)

Do you have any questions about the procedure?

Any questions were then answered and the study proper began. Lights were dimmed and the subjects were shown the twenty-seven slides in random orders determined from Fisher's (1967) Tables of numbers cast in randomized blocks (for sampling without replacement). Slides were presented for twenty seconds and removed. A further thirty seconds was allotted for completion of the evaluation and then the next slide was shown. This continued until all slides were

viewed and evaluated by the subjects. No difficulties were encountered with the process. (See Appendix F for a sample of the scoring sheet.)

Criteria for Selection

It had been pre-determined that the three slides with the highest mean ratings on femininity and lowest mean ratings on masculinity would be chosen to serve as the stimulus slides for feminine appearance. The three slides with the highest mean ratings on masculinity and lowest mean ratings on femininity would serve as the stimulus slides for masculine appearance. As well, 75% of the subjects had to agree that the outfits were suitable for both 18- and 19-year-olds and 20- and 21-year-olds.

RESULTS

On the basis of the above criteria, the six slides selected for the main study are shown in Appendix E.

The most feminine outfits were Slide #5, a skirt and blouse ($\bar{X}_{masc}$ = 1.85, $\bar{X}_{fem}$ = 4.78), Slide #12, a skirt and tee-shirt ($\bar{X}_{masc}$ = 1.37, $\bar{X}_{fem}$ = 4.65), and Slide #4, a peasant-style dress ($\bar{X}_{masc}$ = 1.20, $\bar{X}_{fem}$ = 3.77).

The most masculine outfits were Slide #2, jeans and blouse ($\bar{X}_{masc}$ = 3.72, $\bar{X}_{fem}$ = 2.95), Slide #31, a slack outfit ($\bar{X}_{masc}$ = 3.68, $\bar{X}_{fem}$ = 2.97) and Slide #39, coveralls ($\bar{X}_{masc}$ = 3.75, $\bar{X}_{fem}$ = 2.57).

Analysis of variance showed that there were no main

effects for order or sex of subject on the ratings of masculinity or femininity but there was a main effect for the slides (see Table 4.1).

TABLE 4.1

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Sex of

Subject by Order of Slides by Slides

	SS	df	MS
Sex of Subject	2.15	1	2.15
Order of Slides	1.36	1	1.36
Sex of Order	3.11	1	3.11
Slides	1540.94	26	59.27
Sex x Slide	36.60	26	1.41
Order x Slide	32.32	26	1.24
Sex x Slide x Order	43.10	26	1.66
Sex x Order	243.09	56	4.34
Sex x Order x Slide	1332.51	1456	0.91

Grand Mean   2.56

This was the result which was expected. There was, however, an unexpected two-way interaction effect between the Sex of Subject and Slides and a three-way interaction between Sex of Subject, Order and Slides. These interactions were due almost entirely to the power of the effect of the differences in ratings among the slides.

At any rate, as the sex of subject would be limited to females and the order changed in the experiment to follow, it was felt that the main effect for Slides was the most relevant finding.

Young Adults: Programs of Appearance

INTRODUCTION

Hypotheses generated as a result of findings of earlier studies in this dissertation and the review of the literature pertaining to young adults in Chapter 4 of this work will be tested in the studies to be discussed in the following chapters.

METHOD

Subjects

Initially, 106 female students, undergraduates of the University of Liverpool, participated in the study. Nine protocols were rejected because the subjects were above the specified age range of 18 to 21 years of age. Five others were rejected because they were incomplete. Therefore, 92 subjects were included in the analysis. All were unpaid volunteers recruited from classes or by means of notices. (See Appendix G for the recruitment statements.)

Equipment

A Carousel projector mounted five feet from the floor

and 18 feet from a blank wall was used to project the slides. It was fitted with a 110mm lens.

Measures: Programs

For the full questionnaire see Appendix H.

Gender Identity/Role

Gender identity/role was operationally defined as the rating of the subject on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). This test was selected because the traditional measures of masculinity and femininity, such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory or the California Psychological Inventory, have increasingly been questioned for their basic assumption that the concepts are bipolar. It has been argued that the approach of tests like this creates a false dichotomy (Constantinople, 1973). According to Bem (1974) they have obscured the possibility "... that many individuals might be "androgynous"; that is, they might be BOTH masculine and feminine ..." (p. 155).

According to the standard instructions, individuals were asked to rate themselves on sixty different adjectives using a seven-point scale ranging from "Never or almost never true" to "Always or almost always true". Twenty of the adjectives describe feminine traits, twenty describe masculine traits, and twenty are neutral.

Self-Ratings on Masculinity and Femininity

A self-report measure of masculinity and femininity was also used. Subjects rated themselves on the following

Likert-type scales:

MASCULINE   __ __ __ __ __   NOT MASCULINE

FEMININE   __ __ __ __ __   NOT FEMININE

This simplified measure was utilized in order to pro-
vide a measure identical to that used by reviewers. Subjects
were naive as to the relation of this self rating on mascul-
inity and femininity to the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

Slide Evaluation

Subjects were asked to determine their attraction to
six stimulus figures preselected on the basis of masculinity
or femininity by using the following scale:

My feeling about wearing this type of outfit is:

Yes, I definitely would	Yes, I would	I'm neutral	No, I would not	No, I definitely would not
___	___	___	___	___

Locus of Control

"... the BSRI was founded on the conception of the
sex-typed person as someone who has internalized society's
sex-typed standards of desirable behavior for men and women"
(Bem, 1974).

Those individual who are sex-reversed, androgynous or
neuter could be assumed to have not internalized sex-typed
standards to the same extent as those who are sex-typed. If
this is the case, gender identity/role for these groups is,
in varying degrees, counter-societal, and it would be expected

that these individuals would not respond to societal pres-
sures in the same ways. These would presumably be reflected
in their attitudes toward their personal appearance.

In order to test this, the Rotter I-E Scale (Rotter,
1966) was used. It is a measure of the extent to which an
individual expects internal versus external control of rein-
forcement. In this case, it is expected that sex-typed
individuals (feminine females) would have the most external
expectation, sex-reversed individuals (masculine females)
would have the most internal expectation, and androgynous
and neuter subjects would be between the two groups.

Self-Rating on Locus of Control

A self-report measure of reinforcement expectancy
was also used. Subjects rated themselves on the following
Likert-type scale:

I tend to control circumstances.	__ __ __ __ __	Circumstances tend to control me.

Once again, this simplified measure was used in order
to provide a direct practicable response which could be cor-
related with anticipated reviews of the characteristic. Sub-
jects were naive as to the relation of the self-rating to
the Rotter I-E Scale.

Dress

A variety of measures have been used to evaluate dress
(Rosencranz, 1962; Compton, 1966). The "Clothing Opinionnaire"

devised by Aiken (1963) seems to have undergone the most thorough evaluation. Thirty-three statements, shown to form five clusters, constitute the test. They are labelled "Decoration", "Comfort", "Interest", "Conformity", and "Economy" and each statement of the test is scored and weighted proportional to its loading on a principal axis of a correlation cluster.

This measure was used with minor adjustments. These were made because it was felt that some of the terms were slightly dated. The word "dresses" was changed to "clothes" as it seemed that the terms were being used synonymously within the context of the statements. For example, the original sentence "I usually buy my dresses at the end of the season" (p. 22) became "I usually buy my clothes at the end of the season". This substitution was made eight times. There was a fairly even spread of changes over all the clothing clusters. Decoration was related two times; Comfort two times; Interest once; Conformity three times; and Economy three times. Also, the statement "There is nothing like a new hat to improve my morale" (p. 122) was altered to "There is nothing like something new to improve my morale".

Self Rating on Dress

Subjects were asked to rate Aiken's cluster terms on a Likert-type scale ranging from Highly Relevant to Not Relevant. For example,

Decoration

Highly Relevant __ __ __ __ __ Not Relevant

Subjects were naive as to the relation of the self-rating to the Clothing Opinionnaire.

As in previous self-ratings, the measure was used to provide a comparison with anticipated ratings.

Clothing Inventory

It was felt that individuals with different gender identities/roles would reflect this in their actual clothing. A Clothing Inventory was drawn up by the researcher. Items were grouped into the categories: Overwear, Tops, Bottoms, Underwear, Sportswear, Accessories and Adornments. A Total score and a rating of Satisfaction with Wardrobe were also determined.

Although an inventory by memory gives a low estimate of actual clothing numbers, all subjects were under the same constraint. As there is no evidence to indicate that any one particular type of garment tends to be differentially omitted or that any one particular group tends to omit any particular types of garments, it was felt that the inventory by memory was appropriate.

Comparison with Others: Dressed

Subjects rated the statement, "Compared to others, the way I'm dressed right now I would say I look ..." on a five-point scale ranging from Much Above Average to Much Below Average.

This self-rating was used for two reasons. The first was that it was felt that individuals endorsing different

gender identities/roles would vary in their self comparisons. to others. Secondly, it was used in order to provide a measure which could be correlated with anticipated ratings.

Comparison with Others: Undressed

Subjects rated the statement, "Compared to others, undressed, I would say I usually look ..." on a five-point scale ranging from Much Above Average to Much Below Average.

The rationale for the use of the question was that of the above, similar, statement.

Rating of Dress

Subjects were asked to rate the statement, "On the whole, I would rate the way I'm dressed right now as follows ..." on a five-point scale ranging from Like Very Much to Dislike Very Much.

This statement was expected to provide additional information about differences among the gender identity/role groups.

Body Image

Unlike gender identity/role which even has professional journals devoted solely to its study, there are few studies and even fewer measures of the body as a psychological experience.

Fisher and Cleveland (1965) have developed a test based upon the Rorschach Inkblot Test with which they can determine individuals' "Barrier" and "Penetration" scores.

They have correlated these scores with a number of psychiatric and psychosomatic complaints. This is certainly one potentially useful device for determining feelings about the body, but in this case it was felt that the instrument was generally unsuitable for the presumably healthy and normal population to be studied.

The measure chosen to operationally define 'body image' was the Body Cathexis Scale (BCS) first introduced by Secord and Jourard in 1953 as "... a measure of appraising the feelings of an individual towards his body..." (p. 347).

In the initial experiments, it was found that the test was reliable and that there were significant correlations with self cathexis. Further work has confirmed the linkage (Rosen and Ross, 1968; Lerner, Karabenick, and Stuart, 1973; Berscheid, Walster, and Bohrendt, 1973; Mahoney and Finch, 1976). Populations used were mostly similar to those envisaged for this study. Thus, it seemed the most suitable measure.

Body Consideration

A questionnaire linking feelings about the body to appearance did not exist. Therefore, a simple measure with eight statements was drawn up by the researcher. This was called the Body Consideration Scale. It consisted of eight statements such as "I dress to 'camouflage' parts of my body with which I am dissatisfied" and "I'd buy or wear anything if it appealed to me". Subjects were asked to rate themselves on a five-point scale ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree.

Measurements

"Since 'ideal' proportions appear to be difficult for many women fully to attain in our culture, it seems warranted to assert that the ideal, insofar as it is internalized by women, is indirectly responsible for much anxiety and insecurity among members of that sex" (Jourard and Secord, 1955; p. 246). This statement was based on the finding that satisfaction with parts of the body varied with the magnitude of the deviation between measured and ideal size.

Though this may be the overall finding when all subjects of the same sex are lumped together, it is possible that the effect may vary according to the particular group considered. For example, individuals who have not internalized sex-typed behaviours may also not have internalized body image standards considered desirable. Thus, body satisfaction scores for subjects who are sex-typed, sex-reversed or in between would be expected to show varying relations to the magnitude of deviation between real and ideal measurements. For example, the feminine females would be expected to support Jourard and Secord's findings. It is unlikely that the masculine females would do so.

This part of the study consisted of the statements:

My measurements are: ....

My ideal measurements are: ....

and the listing of the measurements of height, weight, bust, waist and hips.

All measures were randomly collated and all measures,

except the standardized tests, were counter-balanced to miti-gate against order effects and response biases.

RESULTS

Gender Identity/Role

The Bem Sex Role Inventory (B.S.R.I.) was scored according to the standard procedure (Bem, 1974; p. 156). The ratings for the twenty masculine adjectives, terms such as "assertive", "self-sufficient", and "ambitious", were summed and the mean of the total was considered to be that subject's masculinity score. The ratings for the twenty feminine adjectives, terms such as "affectionate", "sym-pathetic", and "gentle", were summed and the mean of the total was considered to be the femininity score. The median scores were determined for the two scales and gender identity/role categories of the subjects assigned on that basis.

Subjects at or above the median in masculinity but below the median in femininity were classed as Masculine. Subjects at or above the median in femininity but below the median in masculinity were classed as Feminine. Subjects at or above the median in both masculinity and femininity were classed as Androgynous. Subjects below the median in both masculinity and femininity were classed as Neuter.

The median for masculinity was 3.85. The median for femininity was 4.15. On the basis of these findings, 29 subjects were rated Maculine, 29 were rated Feminine, 17 were rated Androgynous, and 17 were rated Neuter.

Self-Rating on Masculinity and Femininity

The Self-Ratings on Masculinity and Femininity were correlated with the B.S.R.I. scores on Masculinity and Femininity using the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner, and Bert, 1977). All analyses of results in this chapter were done by means of S.P.S.S..

The Self-Rating: B.S.R.I. correlation on Masculinity was significant (r = 0.20; $p < 0.05$). The Self-Rating: B.S.R.I. correlation on Femininity was also significant (r = 0.36; $p < 0.001$).

Analyses of variance, Self-Ratings on Masculinity and Femininity by Gender Identity/Role indicated significant differences among the Gender Identity/Role groups on both the Self-Ratings: Masculinity (F = 3.06; $p < 0.05$); Femininity (F = 2.74; $p < 0.05$).(See Tables 4.2 and 4.3)

TABLE 4.2

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Self-Rating on

Masculinity by Gender Identity/Role Group

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	7.65	2.55	3.06	0.03*
Within Groups	88	73.26	0.83		
Total	91	80.91			

* significant   ns non-significant

TABLE 4.3

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Self-Rating on

Femininity by Gender Identity/Role Group

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	6.97	2.32	2.75	0.05*
Within Groups	88	74.47	0.85		
Total	91	81.43			

* significant   ns   non-significant

Planned multiple t-tests on the Masculinity by Gender Identity/Role groups showed that the Masculine subjects rated themselves higher on Masculinity than did the Feminine subjects (t = 2.29, df = 56, $p < 0.01$) as did the Androgynous subjects (t = 2.21, df = 44, $p < 0.05$) and the Neuter subjects also tended to do so (t = 1.95, df = 44, $p < 0.06$). There were no differences between the other groups (Masculine: Androgynous t = 0.36, df = 44, $p < 0.72$; Masculine: Neuter t = 0.37, df = 32, $p < 0.72$).

The t-tests on the Femininity by Gender Identity/Role groups showed that the Feminine subjects rated themselves higher on Femininity than did the Masculine subjects (t = 3.15, df = 56, $p < 0.01$) or the Neuter subjects (t = 2.14, df = 44, $p < 0.05$). The other groups did not differ (Masculine: Androgynous t = 1.41, df = 44, $p < 0.17$; Masculine: Neuter t = 0.49, df = 44, $p < 0.69$; Feminine: Androgynous t = 0.89, df = 44,

$p < 0.38$; Feminine: Neuter t = 0.77, df = 32, $p < 0.44$).

The patterns of findings are presented below. All summaries will use the following key: M = Masculine subjects, F = Feminine subjects, A = Androgynous subjects, N = Neuter subjects, S = significant difference between groups, NS = non-significant difference between groups.

TABLE 4.4

Summary of t-test Results of Self-Rating on

Masculinity and Femininity Scores of

Gender Identity/Role Groups

		M	F	A	N
Masculinity:	M	-	S	NS	NS
	F		-	S'	NS
	A			-	NS
	N				-
		M	F	A	N
Femininity	M	-	S	NS	NS
	F		-	NS	NS
	A			-	S
	N				-

Slide Evaluation

It was expected that the Masculine subjects would prefer the garments pre-selected as being masculine and reject those which were feminine. Similarly, the Feminine subjects were expected to choose to wear the feminine outfits but not the masculine. It was expected that the Androgynous subjects might choose both types and the Neuter subjects might prefer neither.

Scoring was along the feminine continuum from +2 to -2 for each choice made. A positive score would thus indicate selection of feminine garments and rejection of masculine. A negative score would indicate that masculine clothing was preferred and feminine rejected.

The mean score for the Slide Evaluation was -0.02. An analysis of variance of Slide Evaluation by Gender Identity/Role showed that there were no differences of significance between the Gender Identity/Role groups in their selection of masculine or feminine garments ($F = 1.10$, $p < 0.35$). (See Table 4.5)

Locus of Control

The I-E Scale was scored according to the standard procedure (Rotter, 1966; p. 11). Scoring was in the direction of the total number of endorsements of statements considered to reflect 'external' influences. For example, the subject selecting 9a) "I have often found that what is going to happen will happen." would receive a point for that response but would have scored zero for the selection of 9b)

TABLE 4.5

Summary of Analysis of Variance of

Slide Evaluation by Gender

Identity/Role Group

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	26.43	8.81	1.11	0.35 ns
Within Groups	88	701.53	7.97		
Total	91	727.96			

* significant   ns   non-significant

TABLE 4.6

Summary of Analysis of Variance of

Locus of Control Scores by

Gender Identity/Role Group

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	224.83	74.94	6.02	0.001*
Within Groups	88	1095.99	12.45		
Total	91	1320.83			

* significant   ns   non-significant

"Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action".

An analysis of variance of I-E Scale by Gender Identity/Role indicated that there was a significant difference among the groups (F = 2.78, p∠0.05).(See Table 4.6)

Planned multiple t-tests showed that Masculine subjects had a significantly more internalized expectancy of reinforcement than did Feminine subjects (t = 2.37, df = 56, p∠0.05) or Neuter subjects (t = 3.74, df = 44, p∠0.001) but not Androgynous subjects (t = 0.18, df = 44, p∠0.86).

The Androgynous subjects, however, did have a significantly more internalized expectancy of reinforcement than the Feminine subjects (t = 1.98, df = 44, p∠0.05). Like the Masculine subjects they also had a more internal locus of control than the Neuter subjects (t = 3.44, df = 32, p∠0.01). There was no difference between the Feminine and Neuter subjects (t = 1.77, df = 44, p∠0.08) though the Neuter subjects did tend to have a higher internal locus of control.

(See Table 4.7)

Self-Rating on Locus of Control

The Self-Rating was correlated with the full I-E Scale. The relation was significant (r = 0.31, p∠0.003) between the scores.

An analysis of variance of the Self-Rating on Locus of Control by Gender Identity/Role group indicated that there was a significant among the groups (F = 5.33, p∠0.002).(See Table 4.8) Using planned t-tests, it was found that the Feminine subjects saw themselves as more controlled by circumstances

TABLE 4.7

Summary of t-test Results of Locus of Control

Scores of Gender Identity/Role Groups

		M	F	A	N
Locus of Control	M	-	S	NS	S
	F		-	S	NS
	A			-	S
	N				-

TABLE 4.8

Summary of Analysis of Variance of

Self-Ratings on Locus of Control

by Gender Identity/Role Group

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	16.39	5.46	5.33	0.002*
Within Groups	88	90.16	1.02		
Total	91	106.55			

* significant   ns non-significant

than did either the Masculine subjects (t = 3.52, df = 56, $p \angle 0.001$) or the Androgynous subjects (t = 3.33, df = 44, $p \angle 0.002$). There was no difference of significance between the Masculine and Androgynous groups (t = 0.006, df = 44, $p \angle 0.95$) the Masculine and Neuter groups (t = 1.36, df = 44, $p \angle 0.18$), the Feminine and Neuter groups (t = 1.66, df = 44, $p \angle 0.18$), or the Androgynous and Neuter groups (t = 1.26, df = 32, $p \angle 0.22$). (See Table 4.9)

TABLE 4.9

Summary of t-test Results of Self-Rating on

Locus of Control Scores of Gender

Identity/Role Groups

		M	F	A	N
Self-Rating on Locus of Control	M	–	S	NS	NS
	F		–	NS	NS
	A			–	NS
	N				–

Dress

The Clothing Opinionnaire was scored according to the standard procedure (Aiken, 1963; p. 123). Endorsements of statements were added according to the weights they carried. For example, if the statement "I usually mend my

own clothes" was scored as "True", twelve points were added to the subject's Economy score. Agreeing to the statement "I spend quite a lot of time reading about styles and fashions in magazines and newspapers" added seventeen points to the Interest score.

Decoration: The possible range of scores was from zero to 196.5 points with the mean being 98.25. The actual mean was 99.46 points. The Feminine subjects had the highest mean score at 114.01, followed by the Androgynous ($\bar{X}$ = 108.69), the Masculine ($\bar{X}$ = 90.20) and the Neuter ($\bar{X}$ = 81.2) subjects.

Comfort: The possible range on Comfort was zero to 82.3 points. The mean score, if responses were normally distributed, should have been 41.15. In this case, the mean was 35.26. The Neuter subjects had the highest mean rating on Comfort at $\bar{X}$ = 42.68, followed by the Masculine ($\bar{X}$ = 37.77), the Androgynous ($\bar{X}$ = 35.01) and the Feminine ($\bar{X}$ = 28.54) subjects.

Interest: The potential range on Interest was zero to 111.6 points, with the mean being 55.8 points. The actual mean score of the subj-cts in this study was 46.06 points. The Androgynous subjects had the highest score ($\bar{X}$ = 52.65). They were followed by the Feminine ($\bar{X}$ = 49.81), the Masculine ($\bar{X}$ = 45.38) and, finally, the Neuter ($\bar{X}$ = 34.22) groups.

Conformity: The possible range on Conformity was zero to 78.2 points, with a mean of 39.1. In this case, the mean was 31.13 and the means for the individual groups were very closely grouped ranging from $\bar{X}$ = 33.64 for the Feminine

TABLE 4.10

Summaries of Analyses of Variance of Dress Scores

by Gender Identity/Role Group

DECORATION:

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	15748.95	529.65	5.94	0.001*
Within Groups	88	77727.41	883.27		
Total	91	93476.36			

* significant   ns non-significant

COMFORT:

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	2429.57	809.86	1.49	0.22 ns
Within Groups	88	47738.55	542.48		
Total	91	50168.12			

* significant   ns non-significant

INTEREST:

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	3542.61	1180.87	2.53	0.06 ns
Within Groups	88	41095.29	466.99		
Total	91	44637.90			

* significant   ns non-significant

Table 4.10 (continued)

CONFORMITY:

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	514.80	171.60	0.77	0.52 ns
Within Groups	88	19736.02	224.27		
Total	91	20250.81			

* significant   ns non-significant

ECONOMY:

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	3333.25	111.09	1.80	0.15 ns
Within Groups	88	54377.96	617.93		
Total	91	57711.21			

* significant   ns non-significant

subjects, through $\bar{X}$ = 32.66 for the Androgynous, to $\bar{X}$ =30.72 for the Neuter and $\bar{X}$ = 27.97 for the Masculine subjects.

Economy: The potential range of scores on Economy was zero to 100.7 points, with a mean of 50.35. In this case, the actual mean was 57.55 and the means of the sub-groups ranged from the high of the Neuter subjects ($\bar{X}$ = 67.87), down through the Androgynous ($\bar{X}$ = 61.93), the Masculine ($\bar{X}$ = 54.63) and the Feminine subjects ($\bar{X}$ = 51.83).

Analyses of variance showed that the four gender identity/role groups differed significantly on their Decoration scores (F = 5.20, $p < 0.003$). There were no differences of significance among the groups on Comfort (F = 1.49, $p < 0.22$), Conformity (F = 0.77, $p < 0.52$), or Economy (F = 1.80, $p < 0.15$). Though the Feminine subjects tended to have the highest Interest in dress, the differences among the groups were not statistically significant (F = 2.57, $p < 0.06$). (See Table 4.10)

Planned t-tests indicated that Feminine subjects were more oriented toward Decoration than were the Masculine (t = 3.48, df = 56, $p < 0.001$) or Neuter (t = 3.98, df = 44, $p < 0.001$) subjects but not the Androgynous (t = 0.55, df = 44, $p < 0.58$) subjects. Androgynous subjects were more interested in Decoration than the Neuter group (t = 2.28, df = 3, $p < 0.03$) and tended to be more interested than the Masculine subjects (t = 1.88, df = 44, $p < 0.07$). The Masculine and Neuter subjects did not differ significantly from each other (t = 1.05, df = 44, $p < 0.30$). (See Table 4.11 for a summary.)

TABLE 4.11

Summary of t-test Results of Dress:

Decoration Scores by Gender

Identity/Role Group

DECORATION		M	F	A	N
	M	-	S	NS	NS
	F		-	NS	S
	A			-	S
	N				-

Self-Rating on Dress

The Self-Ratings on the five categories of Dress were correlated with the scores for each subject on the Aiken Clothing Opinionnaire. All correlations were significant at the p 0.01 level or higher. (Self-Rating on Decoration: $r = 0.28$, $p < 0.01$; Comfort: $r = 0.45$, $p < 0.001$; Interest: $r = 0.33$, $p < 0.001$; Conformity: $r = 0.35$, $p < 0.001$; Economy: $r = 0.47$, $p < 0.001$).

Analyses of variance on the Self-Ratings on Dress by Gender Identity/Role group demonstrated significant differences among the groups on Decoration ($F = 3.05$, $p < 0.03$) and Conformity ($F = 2.97$, $p < 0.04$) but not on Comfort ($F = 0.28$, $p < 0.65$), Interest ($F = 0.86$, $p < 0.47$), or Economy ($F = 0.50$, $p < 0.66$). (See Table 4.12)

TABLE 4.12

Summaries of Analyses of Variance

of Self-Rating on Dress Scores

by Gender Identity/Role Group

SELF-RATING ON DECORATION

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	8.74	2.91	3.05	0.03*
Within Groups	88	83.98	0.95		
Total	91	92.73			

* significant   ns non-significant

SELF-RATING ON COMFORT

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	0.51	0.17	0.28	0.64 ns
Within Groups	88	54.14	0.62		
Total	91	54.65			

* significant   ns non-significant

SELF-RATING ON INTEREST

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	2.08	0.69	0.86	0.47 ns
Within Groups	88	70.83	0.80		
Total	91	72.91			

* significant   ns non-significant

Table 4.12 (continued)

SELF-RATING ON CONFORMITY

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	10.72	3.57	2.97	0.03*
Within Groups	88	105.84	1.20		
Total	91	116.55			

* significant   ns   non-significant

SELF-RATING ON ECONOMY

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	1.80	0.60	0.50	0.66 ns
Within Groups	88	106.80	1.21		
Total	91	108.60			

* significant   ns   non-significant

Planned t-tests indicated that on the Self-Rating on Decoration, the Feminine subjects thought Decoration to be more relevant than did the Masculine subjects (t = 2.00, df = 56, p∠0.05) or Neuter subjects (t = 2.97, df = 44, p∠0.01). Androgynous subjects did not differ from the Masculine (t = 0.99, df = 44, p∠0.33), Feminine (t = 0.47, df = 44, p∠0.64), or Neuter (t = 1.81, df = 32, p∠0.08) subjects. There was no difference between the Neuter or Masculine subjects either (t = 1.38, df = 44, p∠0.18).

Planned t-tests on the Self-Ratings on Conformity with the Gender Identity/Role groups showed that the Feminine subjects thought Conformity more relevant to their dress than did the Masculine subjects (t = 2.20, df = 56, p∠0.03), the Androgynous (t = 2.41, df = 44, p∠0.02) or the Neuter (t = 2.21, df = 44, p∠0.03). The Androgynous subjects did not differ from the Masculine (t = 0.64, df = 44, p∠0.52) or the Neuter subjects (t = 0.15, df = 32, p∠0.88) and the Masculine subjects did not differ from the Neuter either (t = 0.46, df = 44, p∠0.65). (See Table 4.13)

Clothing Inventory

The number of items listed was summed for each subject and sub-totals were obtained for Overwear, Tops, Bottoms, Underwear, Sportswear, Accessories, and Adornments. A rating of satisfaction with the wardrobe was also obtained.

Analyses of Variance on Inventory (sub-totals, totals, and satisfaction) by Gender Identity/Role group demonstrated no differences among the groups on any of the analyses. See Table 4.14 for summaries of the analyses.

TABLE 4.13

Summary of t-test Results of Self-Rating on

Dress: Decoration and Conformity Scores of

Gender Identity/Role Groups

DECORATION		M	F	A	N
	M	–	S	NS	NS
	F		–	NS	S
	A			–	NS
	N				–
CONFORMITY		M	F	A	N
	M	–	S	NS	NS
	F		–	S	S
	A			–	NS
	N				–

TABLE 4.14

Summaries of Analyses of Variance of

Clothing Inventory Totals by

Gender Identity/Role Group

OVERWEAR

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	18.28	6.09	0.31	0.67 ns
Within Groups	88	1751.63	19.90		
Total	91	1769.91			

* significant   ns   non-significant

TOPS

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	229.13	76.38	0.74	0.53 ns
Within Groups	88	9019.08	102.49		
Total	91	9248.21			

* significant   ns   non-significant

BOTTOMS

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	52.79	17.60	0.91	0.44 ns
Within Groups	88	1705.52	19.38		
Total	91	1758.31			

* significant   ns   non-significant

Table 4.14 (continued)

UNDERWEAR

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	54.71	18.24	1.19	0.32 ns
Within Groups	88	1353.41	15.38		
Total	91	1408.12			

* significant   ns non-significant

SPORTSWEAR

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	110.50	36.83	2.07	0.11 ns
Within Groups	88	1563.93	17.77		
Total	91	1674.43			

* significant   ns non-significant

ACCESSORIES

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	4.01	1.34	0.04	0.10 ns
Within Groups	88	2836.20	32.23		
Total	91	2840.21			

* significant   ns non-significant

Table 4.14 (continued)

ADORNMENTS

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	840.49	280.16	0.72	0.54 ns
Within Groups	88	34196.48	388.60		
Total	91	35036.96			

* significant   ns   non-significant

TOTAL

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	437.89	145.96	0.10	0.29 ns
Within Groups	88	125838.71	1429.92		
Total	91	126270.61			

* significant   ns   non-significant

SATISFACTION

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	1.29	0.43	0.41	0.69 ns
Within Groups	88	91.02	1.03		
Total	91	92.30			

* significant   ns non-significant

Comparison with Others: Dressed

There was no difference of significance among the Gender Identity/Role groups on the Comparison with Others: Dressed ($F = 2.11$, $p < 0.10$). The mean score was 2.99 and the standard deviation was 0.50. Sixty-nine of the subjects rated their appearance as average. (See Table 4.15)

Comparison with Others: Undressed

An analysis of variance indicated that there was a significant difference among the Gender Identity/Role groups on their Comparisons with Others: Undressed ($F = 2.70$, $p < 0.05$).(See Table 4.15)

TABLE 4.15

Summaries of Analyses of Variance of Comparison with Others: Dressed and Undressed by Gender Identity/Role Group

DRESSED

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	1.54	0.51	2.11	0.10 ns
Within Groups	88	21.45	0.24		
Total	91	22.99			

* significant   ns non-significant

UNDRESSED

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	4.23	1.41	2.70	0.05*
Within Groups	88	47.73	0.54		
Total	91	51.96			

* significant   ns non-significant

Planned t-tests showed that this was accounted for by the fact that the Androgynous subjects thought they compared more favourably to others undressed than did the Masculine ($t = 2.57$, $df = 44$, $p < 0.01$), the Feminine ($t = 2.13$, $df = 44$, $p < 0.04$), or Neuter ($t = 2.57$, $df = 32$, $p < 0.02$) subjects. There was no difference of any significance between the Masculine and Feminine ($t = 0.18$, $df = 56$, $p < 0.86$) or Neuter ($t = 0.59$, $df = 44$, $p < 0.56$) subjects or the Feminine and Neuter subjects ($t = 0.67$, $df = 44$, $p < 0.51$). (See Table 4.16)

TABLE 4.16

Summary of t-test Results of Comparison with

Others: Undressed Scores of Gender

Identity/Role Groups

COMPARISON WITH OTHERS: UNDRESSED		M	F	A	N
	M	-	NS	S	NS
	F		-	S	NS
	A			-	S
	N				-

Body Image

Body satisfaction scores for each subject were obtained by summing the scores of the 23 body parts listed.

The means for the four gender identity/role groups ranged from a high of 110.35 for the Androgynous subjects to a low of 97.47 for the Neuter subjects. The Masculine and Feminine groups were in the middle with scores of 104.52 and 102.17 respectively.

An analysis of variance indicated that there tended to be differences among the groups but they did not reach an acceptable level of statistical significance ($F = 2.37$, $p \angle 0.07$ (See Table 4.17).

TABLE 4.17

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Body Image

Scores by Gender Identity/Role Group

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	1497.23	499.08	2.37	0.07 ns
Within Groups	88	18497.50	210.20		
Total	91	19994.73			

* significant   ns   non-significant

Body Consideration

Responses to this measure were scored from -2 to +2 in the direction of endorsement of concerns about the body

image in dressing. For example, if the subject indicated that she Agreed to the statement "I dress to emphasize my good points" she would receive a score of +1. If she Strongly Disagreed to the statement "I'd buy or wear anything if it appealed to me" she would receive a score of +2. The responses were then summed to achieve the Body Consideration score.

The means and standard deviations for the gender identity/role groups were: Masculine $\bar{X}$ x 5.41, sd = 4.84; Feminine $\bar{X}$ = 6.55, sd = 3.21; Androgynous $\bar{X}$ = 4.41, sd = 5.12; Neuter $\bar{X}$ = 5.29, sd = 4.23.

An analysis of variance showed that there was no difference of significance among the groups on Body Consideration (F = 0.94, p$\angle$0.43) (See Table 4.18).

TABLE 4.18

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Body

Consideration Scores by Gender

Identity/Role Group

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	52.75	17.58	0.94	0.43 ns
Within Groups	88	1651.85	18.77		
Total	91	1704.61			

* significant   ns non-significant

Measurements: Actual

Analyses of variance, of Actual Measurements by Gender Identity/Role showed there were significant differences among the Gender Identity/Role groups on Height ($F = 3.00$, $p < 0.03$), Weight ($F = 4.82$, $p < 0.01$), Bust ($F = 3.58$, $p < 0.02$), and Hips ($F = 2.69$, $p < 0.05$) but not on Waist ($F = 1.94$, $p < 0.13$). (See Table 4.19)

TABLE 4.19

Summaries of Analyses of Variance of Actual

Measurements by Gender Identity/Role Group

HEIGHT

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	49.76	16.59	3.00	0.03*
Within Groups	88	486.47	5.53		
Total	91	536.22			

* significant   ns   non-significant

WEIGHT

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	2622.73	874.24	4.82	0.004*
Within Groups	88	15955.45	181.31		
Total	91	18578.18			

* significant   ns   non-significant

Table 4.19 (continued)

BUST

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	24.68	8.23	3.58	0.17*
Within Groups	88	202.09	2.30		
Total	91	226.77			

* significant   ns   non-significant

WAIST

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	15.01	5.00	1.94	0.13 ns
Within Groups	88	226.61	2.57		
Total	91	241.62			

* significant   ns   non-significant

HIPS

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	21.16	7.05	2.69	0.05*
Within Groups	88	230.63	2.62		
Total	91	251.79			

* significant   ns   non-significant

Planned t-tests indicated the following:

Height: Masculine subjects at a mean of 65.57" were significantly taller than Feminine subjects at 63.54 inches (t = 3.17, df = 56, p∠0.01) but there was no difference between the Masculine and Androgynous subjects at 64.76" (t = 1.05, df = 44, p∠0.30) or Masculine and Neuter subjects at 64.97" (t = 0.82, df = 44, p∠0.42). The Neuter subjects tended to be taller than the Feminine subjects (t = 1.84, df = 44, p∠0.07) but not the Androgynous (t = 0.23, df = 32, p∠0.82). The Feminine and Androgynous subjects did not differ (t = 1.45, df = 44, p∠0.15).

Weight: Masculine subjects, at a mean of 128.59 pounds, weighed more than Feminine subjects at 115.93 lbs. (t = 4.04, df = 56, p∠0.01) but not Andorgynous subjects at 122.73 lbs. (t = 1.55, df = 44, p∠0.13) or Neuter subjects at 127.00 lbs. (t = 0.35, df = 44, p∠0.73). Androgynous subjects tended to weigh more than Feminine subjects (t = 1.89, df = 44, p∠0.06) but not Neuter (t = 0.79, df = 32, p∠0.44), while the Neuter subjects weighed significantly more than the Feminine subjects (t = 2.50, df = 44, p∠0.02).

Bust: Masculine subjects had a bigger bust, with a mean size of 35.00", than did Feminine subjects at 33.72" (t = 3.50, p∠0.01) but not Androgynous subjects at 34.29" (t = 1.58, p∠0.12) or Neuter at 34.62" (t = 0.77, p 0.45). Neuter subjects also tended to have bigger busts than Feminine subjects (t = 1.86, p∠0.07) but not Androgynous (t = 1.34,

p 0.19). Androgynous subjects did not differ from Feminine subjects (t = 0.55, p∠0.51).

Hips: Masculine subjects had larger hips, with a mean size of 36.48", than did Feminine subjects at 35.36" (t = 2.58, p∠0.01). Their hips also tended to be larger than those of the Androgynous subjects at 35.65" (t = 1.77, p∠0.08) but not Neuter subjects at 36.23" (t = 0.47, p∠0.64). Feminine subjects did not differ from Androgynous (t = 0.62, p∠0.54) or Neuter (t = 1.69, p∠0.10) subjects and Androgynous subjects did not differ from Neuter subjects (t = 1.11, p∠0.28). (See Table 4.19a for summaries of t-test results.)

Measurements: Ideal

Analyses of variance of Ideal Measurements by Gender Identity/Role group indicated that there were significant differences among the Gender Identity/Role groups on Ideal Height (F = 2.72, p∠0.01) and Ideal Weight (F = 3.29, p∠0.02) but not on Ideal Bust (F = 1.21, p∠0.31), Ideal Waist (F = 0.65, p∠0.58) or Ideal Hips (F = 1.00, p∠0.39). In fact, there seemed to be a general consensus, irregardless of Gender Identity/Role endorsement, that the ideal shape would be a bust of approximately 34.5 inches, a waist of about 24 inches, and hips of around 35 inches. (See Table 4.20)

Planned t-tests on the Ideal Height and Weight findings showed the following:

Ideal Height: Feminine subjects had the shortest Ideal Height, at a mean of 64.83". This was significantly shorter than that of Masculine subjects at 66.32" (t = 2.58, df = 56, p∠0.01)

TABLE 4.19 a

Summaries of t-test Results of Actual Measurements

of Gender Identity/Role Groups

HEIGHT:

	M	F	A	N
M	-	S	NS	NS
F		-	NS	NS
A			-	NS
N				-

WEIGHT:

	M	F	A	N
M	-	S	NS	NS
F		-	NS	S
A			-	NS
N				-

BUST:

	M	F	A	N
M	-	S	NS	NS
F		-	NS	NS
A			-	NS
N				-

HIPS:

	M	F	A	N
M	-	S	NS	NS
F		-	NS	NS
A			-	NS
N				-

TABLE 4.20

Summaries of Analyses of Variance of Ideal

Measurements by Gender Identity/Role Group

IDEAL HEIGHT

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	38.32	12.77	3.72	0.01*
Within Groups	88	301.86	3.43		
Total	91	340.18			

* significant   ns   non-significant

IDEAL WEIGHT

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	829.43	276.48	3.29	0.02*
Within Groups	88	7396.36	84.05		
Total	91	82225.79			

* significant   ns   non-significant

IDEAL BUST

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	4.26	1.42	1.21	0.31 ns
Within Groups	88	103.20	1.17		
Total	91	107.46			

* significant   ns   non-significant

Table 4.20 (continued)

IDEAL WAIST

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	1.69	0.56	0.65	0.58 ns
Within Groups	88	75.97	0.86		
Total	91	77.66			

* significant   ns   non-significant

IDEAL HIPS

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	3.22	1.07	1.01	6.39 ns
Within Groups	88	93.68	1.06		
Total	91	96.90			

* significant   ns   non-significant

or Neuter subjects at 66.24" (t = 2.98, df = 44, p<0.01)
and tended to be shorter than that of Androgynous subjects
at 65.71" (t = 0.82, df = 44, p<0.07). The Masculine and
Androgynous subjects did not differ (t = 0.96, df = 44,
p<0.34) nor did the Masculine and Neuter groups (t = 0.14,
df = 44, p<0.89); neither did the Androgynous and Neuter
subjects (t = 0.85, df = 32, p<0.40).

TABLE 4.21

Summaries of t-test Results of Ideal Heights and

Weights of Gender Identity/Role Groups

IDEAL HEIGHT:	M	F	A	N
M	-	S	NS	NS
F		-	NS	S
A			-	NS
N				-

IDEAL WEIGHT:	M	F	A	N
M	-	S	NS	NS
F		-	S	S
A			-	NS
N				-

Ideal Weight: Feminine subjects also had the lowest Ideal
Weight at a mean of 114.41 pounds. This was significantly
lower than that of the Masculine subjects at 121.69 lbs.
(t = 3.52, df = 56, p<0.01), the Androgynous subjects at
119.74 lbs. (t = 2.45, df = 44, p<0.02) or the Neuter subjects

at 119.73 lbs. (t = 2.04, df = 44, $p < 0.05$). The Masculine subjects did not differ from the Androgynous subjects (t = 0.64, df = 44, $p < 0.52$) or the Neuter subjects (t = 0.59, df = 44, $p < 0.56$), nor did the Androgynous subjects differ from the Neuter group (t = 0.01, df = 32, $p < 0.99$). (See Table 4.21 for summaries of t-test results.)

DISCUSSION: Programs

On a general level, the first hypothesis was confirmed. Significant differences were found between individual's gender identities/roles and their locus of control, their self-perception of their locus of control, aspects of appearance, self-ratings on appearance, comparison with others, body image, and actual and ideal measurements.

Hypothesis I

Gender identity/role will be reflected in attitudes toward and components of appearance.

Operationally defined as:

1. Individuals endorsing different gender identities/roles will differ in terms of:

a. attraction to styles of appearance

b. locus of control i. I-E Scale

ii. self-rating on locus of control

c. dress i. Aiken Clothing Opinionnaire

ii. self-rating on dress

d. clothing inventory

e. comparison with others i. dressed

ii. undressed

f. body image i. body satisfaction

ii. body consideration

g. measurements i. actual

ii. ideal

Attraction to Styles of Appearance

This part of the hypothesis was not confirmed by the findings of this study. There were no differences of significance between any of the gender identity/role groups in their selection of masculine or feminine garments.

The reason for this finding is not immediately apparent. The stimulus slides had all been selected on the basis of reflecting either masculine or feminine appearances and of suitability for 18 to 21 year olds. However, upon closer inspection of the slides, it seems that there are a couple of possible explanations for the findings. The simplest relates to the garments selected. It turns out that the feminine appearance was one in which the model wore some kind of skirted garment and the masculine appearance entailed the wearing of some form of bifurcated garment. These would seem to be the essential 'telling' features in discriminating between the two groups. The masculine outfits were jeans and a blouse, a slack outfit, and coveralls -- and any quick tour around a university campus will tell you that this is the apparel of choice of university students.

Not only do slacks seem to be "what's worn" in terms of normative expectations, but they're most likely to be "what's worn" in November. Come chill winds and a certain measure of pragmatism must invade even the most softened feminine heart! In fact, of the 29 Feminine subjects, only five were wearing skirted garments at the time of testing.

The masculine garments may have seemed so to the judges evaluating the range of models presented. And the garments may have seemed suitable for 'generic' 18-21 year olds. They may even have been suitable for 19-21 year old university students, but they may not have been particularly masculine in that context.

Another consideration is that the slides presented seem to break down into more wintery (masculine) and more summery (feminine) garments. While, unwittingly, there may be unconscious associations between the heaviness of winter clothing and masculinity and lightness and femininity, this measure was not intended to serve as a projective test.

As a result of the above factors, it would seem that all that can be said is that the case is not proven. The fact that there were no differences found among the gender identity/role groups does not mean that given more appropriate stimuli or circumstances they would not be.

Locus of Control

This part of the hypothesis was supported by the findings of this study. There was a significant difference

among the gender identity/role groups in their scores on the
I-E Scale. The Masculine subjects had significantly more
internalized expectancies of reinforcement than did the
Feminine subjects or the Neuter group.

This would seem to be rather a 'self-evident' find-
ing. In order for individuals with sex-reversed character-
istics to function they would have to be. more self-reinforcing.
They could not expect to be reinforced by others. A more in-
ternal locus of control would serve to add depth to those
qualities of independence, willingness to take a stand, dom-
inance, etc., which characterize the Masculine gender
identity/role.

The internalization of reinforcement expectancy would
suggest that the Masculine or Androgynous female would be
less involved with those aspects of appearance which would
typically be reinforced as traditionally feminine. They would
hold less meaning; would not be a relevant part of her self-
schema. The basis for judgment might be, for example, the
satisfaction of some personal rationale.

Self-Rating on Locus of Control

This part of the hypothesis was also confirmed. There
was a significant difference among the gender identity/role
groups on their self-ratings of locus of control. Feminine
subjects perceived themselves as significantly more con-
trolled by events than did either the Masculine or Androgy-
nous subjects.

This seems remarkable. Not only are Feminine subjects rated as having a more external locus of control, and Masculine and Androgynous subjects rated as having a more internal locus of control on a covert measure but they actually <u>overtly</u> perceive themselves differently.

The findings of the self-rating are virtually identical to those of the Rotter I-E Scale. The one exception is the Neuter group. They perceived themselves as more in control than they were deemed to be, according to the I-E Scale Scores. The meaning and implications of this discrepancy are unclear, but they do add to the feeling that some characteristic other than gender identity/role endorsement might be an important, hitherto unrecognized, determinant of the pattern of responses which was classed as Neuter.

Dress

This section of the hypothesis was, in part, confirmed by the findings of the study. The groups differed significantly on their Opinionnaire Decoration scores but not on their Comfort, Interest, Conformity, or Economy scores. The Feminine subjects rated aspects of Decoration higher than did the Masculine or Neuter subjects and the Androgynous subjects also considered it to be more important than did the Neuter group.

These findings do not suggest that Decoration is the only discriminating variable among gender identity/role groups, a conclusion which one might be tempted to make.

Rather, one can only say that of the limited aspects of dress studied Decoration may be the most salient discriminator.

In order to obtain a high score on Decoration, subjects had to endorse statements in which they owned enjoying dressing up, wearing jewellery, reading about fashions. They had to agree to such statements as "13) There is nothing like something new to improve my morale." and "18) I think that women dress primarily for men rather than for other women.". There would seem to be quite a link between these attitudes and earlier affective conditioning in childhood--as discussed in the first study of this dissertation. This will be covered in the concluding chapter.

The implication for this particular study is that females high in femininity may use their appearance to enhance their 'objectness'--because Decoration serves no useful purpose other than to function as some sort of gift-wrap to suggest that there is something desirable within. It draws attention to the attributes of the wearer but an essential part of the equation is that fact that there has to be someone whose attention is drawn. That "other" would presumably be responsible, then, for the approval of the presenting individual.

The involvement in newness, in fashion, fits this context well. If the individual is not feeling very good about herself, if her morale is low, something new may bolster her esteem--perhaps because it may carry the expectation that someone out there will like the fresh new image-

person. No published studies in this area are known but anec-
dotal accounts abound. The Sunday Times published an inter-
view with a well-known Mayfair hairdresser. He spoke of his
typical client....

> ... she comes in and says 'my husband
> is fed up with my hair and clothes
> and he's given me money to go out and
> CHANGE MYSELF (my italics).
>
> The Sunday Times 22.10.78

Problems arise because the new item(s) might never
live up to expectations. Even if they did, the satisfaction
would be so fleeting and illusory that it could not possibly
sustain any fundamental change in self-feeling. Rather, one
would think that females high in femininity might be engaged
in a constant cycle of self-satisfaction/dissatisfaction
with attendant pleasure/displeasure linked to the perceived
adequacy of one's appearance in stimulating approval.

Self-Rating on Dress

When the Feminine subjects rated themselves, they
recognized that Decoration was more relevant to their appear-
ance than did the Masculine or Neuter subjects. The Androgy-
nous subjects were in the middle--not differing significantly
from any of the gender identity/role groups (although they
did tend to have a higher score than the Neuter subjects).

These findings are almost identical to those of the
Aiken Clothing Opinionnaire. So, it might be said that not
only do females with scores high in femininity obtain higher

scores on an objective measure, but they are quite consciously aware of the relevance of the factor to their appearance. Vice versa, subjects with low femininity scores seem quite aware that Decoration is relatively irrelevant to their appearance.

In this area of appearance, the key component of the gender identity/role characteristics, then, would seem to be femininity. The level of masculinity does not seem to be a major determinant. To clarify this--on the Dress measures, the Feminine group was most concerned with Decoration. These subjects were those who were above the mean on femininity and below the mean on masculinity according to the Bem Sex Role Inventory. The Androgynous group were next in order. This group was composed of individuals who were above the mean in both femininity and masculinity. The groups to whom Decoration was least relevant were the Masculine, who were above the mean in masculinity and below the mean in femininity, and the Neuter, who were below the mean on both measures.

Interestingly, Aiken's Decoration score correlated with personality variables such as conscientious, stereo-typed, sympathetic and submissive, traits which are character-istically considered to be feminine.

On the Aiken Opinionnaire, the Feminine subjects had the highest Conformity score, followed by the Androgynous, Neuter, and Masculine subjects. Statistical analysis showed no differences among the groups, mainly because the varia-bility was high. On the self-ratings, the Feminine subjects

perceived Conformity as significantly more relevant to their approach to dress than did the other groups.

The two sets of data are, at least, not contradictory, so it would seem that conformity is a schema which is generally relevant to the Feminine subjects. In his earlier work, Aiken found that the scale described individuals who were conscientious, traditional, and submissive, individuals who, in other terms, might also be described as having feminine traits.

Clothing Inventory

This part of the hypothesis was not supported--and small wonder. There are several confounding variables.

The most obvious is that of the effect of socio-economic circumstances on the quantity of clothing owned. There would presumably be a positive correlation between disposable income and quantity of clothing owned. This was neither accounted for, nor controlled in this study and, in fact, the variance within each group was so large as to obscure any differences which might have occurred between the sub-groups due to gender identity/role variables.

The next criticism is that the demands of the experimental situation would have constrained the subjects in their recollection of their wardrobes. They were all subject to the same limitations of memory but they were also subject to limitations of time. While no explicit time-frame was imposed, the expectations of the subjects as to

the length of time they might be willing to work on the study, external demands such as classes to attend, immediate pressures such as other subjects completing the task would have created an atmosphere in which the more detailed accounting for wardrobe might not have been feasible.

And one very important oversight occurred. While it was expected that the groups might be differentiated on the basis of possessions, especially of accessories and adornments, the fact that the masculine appearance was associated with bifurcated garments and the feminine with skirted garments was neglected and all skirts, slacks, etc., were lumped together under the category of "Bottoms". Thus a potentially powerful discriminator was omitted.

Comparison with Others: Dressed

The members of the four gender identity/role groups did not differ from each other when they compared themselves, as they were dressed at the time of the experiment, to others. The overwhelming number of students rated themselves as average.

Why? It is possible that a scale with more points or different descriptors might have been more telling. It is probable that rating oneself "average" is akin to rating oneself as "middle class". Nearly everyone does and nearly everyone is.

Comparison with Others: Undressed

On this measure, the Androgynous subjects thought

they would compare far more favourably than did any of the
other groups. Given their level of body satisfaction, their
measurements, and the cultural ideal, they probably would.

Body Satisfaction

This part of the hypothesis was not confirmed by the
findings of the study. Though the Androgynous subjects did
tend to have the highest scores on Body Satisfaction, there
was great variance within and between groups.

Most subjects, regardless of gender identity/role
category, were satisfied or quite satisfied with their eyes
and most subjects were dissatisfied or quite dissatisfied
with their hips. Overall, there were very few subjects who
did not have positive or negative feelings about much of
the greater number of body aspects listed, very few who were
indifferent to their own bodies.

The two sets of information, the first being that
there was no difference of significance among the gender
identity/role groups, and the second being that one's body
has affective impact, together suggest that perhaps the body
may be even a salient starting point for investigation. This
would be a particularly worthwhile avenue to explore if, in
fact, the simple physical differences between the gender
identity/role groups shown in the Measurements results
obtain with other groups of subjects.

Body Consideration

There was no difference of significance among the

four gender identity/role groups in their Body Consideration scores either.

Psychometrically, this was probably the weakest of the measures used in the study. It was constructed specifically for the study. Its basis was its face validity and it had not previously been tested either for its construct validity or reliability of measurement.

It was anticipated that the relation between body image and appearance might serve as a discriminator between subjects in the gender identity/role groups. The analysis of variance showed there was not an adequate basis for this supposition. However, subsequent support indicates that the idea, if not the actuality, of the measure is tenable. This comes from two analyses.

When the B.S.R.I. masculinity and femininity scores were correlated with the scores on the other measures of this study, a significant positive correlation was found between the femininity scores and the Body Consideration scores ($r = 0.22$, $p < 0.04$). The masculinity scores were negatively but not significantly related ($r = 0.11$, $p < 0.27$).

When the Body Consideration Scale was used in the re-test of subjects six months after the initial testing, the correlation between the test and re-test scores was also significant ($r = 0.72$, $p < 0.001$).

It must be taken into consideration that these correlations are possibly chance occurrences and that the idea should be let die. But because the gender identity/role

ratings are both in the directions one might predict and be-
cause the re-test correlation is so high, the sum of evidence
suggests otherwise.

These findings do <u>not</u> support the hypothesis but
they do indicate that the concept has potential utility.
Further refinements, however, would be necessary in order
to realize that potential.

Measurements

This part of the hypothesis was largely confirmed by
the findings of this study. Members of the gender identity/
role groups differed significantly on Height, Weight, Bust
and Hip measurements. This was due mainly to the differ-
ences between the Masculine and Feminine groups. The Mas-
culine subjects were taller, weighed more, and had bigger
busts and hips than the Feminine subjects. Though these
findings seem so simply clear-cut they are perhaps most
difficult to discuss. They describe but do not explain.

One must assume that the replies to this part of the
study were relatively honest. There would be no particular
reason for subjects to distort responses, especially since
they knew that others would be rating them on the same
measures.

If that assumption is tenable, then the findings
indicate rather dramatically that Masculine and Feminine
females are physically different types! They suggest that
their physical characteristics might have direct bearing

on their gender identities/roles. Masculine characteristics on the B.S.R.I. include "dominant", "independent", "assertive", and "athletic". They are, on the whole, instrumental traits. Feminine characteristics are of the more traditionally nurturant variety such as "warm" and "gentle".

The mere difference in physique might take one a long way toward understanding the gender identities/roles. For example, on a practical level, the larger, taller masculine female might seem quite foolish asking someone else to help her with her luggage and she would be as capable of opening a jar of pickles as anyone else. In other words, it would be harder for her to enact a more dependent or 'feminine' role and receive social rewards for it even though it might be culturally ideal because of inherent and inescapable contradictions between role expectations and physical reality.

The same would hold, inversely, for Feminine females, as it just might be that much harder to be independent or dominant when you're smaller than everyone else and tend to satisfy the physical expectations for femininity.

The subjects who were 'mixed' in their orientations, the Androgynous and Neuter groups, were 'middling' in their measurements, a finding which fits the line of reasoning well. Being less visibly larger or smaller, the nature of social reinforcers for them might be more idiosyncratic, less specifically sex-typed or sex-reversed and the manifestations of traits might also follow, then, more idiosyncratically.

Measurements: Ideal

This section of the hypothesis was in part confirmed. The gender identity/role groups differed significantly on Ideal Height and Ideal Weight but not on Ideal Bust, Waist, or Hips.

Feminine subjects aspired to being shorter than everyone else and to weighing less. Generally, most aspired to a universal ideal figure of approximately Bust - 34.5", Waist - 24", Hips - 35"--an ideal to which the Androgynous subjects came closest.,

It's certainly no surprise, given earlier findings, that the Feminine ideal height and weight were smaller than those of other groups. That would seem to be a fundamental component of the gender identity/role concept. What is very surprising is the potency of the "universal" body shape, especially the endorsement of that ideal by the Masculine subjects who are more self-reinforcing and more independent, one would think, of normative expectations.

The key to the puzzle may lay in the Locus of Control scores. While the Masculine subjects did have a significantly more internalized expectancy of reinforcement than the Feminine subjects, their mean score was not, in itself, a low score on the scale. Rotter cites a number of samples (op. cit., p. 15) and the mean score of low scores would seem to be between eight and nine points while the mean of the Masculine group in this study was thirteen.

The Masculine group, while being less subject to external influences than the Feminine groups, was also more subject than other groups cited by Rotter. This, then, might account for the influence of the cultural ideal upon the ego ideal.

Young Adults: Anticipations

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects in this part of the study were the same as those described in the Programs section. Ninety-two subjects out of 106 which had volunteered to participate in the study were included. The fourteen questionnaires were excluded from analyses because they did not meet criteria of age or completion.

Equipment

A Nikon Micro Nikkor-P using Kodacolor film with ASA 400 rating, with an aperture of 5.6 and speed of 1/30, was used to photograph the subjects. It was set five feet from the ground and seven feet from the subject.

A batten of eight overhead spotlights of 150 watts each, three 1000 watt floodlights, and a 1000 watt halogen light were used to illuminate the subject.

The lighting and camera aperture, speed and film were all prepared by a professional photographer whose aim was to obtain both as natural and consistent results as

possible given the potentially broad range of subjects.

Measures

For this part of the study, subjects were asked to complete the following measures, identical to those of the Programs sections except that in this condition the subjects were asked to make the rating according to how someone else looking at them the way they were dressed at that time would rate them.

The measures used were:

1) Anticipated Rating on Masculinity and Femininity,

2) Anticipated Rating on Locus of Control,

3) Anticipated Ratings on Dress,

4) Anticipated Ratings of Body Satisfaction,

5) Anticipated Comparison with Others: Dressed,

6) Anticipated Ratings of Measurements.

(For the full questionnaire see Appendix H.)

Anticipated Ratings on Masculinity and Femininity

The measure of anticipated ratings on Masculinity and Femininity was a Likert-type scale. It consisted of the end-points Masculine-Not Masculine and Feminine-Not Feminine with five points in-between. The instructions were:

> Please tick the points (one on each
> five-point scale) which most closely
> reflects how someone else, looking
> at you the way you're dressed right
> now, would rate how you see yourself!

This simplified measure·was used to provide a measure identical in form to the one used by the reviewers in the final section of the study, as were the measures to follow.

Anticipated Rating on Locus of Control

For this question, subjects were asked "Please tick the point, on a five-point scale, which most closely reflects how someone else, looking at you the way you're dressed right now, would rate how you feel":

I pretty much						Circumstances
control what						pretty much control
happens to me.__	__	__	__	__		what happens to me.

Once again, this simplified measure was used in order to provide a response which would be comparable to that of the reviewers.

Anticipated Ratings on Dress

Subjects were asked to rate how relevant someone else might think the five aspects of appearance determined by Aiken (1963) were to their approach to dress. These were presented, for example, as:

CONFORMITY

Not Relevant __ __ __ __ __ Highly Relevant

Anticipated Ratings on Body Satisfaction

Subjects were asked to try to picture themselves as someone else might see them and to try to decide what message about their feelings about their body they were sending.

They then rated the twenty-three aspects of the body which formed the Body Cathexis Scale described in the Programs section.

Anticipated Comparisons with Others: Dressed

Subjects were asked to rate the way they looked on a five-point scale ranging from Much Above Average to Much Below Average.

Anticipated Ratings of Measurements

For this part of the study, subjects completed the following statement:

"Someone else, looking at me the way I'm dressed right now would say"

Height	_____
Weight	_____
Bust	_____
Waist	_____
Hips	_____

They were encouraged to give an answer if they were not sure.

As in the Program section, all measures were randomly collated and counterbalanced wherever possible to mitigate against order effects and response biases. The Anticipated Ratings were included with the Program measures in a simple questionnaire.

Procedure

All subjects were tested in the studio of the Psychology Department of the University of Liverpool. (For the

layout of the experimental room see Appendix I.)

At the designated testing time, the experimenter distributed the questionnaire to the group. They read the covering statement along with the experimenter who read it aloud. They then filled in the required information on the front page and any questions which they had were answered.

As part of the Program section, the lights were then dimmed and the six slides pre-selected on the basis of masculinity and femininity and suitability for 18 to 21 year olds were shown for thirty seconds each and rated by the subjects.

Lights were raised and the subjects completed the questionnaire. There were no time restrictions. All subjects completed the instrument within 50 to 60 minutes.

When the subject had finished, she handed in the questionnaire to the experimenter and, if she had agreed to the use of her photograph in a further experiment, her picture was taken. The procedure of taking the picture was expected to reinforce the experience of being 'other' required by the Anticipations part of the study. As well, and more practically, the slides were used as stimuli for the subsequent Reviews section.

RESULTS

Anticipated Ratings on Masculinity and Femininity

The mean score of the anticipated rating on Masculinity was 2.34 with a standard deviation of 1.1. The mean

score of the anticipated rating on Femininity was 3.12 with a standard deviation of 1.02.

The anticipated ratings were correlated with the self-ratings. There was a significant, though not perfect, correlation between the two sets of scores. The self- and anticipated ratings on Masculinity correlated $r = 0.70$ which was significant at $p < 0.01$. The self- and anticipated ratings on Femininity correlated $r = 0.56$, which was significant at the $p < 0.01$ level as well.

When the findings were divided by Gender Identity/Role category, the mean scores and standard deviations for each group on Masculinity and Femininity were:

Masculinity:	Masculine Subjects	$\bar{X}=2.48$	SD=1.15
	Feminine Subjects	$\bar{X}=1.86$	SD=0.95
	Androgynous Subjects	$\bar{X}=2.52$	SD=1.12
	Neuter Subjects	$X=2.70$	SD=1.05
Femininity:	Masculine Subjects	$\bar{X}=2.90$	SD=1.05
	Feminine Subjects	$\bar{X}=3.41$	SD=0.91
	Androgynous Subjects	$\bar{X}=3.23$	SD=0.97
	Neuter Subjects	$X=2.82$	SD=1.18

Analyses of variance indicated that there was a significant difference among the Gender Identity/Role groups in their Anticipated ratings on Masculinity ($F = 2.95$, $p < 0.04$) but not on Femininity ($F = 1.86$, $p < 0.14$). (See Table 4.22)

Planned t-tests were used on the Masculinity ratings. These showed that the significance of the analysis of variance was due largely to the fact that the Feminine subjects saw themselves viewed as less masculine than did the Masculine ($t = 2.23$, df = 56, $p < 0.03$), the Androgynous ($t = 2.14$, df = 44, $p < 0.04$) or the Neuter ($t = 2.80$, df = 44, $p < 0.01$)

TABLE 4.22

Summary of Analyses of Variance of Anticipated

Ratings on Masculinity and Femininity by

Gender Identity/Role Group

MASCULINITY

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	10.10	3.37	2.94	0.04*
Within Groups	88	100.45	1.14		
Total	91	110.55			

* significant   ns non-significant

FEMININITY

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	5.66	1.89	1.86	0.14 ns
Within Groups	88	89.25	1.01		
Total	91	94.91			

* significant   ns non-significant

subjects. There were no differences of significance between the Masculine and Androgynous groups (t = 0.13, df = 44, p∠0.89), the Masculine and Neuter groups (t = 0.65, df = 44, p∠0.52) or the Androgynous and Neuter groups (t = 0.47, df = 32, p∠0.64). (See Table 4.23)

TABLE 4.23

Summary of t-test Results of Anticipated

Rating on Masculinity of Gender

Identity/Role Groups

ANTICIPATED RATING		M	F	A	N
ON MASCULINITY	M	–	S	NS	NS
	F		–	S	S
	A			–	NS
	N				–

Anticipated Rating on Locus of Control

The mean score of the anticipated rating on Locus of Control was 2.67 and the standard deviation was 0.97.

The anticipated rating was correlated with the self-rating on Locus of Control. The two scores were found to be significantly related (r = 0.32, p∠0.01).

When the findings were divided by Gender Identity/Role group the mean scores and standard deviations were as follows:

Locus of Control: Masculine Subjects $\bar{X}$=2.48 SD=0.87
Feminine Subjects $\bar{X}$=3.00 SD=0.75
Androgynous Subjects $\bar{X}$=2.35 SD=1.17
Neuter Subjects $\bar{X}$=2.76 SD=1.15

An analysis of variance indicated that there was no significant difference among the Gender Identity/Role groups in their anticipated ratings on locus of control (F = 2.21, $p<0.09$). (See Table 4.24)

TABLE 4.24

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Anticipated

Rating of Locus of Control by Gender

Identity/Role Group

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	6.03	2.01	2.21	0.09 ns
Within Groups	88	80.18	0.91		
Total	91	86.22			

* significant   ns non-significant

Anticipated Rating on Dress

The mean scores and standard deviations of the anticipated rating on the five categories of Dress were: Decoration $\bar{X}$ = 2.27, SD = 1.26; Comfort $\bar{X}$ = 4.29, SD = 0.67; Interest $\bar{X}$ = 2.68, SD = 1.02; Conformity $\bar{X}$ = 3.01, SD = 1.04; Economy $\bar{X}$ = 3.62, SD = 1.02.

The anticipated ratings were correlated with the self-ratings on Dress. The results were as follows: Decoration $r = 0.41$, $p < 0.01$; Comfort $r = 0.24$, $p < 0.02$; Interest $r = 0.30$, $p < 0.01$; Conformity $r = 0.56$, $p < 0.01$; Economy $r = 0.41$, $p < 0.01$.

Analyses of variance indicated the following:

Decoration: There were no significant differences among the gender identity/role groups in their anticipated ratings by others on Decoration ($F = 0.81$, $p < 0.49$).

Comfort: There were no significant differences among the gender identity/role groups in their anticipated ratings by others on Comfort ($F = 0.87$, $p < 0.46$).

Interest: There were no significant differences among the gender identity/role groups in their anticipated ratings by others on Interest ($F = 1.52$, $p < 0.21$).

Conformity: There were no significant differences among the gender identity/role groups in their anticipated ratings by others on Conformity ($F = 1.42$, $p < 0.24$).

Economy: There were no significant differences among the gender identity/role groups in their anticipated ratings by others on Economy ($F = 0.48$, $p < 0.67$). (See Table 4.25 for summaries.

Anticipated Comparison with Others: Dressed

The mean score of the anticipated comparison with others, dressed as 2.87 with a standard deviation of 0.60 points in the scores.

TABLE 4.25

Summaries of Analyses of Variance of

Anticipated Ratings on Dress by

Gender Identity/Role Group

DECORATION

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	3.87	1.29	0.81	0.49 ns
Within Groups	88	140.33	1.59		
Total	91	144.21			

* significant   ns   non-significant

COMFORT

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	1.18	0.39	0.87	0.46 ns
Within Groups	88	39.89	0.45		
Total	91	41.08			

* significant   ns   non-significant

INTEREST

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	4.73	1.58	1.52	0.21 ns
Within Groups	88	91.12	1.03		
Total	91	95.86			

* significant   ns   non-significant

Table 4.25 (continued)

CONFORMITY

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	4.56	1.52	1.42	0.24 ns
Within Groups	88	94.43	1.07		
Total	91	98.99			

* significant   ns   non-significant

ECONOMY

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	1.55	0.52	0.48	0.67 ns
Within Groups	88	94.13	1.07		
Total	91	95.68			

* significant   ns   non-significant

The anticipated comparison was correlated with the self-comparison with others, dressed ($r = 0.32$, $p\angle 0.01$).

An analysis of variance indicated that there were no differences of significance among the gender identity/role groups in their anticipated comparisons with others, dressed ($F = 0.76$, $p\angle 0.52$). (See Table 4.26)

TABLE 4.26

Summary of Analysis of Variance of

Anticipated Comparison with Others:

Dressed by Gender Identity/Role Group

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	0.82	0.27	0.76	0.52 ns
Within Groups	88	31.62	0.36		
Total	91	32.43			

* significant   ns non-significant

Anticipated Ratings of Body Satisfaction

The mean score for the anticipated rating of Body Satisfaction was 103.55 with a standard deviation of 14.82 points.

The anticipated rating was correlated with the self-rating on Body Satisfaction. The analysis showed there was a correlation between the two scores of $r = 0.69$ which was significant at the 0.01 level of probability.

When the findings were divided into the gender
identity/role categories, the mean scores for each group
were:

Masculine	$\bar{X}$ = 98.34	SD = 10.56
Feminine	$\bar{X}$ = 98.52	SD = 10.75
Androgynous	$\bar{X}$ =106.71	SD = 15.93
Neuter	$\bar{X}$ = 93.94	SD = 11.56

There was quite a spread in scores, especially be-
tween the Androgynous and Neuter subjects. Analysis of the
variance showed that there was   a significant difference
among the gender identity/role groups in their anticipated
ratings by others of their body image ($F = 3.41, p < 0.02$).
(See Table 4.27)

TABLE 4.27

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Anticipated

Ratings of Body Satisfaction by Gender

Identity/Role Group

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	1462.17	487.39	3.41	0.02*
Within Groups	88	12558.26	142.71		
Total	91	14020.43			

* significant   ns non-significant

Planned multiple t-tests showed that the Androgynous
subjects anticipated a significantly higher rating on body
satisfaction than did the Masculine (t = 2.14, df = 44,

p 0.05), the Feminine (t = 2.08, df = 44, p∠0.05), or the
Neuter (t = 2.67, df = 32, p∠0.01) subjects. There was no
difference between the Masculine and Feminine groups (t = 0.06,
df = 56, p∠0.95), the Masculine and Neuter groups (t = 1.32,
df = 44, p∠0.19) or the Feminine and Neuter groups (t = 1.36,
df = 44, p∠0.18). (See Table 4.28)

TABLE 4.28

Summary of t-test Results of Anticipated

Ratings of Body Satisfaction of

Gender Identity/Role Groups

ANTICIPATED RATINGS OF BODY SATISFACTION		M	F	A	N
	M	–	NS	S	NS
	F		–	S	NS
	A			–	S
	N				–

Anticipated Rating of Measurements

        The mean scores of the anticipated evaluations of
measurements and the standard deviations were as follows:

Height	64.64"	SD =	2.75
Weight	123.77 lbs.	SD =	13.74
Bust	34.18"	SD =	1.6
Waist	25.89"	SD =	1.86
Hips	36.05"	SD =	1.7

The scores of the anticipated evaluations were correlated with the actual measurements and the following correlations, all significant at the $p \angle 0.01$ level or beyond were found: Height $r = 0.92$; Weight $r = 0.94$; Bust $r = 0.83$; Waist $r = 0.79$; Hips $r = 0.86$.

When the ratings were divided by gender identity/role category, the mean scores and standard deviations for the groups were:

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Neuter
Height	$\bar{X} = 65.55$ SD = 2.18	$\bar{X} = 63.64$ SD = 2.08	$\bar{X} = 64.47$ SD = 3.55	$\bar{X} = 64.94$ SD = 3.32
Weight	$\bar{X} = 128.88$ SD = 13.03	$\bar{X} = 117.90$ SD = 11.89	$\bar{X} = 122.85$ SD = 12.17	$\bar{X} = 125.97$ SD = 16.28
Bust	$\bar{X} = 34.83$ SD = 1.34	$\bar{X} = 33.48$ SD = 1.43	$\bar{X} = 33.88$ SD = 1.32	$\bar{X} = 34.59$ SD = 2.24
Waist	$\bar{X} = 26.33$ SD = 2.02	$\bar{X} = 25.33$ SD = 1.52	$\bar{X} = 25.53$ SD = 1.59	$\bar{X} = 26.44$ SD = 2.16
Hips	$\bar{X} = 36.62$ SD = 1.70	$\bar{X} = 35.53$ SD = 1.83	$\bar{X} = 35.71$ SD = 1.21	$\bar{X} = 36.29$ SD = 1.79

(For summaries of the analyses of variance and t-tests to follow see Tables 4.29 and 4.30.)

Analyses of Variance indicated the following:

Height: There tended to be a difference among the gender identity/role groups in their anticipated ratings by others of their Height but this did not reach an acceptable level of significance (F = 2.26, $p < 0.06$).

Weight: There was a significant difference among the gender identity/role groups in the anticipated ratings of Weight (F = 3.55, $p < 0.02$).

Planned t-tests showed that this finding was due almost entirely to the difference between Masculine and Feminine subjects (t = 3.35, $p < 0.01$), with the Masculine subjects anticipating significantly higher ratings of weight. The Neuter subjects also tended to anticipate higher ratings than the Feminine subjects (t = 1.94, $p < 0.06$). Otherwise, there were no other differences near significance between the Masculine and Androgynous groups (t = 1.55, $p < 0.13$), the Masculine and Neuter groups (t = 0.67, $p < 0.51$), the Androgynous and Neuter groups (t = 0.63, $p < 0.53$) or the Androgynous and Feminine groups (t = 1.35, $p < 0.18$).

Bust: There was a significant difference among the gender identity/role groups in their anticipated ratings by others of their Bust size (F = 4.17, $p < 0.01$).

Planned t-tests showed a pattern similar to that of the Weight ratings. The Masculine subjects anticipated significantly larger evaluations of their bust than did the

TABLE 4.29

Summaries of Analyses of Variance of Anticipated

Measures by Gender Identity/Role Group

HEIGHT

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	55.25	18.42	2.56	0.06 ns
Within Groups	88	633.80	7.20		
Total	91	689.05			

* significant   ns   non-significant

WEIGHT

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	1854.09	618.03	3.55	0.02*
Within Groups	88	15330.63	174.21		
Total	91	17184.72			

* significant   ns   non-significant

BUST

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	30.60	10.20	4.17	0.01*
Within Groups	88	215.26	2.45		
Total	91	245.86			

* significant   ns   non-significant

Table 4.29 (continued)

WAIST

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	22.10	7.37	2.20	0.10 ns
Within Groups	88	294.45	3.35		
Total	91	316.55			

* significant   ns non-significant

HIP

Source	df	SS	MS	F	p
Between Groups	3	20.18	6.73	2.37	0.07 ns
Within Groups	88	249.85	2.84		
Total	91	270.03			

* significant   ns non-significant

TABLE 4.30

Summaries of t-test Results of Anticipated

Measurements of Gender Identity/Role Groups

WEIGHT		M	F	A	N
	M	-	S	NS	NS
	F		-	NS	S
	A			-	NS
	N				-
BUST		M	F	A	N
	M	-	S	NS	NS
	F		-	NS	NS
	A			-	NS
	N				-

Feminine subjects (t = 3.50, p∠0.01) and the Neuter subjects also tended to do so (t = 1.86, p∠0.07). Again, there were no other significant differences between the Masculine and Androgynous groups (t = 1.58, p∠0.12), the Masculine and Neuter groups (t = 0.77, p∠0.45), the Androgynous and Neuter groups (t = 0.55, p∠0.59) or the Androgynous and Feminine groups (t = 1.34, p∠0.19).

Waist: Though the Feminine subjects tended to expect the lowest ratings of waist size, there was no difference of significance among the gender identity/role groups in their anticipated ratings by others of their Waist (F = 2.29, p∠0.09).

Hips: Though the Feminine subjects also tended to expect the lowest ratings of their hip size as well, there was no significant difference between them and any of the other gender identity/role groups or among the others generally in their anticipated ratings of hip size (F = 2.37, p∠0.07).

Young Adults: Reviews

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 27 female undergraduate volunteers from the University of Liverpool. They were recruited at random from lounges and hallways within the University. The

age range was 18 to 21 years, as predetermined by the experimenter.

Twenty-four of the questionnaires were used in the final analysis because two were discarded because they were incomplete and one because the judge was a friend of a stimulus person.

All volunteers were unpaid and all were naive as to the exact nature of the study. In recruiting the subjects, the experimenter had only asked if they would participate in a study on judging others from the way they look.

Apparatus

Stimulus Figures

On the basis of the scores on the Bem Sex Role Inventory, slides of the six subjects with the highest scores on Masculinity, Femininity, Androgyny and Neutrality were selected as the stimulus figures for this part of the study. (See Appendix J for the stimulus figures in each group.) The slides were in colour and the projected image was approximately four-fifths life size.

Optical Illusions and Embedded Figures

Six black-and-white slides of optical illusions or embedded figures were also prepared.

Equipment

A Carousel projector with a 110mm lens was used to project the slides. It was mounted five feet from the floor

and approximately twenty feet from the screen.

Measures

Gender Identity/Role

   The evaluation of the stimulus subject on the complete
Bem Sex Role Inventory seemed impractical. Therefore the
judges were asked to rate the stimulus persons using the
simple scale similar to the Self-Rating on Masculinity and
Femininity with the following instructions:

> Please tick the points (one for each
> five-point scale) which most closely
> reflects your estimate of how the
> subject sees herself:

Masculine   __ __ __ __ __   Not Masculine

Feminine   __ __ __ __ __   Not Feminine

Locus of Control

   The evaluation of the stimulus subject on the complete
Rotter I-E Scale would also have been impractical. Judges
were therefore asked to rate the stimulus persons on the
following basis:

> Please tick the point, on a five-point
> scale, which most closely reflects your
> estimate of how the subject feels:

She pretty much   Circumstances
controls what   pretty much control
happens to her. __ __ __ __ __   what happens to her.

Dress

The evaluation of the stimulus persons on the complete Clothing Opinionnaire would not have made sense. In this case, the judges were asked to evaluate the relevance to the subject of each of the five clothing clusters from the Opinionnaire on five-point scales ranging from Not Relevant to Highly Relevant.

Eg.

CONFORMITY

Not Relevant ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Highly Relevant

Comparison with Others: Dressed

Judges rated how the subject compared to others on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from Much Below Average to Much Above Average.

Body Satisfaction

Judges used the Body Cathexis Scale to evaluate how they thought the subject felt about her body. They rated the same 23 aspects as the subject had on the seven-point scale ranging from Extremely Satisfied to Extremely Dissatisfied. Instructions in this condition were:

> On the page below are listed a number of
> aspects of the human body. You are asked
> to rate them according to how you think
> the Subject feels about her body ....
> Consider each aspect carefully and then
> circle the number which best represents
> what you think her feeling are ....

Measurements

Judges were asked to estimate what the subjects measurements for height, weight, bust, waist, and hips were.

Procedure

All subjects participated in the study in a room approximately 25 x 35 feet in the Psychology Department of the University of Liverpool.

Subjects were seated at desk-chairs facing the screen. All had unobstructed views of the slides. At the designated testing time, the rating scales were distributed. Subjects were given booklets, one for each stimulus person to be evaluated. They were told that each slide was to be rated on all measures. Any questions about the measures were answered. (See Appendix K for the full questionnaire.) Subjects were then instructed to mark for each stimulus person if that person was a stranger (ST), acquaintance (AC), or friend (FR). Subjects who were friends of the stimulus person would subsequently be eliminated from the study.

A 'practice' stimulus person was shown for the first slide in order to acclimatize the judges to the taks and measures. All judges were naive to this. The slide used was of a female graduate student close in age to the stimulus persons of the actual study. The judges were then shown six slides of the high scorers of one of the sex-role categories in random order predetermined using Fisher's (1967) table of randomized numbers for sampling without replacement.

Ratings for each stimulus person were completed before the next stimulus person was shown. There was no time limit for the evaluation, but each slide was shown for thirty seconds. After each slide of a stimulus person, a slide of an optical illusion or embedded figure was shown for twenty seconds and comment encouraged so that judges would be less likely to compare the stimulus persons. (See Appendix L for examples of 'illusion' and embedded figure slides.)

When all slides had been evaluated, the lights were turned up from the dull level necessary to view the slides. Questionnaires were handed in and questions and comments addressed. The entire procedure lasted approximately 30-40 minutes.

RESULTS

Inter-Rater Reliability

Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance (Siegel, 1956; pp. 229-238) was used to test the inter-rater reliability of the judges within each gender identity/role group. The results were as follows: (They are summarized in Table 4.31.)

Reviews of Gender Identity/Role

There was a significant concordance among the judges in each of the four categories on the Femininity ratings of stimulus persons (Masculine group $s = 261.5$, $p < 0.05$; Feminine group $s = 232.25$, $p < 0.05$; Androgynous group $s = 327.5$, $p < 0.01$; Neuter group $s = 354.75$, $p < 0.01$).

Findings with respect to the Masculinity ratings of the stimulus persons were mixed. The judges did not agree among themselves on the ratings of the Masculine (s = 130, $p < 0.05$) or the Feminine (s = 66, $p < 0.05$) groups. They did agree with each other on the ratings of the Androgynous (s = 252, $p < 0.05$) and the Neuter (s = 270.25, $p < 0.05$) subjects.

Reviews of Locus of Control

Concordance among the judges on the ratings of Locus of Control did not reach an acceptable level of significance for any of the four gender identity/role groups (Masculine s = 155.00, $p < 0.05$; Feminine s = 74.25, $p < 0.05$; Androgynous s = 98.50, $p < 0.05$; Neuter s = 141.75, $p < 0.05$).

Reviews of Dress

Decoration: Judges in all four gender identity/role groups agreed among themselves on the ratings of the relevance of Decoration to the stimulus persons (Masculine s = 316.5, $p < 0.01$; Feminine s = 377.00, $p < 0.01$; Androgynous s = 270.5; Neuter s = 399.5, $p < 0.01$).

Comfort: The judges did not agree among themselves in any of the four gender identity/role groups on the ratings of the relevance of Comfort to the stimulus persons (Masculine s = 181.5, $p < 0.005$; Feminine s = 86.5, $p < 0.05$; Androgynous s = 98.75, $p < 0.05$; Neuter s = 59.5, $p < 0.05$).

Interest: There were mixed findings in this category. Judges of the Feminine and Neuter groups were in concordance

in their ratings. Judges of the Masculine and Androgynous groups were not (Masculine 171.5, $p \angle 0.05$; Feminine s = 255.00, $p \angle 0.05$; Androgynous s = 95.5; Neuter s = 298.00, $p \angle 0.01$).

Conformity: A similar pattern occurred in the ratings of the relevance of Conformity to the stimulus persons. Judges of the Feminine and Neuter groups concurred, while judges of the Masculine and Androgynous groups did not (Masculine s = 111.00, $p \angle 0.05$; Feminine s = 288.5, $p \angle 0.01$; Androgynous s = 91.00, $p \angle 0.05$; Neuter s = 282.5, $p \angle 0.01$).

Economy: Findings in this area were like those of Interest and Conformity. There was concordance among the judges of the Feminine and Neuter groups but not among the judges of the Masculine and Androgynous groups (Masculine s = 61.5, $p \angle 0.05$; Feminine s = 282.00, $p \angle 0.01$; Androgynous s = 200.5, $p \angle 0.05$; Neuter s = 238.5, $p \angle 0.05$).

Reviews of Comparison with Others: Dressed

Inter-rater concordance in all four gender identity/ role groups was significant on the reviews of Comparison with Others; Dressed (Masculine s = 248.00, $p \angle 0.05$; Feminine s = 334.00, $p \angle 0.01$; Androgynous s = 249.00, $p \angle 0.05$; Neuter s = 247.5, $p \angle 0.05$).

Reviews of Body Satisfaction

Judges of all four gender identity/role groups were in concordance on their ratings of the Body Satisfaction of

the stimulus persons (Masculine s = 283.00, p∠0.01; Feminine s = 491.5, p∠0.01; Androgynous s = 304.5, p∠0.01; Neuter s = 428.5, p∠0.01).

Reviews of Measurements

Height: Judges in each of the four gender identity/role groups were in concordance on the ratings of the Height of the stimulus persons (Masculine s = 372.50, p∠0.01; Feminine s = 407.00, p∠0.01; Androgynous s = 244.00, p∠0.05; Neuter s = 530.00, p∠0.01).

Weight: Judges in each of the groups were also in concordance on their ratings of the Weight of the stimulus persons (Masculine s = 409.5, p∠0.01; Feminine s = 389.00, p∠0.01; Androgynous s = 226.00, p∠0.05; Neuter s = 550.00, p∠0.01).

Bust: Judges of the Feminine Androgynous and Neuter groups were in significant agreement on the ratings of the stimulus persons, while judges of the Masculine groups were not. (Masculine s = 45.75, p∠0.05; Feminine s = 287.5, p∠0.001; Androgynous s = 260.00, p∠0.05; Neuter s = 397.00, p∠0.01).

Waist: Judges in each of the four groups were in concordance on ratings of the Waist sizes of the stimulus persons (Masculine s = 312.50, p∠0.01; Feminine s = 297.50, p∠0.01; Androgynous s = 340.00, p∠0.01; Neuter s = 446.5, p∠0.01).

Hips: Judges in each of the four gender identity/role groups were also in agreement with each other on the rating of the

Hip size of the stimulus persons (Masculine s = 335.5, $p < 0.01$; Feminine s = 397.00, $p < 0.01$; Androgynous s = 295.5, $p < 0.01$; Neuter s = 478.00, $p < 0.01$).

TABLE 4.31

Summary of Findings of Inter-Rater Reliability

for Gender Identity/Role Groups

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Neuter
Femininity	S	S	S	S
Masculinity	NS	NS	S	S
Locus of Control	NS	NS	NS	NS
Body Satisfaction	S	S	S	S
Comparison: Dressed	S	S	S	S
Decoration	S	S	S	S
Comfort	NS	NS	NS	NS
Interest	NS	S	NS	S
Conformity	NS	S	NS	S
Economy	NS	S	NS	S
Height	S	S	S	S
Weight	S	S	S	S
Bust	NS	S	S	S
Waist	S	S	S	S
Hips	S	S	S	S

Results: Anticipations/Reviews

Symbolic interactionist theory suggests that Antici-
pations and Reviews should "more or less coincide" if meaning
is to ensue in any interaction. In statistical terms, the
implication of the statement is that there should be a pos-
itive, though not necessarily perfect, correlation between
Anticipations and Reviews. A correlation of $r = 0.50$ was
set as the lower operational limit of the definition of
coincidence. (Findings are summarized in Table 4.32.)

Gender Identity/Role

Masculinity: Judges agreed among themselves on the Mascul-
inity ratings of the Androgynous and Neuter subjects but not
the Masculine or Feminine subjects.

The Pearson Product-Moment Correlation (Ferguson,
1976; p. 107) was used to determine the relationship between
the anticipated ratings of the Androgynous and Neuter sub-
jects and the reviews of the judges. This formula was used
in all subsequent correlations as well.

Neither of the correlations approached the signifi-
cant level of coincidence (Androgynous $r = 0.29$; Neuter
$r = 0.11$).

Femininity: The judges agreed among themselves on the Femin-
inity ratings for all the gender identity/role groups. Corre-
lations (as above) between the anticipated ratings and reviews
were determined with the following results: Masculine subjects

r = 0.40; Feminine subjects r = 0.15; Androgynous subjects
r = 0.09; Neuter subjects r = 0.07. From this listing it
can be seen that there were no meaningful correlations be-
tween the anticipated ratings of the subjects and the reviews
of the judges

Locus of Control

Reviews of Locus of Control could not be correlated
with anticipated ratings because the inter-rater reliability
was not of an acceptable level.

Body Satisfaction

Judges in all four groups were also in agreement with
each other in their evaluations of the level of body satis-
faction of the stimulus persons.

Correlations of their Reviews with the Anticipations
of the subjects indicated that there was concurrence for the
Feminine (r = 0.92) and Androgynous (r = 0.87) but not the
Masculine (r = 0.49) or Neuter (r = 0.15) groups.

Comparison with Others: Dressed

Judges in all four gender identity/role groups were
in concordance on their ratings comparing the stimulus persons
to others. The degree of correspondence between their reviews
and the anticipated ratings by the subjects were calculated
with the following results: Masculine subjects r = 0.56;
Feminine subjects r = 0.69; Androgynous subjects r = 0.23;
Neuter subjects r = 0.35.

Anticipations and Reviews more or less coincided for the Feminine groups. There was little agreements between the judges' ratings and those anticipated by the Androgynous or Neuter subjects. The correlation between the ratings of the judges and those anticipated by the Masculine subjects was higher but negative.

Dress

Decoration: As all the judges were in concordance, anticipated ratings could be compared with reviews for all groups. The anticipated ratings by the Masculine subjects correlated $r = 0.55$ with the reviews. The anticipated ratings by the Feminine subjects also correlated $r = 0.55$ with the reviews. The anticipated ratings by the Androgynous subjects correlated $r = 0.38$ and the Neuter subjects correlated $r = 0.83$ with the reviews of the judges. Therefore, according to the criterion of coincidence of $r = 0.50$, all anticipated ratings, except those of the Androgynous subjects, correlated significantly with the reviews.

Comfort: The judges did not agree among themselves on any of the four gender identity/role groups on the ratings of the relevance of Comfort to the stimulus persons. Correlations between Reviews and Anticipations could, therefore, not be determined.

Interest: Reviews by the judges on the Interest of the subjects in dress were in concordance for the Feminine and

Neuter groups but not the Masculine and Androgynous groups.

Comparisons of the Reviews and Anticipations of the latter two groups indicated that in neither groups were there significant correlations between the subjects' and the judges' ratings (Feminine subjects $r = 0.34$; Neuter subjects $r = 0.21$).

Conformity: As for the Interest ratings, the judges did not agree among themselves on the relevance of Conformity to the dress of the Masculine or Androgynous subjects but did do so on the ratings of the Feminine and Neuter subjects.

Analyses of the latter two indicated that the two groups were not related in their ratings (Feminine subjects $r = 0.41$; Neuter subjects $r = -0.34$).

Economy: The same pattern occurred in the ratings of the relevance of Economy. The judges agreed among themselves on the ratings of the Feminine and Neuter subjects but not the Masculine or Androgynous subjects.

Once more, the correlations between the judges' ratings and the anticipated ratings of the subjects were not significant (Feminine subjects $r = -0.44$; Neuter subjects $r = 0.29$).

Measurements

The judges were in agreement with each other in all four gender identity/role groups on the ratings of Height, Weight, Waist and Hips. There was significant concordance in the Feminine, Androgynous and Neuter groups on Bust ratings but this was not so for the Masculine group.

TABLE 4.32

Summary of Findings of Coincidence between

Anticipated Ratings and Reviews

	Masculine	Feminine	Androgynous	Neuter
Femininity	NS	NS	NS	NS
Masculinity	-	-	NS	NS
Locus of Control	-	-	-	-
Body Satisfaction	NS	S	S	NS
Comparison: Dressed	NS	S	NS	NS
Decoration	S	S	NS	S
Comfort	-	-	-	-
Interest	-	NS	-	NS
Conformity	-	NS	-	NS
Economy	-	NS	-	NS
Height	S	S	S	S
Weight	S	S	S	S
Bust	-	S	S	S
Waist	NS	S	NS	S
Hips	NS	S	NS	S

KEY: -   non-significant inter-rater reliability

     S   significant coincidence

    NS   non-significant coincidence

Height: Anticipations and Reviews of Height coincided in each of the four groups (Masculine subjects $r = 0.63$; Feminine $r = 0.73$; Androgynous $r = 0.70$; Neuter $r = 0.81$).

Weight: The judges' Reviews and Anticipations by the subjects also coincided on Weight for all four groups (Masculine subjects $r = 0.53$; Feminine $r = 0.83$; Androgynous $r = 0.77$; Neuter $r = 0.84$).

Bust: The correlations between the judges' ratings and those anticipated by the subjects were significant for all groups tested (Feminine subjects $r = 0.64$; Androgynous $r = 0.64$; Neuter $r = 0.84$).

Waist: The judges' Reviews correlated with the Anticipations of the subjects in the Feminine ($r = 0.85$) and Neuter ($r = 0.77$) groups but not in the Masculine ($r = 0.00$) or Androgynous ($r = 0.39$) groups.

Hips: The judges' Reviews and the subjects' Anticipations were similar for the Feminine ($r = 0.84$) and Neuter ($r = 0.84$) groups but not for the Masculine ($r = 0.05$) or Androgynous ($r = 0.18$) groups.

DISCUSSION: Anticipations/Reviews

The findings in relation to Hypothesis II form a complex and interesting pattern.

The groups of judges were in concordance on forty-three out of sixty judgments. They were not in concordance

on seven ratings of the Masculine subjects, three ratings of the Feminine subjects, five of the Androgynous, and two of the Neuter subjects.

Anticipated ratings of the subjects coincided with the judges' reviews on twenty-one of the forth-three ratings. Three of the twenty-one agreements were between the Masculine subjects and judges, eight between the Feminine subjects and judges, four between Androgynous subjects and judges, and six between Neuter subjects and judges.

Overall, there was not agreement between judges or between judges and subjects on ratings of Masculinity, Femininity, Locus of Control, Comfort, Interest, Conformity or Economy. There were significant agreements on Decoration, Height, Weight, Bust, Waist and Hip Measurements, Body Satisfaction, and Comparison with Others; Dressed.

These findings will be discussd in relation to the second hypothesis.

Hypothesis II

Anticipated ratings by others will coincide with actual ratings by others.

Operationally defined as:

1. Anticipated ratings by subjects endorsing different gender identities/roles will correlate with ratings by others on:

   a. gender identity/role
   b. locus of control

c. dress

d. body satisfaction

e. comparison with others: dressed

f. measurements

The first issue to be discussed is that of inter-rater reliability. The judges of all four groups concurred on ratings of Femininity, Body Satisfaction, Comparison with Others: Dressed, Height, Weight, Waist and Hip measurements, and the Dress rating of Decoration.

The judges of the Feminine, Androgynous, and Neuter groups were in concordance on the ratings of Bust measurements and the judges of the Feminine and Neuter groups agreed with each other on the Dress measures of Interest, Conformity, and Economy. Finally, the judges of the Androgynous and Neuter groups agreed on the ratings of Masculinity. Of the sixty coefficients computed, there was significant concordance on forty-three judgments.

None of the judges concurred on the ratings of the stimulus persons on Locus of Control or the Dress measure of Comfort. The judges of the Masculine and Feminine groups did not concur on Masculinity ratings, and the judges of the Masculine and Androgynous groups did not agree on their ratings of the Dress measures of Interest, Conformity, or Economy. Finally the judges of the Masculine group were at odds on the evaluations of Bust size.

By chance one would have expected some significant concordance to occur when such a large number of measures

was being evaluated, but the number actually found is well
beyond chance. Whether or not the judges' reviews correlate
with the anticipated ratings of the subjects, the uniformity
of judgments signify that there were meaningful cues present
in the images of the stimulus persons. The nature of the
cues will be probed in the discussion of the specific measures.

Gender Identity/Role

Judges' ratings on Femininity were in concordance
for all four gender identity/role groups. The mean scores
for the Feminine and Androgynous groups were virtually iden-
tical and highest of the ratings. These were followed by
the Neuter group and then the Masculine group. The pattern
of mean scores directly reflects the actual levels of the
Femininity scores.

Judges' ratings on Masculinity were in concordance
for the Androgynous and Neuter but not the Masculine or
Feminine groups. Though higher on Masculinity, according
to the B.S.R.I., the Androgynous group received the lower
mean rating of the two.

These findings are rather puzzling. There seems
to be little confusion in the rating of the stimulus person
on Femininity. This must be in part because it would be a
label and schema in common usage. But there is some doubt
about the labelling of a female stimulus person as "mascu-
line". It seems likely that it may be a relatively rare
judgment in real life and that, when it is used, it may

be used disparagingly or disapprovingly as being sex inappropriate.

In this case, the judges were in agreement that the Neuter subjects were about half way along the scale of "masculine - not masculine", while the Androgynous subjects were closer to the "not masculine" end. The explanation of this would seem to differ with the category of identity/role. The Androgynous subjects were high in Masculinity but also high in Femininity. It is possible that their appearance would contain elements of both sets of characteristics, in which case the feminine elements might counter-balance judgments of the masculine elements.

The Neuter subjects, on the other hand, would seem to be a rather different lot. Like the Masculine subjects, they were significantly less interested in Decoration or Conformity than the Feminine subjects. Their measurements, too, were closer to those of the Masculine group--but their gender identity/role endorsement was low for both masculine and feminine traits and they were most dissatisfied with their bodies. From this, an image emerges of individuals who may feel truly neuter--who may feel they are nothing. Of the Dress measures, this group's highest scores were on Comfort. Earlier work (Humphrey, Klassen, and Creekmore, 1971) has suggested that there is some psychological disturbance in females whose primary interest is in comfort. It is possible that the evaluations of the judges of higher Masculinity in this group is a response to this

disturbance. If 'masculine' carries negative connotations for females and the Neuter subjects present themselves in a negative way, then the judges might associate the two notions and evaluate the Neuter group higher in Masculinity.

Judges' reviews and the subjects' anticipated ratings did not coincide for either Masculinity or Femininity. Therefore, this part of the hypothesis was not confirmed by the findings of this study.

Gender identity/role, then, would seem not to be predictably conveyed by the appearance of an individual—even when individuals are extreme among their peers in their endorsement of masculine or feminine traits.

Since these schema are presumed to be fundamental to social discourse, the symbolic interactionist supposition that the knowledge of key symbols is an integral part of the establishment of meaning in the process is challenged. If it had obtained, both the person being judged and those judging would have shared some notion of the meaning and interpretation of the self-presentation.

While the theory may be questioned, it is not refuted by the findings of the study. Characteristics of the stimulus and the evaluation would contrive against a more 'naturalistic' and, hence, more meaningful assessment in symbolic interactionist terms.

The Stimulus: The stimulus persons were presented via coloured slides. This format allowed for control of a number of extraneous variables such as lighting, distance from the camera,

environmental cues, etc.. The attention of the judges was directed to the person--removed from the situation. The emphasis was entirely upon the appearance of the individual. This meant that other cues which might be characteristic of gender identity/role and conveyed through speech or action patterns were not available to the judges. But the private knowledge of these was available to the stimulus persons, who might have been hard-pressed to accurately compartmentalize their self-perception in such a way as to exclude these from consideration.

In actuality, there is likely to be an orientation of responses or actions geared towards the definition of the positions of the individuals in an interaction, which has shown that female subjects, for example, present themselves differently on the basis of information about the person with whom they are interacting.

It seems likely that when symbolic interaction regarding gender identity/role occurs most fruitfully, it would occur over time and involve 'sizing up', positioning, and selective self-disclosure, as well as appearance.

The Evaluation: The judges were able to agree among themselves on six of the eight ratings. Though there was not a large range of scores, the mean scores on femininity were highest for the Feminine and Androgynous groups, lower for the Neuter group and lowest for the Masculine group, a pattern which duplicated the actual positions of the subjects.

The Androgynous subjects were judged to be lower in masculinity than the Neuter subjects, a finding opposite to the actual.

On the whole, the judgments about femininity seemed to be easier to make for all concerned than the judgments about masculinity. The labelling of a female as masculine, as suggested previously, bears many negative connotations-- from dispositional qualities to imputations regarding sexuality. Judges might be rather reluctant to be so critical.

Locus of Control

The judges did not agree among themselves in any of the four gender identity/role groups.

Their task was to rate, on a five-point scale, if the subject felt pretty much in control or pretty much controlled by circumstances. Two factors would seem to contribute to the non-significant findings.

The first is that of control. In fact, no matter how external or internal the subjects' locus of control, at the time in which the slide was being taken she was very much being controlled by circumstances (under bright hot lights, standing behind a line, facing a camera). It seems possible that this could have created a distortion of her image as conveyed to the judges.

Secondly, SECORD + BACKMAN (1974) divides non-verbal communication into structural and kinetic cues. While the division is not perfect, it is thought that structural cues are relatively stable and not easily changeable and provide informa-

tion about the age, sex, and status of the individual. Kinetic cues are thought to be more fluid and changeable. They involve self-presentation and management of the immediate situation.

Judgments such as the one above about the locus of control would, then, be rather difficult to make on the basis of primarily structural cues. The slides, after all, were static images. Some information might be garnered from posture or gaze or expression, but it is likely that the subjects would be better judged "in action" on this measure.

Dress

Judges in all four groups agreed on their ratings of Decoration, disagreed on ratings of Comfort. Those of the Feminine and Neuter groups concurred on Interest, Conformity and Economy ratings. Those of the Masculine and Androgynous groups did not.

The subjects also did not differ on their anticipated ratings of the relevance of Comfort. On the Self-Rating Scale, all subjects rated Comfort as very relevant to their approach to dress. The mean score was 4.28 on a five-point scale. The Opinionnaire scores were lower but the two measures did not differ significantly from each other. The lack of concordance among the judges would seem to come from the individual judges' conceptions of what might be comfortable. For example, for the Masculine group, ratings for five of the six stimulus persons had three or four point spreads.

Comfort would not seem to be as clear or useful a schema as Decoration.

From the rest of the findings, one might say that masculine attributes would seem to flummox the observer, to create real confusion in the evaluation of the relevance of Interest, Conformity, or Economy. This is said because on the evaluation of all three concepts the higher masculinity score of the subjects is the only common element among the groups of judges who were not in concordance on their judgments.

When anticipated ratings and reviews were compared, this part of the hypothesis received some support. Anticipated ratings and reviews of the relevance of Decoration correlated for the Masculine, Feminine and Neuter subjects but not for the Androgynous. Anticipated ratings and reviews of the relevance of Interest, Conformity, and Economy for the Feminine and Neuter subjects were not correlated in any meaningful way.

Once more, Decoration surfaces as the schema with the most universal concordance of the appearance measures considered. Both judges and judged had a fair idea of the conveyance of meaning of Decoration. It would seem to be of real importance.

If judges and judged concurred on ratings of Decoration, why didn't they agree on the Interest, Conformity and Economy ratings of the Feminine or Neuter groups? It is possible to see that one might not be readily able to

judge the cost of garments from a slide and that Economical
might have quite diverse meanings depending upon one's econ-
omic situation. Similarly, one supposes that Interest might
be broadly interpreted, although current fashion would seem
to be widely recognized.

These are rather flimsy rationales, but the lack of
correlation on Conformity admits readily of none. There is
not much consolation if the fact that the Feminine subjects
come closest to a meaningful correlation at $r = 0.41$. Given
the strong norms of dress on the campus, one would have
expected that both judges and judged of all the groups would
have been pretty close in their estimates. Not so. Is it
possible that, as in the gender identity/role discussion,
the gap between public image and private knowledge is too
great to admit of accurate reviews or anticipations on a
bi-polar scale?

Body Satisfaction

Judges in all four groups were in concordance on
the ratings of body satisfaction.

The nature of the evaluations might be important in
this instance. The question arises as to whether this result
might have occurred because of a tendency toward evaluating
all subjects as about average, that is, tending toward the
mean. The ranges of the scores would seem to put that
possibility to rest. They suggest that the judges were
responding to stimulus characteristics of individuals--

probably contrasted to normative expectations but not assessed normatively as a group.

This section of the hypothesis was confirmed in part as, in this case, anticipated ratings and reviews coincided for the Feminine and Androgynous groups, though not for the Masculine or Neuter, and the level of coincidence was high.

Following earlier findings and speculation, one might suppose that the Masculine and Neuter subjects would be less likely to be aware of how others would qualitatively evaluate their material presence.

Comparison with Others: Dressed

Judges in all four groups also concurred in their comparisons of the stimulus persons as they appeared on the slides to others (generalized).

The evaluations for each group were about the mean of three for the range. Like the evaluations of body satisfaction, however, they tended to vary with the individual stimulus person.

This section of the hypothesis was, in part, confirmed by the findings of this study. Anticipated ratings and reviews coincided for the Feminine subjects but not the Androgynous or Neuter groups and there was, in fact, a high negative correlation between the anticipated ratings and reviews of the Masculine subjects.

These findings are in the direction of what might have been expected on the basis of the Locus of Control results. The Feminine subjects have the most external

orientation and it was thought that they, of all the groups,
would have been most accurate in their anticipated ratings.
The Masculine subjects had the most internal orientation
and would have been thought to be relatively more oblivious
to the normative expectations of dress. The Androgynous
and Neuter groups would be expected to be in the middle,
with the Androgynous rather more accurate than the Neuter.

Measurements

The judges in all four gender identity/role groups
concurred on almost all measurements. The only exception
to this was that the judges of the Masculine stimulus persons
did not agree among themselves on the Bust sizes of the sub-
jects.

There was some concern about the possible distortion
in the image which might occur when slides of stimulus per-
sons are taken and then projected onto a screen where they
are judged. The overall agreement of the judges indicates
that the distortion, if it did occur, was at least in one
direction. The correlations of anticipations with reviews
will show whether or not there was an effect of the mode
of presentation of the stimulus.

The fact that all six judges in each of the four
groups were in concordance shows a remarkable sensitivity
to the physical appearance of others. Along with the
results on body image, these findings suggest that the
physical aspects of appearance are powerful schema in the
evaluation/prediction of others.

The fact that the Bust ratings of the Masculine sub-
jects were the only ones to have thrown the judges into con-
fusion may or may not be significant. It could be a chance
occurrence. On the other hand, the Bust is the most visibly
feminine of the attributes measured and it just might be
that Masculine females seek to "camouflage" this part of
their anatomy.

Anticipated ratings and reviews by the judges coin-
cided for all groups of subjects on Height and Weight; for
all groups tested on Bust; for the Feminine and Neuter
groups on Waist and Hip measurements.

These findings indicate a number of things. They
show that the format of the stimulus presentation did not
significantly distort the image of the stimulus persons.
They suggest that the tangibility of physical attributes
may evoke schemata which are readily accessible and applic-
able.

The Feminine and Neuter groups were most in agreement
with the judges' evaluations--but it seems likely that the
dynamics of the correspondence differ with the group. Both
groups would seem to be 'open'/available to the evaluations
of others. Both groups' anticipations coincided with the
reviews on all measurements. The difference between them
occurs in interpretation of the acceptability of the self-
presentation. Both the Feminine and Neuter groups antici-
pated that the judges would rate their body satisfaction,
on average, five points lower than their self-evaluation.

That is exactly what occurred for the Feminine group but the Neuter group actually received a rating nearly nine points <u>higher</u> than their anticipated rating and nearly four points higher than their self-rating.

SUMMARY: Programs, Anticipations, Reviews

The hypotheses tested in this study received some support. Individuals who differ in gender identity/role orientation would seem to be discriminably different in attitudes toward and components of appearance. Interest in Decoration, Locus of Control, Comparison with Others, and Measurements were the most discriminating variables. Body Satisfaction might also be relevant. There were no significant differences among the groups in Attraction to Styles of Appearance or Clothing Inventory.

To a lesser extent, anticipated ratings and reviews coincided. They did so on interest in Decoration, Comparisonwith Others, Body Satisfaction, and Measurements -- although not for all groups in each category. There was no coincidence on Masculinity or Femininity, Locus of Control, or ratings on Comfort, Interest, Conformity or Economy.

Conceptual and methodological refinements would be suggested for future research, but the findings indicate that gender identity/role may be a fruitful focus and symbolic interaction a potentially satisfactory model for analysis of the meaning of appearance.

Assessment of Reliability of Measures

INTRODUCTION

Approximately six months after the initial Programs and Anticipations Study which was described earlier in this chapter, a retest of measures was undertaken in order to determine their reliability.

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were randomly selected from the group of ninety-two students whose protocols had been used in the Programs and Anticipations study. The aim was to use re-test information from half the original group or forty-six subjects. In order to achieve this, fifty-two questionnaires were distributed, twenty-six to students in their homes and twenty-six to students in the residences. Six protocols were not returned; five from students at home and one from a student in residence.

Measures

Due to the fact that the students were beginning to study for final examinations at the time of this study, only those parts of the original questionnaire which could be completed in their own time were administered. Fortunately, only the Attraction to Styles of Dress measure had to be omitted because of this constraint. The Clothing Inventory was also omitted because the re-test of this instrument made

no sense.

The following measures were retested. All have been described previously:

1) The Bem Sex-Role Inventory

2) The Rotter I-E Scale

3) The Jourard Body Cathexis Scale

4) The Aiken Clothing Opinionnaire

5) Measurements: Actual and Ideal

6) The Body Consideration Scale

7) Comparison with Others: Undressed

8) Self-Ratings on Masculinity and Femininity

9) Self-Rating on Locus of Control

10) Self-Ratings on Dress.

Procedure

Subjects received the questionnaire through the post at home or at their room in residence. They were requested to return the completed questionnaire to the experimenter either via the inderdepartmental mail (an addressed envelope was provided for that purpose) or to the experimenter directly. (See Appendix M for the covering letter.)

RESULTS

Pearson product-moment correlations (SPSS, 1977) were used to determine the levels of all test-retest correlations. All were significant at $p < 0.01$. They are summarized in Table 4.33.

TABLE 4.33

Summary of Results of Test-Retest Correlations

Measure	r	Measure	r
BSRI - Masculinity	0.84	Self-Rating - Masculinity	0.60
- Femininity	0.60	- Femininity	0.60
Rotter I-E Scale	0.72	- Locus of Control	0.45
Aiken - Decoration	0.71	- Decoration	0.34
- Comfort	0.86	- Comfort	0.51
- Interest	0.72	- Interest	0.36
- Conformity	0.78	- Conformity	0.51
- Economy	0.72	- Economy	0.41
Actual - Height	0.98	Ideal - Height	0.79
- Weight	0.95	- Weight	0.87
- Bust	0.87	- Bust	0.86
- Waist	0.77	- Waist	0.53
- Hip	0.91	- Hip	0.72
Body Consideration Scale	0.73	Comparison with Others: Undressed	0.81
Body Cathexis Scale	0.72		

DISCUSSION

Given the fact that half a year had passed, that the circumstances under which the re-testing took place were entirely different from the original, that the students did not volunteer to participate in the re-test, and that they were concerned about exams -- the findings of this study are utterly remarkable. <u>All</u> correlations were significant.

These results suggest that the measures used were reliable. Beyond that, they also suggest that the characteristics of appearance which were utilized were consistently meaningful referents and not artifacts of the earlier work.

Chapter 5

SUMMARY / CONCLUSIONS / RECOMMENDATIONS

The Studies

The studies described in this dissertation lend sup-
port to the premises that dress serves in the differential
socialization of gender identities/roles, that meanings are
held differentially by more mature subjects, and, to some
extent, that they are communicated with others.

The first study, with children five to eight years
of age, used interview and drawing methods to determine if
differential schemata toward appearance occurred in child-
ren as young as these.

Findings from the study indicated that both boys
and girls hold more comprehensive schemata in relation to
same-sex models, although boys may have a harder time repro-
ducing male schemata. Nevertheless, the tendency toward the
development of unique gender-related schematic patterns of
appearance and the endowment of affect to particular sche-
mata were apparent. The boys and girls articulated different
expectations of dress for parties and tended to do so for
after-school activities. The use of dress for the rehearsal
of future roles was almost exclusively a female preroga-
tive. Affect for the boys was linked to the comfort of ap-

parel. For girls, it was linked to aspects of decoration. Despite these differences, the universal rationale for the wearing of clothes was comfort.

There are no published studies against which these results can be compared. However, they would seem to relate logically to social psychological findings of parental differences in the labelling of infants (Rubin, Provenzano, and Luria, 1974) and in environmental adaptations (Brooks, 1974; Rheingold and Cook, 1975). If, in fact, gender-based treatments occur, then one would expect the object of those treatments to develop accordingly. The expectations of dress for parties and the involvement in dress-up games indicate the development of gender-based schemata. Perhaps more remarkable than this is the demonstration that the schemata become embued with affect. It is one thing to know intellectually that boys and girls wear certain types of garments or engage in certain dress-related activities. That knowledge becomes infinitely more meaningful when it carries emotional impact. Like belief in a "just world", it seems possible that one develops a feeling of the "right world" - and the ensuing response to the morality of dress, the basis of the rightness or wrongness of dress, would seem to be largely inarticulable and inaccessible.

It seems likely that increasing cognitive complexity occurring through maturation might to some extent modify or enrich early conative experiences but informal interviews with a large number of individuals suggest that the

emotinal residue of early experiences informs much of later practices. Findings related to adolescents and young adults lend some support to this supposition as well.

Before this discussion turns to the adolescents, it might be said that the study with young children raises many intriguing questions which could well serve as foci for future research. Some of these are:

What effects does dress actually have on activity levels? What effects would non-sexist child-rearing practices have on the development of schemata related to appearance? What effects would there be of the absence of the same-sex parent? Do class differences have an effect on the schemata related to dress? How do others perceive a child who is appropriately or inappropriately dressed? What forms do reinforcers of appearance schemata take in boys and girls?

The second study, with male and female adolescents 15 to 17 years of age used a questionnaire format to determine if differential schemata toward appearance also occurred in adolescence.

The study indicated that in their teen years, girls have higher fashion interest than boys, they find their shape to be more of an impediment to their ideal image, and they value aesthetic qualities of apparel more than do boys. The boys, on the other hand, think that their personalities and parents are greater impediments and they tend to value political qualities of apparel more. The two groups do not differ in the discrepancy between their real and ideal images or in the

consistency of their image choices for social events.

The pattern of 'separate development' is visible but not overwhelmingly strong in these results. This would seem to be due to some extent to the measures used as well as to possible maturational developments related to gender identity/role.

Where the two groups differ, they differ fundamentally. The girls seem to be involved with how their image is perceived by others, while the boys would seem to be more concerned with their potency. This sounds very much like the old expressive - instrumental dichotomy.

The findings from this study correspond with Silverman's early work (1945). He showed that social acceptance was a more powerful motive for girls than for boys. They also relate to Ryan's (1954) study. She found that boys desire fewer physical changes than girls do. If the girls in this study see their shapes as impediments to their ideal images it seems likely that they would want to change them more than the boys, who do not perceive their shapes to be impediments.

It is interesting to link these findings to those of the first study with younger children. The aesthetic value, composed of endorsements of the terms beautiful, aesthetically pleasing, and lovely, would seem to be of the same order as decorative interest. In both studies, the females differed from the males on this variable.

Though the boys in the first study differed from the

girls in their orientation toward comfort, both groups did cite comfort as the primary motive in dressing. In this study, the males and females had virtually identical scores on their ratings of the sensory qualities of dress. This was a scale which included endorsement of the terms comfortable, nice feeling, and touchable.

The adolescent girls had a much higher interest in fashion than the boys did. High scores reflect wanting to keep one's wardrobe "in line with the latest fashions", wearing fashionable clothes "because they make me feel good", looking at fashion magazines, liking clothes so much "I would like to spend more on them than I should".

From the perspective of contemporary feminist thinking, it might be argued that all this might be quite insidious. What might be involved in this interest in fashion may be a complex psychic involvement which might deflect the direction of energies from more stable or goal-directed forms of expression.

The essential quality of fashion is change. The individual seeking after the image of fashion must remain in a constant state of becoming, of essential insecurity, because the image is one which is unattainable. In certain crucial respects, this situation may be disabling. As Victorian women's corsets maimed them physically, so the unpredictability of the fashion process may hobble psychically. Modern society can no longer afford to do without the economic contributions of women. In order to serve they must be mobile and so their

oppression might take a different form. From being bound in the waist they may be bound in the mind. The physical bonds which marked woman's position in Victorian bourgeois society may have disappeared only to be replaced by the psychological constraints which the apparent freedom of contemporary society conceals.

Little girls studied in the first part of this dissertation played dress-up games which anticipated their social acts. Dress made the roles possible and fashion interest might be seen as a component in the maintenance of established social relations. The operative terms here is might because this is pure speculation at this point. Future research in this area would be needed in order to determine actual dynamics.

Beside this, the study with adolescents also leads to a number of other potential research areas. One could ask: What interactions occur between situational determinants of dress and personality attributes? What would be the effects of approval or disapproval of dress on self-esteem? What would be the actual bases of clothing and appearance practices? Finally, an exploration of the schemata relating body image to appearance would be a fascinating undertaking.

The third study, with young female adults 18 to 21 years of age used a questionnaire to determine of individuals who vary on the psychological dimension of gender identity/ role differ on aspects of appearance and if these aspects are communicated to others.

The study indicated that females with different gender identities/roles differ on a number of characteristics and that some of the characteristics are communicated to others.

Masculine females had the highest self-rating on masculinity, the lowest on femininity, and the most internalized expectancy of reinforcement. They were taller, heavier, with bigger bust and hip measurements than any of the other subjects, and their ideal heights and weights were also greater.

Feminine females had the lowest rating on masculinity and the highest on femininity in the self-ratings. They had the most interest in decoration and considered decoration and conformity more relevant to their dress than did the other subjects. They also considered themselves to be more controlled by circumstances. They were shortest of all the subjects and weighed least. They had the smallest bust and hip measurements. Their ideal heights and weights were smaller than any other group.

Androgynous females considered conformity less relevant to their dress than did any other group. They tended to be more satisfied with their bodies and felt they compared most favourably when they were undressed.

Neuter females had the least interest in decoration and they considered it least relevant to the way they dressed. They had a more external expectancy of reinforcement,were less satisfied with their bodies and felt they compared least

least favourably when they were undressed.

When it came to anticipating how others would rate them, the Feminine females seemed most accurate, the Masculine group least. The Masculine group and the judges concurred on the ratings for the relevance of decoration, on height, and on weight. The Feminine group and the judges concurred on the ratings for the relevance of decoration, the comparison with others dressed, body satisfaction, and height, weight, bust,waist and hip measurements. The Androgynous group and the judges concurred on the ratings for body satisfaction, height, weight, and bust measurements. The Neuter group and the judges concurred on the ratings for the relevance of decoration, and height, weight,bust, waist, and hip measurements.

Two points about the study are particularly striking. The first is that physical image would seem to be important. On the self-ratings of body satisfaction, not one subject was indifferent to more than a few aspects of her body. Rather, feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction were attached, especially to seemingly key features as eyes, hair and hips.

These feelings seemed to be based to some extent upon cultural notions of desirability and to a lesser extent on idiosyncratic evaluations. Individuals whose shapes were closest to the cultural ideal tended to be most satisfied with their bodies. The fact that those feelings seemed to be shared by others who were judging them would suggest that the image is potent.

The adolescent girls in the second study felt that their shapes were impediments to an ideal image. It would seem from this that even younger females are aware of the desirability of conforming to the cultural ideal.

The more objective evaluations of measurements showed an amazing correspondence between subjects and judges. While it would be expected that this type of judgment would be easier to make than the qualitative measure of satisfaction, the high degree of accuracy may indicate that the body may be a relevant referent in the judging of others. If individuals are fairly accurate in their evaluations of the measurements of others and if they hold attitudes towards those measurements, then the physical presence should inform interactions in an important way.

Secondly, decoration was found to discriminate between groups. This factor, then, cuts across all the studies cited in this dissertation. Attitudes and feelings toward decoration serve to distinguish boys from girls, adolescent males from females, and even females endorsing different gender identities/roles from each other. Finally, it is a schema which is shared. Of all the variables studies, it has consistently arisen as the most telling. Regardless of measure employed, decoration differentiates between groups.

In the introduction to this work, Flugel's (1930) interpretation of decoration was discussed. He wrote that it was a primary motive in dress; that it served to arouse sexual interest, symbolize sexual organs and/or broadcast the

power or availability of the wearer. There is little experimental evidence to support Flugel's thinking. The studies in this dissertation do not do so either -- but they do suggest that decoration may be a strong component of dress. In our society it would seem to be a motive expressed largely by females and, more specifically, by feminine females. Presumably decoration might serve to signify one's gender identity/ role position by the degree of either its absence or presence. It would be worthwhile to pursue the schemata held regarding decoration in further studies. Those discussed in this work provide many clues to the nature of the constructs, to the operation of the system, and to its power. Specific analysis of meanings of decorative aspects such as, for example, jewellery or make-up, might prove quite fruitful. As would further exploration of body image and self-esteem with relation to dress. One possible study might, for example, consider effects of approval or disapproval on self-esteem.

The Models Revisited

Symbolic Interaction

According to Stone (1965), appearance establishes the basis for discourse. One assesses identity, value attitude and mood characteristics of others through their appearance. The awareness of these provides a substratum for meaningful discourse. Essential to Stone's thinking is the necessity of being aware of how one is perceived and recognizing meaningful schemata in others. Interactionists suggest that sharing of awareness is necessary for the validation of

the 'self' of the individuals involved in encounters.

Just how the 'self' becomes validated through inter-action is unclear, but the first study presented in this dissertation offers clues as to the development of meaning in relation to the individual's appearance. It seems possible that meanings about appearance become internalized and incor-porated into the self-schema. The recognition of these mea-nings by others would, then, also imply recognition of some aspect of the self-schema.

Besides having problems with the definition of the 'self', the theory has also been criticized for ignoring emotional and unconscious elements in social interaction. This has not been entirely true. Gross and Stone (1964) stu-died embarrassment. Earlier, Riezler (1943) had studied shame. Still, a few studies do not exactly indicate an in-corporation of emotional or unconscious elements into the theory, and so one must say that this constitutes a real weakness because it ignores such a fundamental aspect of hu-man interaction.

The study with children may offer some tentative clues to correcting the situation. Emotion, in the form of liking or disliking garments, was shown to be connected with gender identity/role related appearance schemata. At the same time, the possibility that the conscious basis of awareness or action might contain some unconscious element was eviden-ced by the general response that people wear clothes to keep warm -- even though there were differential affective respon-

ses to qualities of dress.

Other criticism arise from the studies described in this dissertation. One is that the theory suggests that programs, anticipations, and reviews should more or less coincide for meaning to ensue in any interaction. From the experience of the final study with young adults, it would seem that certain schemata coincide but questions remain as to what type of schemata are necessary for the initiation of discourse and for its continuance. Stone (1965) states that identity, value, attitude and mood are conveyed by appearance. Are all these necessarily recognized for discourse which might validate the individual to ensue? If not, which stimuli might be essential? Is there some sort of stimulus summation or threshold effect? If this occurs, is it culturally determined (as the theory might predict) or is it more idiosyncratic?

What circumstances are essential and what not in the conveying of meaning by appearance? The study with young adults suggests that static images convey limited information. And does the nature and duration of the following discourse have an effect on the schemata used?

It is obvious from the above that much research needs to be done. It may be less obvious, but it is nevertheless so, that with contemporary activity directed toward understanding and formulating cognitive structures of personal social reality, the symbolic interactionist model may still provide a promising, potentially productive structure.

Gender Identity/Role

Current thinking on gender identity/role has moved away from the the traditional conception of masculinity and femininity as being bi-polar traits. It now reflects the belief that nay individual might have some traits or behaviours which might be considered to be masculine and some which might be considered to be feminine.

The studies discussed in this dissertation suggest, however, that though bi-polarity of gender identity/role may no longer be an acceptable theoretical position, there are still forces operating to polarize identities/roles. Time and again, the masculine and feminine subjects were at the extremes of measures such as locus of control or physical size.

It would be worthwhile to attempt to replicate the findings, especially on differences in physical size. If they were shown to operate with diverse groups of subjects, this could open up a whole new dimension to gender identity/ role research.

The characteristics and speculations about members of the gender identity/role groups could also be explored. Is there a feeling of self-transformation through dress for feminine subjects? Would putting subjects in different clothes or make-up affect their performance in different situations depending on their gender identity/role position? Are self-satisfaction and -dissatisfaction related to perceived adequacy of dress? Who are the Neuter subjects?

The Bem Sex Role Inventory was used in this dissertation. It proved to be easy to administer and score and it served adequately in the case of the third study. However, it can be criticized on some points. One of the most troubling is the lack of absolute criteria for differentiating among groups. Unlike, for example, the Wechsler Scales of intelligence, the means of the BSRI vary with the group tested. Hypothetically, this could mean that, for example, a group which was generally high on femininity and had a mean of say, 5.5 on femininity and 2.1 on masculinity would have to be arbitrarily divided according to those means. Thus, an individual with a score of 5.4 on femininity and 2.2 on masculinity would have to be classed as Masculine. Consider the havoc this might wreak on predictions based upon hypotheses of gender identity/role differences.

The BSRI could be improved through the establishment of norms. It would also benefit from the inclusion of situational determinants and the weighting of traits and behaviours.

The impetus behind the development of the Inventory a decade ago does not seem to have been misguided. Much research and thinking have been generated by it. It now requires refinement.

Concluding Remarks

The course of true research does not run smooth. Accordingly, the studies described in this dissertation show both limitations and exciting potentialities.

Because of the restricted empirical material avail-

able, they are considered to be exploratory rather than definitive. In spite of this constraint, they demonstrate quite vigorously the potency of appearance as a factor in gender identity/role. Critical variables and processes accounting for phenomena now need further elucidation. Validation using others groups of subjects and investigative methods would add substantially to the findings of this work. A longitudinal study tracing elements uncovered by it would be particularly valuable.

The development of a corpus of knowledge could have both theoretical and practical significance. Because it would seem to be meaningful, appearance might provide a focus for the study of, for example, cognitive processes, social interactions, or clinical evaluations. Practically, it could aid immeasurably in such applications as rehabilitation of psychiatric patients, non-sexist child rearing, or social skills training.

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APPENDIX A

CHILDREN'S INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

AGE_____   SEX_____

WHAT KINDS OF CLOTHES DO

    MUMS WEAR?

    DADS WEAR?

    BOYS WEAR?

    GIRLS WEAR?

WHAT ARE YOUR FAVOURITE CLOTHES?   WHY?

WHAT CLOTHES DO YOU LIKE THE LEAST?   WHY?

DO YOU WEAR DIFFERENT CLOTHES   WHAT?

    AFTER SCHOOL?

    TO PARTIES?

    ON SUNDAYS?

DO YOU PLAY DRESS-UP GAMES? WHAT GAMES ARE YOUR FAVOURITES?

WHY DO YOU THINK PEOPLE WEAR CLOTHES?

APPENDIX B

HUMAN FIGURE DRAWING FEATURES

The features rated on the Human Figure Drawings were:

ARTIFACTUAL DETAILS: Slacks   Buttons

                        Skirt   Bow/Ribbon

                        Top/Jumper   Hat

                        Dress   Brassiere

                        Shoes   Socks

PHYSICAL DETAILS: Head   Body

                        Eyes   Arms

                        Nose   Hands

                        Mouth   Fingers

                        Hair   Legs

                        Neck   Feet

                        Height of Figure

APPENDIX C
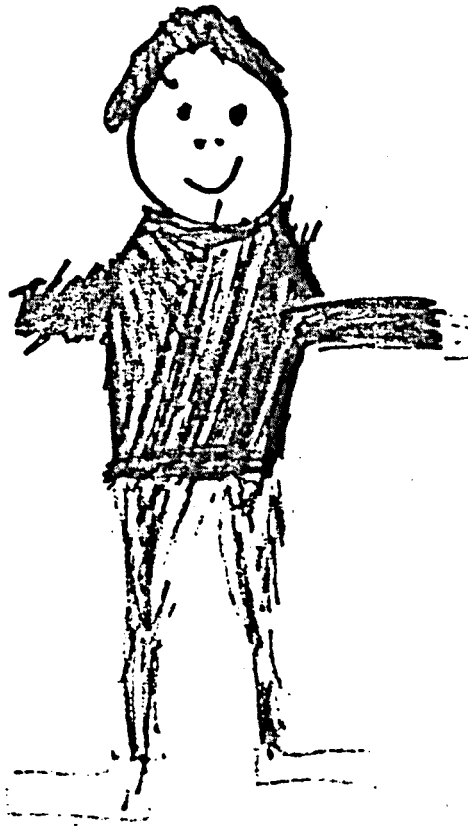
MALE FIGURE:

BOY AGE 6

FEMALE FIGURE:

BOY AGE 6
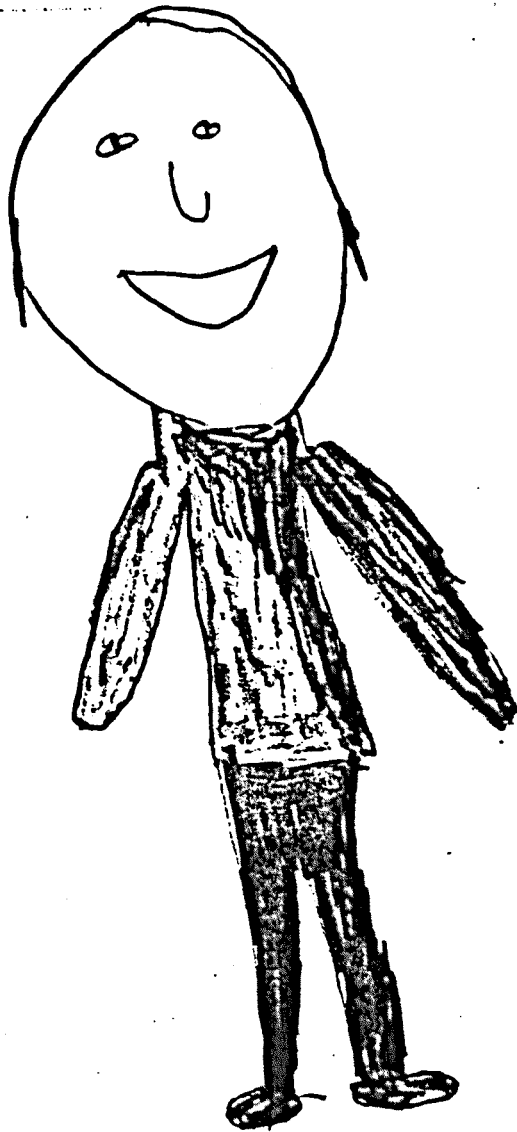
MALE FIGURE:

GIRL 7.5

FEMALE FIGURE:

GIRL 7.5

APPENDIX D

ADOLESCENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME _____   ADDRESS _____

AGE _____   _____

MOST OF MY CLOTHES TEND TO BE (tic one)

      _____ UP-TO-THE-MINUTE (very fashionable)

      _____ SMART (fashionable but not faddy)

      _____ CLASSIC (slightly out of style)

      _____ COUNTER-CULTURE (never were in fashion)

      _____ OTHER (specify _____)

IDEALLY, I WOULD LIKE MOST OF MY CLOTHES TO BE (tic one)

      _____ UP-TO-THE-MINUTE (very fashionable)

      _____ SMART (fashionable but not faddy)

      _____ CLASSIC (slightly out of style)

      _____ COUNTER-CULTURE (never were in fashion)

      _____ OTHER (specify _____)

WHAT GETS IN THE WAY BETWEEN YOUR CLOTHES AS THEY ARE AND AS YOU WOULD IDEALLY LIKE THEM TO BE? (tic all that are important)

      _____ SHAPE

      _____ MONEY

      _____ PERSONALITY

      _____ PARENTS

      _____ FRIENDS

      _____ OTHER (specify _____)

(Fashion Interest)

INDICATE FOR EACH STATEMENT WHETHER YOU FEEL IT IS -

DT - definitely true

PT - partly true (more true than false)

U - uncertain

PF - partly false (more false than true)

DF - definitely false

I try to keep my wardrobe in line with
    the latest fashions.   DT PT U PF DF

I wear fashionable clothes because they
    make me feel good.   DT PT U PF DF

I like to be considered one of the best
    dressed in a group.   DT PT U PF DF

I enjoy talking about fashion changes with
    friends.   DT PT U PF DF

I like to look at fashion magazines.   DT PT U PF DF

I like clothes so much that I would like
    to spend more on them than I should. DT PT U PF DF

If I saw some bit of clothing or acces-
    sory I liked, I would skimp on some-
    thing in order to buy it.   DT PT U PF DF

Newspaper, magazine, and television ac-
    counts of what people who are famous
    wear are interesting.   DT PT U PF DF

(Self Rating)

INSTRUCTIONS:

Please rate yourself as you actually think you are according to the following scale -

1.- Agree   2.-Mildly Agree   3.-Uncertain   4.-Mildly Disagree

5.-Disagree

For each adjective, circle the number that best describes you as you are.

Formal	1 2 3 4 5	Attractive	1 2 3 4 5
Sophisticated	1 2 3 4 5	Fashionable	1 2 3 4 5
Tough-minded	1 2 3 4 5	Social climber	1 2 3 4 5
Conservative	1 2 3 4 5	Independent	1 2 3 4 5
Extroverted	1 2 3 4 5	Conforming	1 2 3 4 5

Now, according to the same scale, rate yourself as you would ideally like to be.

1.-Agree   2.-Mildly Agree   3.-Uncertain   4.-Mildly Disagree

5.-Disagree

Formal	1 2 3 4 5	Attractive	1 2 3 4 5
Sophisticated	1 2 3 4 5	Fashionable	1 2 3 4 5
Tough-minded	1 2 3 4 5	Social climber	1 2 3 4 5
Conservative	1 2 3 4 5	Independent	1 2 3 4 5
Extroverted	1 2 3 4 5	Conforming	1 2 3 4 5

(Dogmatism)

Listed below are a number of statements. Each represents a commonly held opinion. There are no right or wrong answers. You will probably agree with some and disagree with others. We are interested in the extent to which you agree or disagree with such matters of opinion.

Read each statement carefully. Then indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by circliny the number to the right of the statement. The numbers and their meanings are:

Agree Strongly	+3	Disagree Strongly	-3
Agree Somewhat	+2	Disagree Somewhat	-2
Agree Slightly	+1	Disagree Slightly	-1

First impressions are usually best in such matters. Read each statement, decide if you agree or disagree and the strength of your opinion, and then circle the appropriate number by the statement. Give your opinion on every statement.

a. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.   +3 +2 +1 -1 -2 -3

b. My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong.   +3 +2 +1 -1 -2 -3

c. There are two kinds of people in this world; those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.   +3 +2 +1 -1 -2 -3

d. Most people just don't know what's good for them.   +3 +2 +1 -1 -2 -3

e. Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one which is correct.   +3 +2 +1 -1 -2 -3

f. The highest form of governemnt is a democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are the most intelligent.   +3 +2 +1 -1 -2 -3

g. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.   +3 +2 +1 -1 -2 -3

h. I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.   +3 +2 +1 -1 -2 -3

i. Most of the ideas that get printed
   nowadays aren't worth the paper they're
   printed on.   +3 +2 +1 -1 -2 -3

j. Man on his own is a helpless and mi-
   serable creature.   +3 +2 +1 -1 -2 -3

WHAT TYPE OF OUTFIT WOULD YOU CHOOSE TO WEAR

	Up-to-the Minute	Smart	Classic	Counter Culture	Other (name)
to a disco					
to a party					
to visit a friend					
to a pub					
out to dinner					
to an interview					
to a pop concert					
to a football game					
to the cinema					
to church					
to best reflect how you see yourself					

(Events)

(Clothing Values)

INSTRUCTIONS:
Please rate the following adjectives according to
the scale:

1.Seldom   2.Occasionally   3.About half the time

4.A good deal of the time   5.Most of the time

Circle the number after each word(s) that fits you most
closely when you complete the following sentence --

WHEN I BUY CLOTHES, IT IS IMPORTANT TO ME THAT THEY SHOULD BE

Aesthetically pleasing	1 2 3 4 5
Approachable	1 2 3 4 5
Beautiful	1 2 3 4 5
Chaste	1 2 3 4 5
Comfortable	1 2 3 4 5
Decent	1 2 3 4 5
Durable	1 2 3 4 5
Economical	1 2 3 4 5
Friendly	1 2 3 4 5
High status	1 2 3 4 5
Impressive	1 2 3 4 5
Labour saving	1 2 3 4 5
Lovely	1 2 3 4 5
Modest	1 2 3 4 5
Nice feeling	1 2 3 4 5
Prestigious	1 2 3 4 5
Sociable	1 2 3 4 5
Touchable	1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX E

STIMULUS FIGURES FOR SLIDE
SELECTION

FEMININE APPEARANCE
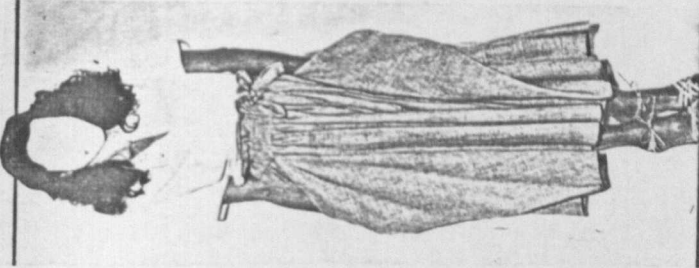
MASCULINE APPEARANCE
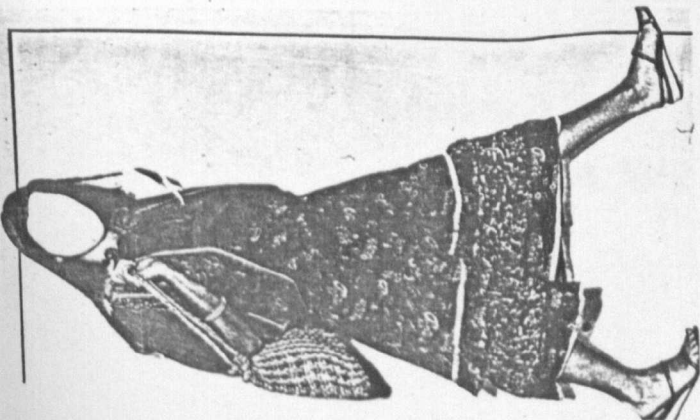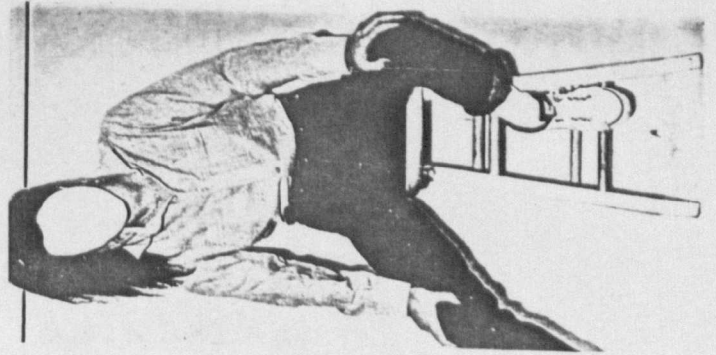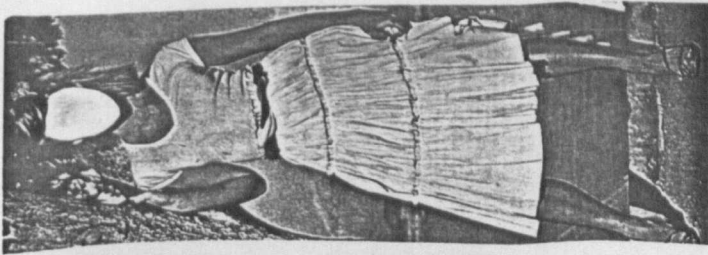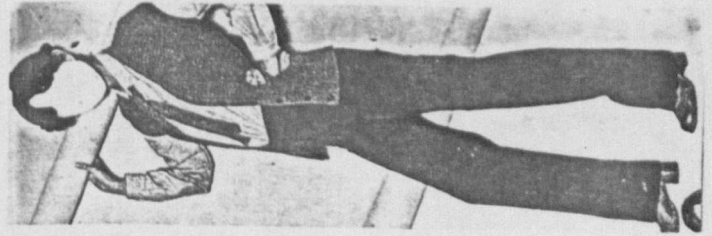
APPENDIX F

SCORING FORM FOR SLIDES

Slide No. _____

      MASCULINE ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ NOT MASCULINE

      FEMININE ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ NOT FEMININE

          SUITABLE FOR 18-19 YR. OLD   YES NO

          SUITABLE FOR 20-21 YR. OLD   YES NO

Slide No. _____

      NOT MASCULINE ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ MASCULINE

      NOT FEMININE ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ FEMININE

          SUITABLE FOR 18-19 YR. OLD   YES NO

          SUITABLE FOR 20-21 YR. OLD   YES NO

Slide No. _____

      FEMININE ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ NOT FEMININE

      MASCULINE ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ NOT MASCULINE

          SUITABLE FOR 18-19 YR. OLD   YES NO

          SUITABLE FOR 20-21 YR. OLD   YES NO

Slide No. _____

      NOT FEMININE ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ FEMININE

      NOT MASCULINE ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ MASCULINE

          SUITABLE FOR 18-19 YR. OLD   YES NO

          SUITABLE FOR 20-21 YR. OLD   YES NO

APPENDIX G

RECRUITING STATEMENTS

Posters were put up at several points on the University of Liverpool campus. They took the following form (in large, coloured print):

FEMALE VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

AGE 18 to 21

FOR A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN

ASPECTS OF PERSONALITY AND THE WAYS PEOPLE

DRESS

TODAY : DAY'S DATE

TIMES : LIST OF TIMES

ROOM : ROOM NUMBER IN

PSYCHOLOGY DEPARTMENT

INTERESTING - LASTS ABOUT 40 - 50 MINUTES.

(BRING A FRIEND!)

Verbal recruitment took the form of the following
statement:

Hello, my name is Sandra Baxter. I am a graduate stu-
dent in the Department of Psychology. Dr. _____/ Mr._____
has been kind enough to allow me to come to your class to-
day to ask for help with a study I'm running as part of my
Ph.D. work.

I'm looking for female volunteers aged 18 to 21. In
my study, I'm trying to see if there is any relationship
between a person's personality and the ways they dress. Stu-
dents who have taken part so far have found it really inte-
resting. It lasts about forty to fifty minutes.

I'll pass a sheet around with times that are available
for anyone who would like to participate to sign up. I'll
collect it at the end of the period. I do hope that you'll
help me out with this. You'll enjoy it. And if you have a
friend who would like to take part, do bring her along.

Thanks very much for your time.

Are there any questions?

APPENDIX H

To the Volunteer:

As part of my doctoral research in the Department of Psychology at the University of Liverpool, I am investigating what relation there might be between personality, feelings about the body, and the ways people dress.

There are several pages of questions here, but they are quite straightforward. However, if you have any queries please feel free to ask me about what puzzles you. Please don't confer with anyone else answering the questionnaire as they may influence the way you answer.

An important point I want to make is that there are no right or wrong answers. I am interested simply in seeing what relations may exist in your ordinary experience. Please try to be as honest as possible. All information is strictly confidential.

At the end of the questionnaire, a full length photo will be taken. I would like to have others rate the photo on the scales on which you have rated yourself to see if the ratings are similar. If you agree to this, please write your initials hers. _____

Could you now fill in the basic information below and then I will tell you when to begin the rest of the questionnaire.

NAME _____   PROPOSED DEGREE _____

ADDRESS _____   MAJOR SUBJECT _____

_____

_____   AGE _____

TELEPHONE _____

If you would like to know something of my findings, please tic this box: ☐

Thank you very much for your help in this project.

Sacha Baxter

You will be shown a set of six slides of women in different types of outfits. The faces are blanked out so that you can concentrate on the way they're dressed.

You are asked to do the following:-

Tic the response which seems closest to your feelings about whether you would or would not wear that general type of outfit. (It is important that you do not rate how you feel about the specific outfit. It is not the details which are important but rather the overall way the outfit looks.)

SLIDE NO. _____

    MY FEELING ABOUT WEARING THIS TYPE OF OUTFIT IS:

YES, I DEFINITELY WOULD	YES, I WOULD	I'M NEUTRAL	NO, I WOULD NOT	NO, I DEFINITELY WOULD NOT
___	___	___	___	___

SLIDE NO. _____

    MY FEELING ABOUT WEARING THIS TYPE OF OUTFIT IS:

YES, I DEFINITELY WOULD	YES, I WOULD	I'M NEUTRAL	NO, I WOULD NOT	NO, I DEFINITELY WOULD NOT
___	___	___	___	___

SLIDE NO. _____

    MY FEELING ABOUT WEARING THIS TYPE OF OUTFIT IS:

YES, I DEFINITELY WOULD	YES, I WOULD	I'M NEUTRAL	NO, I WOULD NOT	NO, I DEFINITELY WOULD NOT
___	___	___	___	___

(Two pages in this form were provided in the
actual questionnaire.)

(Bem Sex Role Inventory)

INSTRUCTIONS

On the next sheet there are a large number of personality wharacteristics. I would like you to use these characteristics in order to describe yourself. That is, I would like you to indicate, on a scale from 1 to 7, how true of you those various characteristics are. Please do not leave any characteristics unmarked.

EXAMPLE: –
| SLY | 1 |

Mark 1 if it is NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE that you are SLY

Mark 2 if it is USUALLY TRUE

Mark 3 if it is SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE

Mark 4 if it is OCCASIONALLY TRUE

Mark 5 if it is OFTEN TRUE

Mark 6 if it is USUALLY TRUE

Mark 7 if it is ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE

DESCRIBE YOURSELF

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never or almost never true	Usually not true	Sometimes but in- frequently true	Occasionally true	Often true	Usually true	Always or almost always true

Self-reliant		Reliable		Masculine	
Yielding		Analytical		Warm	
Helpful		Sympathetic		Solemn	
Defends own beliefs		Jealous		Willing to take a stand	
Cheerful		Has leadership abilities		Tender	
Moody		Sensitive to the needs of others		Friendly	
Independent		Truthful		Aggressive	
Shy				Gullible	
Conscientious		Willing to take risks		Inefficient	
Athletic		Understanding		Acts as a leader	
Affectionate		Secretive		Childlike	
Theatrical		Makes decisions easily		Adaptable	
Assertive				Individualistic	
Flatterable		Compassionate		Does not use harsh language	
Happy		Sincere		
Strong personality		Self-sufficient		Unsystematic	
Loyal		Eager to soothe hurt feelings		Competitive	
Unpredictable		Conceited		Loves children	
Forceful		Dominant		Tactful	
		Soft-spoken		Ambitious	
Feminine		Likable		Gentle	
				Conventional	

Please tick the point, on a five-point scale, which most closely reflects how relevant the following dimensions are to your approach to dress:

ECONOMY:

Highly Relevant ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Not Relevant

DECORATION:

Highly Relevant ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Not Relevant

CONFORMITY:

Highly Relevant ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Not Relevant

COMFORT:

Highly Relevant ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Not Relevant

INTEREST:

Highly Relevant ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Not Relevant

Please tick the points (one on each five-point scale)which you feel best reflects how you see yourself:

Masculine ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Not Masculine

Feminine ____ ____ ____ ____ ____ Not Feminine

(Self-Ratings on Dress, Masculinity, Femininity)

(I-E Scale)

This part of the questionnaire is to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered a or b. Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you're concerned. Be sure to select the one you actually _believe_ to be more true rather than the one you think you should choose or the one you would like to be true. Theis is a measure of personal belief : obviously there are no right or wrong answers.

Please answer these items _carefully_ but do not spend too much time on any one item. Be sure to find an answer for _every_ choice. Circle the letter a or b which you choose as the statement more true.

In some instances you may discover that you believe both statements or neither one. In such cases, be sure to select the _one_ you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you're concerned. Also try to respond to each item _independently_ when making your choice; do not be influenced by your previous choices.

1. a- Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.

   b- The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

---

2. a- Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.

   b- People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

---

3. a- One of the major reasons we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.

   b- There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

---

4. a- In the long run, people get the respect they deserve in this world.

   b- Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

---

5. a- The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.

   b- Most students don't recognize the extent to which their grades are influenced.

---

6. a- Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.

   b- Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

---

7. a- No matter how hard you try, some people just don't like you.

   b- People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

---

8. a- Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.

   b- It is one's experience in life which determines what they're like.

---

9. a- I have often found that what is going to happen will
       happen.

   b- Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as
       making a decision to take a definite course of action.

10.a- In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely
       if ever such a thing as an unfair test.

   b- Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to
       course work that studying is really useless.

11.a- Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has
       little or nothing to do with it.

   b- Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right
       place at the right time.

12.a- The average citizen can have an influence in government
       decisions.

   b- This world is run by the few people in power, and there
       is not much the little guy can do about it.

13.a- When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make
       them work.

   b- It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many
       things turn out to be a matter of good or bad for-
       tune anyhow.

14.a- There are certain people who are just no good.
   b- There is some good in everybody.

15.a- In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to
       do with luck.

   b- Many times we might just as well decide what to do by
       flipping a coin.

16.a- Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky
       enough to be in the right place first.

   b- Getting people to do the right thing depends upon abili-
       ty, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

17.a- As far as world affairs are concernae, most of us are victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.

   b- By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

18.a- Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.

   b- There really is no such thing as "luck".

19.a- One should always be willing to admit mistakes.

   b- It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

20.a- It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.

   b- How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

21.a- In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.

   b- Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

22.a- With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.

   b- It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

23.a- Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.

   b- There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

24.a- A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.

   b- A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

25.a- Many times I feel that I have little influence over the
    things that happen to me.

  b- It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck
    plays an important role in my life.

26.a- People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.

  b- There's not much use in trying too hard to please
    people, if they like you, they like you.

27.a- There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.

  b- Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

28.a- What happens to me is my own doing.

  b- Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over
    the direction my life is taking.

29.a- Most of the time I can't understand why politicians
    behave the way they do.

  b- In the long run the people are responsible for bad go-
    vernment on a national as well as on a local level.

This part of the questionnaire is about your body and your dress. Again, please be careful and answer every question. In the first eight questions, the ratings range from:

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5

1. I dress to emphasize my 'good points'. 1 2 3 4 5

2. I take aspects of my body into account when I buy or wear something. 1 2 3 4 5

3. I don't dress to emphasize parts of my body with which I am satisfied. 1 2 3 4 5

4. I'd buy or wear anything if it appealed to me. 1 2 3 4 5

5. Aspects of my body aren't taken into account when I buy or wear something. 1 2 3 4 5

6. I would buy or wear something which emphasized a part(s) of my body with which I am dissatisfied. 1 2 3 4 5

7. Because of aspects of my body, there are certain things I'd never buy or wear, no matter how popular. 1 2 3 4 5

8. I dress to 'camouflage' parts of my body with which I am dissatisfied. 1 2 3 4 5

Please tick the point, on a five-point scale, which most closely reflects how you feel:

I pretty much control what happens to me.	___ ___ ___ ___ ___	Circumstances pretty much control what happens to me.

(Body Consideration and Self-Rating on Locus of Control Scales)

CLOTHING OPINIONNAIRE

DIRECTIONS: Each of the statements on this opinionnaire expresses the opinion or behavior of a particular person in regard to the selection and use of women's clothing. If the statement is true or mostly true about you, please encircle the letter "T" after the statement; if the statement is false or mostly false about you, please encircle the letter "F" after the statement.

1. I like close-fitting, figure-revealing clothes   T   F

2. I try to choose clothes which are like those which most women are currently wearing.   T   F

3. I like to "dress up", and I usually spend a lot of time doing so.   T   F

4. I approve of the Bikini bathing suit and wouldn't mind wearing one myself.   T   F

5. I usually dress for warmth rather than fashion.   T   F

6. When buying clothes, I am more interested in practicality than beauty.   T   F

7. I see nothing wrong with wearing dresses which have plunging necklines.   T   F

8. When shopping, I look around quite a bit to make certain that I get the best article of clothing at the lowest price.   T   F

9. I don't like to wear "trinkets" such as earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and other jewelry.   T   F

10. A new pair of shoes makes me feel like a new person.   T   F

11. The men whom I know always notice what I wear.   T   F

12. It is very important to be in style.   T   F

13. There is nothing like something new to improve my morale.   T   F

14. I think that most men "notice" what a woman is wearing.   T   F

15. I plan what I'm going to wear at least a day or two in advance. T F

16. I like to try out new "effects" in my clothing which others will admire and envy. T F

17. I usually mend my own clothes. T F

18. I think that women dress primarily for men rather than for other women. T F

19. I buy clothes for comfort rather than appearance. T F

20. I try to choose clothes which are different from those which most women are currently wearing. T F

21. I like to feel that my clothes are supporting me or holding me up. T F

22. I think that most women tend to wear too many clothes. T F

23. In choosing my clothes, I try to buy something that my parents approve of. T F

24. The ideal garment is one that is as simple as possible. T F

25. I usually buy my clothes at the end of the season. T F

26. I like to make my own clothes. T F

27. If I had more money, I would spend it on clothes. T F

28. I think that a woman should become more conservative in her dress after she marries. T F

29. I should like to be a dress designer. T F

30. I have bought a lot of clothes in the last year. T F

31. I should love to be a fashion model. T F

32. I spend quite a bit of time reading about styles and fashions in magazines and newspapers. T F

33. I usually buy my clothes at the beginning of the season. T F

(Clothing Inventory)

Please list the numbers of each of the following items which are in your wardrobe. (If you can't remember exactly, guess.) Fill in each space. If you have none of the item(s) listed, please put a zero (0) in the space.

Coats......................._____

Dresses....................._____

Blouses/Tops................_____

Jackets....................._____

Sweaters...................._____
   (pullovers, cardigans, etc.)

Shorts/Slacks/Jeans........._____

Skirts......................_____
   (short, long, etc.)

Brassieres.................._____

Slips......................._____

Nightgowns.................._____

Pyjamas....................._____

Sportswear.................._____
   (swimsuit, track suit, etc.)

Shoes/Boots................._____

Gloves/Bags................._____

Hats......................._____

Pieces of Jewelry..........._____
   (rings, necklaces, etc.)

Items of Make-up..........._____
   (rouge, lipstick, etc.)

Scarves....................._____

On the whole, my wardrobe is: (circle one)

Very Unsatisfactory	Unsatisfactory	No Feeling Either Way	Satisfactory	Very Satisfactory
1	2	3	4	5

(Body Satisfaction)

On the page(s) below are listed a number of aspects of the human body. You are asked to rate them according to how you feel about your own body. The ratings range from:

EXTREMELY DISSATISFIED	QUITE DISSATISFIED	DISSATISFIED
1	2	3

	NO FEELING EITHER WAY	
	4	

SATISFIED	QUITE SATISFIED	EXTREMELY SATISFIED
5	6	7

Consider each aspect carefully and then circle the number which best represents your feelings. Make sure you circle a number for every aspect.

It is essential that you be honest about your feelings. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers.

Overall Facial Appearance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Eyes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ears	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mouth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Teeth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Chin	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Complexion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Neck	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Shoulders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Arms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hands	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Breasts (Bust)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Waist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Abdomen (Belly)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hips	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Thighs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Calves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Height	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Weight	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Overall Body Appearance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(Measurements)

My measurements are: **Height** _____

                                      Weight _____

                                      Bust _____

                                      Waist _____

                                      Hips _____

My ideal measurements are: **Height** _____

                                      Weight _____

                                      Bust _____

                                      Waist _____

                                      Hips _____

Someone else, looking at me the way I'm dressed right now
would say:

                                      Height _____

                                      Weight _____

                                      Bust _____

                                      Waist _____

                                      Hips _____

(If you are unsure of an answer, please guess approximately.)

(Comparison and Liking Scales)

Now please rate the following statements.

Scales are given for each statement.

1. Compared to others, the way I'm dressed right now I would say I look:

Much Above Average	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Much Below Average
1	2	3	4	5

2. Compared to others, undressed, I would say I usually look:

Much Above Average	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Much Below Average
1	2	3	4	5

3. The way I'm dressed right now, someone else would say that compared to others I look:

Much Above Average	Above Average	Average	Below Average	Much Below Average
1	2	3	4	5

4. On the whole, I would rate the way I'm dressed right now as follows:

Like Very Much	Like	Neutral	Dislike	Dislike Very Much
1	2	3	4	5

(Anticipated Ratings: Dress, Locus of Control,Gender Identity)

Please tick the point, on a five-point scale, which most closely reflects how someone else, looking at you the way you're dressed right now, would rate the relevance of the following dimensions to your approach to dress:

DECORATION:

Highly Relevant ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Not Relevant

COMFORT:

Highly Relevant ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Not Relevant

INTEREST:

Highly Relevant ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Not Relevant

CONFORMITY:

Highly Relevant ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Not Relevant

ECONOMY:

Highly Relevant ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Not Relevant

Please tick the point, on a five point scale, which most closely reflects how someone else, looking at you the way you're dressed right now, would rate how you feel:

I pretty much control what happens to me. ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Circumstances pretty much control what happens to me.

Please tick the points (one on each five-point scale) which most closely reflect how someone else, looking at you the way you're dressed right now, would rate how you see yourself:

Not Feminine ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Feminine

Not Masculine ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Masculine

(Anticipated Body Satisfaction)

Below you will find a list of aspects of the human body.
Please rate them according to what you think someone else
(seeing you the way you're dressed right now) would say you
feel about your body.

(Try to picture yourself as someone else might see you
and try to decide what message about your feelings
about your body you're sending.)

The ratings range from:

EXTREMELY SATISFIED	QUITE SATISFIED	SATISFIED
7	6	5

NO FEELING
EITHER WAY

4

DISSATISFIED	QUITE DISSATISFIED	EXTREMELY DISSATISFIED
3	2	1

Overall Facial Appearance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Eyes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ears	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mouth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Teeth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Chin	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Complexion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Neck	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Shoulders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Arms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hands	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Breasts (Bust)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Waist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Abdomen (Belly)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hips	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Thighs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Calves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Height	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Weight	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Overall Body Appearance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX I

LAYOUT OF EXPERIMENTAL ROOM
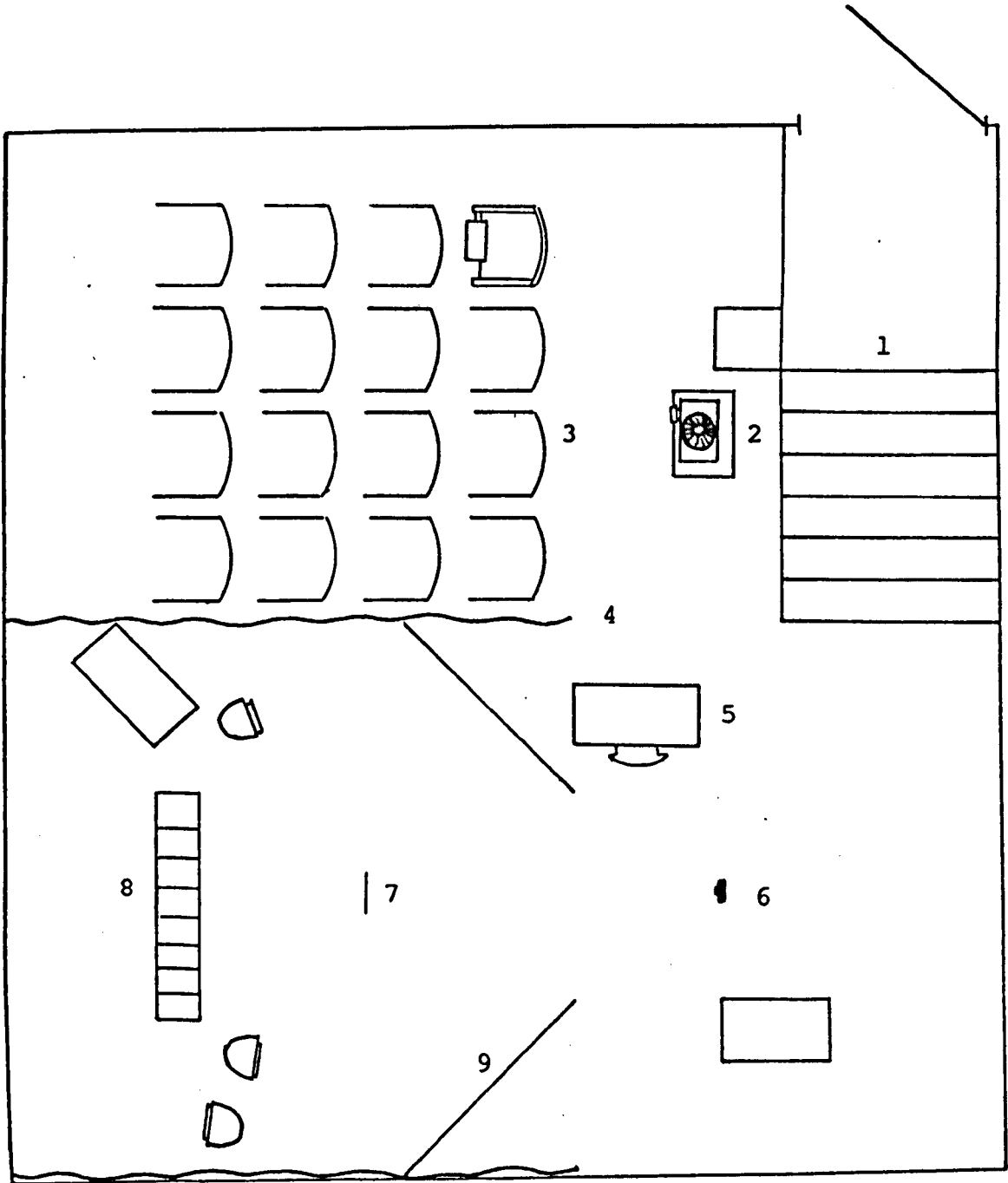
KEY:

1. Entrance
2. Projector
3. Desk-chairs
4. Curtains
5. Desk
6. Camera
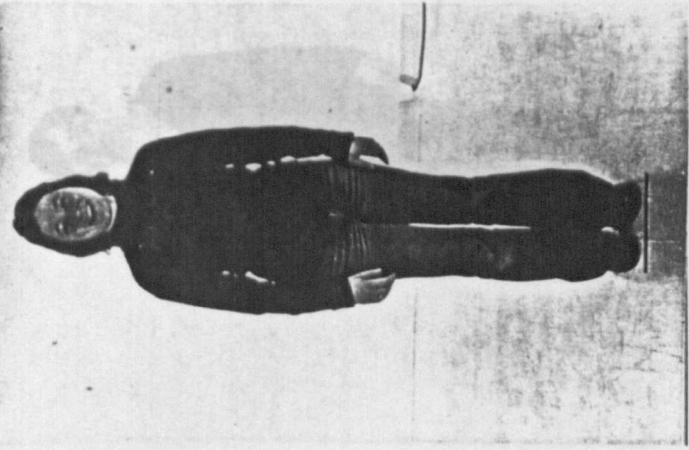7. Subject Position
8. Lights
9. Reflective Screens

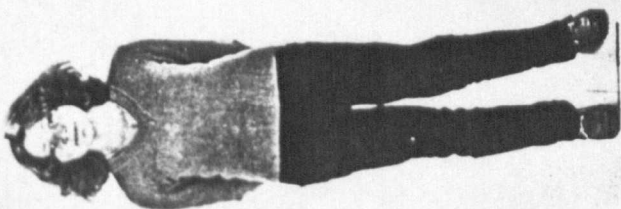APPENDIX J

FEMININE STIMULUS SUBJECTS
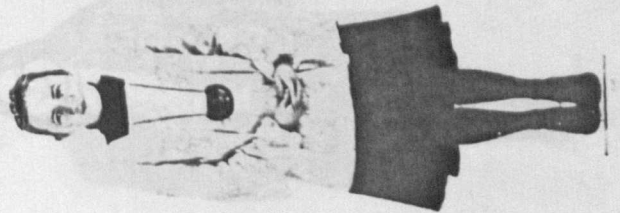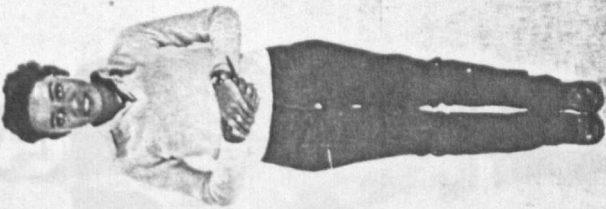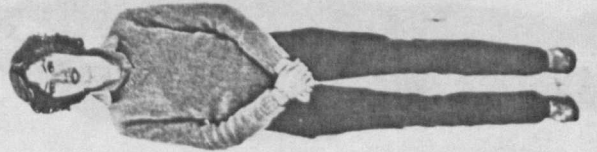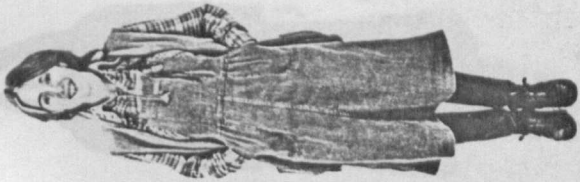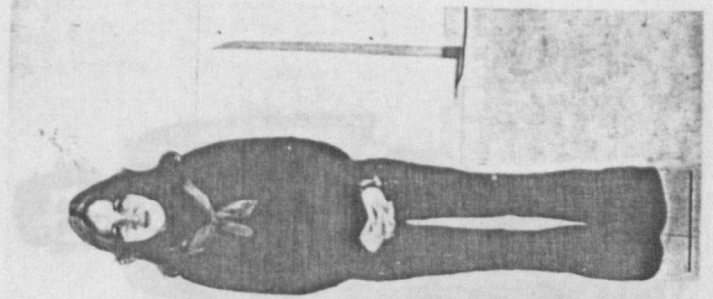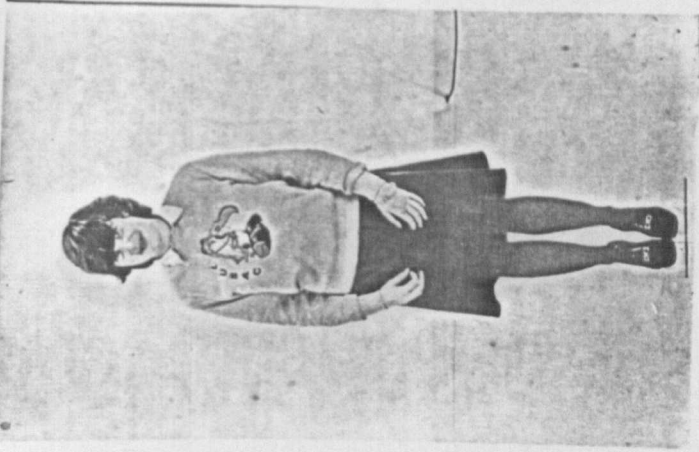
MASCULINE STIMULUS SUBJECTS
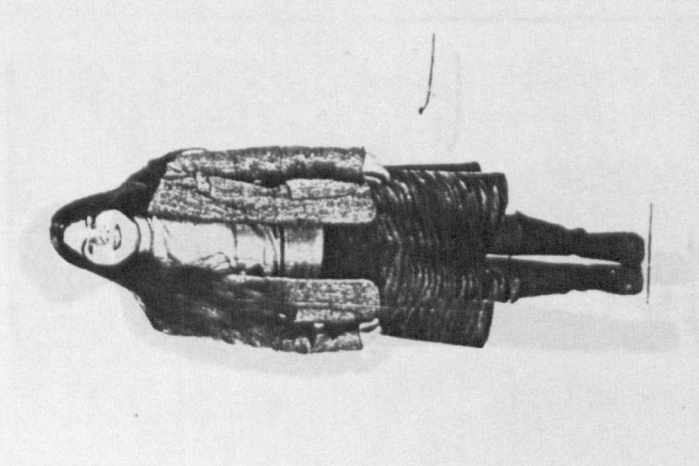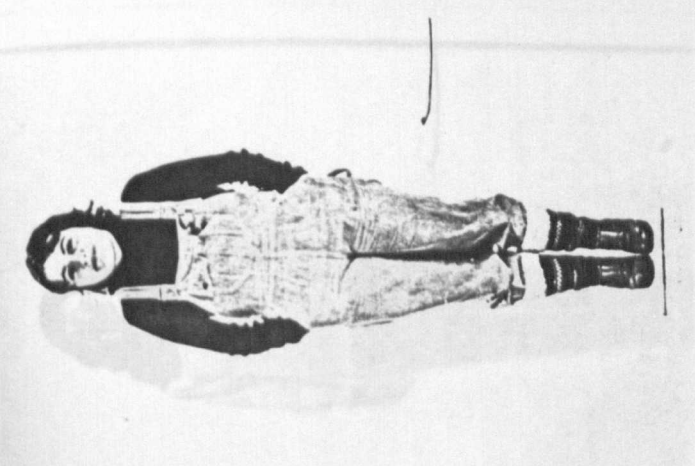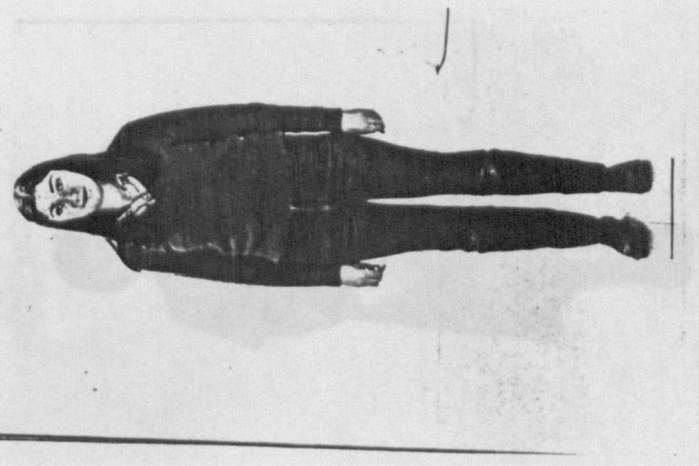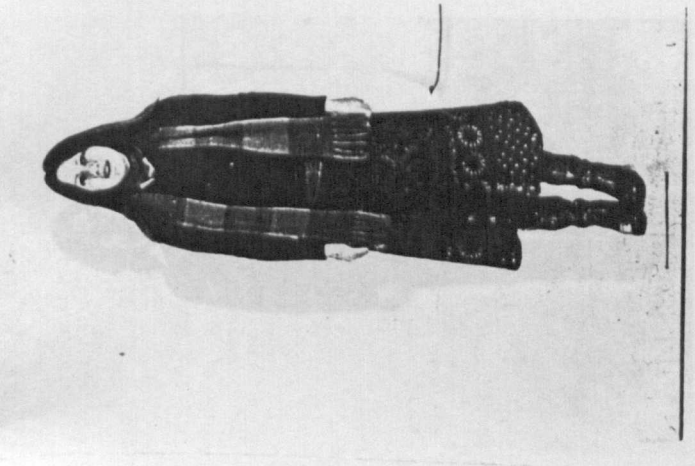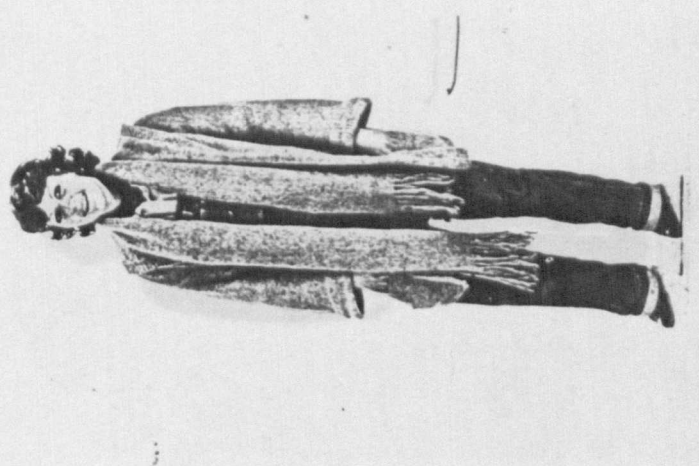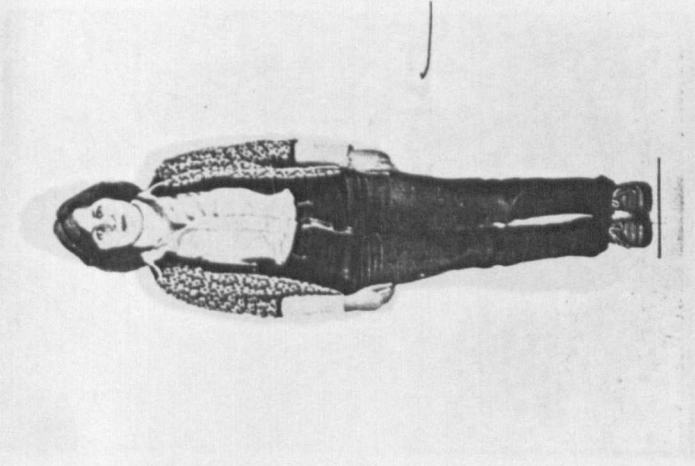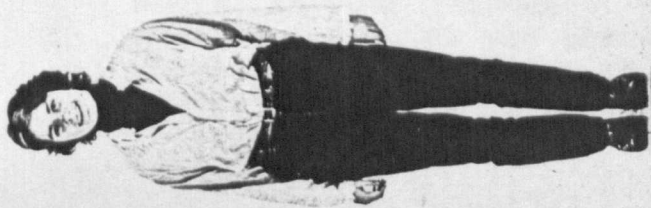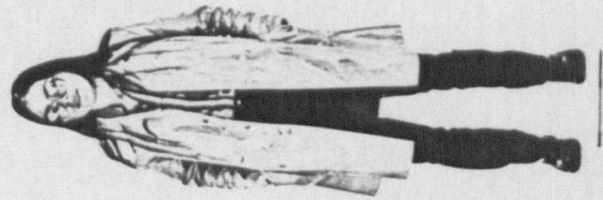
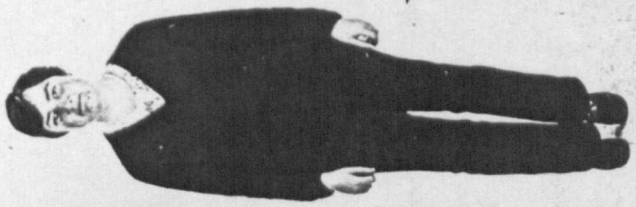ANDROGYNOUS STIMULUS SUBJECTS
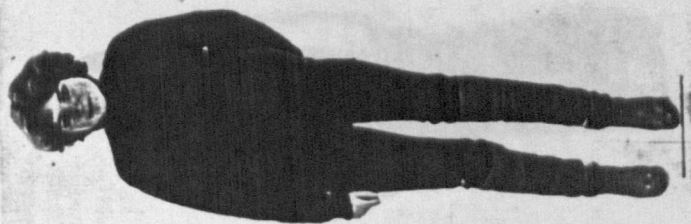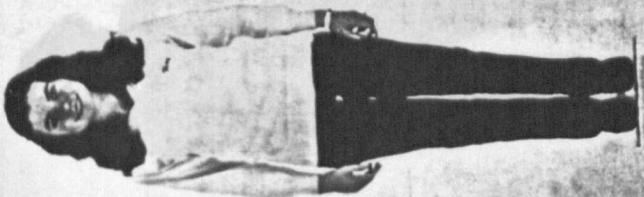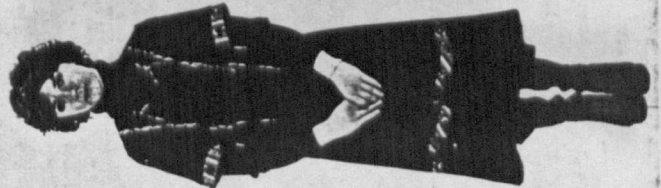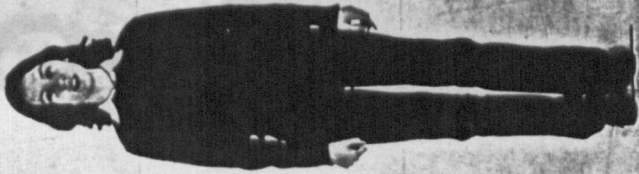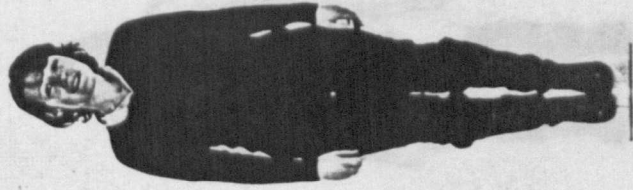
NEUTER STIMULUS SUBJECTS
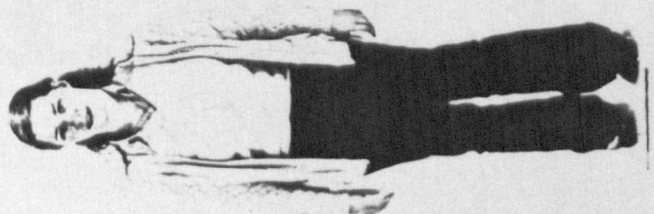
APPENDIX K

REVIEWS QUESTIONNAIRE

To the Volunteer:

As part of my doctoral research in the Department of Psychology, I am investigating what relations there might be between aspects of personality, feelings about the body, and the ways people dress.

The purpose of this experiment is to see what can be judges about others based only on their appearance.

You will be presented with slides of female subjects. For each subject, you are asked to make a judgment on a series of different types of items. Be sure to answer every question. Your replies are strictly confidential. No one but myself will see them. It is most important that you be honest in your judgments. There is no need to try to answer as you think you should or to try to be generous or harsh because there are no right or wrong answers. I am interested simply in your ordinary reactions.

Could you please fill in the following information:

Age _____   Major Subject _____

Thank you very much for your help .

Sancha Baxter

SUBJECT NUMBER _____

(Reviews of Measurements and Dress)

I would estimate that this Subject's measurements are:

HEIGHT _____

WEIGHT _____

BUST _____

WAIST _____

HIPS _____

Compared to others, the way she's dressed she looks:

Much Below Average	Below Average	Average	Above Average	Much Above Average
1	2	3	4	5

(Review of Body Satisfaction)

On the page(s) below are listed a number of aspects of the human body. You are asked to rate them according to how you think the Subject feels about her body. The ratings range from:

EXTREMELY DISSATISFIED	QUITE DISSATISFIED	DISSATISFIED
1	2	3

NO FEELING
EITHER WAY

4

SATISFIED	QUITE SATISFIED	EXTREMELY SATISFIED
5	6	7

Consider each aspect carefully and then circle the number which best represents what you think her feelings are. Make sure you circle a number for every aspect. It is essential that you are honest in your assessment.   Please start.

Overall Facial Appearance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hair	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Eyes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mouth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Teeth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Chin	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Complexion	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Neck	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Shoulders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Arms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hands	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Breasts (Bust)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Waist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Abdomen (Belly)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hips	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Thighs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Calves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Feet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Height	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Weight	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Overall Body Appearance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ears	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please tic the points, on a five-point scale, which most
closely reflect your estimate of the relevance of the
following dimensions to the Subject's approach to dress:

ECONOMY:

   Not Relevant   ___ ___ ___ ___ ___   Highly Relevant

CONFORMITY:

   Not Relevant   ___ ___ ___ ___ ___   Highly Relevant

INTEREST:

   Not Relevant   ___ ___ ___ ___ ___   Highly Relevant

COMFORT:

   Not Relevant   ___ ___ ___ ___ ___   Highly Relevant

DECORATION:

   Not Relevant   ___ ___ ___ ___ ___   Highly Relevant

Please tic the point, on a five-point scale, which most closely
reflects your estimate of how the Subject feels:

She pretty much
controls what   ___ ___ ___ ___ ___   Circumstances
happens to her.   pretty much control
                                                          what happens to her.

Please tic the points (one on each five-point scale) which most
closely reflect your estimate of how the Subject sees herself:

   Masculine   ___ ___ ___ ___ ___   Not Masculine

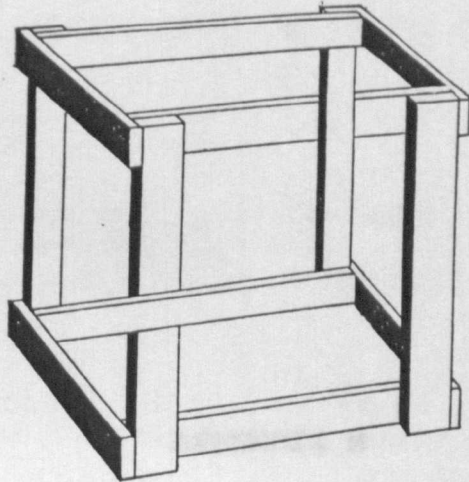   Feminine   ___ ___ ___ ___ ___   Not Feminine

---

(Reviews of Dress, Locus of Control, Masculinity, Femininity)

APPENDIX L

SAMPLES OF OPTICAL ILLUSION AND EMBEDDED FIGURE

APPENDIX M

COVERING LETTER FOR RE-TEST

OF MEASURES

PERSONALITY AND DRESS STUDY

Several months ago, you completed a questionnaire which contained several different parts relating to your ideas about your clothing and personality.

For the purposes of the research project, it is important to know if the various measures are reliable.

What I would like you to do now is to answer the questions as you you _feel_ or _think_ _right_ _now_. There is no need to try to remember what you put down previously. There are no right or wrong answers. Just try to be as honest as possible. Again, all information is strictly confidential.

Could you please fill in your name here:

_____

Thank you very much for your help.

Sandra Baxter