

Differences in Mexican-American  
And Anglo-American Women's Responses  
To a Modified Clothing TAT

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## SUMMARY

During the fall of 1965, 91 randomly selected Mexico-born homemakers living in San Antonio (experimental group) and 42 randomly selected Anglo-American homemakers living in Waco (control group) were given a thematic apperception test (TATMA), modified to include clothing content. The main purpose of this study was to determine the meaning Mexican-American women living in Texas attach to their clothing, and how these meanings differ from those used by Anglo-American women living in Texas.

Recorded verbal responses to the TATMA were analyzed for clothing content. The responses formed the basis of clothing awareness scores measuring respondents' relative cognizance of clothing. Clothing-theme content suggested meanings respondents associated with clothing used in given situations. Socio-economic data were collected by a brief questionnaire and were condensed into weighted social status scores (ISC), the main independent variable.

Although the study was largely experimental, 14 hypotheses were offered for statistical testing. Generally, numerical distributions were such that trends, rather than precise conclusions in the statistical sense, could be drawn. For the Mexican-American women studied, there was a direct relationship between cloth-

ing awareness and social status scores ( $P. = 75-90$  percent), occupational rating (no statistical analysis), income level ( $P. = 90-95$  percent) and educational attainment ( $P. = 90-95$  percent). Conversely, there was an indirect relationship between their clothing awareness and social participation (no statistical analysis) and age ( $P. = 99.5$  percent). Area of major socialization did not affect Mexican-American women's cognizance of clothing.

Anglo-Americans were more likely to have higher clothing awareness scores ( $P. = 95$  percent) than were the Mexico-born women. Although the majority of Anglo women with low ISC scores had midrange clothing awareness scores, a definitely positive or negative relationship was not substantiated. Income (no statistical analysis), educational attainment (no statistical analysis) and age ( $P. = 97.5$  percent) tended to be directly related to clothing awareness of Anglo women. Social participation and occupational level had little, if any, effect since the majority of Anglo women studied participated in activities outside the homes and had husbands in the higher occupational classifications. More rural-reared Anglo women had lower clothing awareness (no statistical analysis) than did those who grew up in urban areas.

It was hypothesized that Mexican-American women would note fewer culturally oriented clothing themes; however, this was not substantiated. It also was thought that they would have more educationally related clothing themes. This tentatively was accepted without statistical support when *story* themes were considered; however, when themes concerning individual *characters* were examined, the Anglos offered more education-clothing themes. There was no evident pattern of response concerning ISC scores and social status-clothing themes for either Mexican- or Anglo-Americans. Proportionately more Mexican-American women who did not participate in social activities had social status-related clothing themes when compared to those who participated (no statistical analysis). There was no pattern of response among the Anglo data.

Since a large majority of Anglo husbands had white-collar occupations, and most Mexican-American husbands did not, this factor was equated to ethnic affiliation. Assuming that wives at least partially share their husbands' awareness of clothing as an occupational tool, Anglo women would have more occupational-oriented clothing themes than the Mexican-American respondents. This hypothesis was not substantiated statistically, nor did the percent distribution offer any indication of a trend.

The main conclusion is that the people studied used clothing symbols to identify the social-economic-cultural circumstances of unknown persons, specifically the TATMA characters. Although Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans generally associated slightly different symbolic meanings with clothing, a common, predictable range of meaning was communicated to both ethnic groups.

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CAROL SANDER BATHKE\*

Ornamentation rather than warmth or modesty was the chief incentive among the ancients for wearing clothes.<sup>1</sup> When people migrated from the tropical regions, their clothing depended upon the climate of their country, the industries of societies and the customs of their cultures. During modern times, clothing has transcended these limitations to become dictated by fashion on an international scale.

Because clothing is an appendage of the human body and a crutch upon which we consciously or unconsciously rely, a clear understanding of its uses and effects necessarily must include the meaning various people attach to it. The main purpose of this study was to develop and apply a method of determining the meaning one cultural segment of our population, Mexican-American, attaches to their clothing.

#### RATIONALE

Hannah Arendt described three fundamental human activities: labor, work and action. "These are fundamental, because each corresponds to one of the basic conditions under which life on earth has been given to man" (1). *Action* assumes the most basic human condition—plurality—and is equated to a phase of identifying the self with others while distinguishing the self from others. Because action emphasizes the initiative within man to interact and form a civilization with a culture, it is most pertinent to this study. It allows man to attach meaning to the objects he has created through work and to distinguish himself further from other animals. Action, thus, requires human communication which is possible only by using signs and symbols created through work.

The communication basic to action is symbolic. The symbol acts as a stimulus, evoking in man a response identified with the meaning, rather than the physical characteristic, inherent to the object. As an example, all people use clothing for bodily protection. In this sense, clothing is a sign. Its value is in the inherent physical qualities of the garment. Other qualities are outside these inherent characteristics but are still related to them and to the needs they fulfill. These qualities are symbolic and are related to it by the meaning man has attached to them. Because most human behavior and learning are symbolic in nature, Langer is correct when he says:

Clothes became important for survival, but climate never has been the only factor . . . It is the nature of most materials from which clothing is made that when worn on the body for ornamental or for any other reason, they inherently provide physical protection for the wearer, and therefore constitute clothing. This is often secondary to its decorative or ornamental effect. (2)

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<sup>1</sup>For the purpose of this study, clothing is all forms of body decoration, as well as garments or articles worn or carried.

There is a connection between the symbolic aspect of clothing and man's activity as an initiator of action. Because of plurality, men are essentially the same; they can understand one another and can foresee common needs. If men were not able to distinguish themselves from others through the use of symbols, there would be no need for speech or action; all men would be the same. Thus, man is stimulated to interact and communicate.

Because clothing is symbolic and because symbols are learned through social interaction, clothing forms, at least for people of the same culture, have shared meanings or values. Through clothing, man is able to stimulate in others responses which are different from the way he is stimulated. Appearance in general is communicated "by such symbols as gestures, grooming, location and the like" (3). Thus, through clothing as a symbol, we can perceive much from our fellow-man's appearance and manipulate his perception of us.

Some attempts have been made by home economists and sociologists to study the kinds and derivations of meaning persons attach to clothing and clothing behavior. Gregory Stone theorizes that people can live together only if they share broad understandings of symbolic communication. He poses a theoretical analytical model for the study of significant<sup>2</sup> symbols and relates it to the sociology of George H. Mead. Stone's theoretical framework is founded on an integrated concept of biogenic, psychogenic and sociogenic behavior, although no relationship is drawn to man's behavior as he relates to people of other cultures (4).

Mary Lou Rosencranz has developed a thematic apperception technique (TAT)<sup>3</sup> for analyzing clothing awareness and symbols (5). The underlying hypothesis is that an individual does not respond to any stimulus by pure chance and that his response to the clothing TAT reveals something about himself. Although her analysis generally was for psychological factors, the framework probably would identify cultural effects, since projective techniques necessarily identify all aspects of the respondent's being and total experience. This report draws upon work done by Dr. Rosencranz.

When a TAT is applied to a cultural problem, the assumption is made that characteristics common to the group can be abstracted for analysis and can be considered as cultural effects. The total response to the modified clothing TAT for Mexican-Americans (TATMA) was analyzed only for clothing content.

The needs and feelings brought forth in responses to any TAT relate to the psychological, social and

<sup>2</sup>Significant symbols are learned and require role-taking for their communication.

<sup>3</sup>The TAT is a pictorial, projective technique for the analysis of underlying psychological needs and feelings and the ways in which they are handled by the individual. Specifically, the clothing TAT deals with the manner in which individuals use clothing symbols related to unknown individuals and the social situations they represent.

cultural and are evidenced in symbols through symbolic behavior. That is, an individual's feelings and values are expressed *indirectly* through the evaluation and manipulation of environmental motivations. Thus, his observed behavior is symbolic of underlying motivation.

Because the TATMA is pictorial, problems associated with verbal research are avoided. Since most of the interviewees spoke little English, the TATMA reduced the need for translating questions. Because many Mexican-American respondents were known to be of low educational attainment, the TATMA reduced variance due to low lexical ability.

## HYPOTHESES

This study was largely experimental since the clothing TAT had never been administered to a particular ethnic group. The specific research objectives were as follows:

1. To develop a clothing thematic apperception technique applicable for administration to Mexican-American women living in Texas.
2. To determine the relationship between the Mexican-American women's clothing awareness scores and their social statuses.
3. To determine how Mexican-American women interpret clothing symbols as manifested in TATMA story themes.
4. To determine differences in the responses of Anglo- and Mexican-American women to the TATMA.

This study was designed to gather two kinds of clothing data: 1) clothing awareness scores which measured the degree the homemaker respondents were cognizant of clothing, and 2) the themes of the stories told about each picture which gave some indication of the meaning Mexican- and Anglo-American women attached to clothing and its uses.

The following hypotheses concerning clothing awareness scores were offered for statistical analysis:

### Social Status and Related Factors

1. *Social status will be positively related to clothing awareness scores.*

In 1953 Arthur Vener found that men having the highest clothing importance scores were from the medium-high social class groups (6). Upper-middle classes recognized fads and high-style garments and felt more concern about others' opinions of their daughters' clothing than did other social groups (7).

Although these studies had Anglo-American samples, the identified trends were thought to apply to Mexican-Americans. The meaning of medium-high and upper-class social groups no doubt vary with study and ethnic group.

2. *Occupational level will be positively related to clothing awareness scores.*

Form and Stone noted that white collar workers attached high value to clothing; whereas, blue collar workers did not value it as highly. These white collar workers viewed clothing as something to manipulate to their advantage in the work situation, and thus were particularly concerned with their occupational clothing (8). Similarly Rosencranz determined that the wives of white collar workers were more aware of brand names, colors, style and reasons for selecting garments than were their blue collar counterparts (9).

Because no research of this type had been done with a Mexican-American sample, it was assumed that the same generality would apply. However, Skrabanek and Raption noted that the occupational level of Mexican-Americans living in the study area was below that of the total white Texas population. Three out of five Mexican-American household heads who were in the labor force when Skrabanek did his study (1961) were classified as laborers. Only 1 percent of the Mexican-Americans studied were professionals as compared with 11 percent of the total white Texas population. One out of five of these household heads was unemployed (10).

3. *Income level will be positively related to clothing awareness scores.*

Because income, education and occupational level are related positively, it was anticipated that each would affect clothing awareness scores in essentially the same manner even though Mexican-Americans' social conditions are sometimes quite different from Anglo-Americans'. Skrabanek and Raption found a wide gap between the median yearly Mexican-American income and that of the applicable total white population: \$2,000 for Mexican-Americans and \$4,766 for white population (10). On this basis alone, clothing behavior of these groups may be entirely different.

4. *Educational attainment will be positively related to clothing awareness scores.*

Not only does school peer association generally increase one's sensitivity to clothing, but Rosencranz found that women with high educational attainment were interested more in clothing than were those who had low educational attainment. Generally Mexican-Americans in the study area attained much less education than did the corresponding Anglos (11).

5. *Social participation will be positively related to clothing awareness scores.*

Women who participate regularly in social activities will demonstrate a greater interest in clothing than will those who participate in few activities. It was also thought that women who participate only in church activities would have lower clothing awareness scores than would those who participate in a variety of activities.

## Age

6. *The respondent's age will be inversely related to clothing awareness scores.*

It was thought that young women, regardless of ethnic affiliation, would have higher clothing awareness scores than would older women. Research by Stone and Form (12) and Rosencranz (13) support this hypothesis.

## Area of Major Socialization

7. *Urban background will be positively related to clothing awareness scores.*

Rural-urban background refers to the area in which the respondents spent the period of major socialization, or until they reached 18. Urban will refer to the anonymous quality of city life. In these instances, much social contact is with unknown persons, and appearance—of which clothing is an important part—in a background against which one goes about particular daily roles. Individuals who were "socialized" in an urban area will have higher clothing awareness scores than will those individuals who were brought up in largely rural areas.

## Cultural Affiliation

8. *Cultural affiliation will be related positively to clothing awareness scores.*

Anglo-American clothing awareness scores will be higher than those of Mexican-Americans. The former are better integrated into the total American society and probably have the socio-economic characteristics generally associated with high clothing valuation.

Hypotheses related to the story themes of each TATMA picture were as follows:

## Cultural Themes

9. *The respondents' cultural affiliation will be positively related to clothing themes concerning other cultures.*

Because the Mexican-American educational experience in the study area was quite low, it was thought that they would be less aware of clothing worn by people of other cultures than would the generally better educated Anglo-American respondents.

## Educational Themes

10. *Respondents' cultural affiliation will be positively related to clothing themes concerning education.*

Mexican-born household heads in the study area thought that education was the key to their success in the United States (11). It was theorized that because the Anglo-American level of education generally was higher than that of the Mexican-Americans, the former would tend to take education for granted and thus would be less cognizant of education and its ramifications.

## Social Status Themes

11. *The respondents' social status will be positively related to clothing themes concerning social status and class affiliation.*

Many studies relate the greater clothing awareness of upper social class people. It was thought that respondents with high social status scores would use themes relating clothing and social circumstances more often than would members of the lower social classes.

12. *Respondents' social participation will be positively related to themes concerning social status and class affiliation.*

Women belonging to the upper social stratum generally participate in more social organizations than do lower social class women. If upper class women show a greater awareness of clothing than do their lower social status counterparts, then high-participating women would note status-related clothing themes more than would those women participating in few social organizations.

## Occupational Themes

13. *Respondents' cultural affiliation will be positively related to clothing themes concerning occupational level.*

Form and Stone noted that white collar workers generally were more cognizant of the implication of their occupational clothing than were blue collar workers (8). It had been shown that Anglo-Americans living in the study areas held a greater proportion of white collar positions than did similar Mexican-Americans.

## Age Themes

14. *Respondents' ages will be indirectly related to clothing themes concerning age.*

Youth is emphasized in the clothing American women of all ages wear. On this basis, younger women would use age-related clothing themes more frequently than would older women.

## PROCEDURE

Data were collected by the interview method. Responses to the TATMA were recorded and, if necessary, translated into English after all data had been collected. Questionnaires for socio-economic data were in English and were translated easily into Spanish when necessary.

## Variables

The independent variables consisted of all socio-economic data including occupation, annual income, educational attainment, level of living, ethnic affiliation, participation in group activities, religious preference, rural-urban orientation, age of respondent and husband and marital status. The first four independent variables were used to compute a social status

score which also was treated as an independent variable.

Dependent variables consisted of computed clothing awareness scores and the themes of stories told about the six TATMA pictures.

Dependent and independent variables were cross-classified for statistical testing.

## INSTRUMENTS AND SCORING

### TATMA

Rosencranz's original clothing TAT was modified since many Mexican-Americans probably could not respond realistically to the situations she depicted for her middle-class northern, Anglo-American sample. The TATMA pictures were pretested by 12 Mexican-American women, living in Bryan-College Station, Texas, who met the research participation criteria. Details relating to facial expression and room type were changed. The pictures were ordered so that disliked Picture II would follow one having less emotive content. Picture VI was placed at the end of the presentation for the same reason.

Each TATMA interview was transcribed without modification. Text concerning clothing was underscored in red for easy identification. Clothing awareness scores were compiled from a numerical count of the following factors:

1. Lines of clothing content to the nearest one-half line.
2. Characters whose clothing evoked clothing response.
3. Clothing incongruities noted in each picture analysis.
4. Pictures where clothing gave the main story idea.
5. Themes directly related to clothing.

The clothing incongruities depicted in each picture were as follows:

1. Age—Pictures I, II, III and V.
2. Size and Shape—Pictures II, III and V.
3. Social status—Pictures I, II, III, VI and less obviously in Pictures IV and V.
4. Sex—Pictures III and IV.
5. Formality—Pictures I, III, VI and less obviously in Pictures II, IV and V.
6. Cultural affiliation—Pictures II, III, V and less obviously in Pictures IV and VI.

### Questionnaires

A brief written questionnaire designed to gather socio-economic information was administered to each interviewee.

The selection and enumeration of socio-economic variables were based on Warner's Index of Social

Characteristics (ISC) (14). This value indicated relative social and economic standings of both ethnic samples and greatly simplified the analysis.

Household head's occupation, education, family income and level of living were included in the ISC scores. Level of living was based on the ownership of a functioning radio, television, refrigerator, washing machine, hot water system and indoor bathroom facility. The other three variables were rated on a 1 to 7 continuum. Variables were assigned to the following numerical weights: occupation—3; income—4; educational attainment—3; and level of living—2. Each weight was multiplied by the appropriate raw score and all four values were totaled. The possible range of summated values was from 12 to 84. The Mexican-American and Anglo-American ISC scores varied considerably and could not be ranked on the same scale. The class intervals follow:

RANGE OF WEIGHTED SCORES

ISC CLASS NUMBER	Mexican-Americans	Anglo-Americans
1 (lowest)	19-28	42-50
2	29-38	51-59
3	39-48	60-68
4	49-58	69-77
5 (highest)	59-68	78-84

Not all of the interviewees gave their occupation, education, income and level of living. Because these missing data greatly reduced the number of respondents having ISC scores, regression and correlation analysis were used to estimate the missing data. No attempt was made to estimate more than one of the four variables per interviewee. The resulting correlation equations were not used if the correlation coefficient was less than 0.35. Forty-one of the 42 Anglo-Americans and 86 of the 91 Mexican-Americans interviewed had ISC scores.

#### Reliability

In most studies with social-psychological variables, scoring reliability is determined by comparing their power of prediction with other studies measuring the same variables. This was not possible. As Rosenzanz noted, the chief criterion for reliability is consistency, which implies administering the TATMA to other Mexican-American samples (5). Also, the simple numerical count used to determine clothing awareness and ISC scores reduced the chance of error.

#### Interviewer Instruction

The difficulty of administering the TATMA and the necessity of standardizing procedures warranted great care in selecting and training interviewers. An interviewers' manual with instructions was developed. Interviewee instructions were modified only when they said or demonstrated that they did not understand what they were to do. All probes were stated in the following standardized form: "What about this picture (character) suggested to you the idea that . . ."

The two experimental interviewers were Mexican-American, completely bilingual and responsible for Spanish and English translations of all instructions. There was only one control interviewer.

### SAMPLE

#### Criteria and Method

*Experimental:* The experimental sample consisted of 91 Mexican-American women who were born in Mexico, married prior to January 1, 1964, living with a husband and/or one child or more and had moved to the United States prior to January 1, 1959. Most of these women spoke only Spanish, limited English or stated that they preferred to give the interview in Spanish.

Because many Mexican-American families lived in selected areas of San Antonio, the experimental study area, a stratified random sampling plan was initiated. Fifteen city census tracts were drawn randomly from those which were at least 50 percent Mexican-American. One primary and four alternate blocks were selected randomly in each of the chosen 15 tracts. The interviewers were assigned randomly to census tracts and were asked to interview all women meeting the participation requirements and living in single dwellings in all primary blocks. If, after visiting all primary blocks, they had not completed their quotas of 46 interviews each, the interviewers proceeded to all alternate-1 blocks, alternate-2 blocks and so on until their quotas were complete.

San Antonio is a thriving industrial and commercial center located in South-central Texas. In 1960 it had a population of 587,718 of which about 45 percent were of Mexican descent (15).

*Control:* Because the Mexican-American and Anglo-American populations of San Antonio are not culturally independent, the control sample was drawn in Waco, Texas, and consisted of 42 Anglo-American homemakers who were born in the continental United States, married before January 1, 1964 and lived with a husband and/or one or more children.

Because Waco was known to have a homogeneous population, 10 city census tracts were chosen randomly. One primary and four alternate blocks in each of the designated census tracts were selected randomly for sampling. If the interviewer could not secure four interviews in each primary block, she continued with alternate blocks until 42 interviews were completed.

Waco is located in East-central Texas and had a population of 97,808 in 1960. Approximately 80 percent were classified as white (16). White persons of Spanish surname comprised slightly less than 6 percent of the total population.

#### Findings Related to Sample Description

Since different scales were used to assign Mexican-American and Anglo-American ISC scores, the result-

ing distributions seemed essentially the same (Anglo-American: mean = 2.85, median = 2.15; Mexican-American: mean = 2.86, median = 2.44), when in fact, the two ethnic groups were vastly different. Consequently, ISC rankings only indicate relative differences between high and low socio-economic standing within each ethnic group. The following discussion gives greater insight into differences between the two ethnic groups.

None of the Anglo-American families had a monthly income after taxes of less than \$100, while 14 percent of the Mexican-American families did. Approximately 35 percent of the control and 5 percent of the experimental sample had incomes of more than \$450 per month. Similarly, the median income among the Mexican-American families was \$216 compared with \$404 among the Anglo-Americans.

Approximately 40 percent of the Mexican-American and 19 percent of the Anglo-American respondents' husbands were unemployed, dead, retired or disabled. In these cases, the husband's last major occupation was used to compute the family's ISC score or, if this was not given, it was estimated.

Of the 56 (62 percent) employed Mexican-American husbands, 19 (34 percent) had occupations which required little training. These included all semi-skilled workers, baggage men, gas station attendants and store clerks. None of the Anglo-American husbands had this type of job. Approximately 40 and 60 percent of the Mexican-American and Anglo-American husbands, respectively, had blue collar occupations requiring specific training. One Mexican-American and four Anglo husbands were classified as professionals.

Level-of-living proved to be a generally poor indicator of relative socio-economic standing because of the basic nature of the commodities included in the scale. Sixty and 76 percent of the Mexican-American and Anglo-American families, respectively, had all six specified items. Regardless of ethnic affiliation, none of the families lacked all items, although approximately 9 percent of the Mexican-American families had four or fewer.

The majority of Mexican-American (88 percent) and Anglo-American (95 percent) interviewed had families consisting of wife, husband and/or a child or children. Mexican-American families more often had other persons, both relatives and nonrelatives, living with them than did Anglo-Americans.

Although a similar percentage of Mexican-American (34 percent) and Anglo-American (29 percent) families interviewed consisted of only two members, the Anglo-American families (median = 3.82 persons) generally were slightly larger than the Mexican-American families (median = 3.55 persons). This is because more Mexican-American interviewees were separated from their husbands or were widows.

However, four Mexican-American families had 9-13 members.

Except for two persons, all the Anglo-American women were married and living with their husbands. This was true for three-fourths of the Mexican-American respondents. Fourteen percent of the latter were widows and approximately 10 percent were divorced or separated from their husbands.

Approximately one-half of the Anglo respondents spent the major portion of their childhood in rural areas. This was true for one-fifth of the Mexican-American interviewees.

About one-half of the Mexican-American respondents had completed 4 or fewer years of formal education, while 5 percent of the Anglo interviewees had this amount. Nearly 45 percent of the Anglo sample had not graduated from high school as compared with approximately 90 percent of the Mexican-American interviewees. Three percent of the Mexican-American women and 29 percent of the Anglo-American women had high school diplomas. The median years of formal education was 3.87 for Mexican-American respondents and 12.11 for Anglo-American women. About 80 percent of the experimental sample were educated in Mexico.

Approximately one-half of the experimental husbands had 4 or fewer years of formal education. All of the Anglo-American husbands had completed this much education. Five percent of the Mexican-Americans and 45 percent of the Anglo-Americans had graduated from high school. Proportionately, three times more Anglo-American than Mexican-American husbands had some college training, although five of the latter had graduate training as compared to one of the former.

The median age of Mexican-American and Anglo-American respondents was 47.6 years and 38.5 years, respectively. The age differential is due to the eligibility restriction: Mexican-American respondents were born in Mexico. Most young Mexican-American women living in San Antonio were born in the United States. Almost twice as many Mexican-American women were more than 66 years old. Similarly, almost three times as many Anglo-American as Mexican-American homemakers were less than 21 years old.

There were nine times more Catholics in the Mexican-born sample than in the Anglo group. More than three-fourths of the latter considered themselves Protestant. The majority of these were Baptists. The Mexican-American women interviewed generally did not belong to any formalized organizations or unstructured clubs. Of the 20 who did, two-thirds participated only in church groups. Two Anglo-American women were nonparticipants. Almost 60 percent were active in church groups, and 20 percent belonged to professional clubs or societies. Regardless of the ethnic affiliation, none of the respondents took



part in civic affairs or social gatherings, such as bridge clubs.

## FINDINGS

To observers, clothing serves as an indicator of the wearer's relative socio-economic level, cultural affiliation, age and sex. Thus, it communicates a variety of social and economic factors. Similarly, wearers use clothing to manipulate impressions. In this context, clothing loses some of its importance when the wearer and observer are well-known to one another. The TATMA pictures represent unfamiliar situations.

Two main kinds of findings are considered: clothing awareness and story themes. Each is treated independently for Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans and is cross-classified with several independent variables.

### Clothing Awareness

*Lines of clothing comment:* Of the two ethnic groups studied, it was assumed that the Mexican-

Americans would have fewer lines of clothing comment. Although differences were small, they were statistically significant ( $\chi^2_4 = 11.42$ ,  $P = 97.5$  percent). On the average, Mexican-Americans responded with 10.9 lines of clothing comment, while the Anglos averaged 11.6 lines. The median lines of clothing comment were 9.9 and 9.7 for Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans, respectively, and ranged from 0 to 33 and from 1 to 27, respectively.

The number of lines of clothing response given by Mexican-American women generally was related directly to their ISC scores ( $\chi^2_6 = 12.60$ ,  $P = 95$  percent). Fifty percent of the Mexican-Americans with low ISC scores had from 0-7 lines of clothing comment, and 41 percent of the ones with high ISC scores had from 15-33 lines of clothing response, Table 1. Although chi-square analysis was not possible with Anglo data, the largest proportion of individuals in each of the ISC categories had 8-14 lines of clothing commentary.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF LINES OF CLOTHING COMMENT BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OTHER VARIABLES

Variables	Number of lines of clothing comment											
	Mexican-American						Anglo-American					
	0-7		8-14		15-33		0-7		8-14		15-33	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ISC score	31	37	20	24	32	39	10	24	21	51	10	24
Low (1-2)	16	50	8	25	8	25	5	27	12	67	1	6
Medium (3)	8	28 <sup>1</sup>	6	21	15	52	2	15	7	54	4	31
High (4-5)	7	32	6	27	9	41	3	30	2	20	5	50
Education	35	40	24	28	28	32	11	26	21	50	10	24
Low (less than 9 years)	32	46	18	26	19	28	4	57	3	43	0	0
Medium (9-12 years)	3	20	5	33	7	47	5	21	13	54	6	25
High (more than 12 years)	0	0	1	33	2	67	2	18	5	45	4	36
Occupational rating	34	39	24	27	30	34	10	24 <sup>1</sup>	21	51	10	24
Low (ratings 1-3)	32	41	20	25	27	34	5	21 <sup>1</sup>	15	63	4	17
High (ratings 4-7)	2	22 <sup>1</sup>	4	44	3	33	5	29 <sup>1</sup>	6	35	6	35
Family income	34	39	24	27	30	34	10	24 <sup>1</sup>	21	51	10	24
Low (less than \$200)	20	50	12	30	8	20	0	0	1	50	1	50
Medium (\$200-\$349)	11	29	10	26	17	45	5	38	8	62	0	0
High (more than \$349)	3	30	2	20	5	50	5	19	12	46	9	35
Level of living	35	38	25	27	31	34	11	26	21	50	10	24
Low (ratings 1-5)	10	59 <sup>1</sup>	3	18	4	24	1	50	1	50	0	0
High (ratings 6-7)	25	34	22	30	27	36	10	25	20	50	10	25
Age of respondent	33	36 <sup>1</sup>	24	26	34	37	11	27	20	49	10	24
Low (17-35 years)	4	22	4	22	10	56	6	38 <sup>1</sup>	6	38	4	25
Medium (36-55 years)	7	20	14	40	14	40	1	7	9	64	4	29
High (more than 55 years)	22	59 <sup>1</sup>	6	16	10	26	4	36 <sup>1</sup>	5	45	2	18
Participation in activities	35	38 <sup>1</sup>	25	27	31	34	11	26	21	50	10	24
None	25	35	22	31	24	34	1	50	1	50	0	0
Some	10	50	3	15	7	35	10	25	20	50	10	25
Employment status	35	38 <sup>1</sup>	25	27	31	34	11	26	21	50	10	24
Employed	2	40	2	40	1	20	2	20	5	50	3	30
Unemployed	33	38	23	27	30	35	9	28	16	50	7	22
Area of socialization	33	37	25	28	31	35	10	24 <sup>1</sup>	21	51	10	24
Rural	4	24 <sup>1</sup>	9	53	4	24	7	33 <sup>1</sup>	11	52	3	14
Urban	29	40	16	22	27	38	3	15	10	50	7	35

<sup>1</sup>Rounding errors.

Two other variables, educational attainment and family income, were related directly to the lines of clothing response given by Mexican-American interviewees. Chi-square analysis was possible only on data related to homemaker's age, activity participation and area of socialization. It was statistically significant for the Mexican-American's age ( $\chi^2_4 = 15.52$ ,  $P. = 99.5$  percent) and area of socialization ( $\chi^2_2 = 6.41$ ,  $P. = 95$  percent). With age, the relationship was indirect, and there was no apparent direction of the relationship between amount of clothing comment and area of major socialization, Table 1. About 50 percent of the Mexican-American women reared in rural areas had 8-14 lines of clothing comment, while 22 percent of the urban-reared women had this amount. Forty percent of the latter women had 0.7 lines of clothing response.

There were too few employed Mexican-American women who had low levels of living or whose husbands had high occupational ratings to determine what the true relationship was between these variables and the lines of clothing comment. Of the 79 homemakers whose husbands had low occupational ratings, approximately 40 percent had 0-7 lines, while about one-third had 15-33 lines of clothing comment.

Husband's occupational rating was the only variable which could be statistically analyzed (non-significant) when cross-classified with the amount of clothing response made by Anglo-American cooperators. There were too few respondents in the low level of living category and not participating in social activities to determine how these factors affect the number of clothing comments, Table 1. Except for Anglo women, 36 to 55 years old, approximately 40 percent had low clothing response (0-7 lines). Only one "middle-aged" woman had this much clothing response, whereas 64 percent of them had 8-14 lines.

Although the relationship between amount of Anglo-American clothing comment and educational attainment or area of socialization was essentially direct, there was no apparent direction to the ones between clothing comment and employment status or family income. Almost 60 percent of these women with less than 8 years of education had 0.7 lines and none had 15-33 lines of clothing comment. Those women with more than 12 years of school were most likely to have 8-14 lines of clothing response and approximately one-third of them had 15-33 lines. About one-third of the rural-reared Anglo women had little clothing commentary, while that proportion of the respondents reared in urban areas had 15-33 lines. Regardless of employment status, one-half of the respondents had 8-14 lines of clothing comment. None of the 13 women with medium family incomes gave large amounts of clothing response, while about one-third of the ones with incomes of \$350 or more did. In each case, the majority had 8-14 lines of clothing response, Table 1.

*Number of characters whose clothing was mentioned:* The median number of characters' clothing mentioned was 9.06 by the Mexican-Americans and 9.25 by the Anglo respondents. The mean values were 9.05 and 9.94, respectively. None of the Anglo-Americans mentioned the clothing of all 20 characters, while three Mexican-Americans did. Whereas one Anglo failed to have at least one-half line of clothing comment,<sup>4</sup> all others mentioned the clothing of at least three characters. Mexican-American responses were distributed more equally. These differences between the two ethnic groups were statistically significant ( $\chi^2_3 = 6.70$ ,  $P. = 90-95$  percent).

ISC scores were related significantly to the total number of characters' clothing that Mexican-Americans mentioned ( $\chi^2_4 = 8.05$ ,  $P. = 90-95$  percent) but not to the number Anglo respondents mentioned. Generally, those Mexican-born respondents who had medium ISC scores noted the clothing of the most TATMA characters, Table 2.

The cooperating homemakers' educational attainment was statistically nonsignificant when cross-classified with number of characters whose clothing they mentioned. However, it appeared that in both ethnic groups, the more education an individual received the more characters' clothing she was likely to notice, Table 2.

Family income was related nonsignificantly to either ethnic group's tendency to note characters' clothing. It was generally true, however, that the higher the Anglo-Americans' incomes, the more likely they were to mention several characters' clothing. The opposite was true of the Mexican-Americans, Table 2.

Level of living and husband's occupational rating were poor statistical indicators of either group's tendency to note characters' clothing, Table 2. Proportionately, the more characters' clothing the Mexican-American respondents noted, the lower was their level of living and the higher their husbands' occupational ratings. Both of these variables were related more directly to the Anglo-American interviewees' slight tendency to notice characters' clothing, Table 2.

Age was related statistically to the number of characters' clothing Mexican-Americans mentioned ( $\chi^2_2 = 9.12$ ,  $P. = 99$  percent) but not to the number mentioned by Anglo-Americans. With the possible exception of the oldest category of Anglo women, the younger the individual the more likely she was to mention the clothing of several characters, Table 2.

Because so few women participated in more than one or two activities outside their homes, they were classified as those who participated, and those who did not. This factor was related nonsignificantly to the number of characters' clothing Mexican-Americans

<sup>4</sup>If respondents specifically mentioned a character's clothing in less than one-half line of clothing response, they were given credit for it.

mentioned and was not possible with Anglo data. Almost one-half of the 71 Mexican-American women who did not participate in any activity outside their homes noted the clothing of 10 to 15 characters. This was true of 30 percent of the 20 who did participate, Table 2. Twenty Anglo homemakers (50 percent) who participated in some activities had mentioned the clothing of 10 to 15 characters.

The statistical relationship between Anglo-American homemakers' employment status and the number of characters' clothing they noticed was significant ( $\chi^2_1 = 3.31$ ,  $P = 90.95$  percent). Generally, the employed respondents noted more characters' clothing than did the unemployed. Although statistical analysis was not possible on the Mexican-American data, proportionately more employed than unemployed women noticed 10 to 15 characters' clothing, Table 2.

Rural-urban orientation had little effect upon the tendency of the Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans to mention the clothing of TATMA characters. It should be noted, however, that the three Mexican-American women who noted all the characters' clothing were urban.

The structure of the 80 responding Mexican-American families seemed to be related to their tendency to mention clothing ( $\chi^2_3 = 8.90$ ,  $P = 95.97.5$  percent). Those women whose families consisted of husband and wife or wife and children tended to note fewer characters' clothing than did those with other types of family structure. There were no significant differences among the structure of Anglo-American respondents. Family size did not affect significantly the total number of characters whose clothing was mentioned by either group.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL NUMBER OF CHARACTERS WHOSE CLOTHING IS MENTIONED BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OTHER SELECTED VARIABLES

Variables	Mexican-American Number of Characters								Anglo-American Number of Characters							
	0-4		5-9		10-15		16-20		0-4		5-9		10-15		16-20	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ISC score	22	26	21	24	35	41	8	9	4	10	14	36	19	49	2	5
Low (1-2)	8	24 <sup>1</sup>	12	36	12	36	1	3	1	6	8	44	9	50	0	0
Medium (3)	7	25 <sup>1</sup>	2	7	13	46	6	21	1	8	5	38	7	54	0	0
High (4-5)	7	28	7	28	10	40	1	4	2	25 <sup>1</sup>	1	13	3	38	2	25
Education	22	25	22	25	36	42	7	8	4	10	15	35	21	50	2	5
Low (less than 9 years)	20	29	18	26	27	39	4	6	1	14	4	57	2	29	0	0
Medium (9-12 years)	2	13	3	20	7	47	3	20	2	8	10	42	11	46	1	4
High (more than 12 years)	0	0	1	33	2	67	0	0	1	9	1	9	8	73	1	9
Family income	22	25	21	24	37	42	8	9	4	10	13	33	21	52	2	5
Low (less than \$200)	11	28	12	31	15	38	1	3	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0
Medium (\$200-\$349)	7	18	6	15	19	49	7	18	1	8 <sup>1</sup>	4	33	7	58	0	0
High (more than \$349)	4	40	3	30	3	30	0	0	3	12 <sup>1</sup>	7	27	14	54	2	8
Occupational rating	21	24	22	25	37	42	8	9	4	10	15	37	19	48	2	5
Low (ratings 1-3)	20	25	20	25	32	40	8	10	1	4	10	42	13	54	0	0
High (ratings 4-7)	1	13	2	24	5	63	0	0	3	18	5	31	6	38	2	13
Level of living	22	24	22	24	38	42	9	10	4	9	15	36	21	50	2	5
Low (ratings 1-5)	7	19	11	31	13	36	5	14	1	10	5	50	4	40	0	0
High (ratings 6-7)	15	27 <sup>1</sup>	11	20	25	45	4	7	3	9 <sup>1</sup>	10	31	17	53	2	6
Age of respondent	22	25	22	25	37	41	8	9	4	10	15	35	21	50	2	5
Low (17-35 years)	3	17 <sup>1</sup>	1	6	9	50	5	28	1	6	7	44	7	44	1	6
Medium (36-55 years)	8	22 <sup>1</sup>	9	25	16	44	3	8	1	7	3	20	11	73	0	0
High (more than 55 years)	11	31 <sup>1</sup>	12	34	12	34	0	0	2	18 <sup>1</sup>	5	45	3	27	1	9
Participation in activities	22	24	22	24	38	42	9	10	4	10	15	35	21	50	2	5
None	16	23	17	24	32	45	6	8	0	0	1	50	1	50	0	0
Some	6	30	5	25	6	30	3	15	4	10	14	35	20	50	2	5
Employment status	22	24	22	24	38	42	9	10	4	10	15	35	21	50	2	5
Employed	1	20	0	0	4	80	0	0	1	10	1	10	7	70	1	10
Unemployed	21	24	22	26	34	40	9	10	3	9	14	44	14	44	1	3
Area of socialization	20	22	22	25	38	43	9	10	3	7	15	37	21	51	2	5
Rural	4	24 <sup>1</sup>	3	18	9	53	1	6	3	14	7	33	10	48	1	5
Urban	16	22 <sup>1</sup>	19	26	29	40	8	11	0	0	8	40	11	55	1	5

<sup>1</sup>Rounding errors.

*Characters whose clothing was mentioned:* Mexican-American (68 percent) and Anglo-American (86 percent) respondents most frequently mentioned the clothing of character 18 (Picture V), a matronly, heavy-set woman wearing a simple dress with a small printed design and carrying a shopping bag.

About 75 and 65 percent of the Anglo-American and Mexican-American interviewees, respectively, mentioned the clothing of character 19 (Picture VI) the second most often. Picture VI was ranked sixth, the one where clothing was mentioned the least often, by the Anglos and fifth by the Mexican-Americans, Table 3.

Both control and experimental interviewees mentioned the clothing of character 10 the least often. This character was a slightly bald, casually dressed man talking intently to another character while two others observed.

Statistically, Mexican-American and Anglo-American respondents were not likely to mention the clothing of any character more often than any other.

*Number of pictures where clothing gave the main story idea:* About 48 percent of the Mexican-American and 57 percent of the Anglo-American respondents stated that some characters' clothing gave them ideas for TATMA stories. When the two ethnic groups were compared statistically, the differences in the number of pictures where clothing gave the main story idea were nonsignificant.

The clothing depicted in Picture IV most frequently was the basis for stories (59 and 76 percent of the Mexican-American and Anglo-American respondents, respectively). This picture of two women had no background, and the characters' appearance was the only factor to which interviewees could respond.

TABLE 3. FREQUENCY WITH WHICH CHARACTERS' CLOTHING WAS MENTIONED AND RANK ORDER OF THESE RESPONSES BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION

Picture number	Character number	Mexican-American		Anglo-American	
		Picture rank	Character rank	Picture rank	Character rank
1	1	2	6	1	12
	2		4		8
	3		13		15
	4		19		13
	5		11		16
2	6	3	17	6	14
	7		7		5
3	8	5	18	4	17
	9		10		6
	10		20		20
	11		3		9
	12		5		4
4	13	4	14	3	7
	14		8		10
5	15	1	9	2	11
	16		12		3
	17		15		18
	18		1		1
	19		2		2
	20		16		19
6	19	6	2	5	2
	20		16		19

Picture VI was the least likely to elicit stories based on clothing from the Mexican-born respondents (34 percent). This scene depicted a situation which pictorially described the lives of many Mexican-Americans. The clothing shown in Picture II was the least likely to give Anglo-Americans (40 percent) main story ideas. In this case, the rather extreme physical features of character 7 may have drawn the respondent's attention away from the clothing shown.

The statistical relationship between the total number of clothing-related story ideas and the respondents' ISC scores was nonsignificant for both ethnic groups. Approximately one-half of all respondents with low ISC scores stated that fewer than three stories were based on clothing, Table 4. This was true of slightly fewer respondents with high ISC scores.

Mexican-American homemakers' educational attainment was related statistically to the number of stories where clothing gave the main idea ( $\chi^2_2 = 17.48$ ,  $P. = 99.5$  percent). The relationship seemed to be indirect, since 49 percent of the women with low educational attainment, compared to 33 percent of the better educated women, had fewer than three ideas from clothing, Table 4. There were too few women with more than 12 years of school to include this group in the analysis. Anglo data could not be meaningfully organized for chi-square analysis. Generally, the moderately well-educated Anglo women tended to base more of their stories on clothing than did women in any other educational category.

Family income was statistically nonsignificant when cross-classified with the number of story ideas either ethnic group based on characters' clothing. About one-half of the Mexican-American low and high-income groups had fewer than three ideas from clothing as compared with one-third of the medium-income group, Table 4. Of all Mexican-American income groups, the medium-income respondents were the most likely to have told stories based on clothing. With the exception of the two families who had low incomes, the Anglos were distributed almost equally among the number of "story-idea" categories, Table 4.

Level of living and husband's occupational rating were not related statistically to either ethnic group's tendency to use TATMA characters' clothing as the basis of their stories. Regardless of husband's occupational rating, approximately one-half and one-third of the Mexican-American and Anglo-American women, respectively, had fewer than three stories based on characters' clothing, Table 4. When compared to the Mexican-Americans, approximately twice as many Anglos with high occupational ratings had five or six story ideas from clothing.

In the case of both Anglo-American ( $\chi^2_2 = 5.84$ ,  $P. = 95$  percent) and Mexican-American ( $\chi^2_4 = 11.43$ ,  $P. = 97.5$  percent) respondents, age influenced the likelihood that stories were based on characters' cloth-

ing. Generally, the older the woman, the less likely she was to have a main story idea from characters' clothing, Table 4. About 60 percent of the older Mexican-American women had fewer than three story ideas as compared to about 30 percent of the youngest group. In this respect, the differences among the Anglo age groups were not as pronounced.

Although this analysis was not possible with Anglo data, participation in social activities was related statistically to the Mexican-American women's use of clothing in main story ideas ( $\chi^2_2 = 8.34$ ,  $P = 97.5$  percent). The Mexican-American relationship seemed to be inverse; those who participated in social activities generally had slightly fewer main story ideas from clothing than those who did not, Table 4. Of the 40 Anglo-American respondents who did participate, approximately 40 percent had fewer than three story ideas from clothing and approximately 30 percent had five or six, Table 4.

Statistical analysis was not possible with data concerning employment status and the source of story ideas. It was thought that employed women would note clothing generalities more frequently than the unemployed. This relationship could be classified only as a tendency for the Anglos, Table 4, and too few Mexican-Americans were employed to make a meaningful analysis. Twenty and 40 percent of the employed and unemployed Anglo women, respectively, had fewer than three main story ideas from clothing, whereas about 30 percent of both groups had five or six ideas from clothing.

Statistically, the urban-rural orientation of the Mexican-American women was not related to the number of stories they told which were based on clothing. There was a tendency for this to be true among the Anglo-Americans ( $\chi^2_2 = 3.22$ ,  $P = 75.90$  percent), Table 4. Although the rural-reared Anglos were most likely to cite 3-4 pictures giving main story

TABLE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL NUMBER OF PICTURES WHERE CLOTHING GAVE MAIN STORY IDEA BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OTHER SELECTED VARIABLES

Variables	Mexican-American						Anglo-American					
	Total number of pictures						Total number of pictures					
	0-2		3-4		5-6		0-2		3-4		5-6	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ISC score	40	47 <sup>1</sup>	23	27	23	27	15	37 <sup>1</sup>	13	32	13	32
Low (1-2)	17	52	9	27	7	21	8	44	6	33	4	23
Medium (3)	12	43	7	25	9	32	4	31	4	31	5	38
High (4-5)	11	44	7	28	7	28	3	30	3	30	4	40
Education	41	47	24	28	22	25	15	37 <sup>1</sup>	13	32	13	32
Low (less than 9 years)	34	49	20	29	15	22	4	67	0	0	2	33
Medium (9-12 years)	5	33	3	20	7	47	8	33	8	33	8	34
High (more than 12 years)	2	66	1	34	0	0	3	27	5	46	3	27
Family income	40	45 <sup>1</sup>	24	27	24	27	15	37 <sup>1</sup>	13	32	13	32
Low (less than \$200)	22	56	9	23	8	21	1	50	1	50	0	0
Medium (\$200-\$349)	13	33	12	31	14	36	5	38	4	31	4	31
High (more than \$349)	5	50	3	30	2	20	9	35	8	30	9	35
Occupational rating	41	47	24	27	23	26	15	38	13	33	12	29
Low (ratings 1-3)	36	46	22	28	21	26	9	39	9	39	5	22
High (ratings 4-7)	5	56	2	22	2	22	6	35	4	24	7	41
Level of living	41	46	25	27	25	27	16	38	13	31	13	31
Low (ratings 1-5)	15	42	12	33	9	25	6	60	2	20	2	20
High (ratings 6-7)	26	47	13	24	16	29	10	32	11	34	11	34
Age of respondent	41	46	25	28	23	26	14	34	13	33	13	33
Low (17-35 years)	5	28	5	28	8	44	8	50	5	31	3	19
Medium (36-55 years)	14	39	15	42	7	19	2	13	5	33	8	54
High (more than 55 years)	22	63	5	14	8	23	4	44	3	33	2	33
Participation in activities	41	46	25	27	25	27	16	38	13	31	13	31
None	28	39	24	34	19	27	1	50	1	50	0	0
Some	13	65	1	5	6	30	15	38	12	30	13	32
Employment status	41	46	25	27	25	27	16	38	13	31	13	31
Employed	4	90	0	0	1	10	2	20	5	50	3	30
Unemployed	37	43	25	29	24	28	14	44	8	25	10	31
Area of socialization	39	44	25	28	25	28	15	37	13	32	13	32
Rural	7	42	5	29	5	29	9	43	4	19	8	38
Urban	32	44	20	28	20	28	6	30	9	45	5	25

<sup>1</sup>Rounding errors.

ideas, the urban-reared women most often cited 0-2 or 5-6 pictures.

*Clothing-awareness scores:* Clothing-awareness scores were compiled from a simple numerical count of lines of clothing comment, stories where clothing gave the main idea, characters whose clothing was mentioned, clothing incongruities and clothing themes. The statistical difference between the two ethnic groups' clothing-awareness scores was significant ( $\chi^2_4 = 10.53$ ,  $P. = 95$  percent). Mean and median values (Mexican-American: mean = 23.9, median = 24.5; Anglo-American: mean = 28.9, median = 27.5) indicates that Anglo scores were considerably higher than Mexican-American ones.

The statistical relationship between the Anglo-Americans' ISC and clothing-awareness scores was non-significant. This relationship for Mexican-Americans was a trend ( $\chi^2_4 = 6.17$ ,  $P. = 75-90$  percent). There was about the same percent of Anglos with low-clothing awareness in each ISC classification. Whereas,

these respondents with high ISC scores were equally distributed between mid-clothing and high-clothing awareness, the low ISC women were more likely to have midrange-clothing awareness than high. To a lesser extent, this was also true for the remaining Anglo respondents with midrange ISC, Table 5. The Mexican-American distribution was skewed in the same direction but was different proportionately. About 50 percent of the low ISC scores were associated with midrange clothing awareness scores, while 4 and 20 percent of the women with high ISC scores had mid-clothing or high-clothing scores, respectively, Table 5.

The statistical relationship between Anglo interviewees' educational attainment and clothing-awareness scores was not meaningful. This relationship among Mexican-Americans was significant ( $\chi^2_2 = 5.17$ ,  $P. = 90-95$  percent). With the exception of those few persons with high educational attainment, this variable tended to be related positively to clothing-awareness scores, Table 5.

TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTHING AWARENESS SCORES BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OTHER SELECTED VARIABLES

Variables	Mexican-American Clothing awareness scores						Anglo-American Clothing awareness scores					
	1-18		19-36		37-54		1-18		19-36		37-54	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ISC score	27	33	35	43	20	24	7	17	24	59	10	24
Low (1-2)	12	40	14	47	4	13	3	17	13	72	2	11
Medium (3)	6	22	10	37	11	41	2	15	7	54	4	31
High (4-5)	9	36	11	44	5	20	2	20	4	40	4	40
Education	28	34	36	44	18	22	7	17	25	59	10	24
Low (less than 9 years)	26	39	28	43	12	18	3	43	4	57	0	0
Medium (9-12 years)	2	15	5	39	6	46	3	12	16	67	5	21
High (more than 12 years)	0	0 <sup>1</sup>	3	100	0	0	1	9 <sup>1</sup>	5	45	5	45
Family income	27	33	35	43	20	24	7	17	24	59	10	24
Low (less than \$200)	13	38	17	50	4	12	0	0	2	100	0	0
Medium (\$200-\$349)	10	26	13	34	15	40	3	23	8	62	2	15
High (more than \$349)	4	40	5	50	1	10	4	15	14	54	8	31
Level of living	28	34	36	43	19	23	7	18	22	56	10	26
Low (ratings 1-5)	27	36	31	41	17	23	4	18	13	59	5	23
High (ratings 6-7)	1	13 <sup>1</sup>	5	63	2	25	3	18	9	53	5	29
Occupational rating	28	33	37	43	21	24	7	17	25	59	10	24
Low (ratings 1-3)	7	41	6	35	4	24	1	50	0	0	1	50
High (ratings 4-7)	21	30	31	45	17	25	6	15 <sup>1</sup>	25	63	9	23
Age of respondent	28	33	37	44	19	23	7	17 <sup>1</sup>	25	60	10	24
Low (17-35 years)	2	11	7	39	9	50	3	19	10	62	3	19
Medium (36-55 years)	12	35	16	47	6	18	1	7 <sup>1</sup>	10	67	4	27
High (more than 55 years)	14	44	14	44	4	12	3	27	5	46	3	27
Participation in activities	28	33	37	44	21	24	7	17	25	61	9	22
None	19	28	32	48	16	24	1	50	0	0	1	50
Some	9	47 <sup>1</sup>	5	26	5	26	6	15	25	64	8	21
Employment status	28	33	37	43	21	24	7	17	25	60	10	24
Employed	2	40	2	40	1	20	2	20	5	50	3	30
Unemployed	26	32	35	43	20	25	5	16	20	62	7	22
Area of socialization	26	33	37	43	21	24	6	15	25	61	10	24
Rural	3	18	12	70	2	12	5	24	12	57	4	19
Urban	23	34 <sup>1</sup>	25	37	19	28	1	5	13	65	6	30

<sup>1</sup>Rounding errors.

Although statistical analysis of Anglo data was not meaningful, Mexican-Americans' incomes were related to their clothing awareness ( $\chi^2_2 = 5.04$ ,  $P. = 90-95$  percent). One-half of the low and high-income Mexican-Americans had 19-36 clothing-awareness scores, and about 40 percent of these two income classes had low-clothing awareness, Table 5. There was a tendency for a direct relationship between the income and clothing-awareness scores of those 40 Anglo-American women who had monthly incomes of \$200 or more. Twenty-three and 15 percent of the medium and high-income Anglo respondents, respectively, had low-clothing awareness as compared to 15 and 31 percent in the same income groups who had high-clothing awareness scores.

Distributions for level of living and husband's occupational rating either were related nonsignificantly or were not suitable for statistical analysis. Proportionately, there were more low-clothing scores among the low occupation Mexican-Americans than among these respondents with high occupational ratings. There was no proportional difference between the occupationally low and high Mexican-American women with high-clothing scores, Table 5. Of the 40 Anglos with high occupational ratings, 63 percent had midrange-clothing scores and most of the remaining ones were in the highest-clothing category.

There were about three times more Mexican-Americans with low level of living and low clothing awareness scores than there were with low level of living and high-clothing scores. Approximately the same proportion of each level-of-living group had high-clothing scores. There were about the same proportion of low and high level-of-living Anglos in the three clothing-awareness score categories, Table 5.

The respondent's age statistically affected her clothing-awareness score (Mexican-American:  $\chi^2_2 = 10.99$ ,  $P. = 99.5$  percent; Anglo-American:  $\chi^2_2 = 7.61$ ,  $P. = 97.5-99$  percent). Generally more of the older women in both ethnic groups had low scores and more of the younger women had high scores, Table 5.

There was a trend for participation in social activities to be related to Mexican-American interviewees' clothing-awareness scores ( $\chi^2_2 = 3.27$ ,  $P. = 75-90$  percent). This analysis was not possible with Anglo data. Among the Mexican-Americans the relationship was basically inverse, Table 5. The greatest proportion of low scores was among women who participated in some activities, and the greatest proportion of middle or high scores was associated with nonparticipants. Of the Anglo participants, about 6 out of 10 had clothing-awareness scores ranging from 19-36, Table 5.

Meaningful analysis of the influence of employment status on Mexican-Americans' clothing-awareness scores was not possible; this relationship was significant among Anglos ( $\chi^2_1 = 2.83$ ,  $P. = 90-95$  percent). The clothing awareness scores of the 81 unemployed

Mexican-American women were distributed approximately evenly among the three clothing score categories. The greatest proportion of the 30 unemployed Anglo-American women had midrange clothing-awareness scores, and the least had low ones. This also was true of the employed Anglo homemakers, Table 5.

The statistical effect of socialization area upon Mexican-American and Anglo-American respondents' clothing awareness scores was nonsignificant. Responses of urban-reared Mexican-American women were distributed approximately equally among the clothing awareness score categories, but 70 percent of these women who were reared in rural areas had low clothing-awareness scores, Table 5. Proportionately more rural-reared Anglo women had low clothing-awareness scores, while more of these urban-reared women had high scores.

*Number of clothing incongruities:* More Anglo-Americans tended significantly to notice incongruities depicted in TATMA pictures than Mexican-American respondents ( $\chi^2_1 = 10.92$ ,  $P. = 99$  percent). Seventy-four percent of the Anglos, compared to 41 percent of the Mexican-Americans, told stories including clothing incongruities. In both samples, the median number of incongruities cited was less than 0.5. On the average, the Mexican and Anglo-American respondents saw 0.7 and 1.4 incongruities, respectively. These means were much closer numerically when based only on the number of women who saw incongruities rather than the total sample (Mexican-American: mean = 1.7,  $N = 37$ ; Anglo-American: mean = 1.9,  $N = 31$ ).

Because only one Mexican-American told stories including 4-6 clothing incongruities, Table 6, the categories for number of incongruities were combined on a none-some basis for statistical analysis. Of the eight independent variables, only the respondent's age ( $\chi^2_2 = 5.02$ ,  $P. = 90-95$  percent) and husband's occupational rating ( $\chi^2_1 = 2.69$ ,  $P. = 90$  percent) were related significantly to the total number of clothing incongruities noted by Mexican-American homemakers. None was associated significantly with the Anglo-American women's tendency to notice clothing incongruities in TATMA pictures.

The majority of the Mexican-American respondents in all ISC categories failed to notice any clothing incongruities. However, the proportion of women who did notice some incongruities increased with their ISC scores. Ten percent of the Anglo respondents noticed 4-6 incongruities; none of these were in the high ISC category. The majority of respondents in all individual ISC categories noticed 1-3 incongruities, Table 6.

Approximately two-thirds of the Mexican-Americans with low educational attainment failed to note clothing incongruities, while about one-third noticed 1-3. This ratio was about one-to-one for those respondents with more than 8 years of school, Table 6. About 30 percent of the Anglo homemakers, who had

12 or fewer years of education, did not mention clothing incongruities, Table 6. Eighteen percent of the better educated women failed to see at least one incongruity. About three-fourths of the Anglo women who had some college training noticed 1-3 incongruities.

Generally, the Mexican-American respondents with the lowest family incomes were the least likely to reiterate clothing incongruities in TATMA pictures. There was no difference in the tendency of high-income Mexican-Americans to note these incongruities. Although there were only two, this was true also of the low-income Anglo-American respondents. Approximately three-fourths of the medium-income Anglos noted 1-3 incongruities as compared to approximately 60 percent of these high-income respondents. The medium-income Anglo women were the most likely to mention at least one clothing incongruity, Table 6.

There were about twice as many Mexican-American respondents with low level-of-living scores who failed to note clothing incongruities as there were those who noted at least three incongruities, Table 6. In the case of high level-of-living Mexican-Americans, 56 percent did not include incongruities in their stories while 45 percent did. The only two low level-of-living Anglos saw 1-3 incongruities. About 60 percent of the high level-of-living respondents told stories incorporating 1-3 clothing incongruities, Table 6.

The relationship between Mexican-American respondents' tendency to include clothing incongruities and their husbands' occupational ratings was essentially direct. An equal percentage of Anglo women who did not mention clothing incongruities had husbands with medium and high occupational ratings. The only individuals who had seen 4-6 incongruities had medium occupational scores, Table 6.

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL NUMBER OF CLOTHING INCONGRUITIES MENTIONED BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OTHER SELECTED VARIABLES

Variables	Mexican-American						Anglo-American					
	Number of clothing incongruities						Number of clothing incongruities					
	None		1-3		4-6		None		1-3		4-6	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ISC score	50	58	36	42	0	0	11	27	26	63	4	10
Low (1-2)	22	67	11	33	0	0	5	28	11	61	2	11
Medium (3)	15	54	13	46	0	0	4	31	7	54	2	15
High (4-5)	13	52	12	48	0	0	2	20	8	80	0	0
Education	50	59	34	40	1	1	11	26	27	64	4	10
Low (less than 9 years)	42	62	25	37	1	1	2	29	4	57	1	14
Medium (9-12 years)	7	47	8	53	0	0	7	29	15	63	2	8
High (more than 12 years)	1	50	1	50	0	0	2	18	8	73	1	9
Family income	50	57 <sup>1</sup>	36	41	1	1	11	27	26	63	4	10
Low (less than \$200)	24	62	15	38	0	0	1	50	1	50	0	0
Medium (\$200-\$349)	21	55	16	42	1	3	2	15	10	77	1	8
High (more than \$349)	5	50	5	50	0	0	8	31 <sup>1</sup>	15	58	3	12
Occupational rating	51	58	37	42	0	0	11	31	21	60	3	9
Low (ratings 1-2)	35	65	19	35	0	0	0	0	2	100	0	0
Medium (ratings 3-4)	14	47	16	53	0	0	9	33	15	56	3	11
High (ratings 5-7)	2	50	2	50	0	0	2	33	4	67	0	0
Level of living	52 <sup>1</sup>	57 <sup>1</sup>	38	42	1	2	11	26 <sup>1</sup>	27	64	4	10
Low (ratings 1-5)	11	65	6	35	0	0	0	0	2	100	0	0
High (ratings 6-7)	41	56 <sup>1</sup>	32	44	1	1	11	28 <sup>1</sup>	25	63	4	10
Age of respondent	50	59	35	41	1	1	11	28	25	62	4	10
Low (17-35 years)	6	38	10	62	0	0	4	25	10	62	2	13
Medium (36-55 years)	20	56	16	44	0	0	3	23	9	69	1	8
High (more than 55 years)	24	71	9	26	1	3	4	36	6	55	1	9
Participation in activities	52	57	38	42	1	1	11	26 <sup>1</sup>	27	64	4	9
None	41	58	29	41	1	1	0	0	2	100	0	0
Some	11	55	9	45	0	0	11	28 <sup>1</sup>	25	63	4	10
Employment status	51	57	38	42	1	1	11	26 <sup>1</sup>	27	64	4	9
Employed	3	60	2	40	0	0	3	30	5	50	2	20
Unemployed	48	56 <sup>1</sup>	36	42	1	1	8	24 <sup>1</sup>	22	69	2	6
Area of socialization	51	57	37	42	1	1	11	27	26	63	4	10
Rural	10	59	7	41	0	0	6	29	12	57	3	14
Urban	41	57	30	42	1	1	5	25	14	70	1	5

<sup>1</sup>Rounding errors.



Approximately 70 percent of the older Mexican-American respondents, as compared to about 40 percent of the younger ones, did not notice clothing incongruities. Similarly, 26 percent of the older women compared to 62 percent of the youngest ones, noticed 1-3 incongruities, Table 6. These relationships were not as clearcut among the Anglo respondents. About one-third of the Anglos over 55 years old did not mention clothing incongruities. This compared to about one-fourth of the women 55 years old or younger. The youngest category of Anglo women tended most to note 4-6 incongruities in their TATMA stories.

The percentage of Mexican-Americans who failed to see or saw only 1-3 clothing incongruities was approximately the same, regardless of their social participation level. Twenty-eight percent of the participating Anglo respondents did not see incongruities, while 63 and 10 percent noted 1-3 and 4-6, respectively, Table 6.

The percentage distribution of the unemployed and employed Mexican-American respondents among the number of clothing incongruity categories was approximately equal, Table 6. The majority of both unemployed and employed Anglo-American homemakers noted 1-3 incongruities. Of the four Anglos who saw 4-6 incongruities, two were in each of the employment categories.

There was no difference in the percentage distributions of rural-reared and urban-reared Mexican-American homemakers who noted or failed to note clothing incongruities, Table 6. Fourteen percent of the rural-reared Anglo respondents saw 4-6 incongruities. This was three times more than urban-reared women noticed. Proportionately, more of the urban women specified 1-3 incongruities in their TATMA stories.

### Types of Clothing Incongruities

The respondent's tendency to notice a variety of incongruities between TATMA clothing wearers and their surroundings was another indication of clothing awareness. Clothing incongruities related to the age, sex, socio-economic status and size-shape of the wearer and the apparent formality of the situation were designed into TATMA pictures. The number and percentage distributions of the types of clothing incongruities seen in each picture are cited in Table 7.

*Age:* It was possible to imagine age incongruities in Pictures I, II, III and V. About one-fifth of the Mexican-American respondents identified a total of 19 age incongruities. Eleven of these were seen in Picture II. The others were distributed almost equally among the remaining three pictures. Similarly, 5 percent of the Anglos noted age incongruities, all of which were associated with Picture II. The following comments were typical. Some comments related to more than one type of clothing incongruity.

*Picture I:* "Numbers 3 and 4 are teachers. They look older, more respectable. The man's clothing is quite different from that of the boy (No. 1) who is wearing blue jeans. No. 3 wears a shirt and dress trousers. No. 4 also looks older and better dressed."

*Picture II:* "... she (No. 7) is dressed very awkwardly for her age. She looks very old (yet) wears a hair bow, and the sweater is too tight. Usually older women do not wear tight skirts. The loafers are definitely out since they are for school girls which she is not."

*Picture II:* "He (No. 6) looks a lot older to be wearing sneakers and that corny shirt with the flowers on it. The blue jeans are not too good either."

*Picture II:* "According to her age, the way she (No. 7) is dressed is very improper and rare. She is a middle-aged woman, and she is wearing a teenager's shoes and socks and a child's purse which don't become her. She even wears bangs and a bow in her hair . . . she is ridiculous."

*Picture V:* "Man No. 15 looks so much older than his young wife since he is wearing a hat."

TABLE 7. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF CLOTHING INCONGRUITIES MENTIONED BY MEXICAN- AND ANGLO-AMERICANS IN SPECIFIED PICTURES

Type of clothing incongruity	Mexican-American											
	P-I		P-II		P-III		P-IV		P-V		P-VI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	76	85 <sup>1</sup>	64	70 <sup>1</sup>	75	84	88	98	84	92	90	99
Total incongruities	13	15	27	30	14	16	2	2	7	8	1	1
Age	3	3	11	12	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Status	1	1			1	1			1	1		
Formality	7	8	3	3	5	6						
Culture	1	1	1	1	1	1			5	6		
Sex			1	1	5	6	1	1				
Size-shape	1	1	11	12								
	Anglo-American											
None	39	93	28	67 <sup>1</sup>	27	66	39	93	37	88	38	90 <sup>1</sup>
Total incongruities	3	7	14	33	14	33	3	7	5	15	4	10
Age			2	5								
Status			2	5					5	12	1	2
Formality	3	7			2	5					3	7
Culture					1	2						
Sex					11	27	3	7				
Size-shape			10	24								

<sup>1</sup>Rounding errors.

*Socio-economic status:* Of all the clothing incongruities depicted, those related to apparent differences in the socio-economic status of characters were the most difficult to define. Status-related clothing incongruities might be seen in Pictures I, II, III and VI and less obviously in Picture IV.

Three percent of the Mexican-Americans, compared to 19 percent of the Anglo respondents, cited clothing incongruities related to the socio-economic circumstance of the characters. The majority of these were associated with Picture V where characters 16, 17 and 18 looked "humble" or "needy." Examples of statements of socio-economic clothing incongruities follow:

*Picture I:* "The boy (No. 1) is dressed in blue jeans and is looking at the others who are better dressed . . . the other characters feel superior because they are better dressed."

*Picture II:* ". . . he may have some thought about the way she (No. 7) is dressed. Perhaps she is in the lower income bracket since her clothes are not quite up-to-date."

*Picture VI:* "(She is a social worker) because she is obviously better dressed than he is . . . he has his shirt sleeves rolled up and the lack of curtains and furniture in the room suggests poverty."

*Formality:* The respondents generally associated the lack of formality in clothing with inappropriateness for the situation depicted. This was evidenced in response to Pictures I, III and VI.

Sixteen percent of the Mexican-Americans and about 20 percent of the Anglo respondents noted clothing incongruities related to formality. The majority of the Mexican-Americans saw this incongruity in Pictures I and III, whereas the Anglo-Americans generally noted it in Pictures I, III and VI.

The following are representative examples of the formality-related clothing incongruities mentioned by Mexican-American and Anglo-American cooperators:

*Picture I:* "If girl (No. 4) is going to school, she shouldn't be wearing high heels and gloves."

*Picture II:* "The way the woman (No. 7) presents herself is not correct for the street. She should be dressed in more appropriate clothing—something older than bobbysocks."

*Picture III:* "In my opinion, even a sick man (No. 11) shouldn't present himself this way, wearing a robe. He shouldn't come into the living room when there are visitors there."

*Picture VI:* "The man is unshaved, but she is so neatly dressed. . . . she is all dressed up and is quite formal with her gloves there. She looks like a visitor."

*Picture VI:* "No. 19 is dressed to go out for dinner, but her escort (No. 20) isn't even presentable. There are her gloves lying on the table and it looks like she might have on a rhinestone bracelet. Also, her dress is cut lower than just a plain house dress."

*Cultural affiliation:* Clothing incongruities related to the ethnic or racial affiliation of TATMA

characters could be seen in Pictures III and V and less obviously in Picture VI. Although these incongruities were related generally to the Mexican culture, Oriental and Negroid influences also were mentioned.

Two percent of the Anglo (mostly Picture III) and 9 percent of the Mexican-American (Picture V) respondents specified such incongruities. Some typical comments follow:

*Picture III:* "Man No. 11 is dressed so differently. He looks like a Chinese in his jacket and slippers."

*Picture III:* "No. 11 isn't like the others. He is dressed like a Japanese servant."

*Picture V:* "Nos. 14 and 15 are tourists because American men dress up outside their own country. You wouldn't catch 90 percent of them dead in the United States with a hat on. The flower in her hair, puffed sleeves, figured skirt and soft slippers identify No. 18 as Latin American."

*Picture V:* "It looks like this must be south of the border. They don't dress like that in the States. Look at the difference between Nos. 14 and 15 and the Mexican. They are dressed like people around here. The other people are dressed like that of their country and are probably in their everyday clothes. The girl is dressed in their bright colors and the little boy has on a bright jacket too."

*Picture V:* "I think this is Laredo, Mexico . . . where they usually dress in Mexican dresses like girl No. 18. Couple 14 and 15 are dressed differently and look undecided. Persons from the United States can't decide what to buy."

The comment concerning the brightly-colored Mexican costumes was of particular interest since the pictures were rendered in black and white.

*Size-shape:* Although clothing incongruities related to the characters' size and/or shape were in Pictures II, III and V, only those in Picture II were mentioned. Thirteen percent of the Mexican-Americans and 24 percent of the Anglo respondents thought that character 7 was too large to be dressed as she was shown. Some typical comments follow:

*Picture II:* "This poor girl doesn't look bad, but the dress she wears isn't very pretty. She must feel she is dressed properly. The girl's mother never told her how tight the dress looks on her or that she should loosen the dress."

*Picture II:* ". . . she looks too chubby for her clothes. The skirt and sweater are filled out in the wrong places."

*Picture II:* ". . . even though she is overweight she could take enough pride in herself to be neat, but she is so sloppy. She's got on shoes that are way too big and her clothes are straight down. Some places they are too tight and some places they are not tight enough."

*Sex:* Generally an individual's sex is readily determined by his clothing. Most of the respondents seemed confused when they could not determine definitely if a character was male or female. Some did not know what to say, perhaps recognizing the moral overtones in the situation they imagine to be depicted.

Approximately 8 percent of the Mexican-Americans and 34 percent of the Anglos recognized clothing incongruities concerning a character's sex. Most of these were associated with character 11 in Picture III and character 12 in Picture IV. The following typical

TABLE 8. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTHING THEMES BY PICTURE AND ETHNIC AFFILIATION

Item	P-I		P-II		P-III		P-IV		P-V		P-VI	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Picture described only	10	11	15	16	10	11	15	16	8	9	15	16
Story plot without clothing theme	16	18	12	13	19	21	13	14	9	10	14	15
Story plot with clothing theme	65	71	64	70	62	68	63	69	74	81	62	67
Total	91	100	91	99 <sup>1</sup>	91	100	91	99 <sup>1</sup>	91	100	91	100
	Anglo-American											
Picture described only	0	0	1	2	1	2	0	0	1	2	0	0
Story plot without clothing theme	5	12	15	36	7	17	6	14	5	12	11	26
Story plot with clothing theme	37	88	26	62	34	81	36	86	36	86	31	74
Total	42	100	42	100	42	100	42	100	42	100	42	100

<sup>1</sup>Rounding errors.

comments indicate the respondents' reactions to these characters:

*Picture III:* "I can't tell whether No. 11 is a man or a woman. That must be a man, but I don't know why he has a skirt and lady's jacket on. Maybe it is a very masculine lady."

*Picture III:* "He looks like a man with women's clothing on and I don't understand why. It looks like a woman's suit, but the hair is cut like a man's."

*Picture IV:* "I want to tell you that this is the silliest picture I have ever seen. No. 12 is a woman dressed like a man. My husband told me that these people are really sick."

*Picture IV:* "I resent the way the woman (No. 12) is dressed. The clothes she is wearing resemble certain lesbians I have encountered. The other woman is thoroughly feminine because of the pin and earrings and the type of clothing she is wearing."

### Clothing Themes

Since at least one clothing incongruity was built into each picture, it was thought that each would elicit some kind of clothing theme, and that the theme content would vary with the respondent's cultural orientation and socio-economic status. The codes, and therefore the meanings and categorizations of themes, were assigned after preliminary examination of the data.

*Number of clothing themes:* Responses were classified as stories with plots which did not refer to a character's clothing, stories with plots referring to clothing and simple picture descriptions without any plot. Although verbalization ability was not measured,<sup>5</sup> the incidence of stories with clothing plots may include this factor. On the average, more Anglos (79 percent) than Mexican-Americans (71 percent) told stories with clothing themes. The statistical difference between the number of Anglo- and Mexican-American respondents who told stories with clothing themes or plots for individual pictures was nonsignificant.

Although the numerical range of clothing themes elicited from each picture was relatively small, Table

<sup>5</sup>Verbalization was not measured since the Mexican-American responses were given in Spanish and, therefore, were influenced by translation.

8, Mexican-Americans were the most likely to give stories with clothing themes to Picture V (81 percent) and the least likely to see these themes in Picture VI (67 percent). Similarly, most of the Anglos (88 percent) assigned clothing themes to Picture I, whereas they were the least likely to see these themes in Picture II (62 percent). The statistical difference in the number of Mexican-Americans having clothing themes based on a specific picture was nonsignificant, but was significant for Anglo-American respondents ( $\chi^2_5 = 11.30$ ,  $P = .95$  percent).

*Characteristics of respondents with clothing themes:* Regardless of the picture to which they were responding, Mexican-American women tended to have urban areas of major socialization, low educational attainment (less than 9 years), medium range incomes (\$200-\$349 per month after taxes), husbands with low occupational ratings, medium age ranges (36-55 years) and did not tend to participate in activities outside their homes. Similarly, regardless of the particular picture, Anglo respondents who gave clothing themes tended to be in the lowest ISC group, have 9-12 years of formal education, incomes of \$350 or more per month and husbands with medium occupational ratings.

The tendency of Mexican-American women to have clothing themes for a particular story was dependent upon their ISC scores. In the case of Pictures I and IV, these women tended to have low ISC scores. Those most likely to have clothing themes associated with Picture III had medium-range ISC ratings; whereas, in responding to Pictures II and VI in this manner, respondents were equally likely to have low or medium ISC scores. In the case of Picture V, those with clothing themes were distributed equally among all three ISC classifications.

In only one case (Picture VI) was the Anglo-American who had clothing themes likely to be a non-participant in activities outside her home. This respondent also was likely to be from 36-55 years old and originally from an urban area as were the Anglo women who assigned clothing themes to Pictures III and IV. In the case of Picture V, respondents were

generally from an urban area, but were equally likely to be less than 36 or from 36 to 55 years old. More women 36 to 55 years old responded to Picture II with clothing themes, and more who were less than 36 responded to Picture I. There was an equal tendency for these respondents to be of either rural or urban background.

In no case was a woman with a high ISC score, high educational attainment or low income, over 55 years old and whose husband had a high occupational rating, the most likely to have a clothing theme associated with any of the TATMA pictures:

*Most commonly used clothing themes:* There was considerable diversity in clothing themes used by individuals and ethnic groups. This necessitated coding seldom used themes as "other."

*Picture I.* Approximately 30 percent of the Mexican-Americans who had clothing themes associated with Picture I identified it as a school situation where, because of their clothing, characters 3 and 4 were teachers or other adults. These characters were thought to be better dressed than the others in this picture, Table 9, code 3. Some of these respondents could not decide if character 4 should be wearing

TABLE 9. DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTHING THEMES ASSOCIATED WITH PICTURE I BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OTHER VARIABLES

Variables	Range of clothing themes <sup>1</sup>																						
	Mexican-Americans						Anglo-Americans																
	Code 1		Code 2		Code 3		Code 4		Code 5		Code 6		Code 1		Code 3		Code 4		Code 5		Code 6		
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ISC scores	12	21	7	13	17	30	3	5	2	4	15	27	21	58	5	14	2	6	1	3	7	19	
Low (1-2)	3	14	5	24	7	33	0	0	0	0	6	29	9	64 <sup>2</sup>	1	7	1	7	0	0	3	21	
Medium (3)	5	28 <sup>2</sup>	0	0	7	39	2	11	1	6	3	17	8	62 <sup>2</sup>	3	23	0	0	0	0	2	14	
High (4-5)	4	24 <sup>2</sup>	2	12	3	18	1	6	1	6	6	35	4	44 <sup>2</sup>	1	11	1	11	1	11	2	22	
Education	14	24	8	14	15	26	3	5	3	5	15	26	21	57	5	13	2	5	1	3	8	22	
Low (less than 9 years)	10	23	7	16	9	21	2	5	2	5	13	30	2	33	1	17	1	17	0	0	2	33	
Medium (9-12 years)	2	20	1	10	4	40	1	10	0	0	2	20	11	55	2	10	1	5	1	5	5	25	
High (more than 12 years)	2	40	0	0	2	40	0	0	1	20	0	0	8	73	2	18	0	0	0	0	1	9	
Family income	14	22	9	15	19	31	3	5	2	3	15	24	21	58	5	14	2	6	1	3	7	19	
Low (less than \$200)	4	17	5	21	7	29	1	4	0	0	7	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Medium (\$200-\$349)	7	23	3	10	10	32	2	6	2	6	7	23	6	50 <sup>2</sup>	1	8	1	8	0	0	4	33	
High (more than \$349)	3	43	1	14	2	29	0	0	0	0	1	14	15	63 <sup>2</sup>	4	17	1	4	1	4	3	13	
Level of living	14	24	3	5	20	34	3	5	3	5	16	27	21	51	9	22	2	5	1	2	8	20	
Low (ratings 1-5)	1	8	2	17	4	33	0	0	0	0	5	42	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
High (ratings 6-7)	13	28 <sup>2</sup>	1	2	16	34	3	6	3	6	11	23	19	49 <sup>2</sup>	9	23	2	5	1	3	8	21	
Occupational rating	13	21 <sup>2</sup>	9	15	19	31	3	5	2	3	16	26	21	58	5	14	2	6	1	3	7	19	
Low (ratings 1-2)	7	19 <sup>2</sup>	7	19	8	22	1	3	1	3	12	33	1	50	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0	
Medium (ratings 3-4)	5	23	1	5	9	41	2	23	1	5	4	18	16	67 <sup>2</sup>	3	13	0	0	1	4	4	17	
High (ratings 5-7)	1	25	1	25	2	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	40	2	20	1	10	0	0	3	30	
Age of respondent	13	21	9	15	19	31	3	5	2	3	15	25	21	57	5	14	2	5	1	3	8	21	
Low (17-35 years)	2	13	0	0	7	47	3	20	0	0	3	20	10	71 <sup>2</sup>	2	14	0	0	1	7	1	7	
Medium (36-55 years)	8	24 <sup>2</sup>	5	20	7	28	0	0	1	4	4	16	6	43	2	14	2	14	0	0	4	29	
High (more than 55 years)	3	14	4	19	5	24	0	0	1	5	8	38	5	63 <sup>2</sup>	1	13	0	0	0	0	3	38	
Participation in activities	13	20	10	15	20	31	3	5	3	5	16	24	21	57	5	14	2	5	1	3	8	21	
None	9	16 <sup>2</sup>	6	11	19	35	3	5	3	5	15	27	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Some	4	40	4	40	1	10	0	0	0	0	1	10	19	54	5	14	2	6	1	3	8	23	
Employment status	14	22 <sup>2</sup>	9	14	20	31	3	5	3	5	16	24	21	57	5	14	2	5	1	3	8	21	
Employed	1	25	2	50	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	70	1	10	0	0	0	0	2	20	
Unemployed	13	21 <sup>2</sup>	7	11	19	33	3	10	3	10	16	26	14	52	4	15	2	7	1	4	6	22	
Area of socialization	14	16 <sup>2</sup>	9	11	20	24	23	27	3	4	16	19	20	56 <sup>2</sup>	5	14	2	6	1	3	8	22	
Rural	4	25	3	19	4	25	0	0	1	6	4	25	9	50 <sup>2</sup>	4	22	1	5	0	0	4	22	
Urban	10	20 <sup>2</sup>	6	12	16	33	3	6	2	4	12	24	11	65 <sup>2</sup>	1	6	1	6	1	6	4	24	

<sup>1</sup>Code 1—School, office or church situation, mentions clothing generally.

Code 2—Although No. 1 is young, he is not dressed for school. The other characters feel superior to him.

Code 3—Nos. 3 and 4 are teachers or other adults. Mentions gloves, dress trousers or that they are better dressed than others.

Code 4—Because of clothing, No. 5 is a teacher, Nos. 3 and 4 are visitors and others are students.

Code 5—Because of his clothing, No. 2 ignores No. 1 who is embarrassed.

Code 6—A variety of meanings seldom occurring among responses.

<sup>2</sup>Rounding errors.

gloves in the school. The women who gave this response generally had low or medium ISC scores, low educational attainment, monthly family incomes of \$200 - \$349, high level of living scores and husbands with medium occupational ratings. Also, these women were likely to be less than 55 years old, unemployed, reared in urban areas and nonparticipants.

The second most common Mexican-American clothing theme, an adaptation of the first, Table 9, code 1, mentioned clothing generally to identify youth in a school, office or church. Attention was not drawn to the clothing of particular characters. The socio-economic traits of these respondents were similar to those who were more specific. The exception was Mexican-American women, 36-55 years old, who had husbands with lower occupational ratings.

The seldom-used clothing themes made by Mexican-Americans about Picture I were diverse and interesting. Many had to do with a shopping situation; any female character carrying a purse-like object was assumed to be shopping or going to town. Two respondents thought that character 5 was being criticized for her dress, particularly her bobby-socks. In one case, characters 1 and 2 were identified as delinquents because of their "hoody" clothing. In another instance, these same characters were thought to be humble because of their modest clothing.

Approximately 60 percent of the Anglo-American respondents had clothing themes based on youth attending school or church and becoming better acquainted with one another, Table 9, code 1. They seldom mentioned specific details of any character's clothing. The Anglo women who made this response were likely to have low or medium ISC scores, 9-12 years of education, monthly incomes of \$350 or more, high level of living scores and husbands with medium occupational ratings. Further, they were 17-35 years old, unemployed, reared in urban areas and participated in at least one social activity. With the exception of age, income and social participation, the Anglo respondents having this type of clothing theme were similar to their Mexican-American counterparts.

The second most common clothing theme (Table 9, code 3) used by Anglo-Americans was a specific reiteration of code 1. Its use was related positively to the same socio-economic variables.

There were seven Anglo-American respondents whose clothing themes did not fit into any of the specified categories. For instance, character 3 was dressed like a "high-class" Negro, or character 5 was dressed "differently" and would be treated as an outsider. Two homemakers thought that Picture I was confusing, because some of the characters were "dressed up" and some were not.

The numerical distributions involved did not allow meaningful statistical analysis of ethnic and

socio-economic differences associated with the theme content of Picture I.

*Picture II.* The most common clothing theme associated with picture II had to do with the inappropriateness of character 7's clothing. About 40 percent of the Mexican-Americans and 60 percent of the Anglos thought that she was too large and too old or young to be dressed as depicted. Because of her clothing, there was some confusion, particularly among the Mexican-Americans, about her age. Her appearance caused character 6 to stare. These respondents mentioned her sweater, hair and purse, and the shoes of both characters, Table 10, code 1.

The typical Mexican-American giving this type of clothing theme was likely to have a high ISC score, less than 9 years of school, a monthly income of \$200 - \$349, a high level of living score and a husband with a low or medium occupational rating. She generally was 36-55 years old, unemployed, urban-reared and did not participate in activities. The Anglo women who gave this type of clothing theme had similar incomes and level of living scores, also were unemployed and in the same age category, tended to have low ISC scores, 9-12 years of education and husbands with medium occupational ratings. They also were likely to have rural areas of major socialization and some social participation.

Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans had the same second-most commonly used clothing theme. Approximately 20 percent in both ethnic groups thought that, because of their clothing, both characters in Picture II were young and in school, Table 10, code 2. Anglo- and Mexican-American women who had this theme had two common socio-economic traits; they were 36-55 years old and had high level of living scores. Mexican-Americans had high ISC scores and educational attainments, but their husbands had low occupational ratings. The Anglos generally participated in social activities while the Mexican-Americans did not. Also, the Anglos had rural socialization areas whereas the Mexican-Americans tended to be from urban areas.

Interestingly, about 10 percent of both Anglo- and Mexican-Americans focused their attention on character 6 and virtually ignored character 7, Table 10, code 4. Two Mexican-American homemakers thought his haircut was that of a "rebel." Seldom do Mexican-American youth in the study area wear short, cropped hair. They thought his shirt was "wild" and both groups noticed his tennis shoes. One Anglo respondent commented on his "britches with nails" with obvious disgust. Although few women gave this theme for Picture II, it is notable that the urban-reared Anglo homemaker with more than 12 years of formal education and an income of more than \$350 was the most likely to make the response. Among the Mexican-Americans, women older than 55 years were the most likely to assign this clothing theme.

Both Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans used code 5—character 7's appearance resembled that of a maid. However, only Mexican-American respondents assigned a Mexican ethnic affiliation to this character. Also, more Mexican-American women thought that character 7 was old because of her hair, clothing and Oxford shoes.

There were no statistical differences among the range of clothing themes made by Anglo-American and Mexican-American respondents for Picture II.

*Picture III.* For Picture III, approximately 35 percent of both ethnic groups gave clothing themes concerning family problems of characters 8, 9 and 11, Table 11, code 2. Character 11 had misbehaved and

was doubly upset to be seen in the depicted costume. The Mexican-American women who most often made this response had medium ISC scores, less than 9 years of school, \$200-\$349 incomes, high level of living scores and husbands with low occupational ratings. They were 36-55 years old, did not participate in activities outside their homes, were unemployed and grew up in urban locales. The typical Anglo making this clothing response had a high ISC score, 9-12 years of education, an income of \$350 or more, a husband with a high occupational rating and participated in social activities. The area of major socialization did not affect her tendency to associate family discord and embarrassment about clothing with Picture III.

TABLE 10. DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTHING THEMES ASSOCIATED WITH PICTURE II BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OTHER VARIABLES

Variables	Range of clothing themes <sup>1</sup>																					
	Mexican-Americans						Anglo-Americans															
	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5	Code 6	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 6											
ISC scores	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Low (1-2)	6	30	5	25	3	15	1	5	2	10	3	15	8	67	4	33	0	0	0	0	0	
Medium (3)	6	27	6	27	2	9	3	14	2	9	3	14	4	50 <sup>2</sup>	2	25	0	0	1	13	1	13
High (4-5)	11	58 <sup>2</sup>	2	11	3	16	2	11	0	0	1	5	4	0 <sup>2</sup>	1	13	1	13	2	25	0	0
Education	23	38	12	20	8	13	6	10	4	7	7	12	16	62	5	19	1	4	3	11	1	4
Low (less than 9 years)	14	31	8	18	7	16	5	11	4	9	7	15	1	33	2	67	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medium (9-12 years)	8	62 <sup>2</sup>	4	31	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	73	3	20	0	0	1	7	0	0
High (more than 12 years)	1	50	0	0	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0	4	50 <sup>2</sup>	0	0	1	13	2	25	1	13
Family income	23	37	13	22	8	13	7	11	4	6	7	11	16	62	5	18	1	4	3	12	1	4
Low (less than \$200)	8	35	3	13	3	13	3	13	2	9	4	17	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medium (\$200-\$349)	10	32	9	29	4	13	4	13	2	6	2	6	7	87	1	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
High (more than \$349)	5	63 <sup>2</sup>	1	13	1	13	0	0	0	0	1	13	9	53 <sup>2</sup>	3	18	1	6	3	18	1	6
Level of living	24	38	13	20	9	14	7	11	4	6	7	11	16	62	5	18	1	4	3	12	1	4
Low (ratings 1-5)	3	30	4	40	0	0	1	10	1	10	1	10	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
High (ratings 6-7)	21	39 <sup>2</sup>	9	17	9	17	6	11	3	6	6	11	15	60	5	20	1	4	3	12	1	4
Occupational rating	24	38	13	21	9	14	6	10	4	6	7	11	16	62	5	18	1	4	3	12	1	4
Low (ratings 1-2)	11	31	9	26	5	14	3	9	3	9	4	11	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medium (ratings 3-4)	11	46 <sup>2</sup>	3	13	3	13	3	13	1	4	3	13	10	59	5	29	0	0	1	6	1	6
High (ratings 5-7)	2	50	1	25	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	63 <sup>2</sup>	0	0	1	13	2	25	0	0
Age of respondent	21	35	12	20	9	15	7	12	4	6	7	12	16	62	5	19	1	4	3	11	1	4
Low (17-35 years)	7	50 <sup>2</sup>	3	21	0	0	2	14	1	7	1	7	6	75	2	25	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medium (36-55 years)	9	35	5	19	6	23	2	8	0	0	4	15	7	64	0	0	1	9	2	18	1	9
High (more than 55 years)	5	25	4	20	3	15	3	15	3	15	2	10	3	43	3	43	0	0	1	14	0	0
Participation in activities	24	34	19	27	9	13	7	10	4	6	7	10	16	62	5	19	1	4	3	11	1	4
None	21	40 <sup>2</sup>	8	15	9	17	5	10	2	4	7	13	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Some	3	17	11	61	0	0	2	11	2	11	0	0	15	60	5	20	1	4	3	12	1	4
Employment status	24	38	13	20	9	14	7	11	4	6	7	11	16	62 <sup>2</sup>	5	19	1	4	3	11	1	4
Employed	0	0 <sup>2</sup>	1	33	1	33	0	0	1	33	0	0	4	57	1	14	0	0	2	29	0	0
Unemployed	24	39 <sup>2</sup>	12	20	8	13	7	11	3	5	7	11	12	63 <sup>2</sup>	4	21	1	5	1	5	1	5
Area of socialization	24	38	13	21	9	14	7	11	3	5	7	11	16	60 <sup>2</sup>	5	19	1	4	3	11	2	7
Rural	5	38	0	0	5	38	1	8	1	8	1	8	9	69	4	31	0	0	0	0	0	0
Urban	19	38	13	26	4	8	6	12	2	4	6	12	7	50 <sup>2</sup>	1	7	1	7	3	21	2	14

<sup>1</sup>Code 1—No. 7 is not appropriately dressed for her age and size. No. 6 stares at her. Mentions sweater, shoes, hair and purse.

Code 2—Because of their clothing, they are both young and in school.

Code 3—Because of their clothing, they are both workers and have no opportunity to go to school.

Code 4—No. 6 looks like a "rebel" and wants to steal her purse. Described his clothing.

Code 5—Her appearance and clothing suggest she is a Mexican maid or a maid without reference to ethnic group.

Code 6—No. 7 is older because of her hair, clothing and shoes.

<sup>2</sup>Rounding errors.

The next most common Mexican-American clothing theme had to do with character 11 being at home and inappropriately receiving guests in his bed clothing. These respondents specifically mentioned his robe, slippers and character 9's hat. None who made these observations had more than 12 years of school and most had less than 9 years; all were unemployed and most were from 36-55 years old.

There was some confusion about character 11. Twice as many Anglos as Mexican-Americans thought he was a servant dressed in women's clothes or of Oriental descent. Four Anglo homemakers said he was a servant who had become mentally ill. In both cases, the other characters were visitors because of their clothing, Table 11, code 3.

Although there was diversity among the miscellaneous Mexican-American clothing themes associated with Picture III, there was a central idea among five of the eight responses. This had to do with the purse carried by character 9 who was going to town or shopping. In another case, she was modest and poor because of her hat and posture. In two instances, the scene was in a monastery where a family was visiting a young priest (character 11).

There was no common idea among the eight miscellaneous Anglo clothing themes. These respondents expressed confusion about at least one character in Picture III. Number 11 was, because of his clothing, identified as a doctor, nurse, professor, artist or priest with the story revolving around him. Char-

TABLE 11. DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTHING THEMES ASSOCIATED WITH PICTURE III BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OTHER VARIABLES

Variables	Range of clothing themes <sup>1</sup>																			
	Mexican-Americans					Anglo-Americans														
	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5										
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
ISC scores	15	27	21	37	6	11	6	11	8	14	4	12	11	33	9	27	1	3	8	25
Low (1-2)	5	29 <sup>2</sup>	4	24	2	12	2	12	4	24	3	21 <sup>2</sup>	2	14	5	36	1	7	3	21
Medium (3)	5	24 <sup>2</sup>	10	48	1	5	3	14	2	10	1	10	4	40	2	20	0	0	3	30
High (4-5)	5	28 <sup>2</sup>	7	39	3	17	1	6	2	11	0	0	5	56	2	22	0	0	2	22
Education	16	28	22	38	6	10	5	8	9	16	4	12	12	36	9	26	1	3	8	23
Low (less than 9 years)	13	30	12	28	6	14	5	12	7	16	0	0	2	40	2	40	0	0	1	20
Medium (9-12 years)	3	25	7	58	0	0	0	0	2	17	3	15	6	30	6	30	0	0	5	25
High (more than 12 years)	0	0	3	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11 <sup>2</sup>	4	44	1	11	1	11	2	22
Family income	16	27	23	39	6	10	6	10	8	14	4	13	11	34	9	28	1	3	7	22
Low (less than \$200)	6	27	7	32	1	5	2	9	6	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100
Medium (\$200-\$349)	6	20	14	47	4	13	4	13	2	7	2	20	2	20	4	40	1	10	1	10
High (more than \$349)	4	57 <sup>2</sup>	2	28	1	14	0	0	0	0	2	10 <sup>2</sup>	9	43	5	24	0	0	5	24
Level of living	17	27	24	39	7	11	6	10	8	13	4	12	12	36	9	26	1	3	8	23
Low (ratings 1-5)	1	9 <sup>2</sup>	2	18	3	27	3	27	2	18	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
High (ratings 6-7)	16	31	22	43	4	8	3	6	6	12	4	12 <sup>2</sup>	11	33	9	27	1	3	8	24
Occupational rating	16	28 <sup>2</sup>	22	38	6	10	6	10	8	14	4	12	11	33	9	27	1	3	8	25
Low (ratings 1-2)	9	28 <sup>2</sup>	12	38	4	13	2	6	5	16	0	0	1	50	1	50	0	0	0	0
Medium (ratings 3-4)	6	27	9	41	2	9	2	9	3	14	4	19 <sup>2</sup>	6	29	6	29	1	5	4	19
High (ratings 5-7)	1	25	1	25	0	0	2	50	0	0	0	0	4	40	2	20	0	0	4	40
Age of respondent	17	29	21	36	6	10	6	10	9	15	4	12 <sup>2</sup>	12	36	9	27	0	0	8	24
Low (17-35 years)	3	21 <sup>2</sup>	7	50	1	7	2	14	1	7	2	17 <sup>2</sup>	5	42	2	17	0	0	3	25
Medium (36-55 years)	9	32	9	32	3	11	3	11	4	14	1	7	6	43	5	36	0	0	2	14
High (more than 55 years)	5	29	5	29	2	12	1	6	4	24	1	14 <sup>2</sup>	1	14	2	28	0	0	3	43
Participation in activities	17	27	23	37	7	11	6	10	9	15	4	12	12	35	9	26	1	3	8	24
None	15	30	19	38	6	12	4	8	6	12	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Some	2	17	4	33	1	8	2	17	3	25	4	12	11	33	9	27	1	3	8	24
Employment status	17	27	23	37	7	11	6	10	9	15	4	12	12	35	9	26	1	3	8	24
Employed	0	0	1	50	0	0	1	50	0	0	2	25	2	25	2	25	0	0	2	25
Unemployed	17	28	22	37	7	12	5	8	9	15	2	8	10	38	7	27	1	4	6	23
Area of socialization	17	27	23	37	7	11	6	10	9	15	4	12	12	35	9	26	1	3	8	24
Rural	4	33 <sup>2</sup>	5	42	1	8	1	8	1	8	0	0	6	38	5	31	0	0	5	31
Urban	13	26	18	36	6	12	5	10	8	16	4	22	6	33	4	22	1	6	3	17

<sup>1</sup>Code 1—No. 11 is at home while the others are guests. Mentions robe or kimona, slipper or shoes, and woman's hat.

Code 2—They have a family problem or Nos. 8 and 9 are complaining about No. 11 who is distraught because of his clothing.

Code 3—No. 11 is a servant man dressed in a woman's clothing or is of a different race. Perhaps he is mentally ill.

Code 4—Because of his clothing, No. 11 is in a hospital or other institution. He has visitors and No. 10 is a doctor.

Code 5—Other.

<sup>2</sup>Rounding errors.

acter 8 was thought to be a rebellious college student because of his suit and long hair. One respondent thought that both he and character 11 were models showing clothing to prospective buyers.

There was a statistical difference among the number of coded clothing themes mentioned by Anglo-American and Mexican-American respondents ( $\chi^2_4 = 8.28$ ,  $P = 90-95$  percent).

*Picture IV.* One-half of the Mexican-American and one-third of the Anglo respondents thought that Picture IV was about two working women in their occupational clothes. Number 12 was consistently identified as a WAC or other uniformed government employee, while character 13 was a teacher or supervisory nurse, Table 12, code 1.

Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans most likely to give this clothing theme shared six socio-economic traits: low ISC scores, low educational attainment, high level of living scores, urban background, unemployment and age. The Anglos had high incomes, medium occupational ratings and took part in social activities. The Mexican-American respondents were inactive socially, had incomes of \$200-\$349 and had low occupational ratings.

Whereas three Mexican-American homemakers simply said that character 12 was better dressed than number 13, none of the Anglos had this idea. In this case, the respondents also thought that character 12 was more modest and humble.

For the clothing theme in Picture IV, approximately one-fifth of all respondents identified character

TABLE 12. DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTHING THEMES ASSOCIATED WITH PICTURE IV BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OTHER VARIABLES

Variables	Range of clothing themes <sup>1</sup>																	
	Mexican-Americans										Anglo-Americans							
	Code 1		Code 2		Code 3		Code 4		Code 5		Code 1		Code 2		Code 4		Code 5	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ISC scores	28	48 <sup>2</sup>	13	22	3	5	4	7	10	17	12	34	6	17	1	3	16	46
Low (1-2)	13	62	3	14	1	5	0	0	4	19	6	40 <sup>2</sup>	1	7	1	7	7	47
Medium (3)	8	42 <sup>2</sup>	7	37	0	0	2	11	2	11	2	18	3	27	0	0	6	55
High (4-5)	7	39	3	17	2	11	2	11	4	22	2	44 <sup>2</sup>	2	22	0	0	3	33
Education	29	49 <sup>2</sup>	10	17	3	5	5	9	11	19	12	34	6	17	1	3	16	46
Low (less than 9 years)	21	51	8	20	2	5	1	2	9	22	2	50	0	0	1	25	1	25
Medium (9-12 years)	5	45 <sup>2</sup>	0	0	1	9	3	27	2	18	7	35	4	20	0	0	9	45
High (more than 12 years)	3	50	2	33	0	0	1	17	0	0	3	27	2	18	0	0	6	55
Family income	29	48	14	23	3	5	4	7	10	17	12	34	6	17	1	3	16	46
Low (less than \$200)	12	52 <sup>2</sup>	6	26	1	4	0	0	4	17	1	50	0	0	0	0	1	50
Medium (\$200-\$349)	13	42	8	26	0	4	13	6	19	4	36	0	0	1	9	6	55	
High (more than \$349)	4	67	0	0	2	33	0	0	0	0	7	32	6	27	0	0	9	41
Level of living	29	46	15	24	3	5	5	8	11	17	12	33	6	17	1	3	17	47
Low (ratings 1-5)	6	55	1	9	0	0	1	9	3	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
High (ratings 6-7)	23	44	14	27	3	6	4	8	8	15	12	35	6	18	1	3	15	44
Occupational rating	28	47	13	22	3	5	5	8	11	18	12	34	6	17	1	3	16	46
Low (ratings 1-2)	18	50 <sup>2</sup>	7	19	3	8	2	6	6	16	0	0	1	50	1	50	0	0
Medium (ratings 3-4)	7	35	6	30	0	0	3	15	4	20	8	35	3	13	0	0	12	52
High (ratings 5-7)	3	75	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	4	40	2	20	0	0	4	40	
Age of respondent	28	46 <sup>2</sup>	15	25	3	5	4	7	11	18	12	36	6	18	1	3	14	43
Low (17-35 years)	3	23	4	31	0	0	3	23	3	23	4	40	2	20	0	0	4	40
Medium (36-55 years)	14	52	6	22	2	7	1	4	4	15	6	43	2	14	1	7	5	36
High (more than 55 years)	11	52	5	24	1	5	0	0	4	19	2	22 <sup>2</sup>	2	22	0	0	5	55
Participation in activities	29	46	15	24	3	5	5	8	11	17	12	33	6	17	1	3	17	47
None	24	47	14	27	2	4	3	6	8	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
Some	5	42	1	8	1	8	2	17	3	25	12	35	6	18	1	3	15	44
Employment status	29	46	15	24	3	5	5	8	11	17	12	34	5	14	1	3	17	49
Employed	2	67	0	0	0	0	0	1	33	1	13	2	25	0	0	5	63	
Unemployed	27	45	15	25	3	5	5	8	10	17	11	41	3	11	1	4	12	44
Area of socialization	29	47	15	24	3	5	5	8	10	16	6	21	6	21	1	3	16	55
Rural	4	33	5	42	1	8	1	8	1	8	2	16	2	16	1	8	7	59
Urban	25	50	10	20	2	4	4	8	9	18	4	24	4	24	0	0	9	53

<sup>1</sup>Code 1—Both work because of clothing. No. 12 is a WAC or works for the government. No. 13 is a teacher or nurses' supervisor.

Code 2—Because of her clothing, No. 12 is a stewardess or teacher. No. 13 is a housewife because of her simple clothing.

Code 3—No. 12 is better dressed than No. 13.

Code 4—No. 12 looks tough, like a policewoman in a prison; No. 13 is very tailored also. Mentions clothes of both.

Code 5—Other.

<sup>2</sup>Rounding errors.



12 as a teacher or stewardess. Because of her simple, more feminine clothing, they thought character 13 was a housewife. The Anglo-American homemakers who had this response were in the high income group, whereas the Mexican-Americans were divided equally between the low and medium categories. Less than 10 percent of both ethnic groups said that these characters were "very tailored" and thought that character 12 was probably a policewoman.

There was little similarity among almost one-half of the 35 Anglo-American clothing themes, Table 12, code 5. Three respondents noted the lesbian characteristics of character 12's clothing. Because of their "proper" clothing, one homemaker said character 12 was very young and her mother (number 13) sought to rear her correctly. Another respondent emphasized the similar appearance of the characters and stressed their admiration for one another. Various other women identified character 12's pin as a club or school emblem, while two said the character's clothing suggested the type of woman who likes to talk about clothes.

There were proportionately fewer miscellaneous Mexican-American clothing themes than there were Anglo ones, about 15 percent compared to 25 percent; nor were the Mexican-American responses as diversified. In three cases, character 12 was a nurse because of her tie and sweater. To one of these respondents, character 13 was a doctor, while two other women did not mention her. Three Mexican-American homemakers thought the two characters were dressed modestly and, therefore, going to a decent place such as church or school. Because character 12 was so "tailored and proper," she had on street clothing while number 13 was "working in a housedress."

The difference between the proportion of Anglo-American and Mexican-American clothing themes of a given type was statistically significant ( $\chi^2_3 = 8.02$ ,  $P = 95.97.5$  percent).

*Picture V.* In both ethnic groups, about 40 percent of the respondents who gave Picture V clothing themes said it represented tourists in Mexico or a Mexican section of an American city, Table 13, code 3. The "nice, neat" clothing of characters 14 and 15 suggested they were probably American, whereas the others were dressed like Mexicans. Some of these respondents specified that character 18 was wearing a costume.

Other than urban backgrounds, unemployment and high level of living scores, the Mexican- and Anglo-American respondents mentioning this clothing theme had different socio-economic traits. The Mexican-American women with this response tended to have higher ISC scores than did the Anglo-Americans. The Anglos, however, had more formal education and higher monthly incomes, Table 13, code 3, N distribution. As was generally the case, the majority of the Mexican-American homemakers were 36-55 years

old and did not participate in social activities, whereas the Anglos were younger and participators. Their husbands' occupational ratings were low and medium, respectively.

Approximately one-third of the Anglos and one-fourth of the Mexican-Americans thought that characters 14's and 15's clothing was similar, but different from the others' clothing, Table 13, code 1. Regardless of ethnic affiliation, the homemakers most likely to have this clothing theme were unemployed, middle-aged, had an urban background and a medium ISC score. The Mexican-American respondents were non-participators, had little education, had low incomes and husbands with low occupational ratings. On the other hand, the Anglos generally had 9-12 years of schooling, husbands with either medium or high occupational ratings and high incomes. Further, these women were active socially.

Approximately 20 percent of both ethnic groups assumed that character 18 was a street vendor or dancer (code 4). Ten percent of the Mexican-Americans thought character 16 was old because of her hair, figure and clothing (code 5); none of the Anglo-Americans thought this.

Although few in number, twice as many Mexican- as Anglo-Americans had clothing themes which were generally unrelated, Table 13, code 6. To one Anglo homemaker, characters 14 and 16 were dressed similarly and assumed to be mother and daughter. To the second Anglo woman in this category, the picture was about an Indian dancer (character 18). One Mexican-American thought that character 18 was well dressed, but she "thinks she looks smart."

The statistical difference between Mexican- and Anglo-American respondents' clothing themes for Picture V was nonsignificant.

*Picture VI.* The most common clothing theme associated with Picture VI had to do with the characters' apparent poverty, plus the fact that the neatly dressed wife with a purse and gloves would go to work while the unkempt husband would stay home. A variation of this theme was that character 20 was ill rather than unemployed. About one-third of the 59 Mexican-Americans and 31 Anglos had this response, code 1, Table 14.

The Mexican-Americans' ISC scores did not affect their tendency to mention this theme, whereas Anglo-Americans were likely to have low ISC scores. Both groups were likely to be 36-55 years old and unemployed. The Mexican-American women generally had urban backgrounds, while this factor did not affect the Anglo-Americans' tendency to use this clothing theme. The majority of the Mexican-American women had low educational attainment and income, husbands with low occupational ratings and did not participate in social activities. On the other hand, the Anglo women were participators, had 9-12 years of education,

high incomes and their husbands had medium occupational ratings, Table 14.

An equal percentage (29 percent) of the Anglo and Mexican-Americans did not mention character 19 and thought that number 20 was unemployed since he was unshaven and informally dressed, Table 14, code 2. With the exception of age, these Mexican and Anglo-Americans had essentially the same socio-economic traits as those giving code 1. These women were generally less than 35 years old and the Mexican-American women had medium (\$200-\$349) rather than low incomes.

The Anglo-American respondents who had dissimilar clothing themes had one common trait: they

expressed confusion about the picture. They assumed the object held by character 19 was her purse and noted her gloves, but could not fit these accessories into what they thought was a logical story. One story was about a middle-aged couple having refreshments in a cafe. The couple was middle-aged because women in this age category dress up more, while the men are likely to be poorly groomed.

Ten percent of both Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans had "other" Picture VI clothing themes. Two Mexican-American women thought that character 20 was "no good" and that number 19 assumed all family responsibility because she was dressed for work, and he was not. Another thought

TABLE 13. DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTHING THEMES ASSOCIATED WITH PICTURE V BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OTHER VARIABLES

Variables	Range of clothing themes <sup>1</sup>																					
	Mexican-Americans						Anglo-Americans															
	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5	Code 6	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 6											
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ISC scores	16	23 <sup>2</sup>	12	17	29	41	7	10	3	4	4	6	11	31	7	20	15	43	1	3	1	3
Low (1-2)	4	16 <sup>2</sup>	7	29	8	25	3	13	1	4	1	4	3	21 <sup>2</sup>	2	14	8	57	0	0	1	7
Medium (3)	8	33 <sup>2</sup>	1	4	12	50	1	4	1	4	1	4	5	45 <sup>2</sup>	2	18	4	36	0	0	0	0
High (4-5)	4	17 <sup>2</sup>	4	17	9	39	3	13	1	4	2	9	3	30	3	30	3	30	1	10	0	0
Education	17	23 <sup>2</sup>	14	19	29	39	7	9	3	4	4	5	11	31 <sup>2</sup>	7	19	15	42	1	3	2	6
Low (less than 9 years)	11	20	12	22	20	36	6	11	2	4	4	7	1	25	1	25	1	25	0	0	1	25
Medium (9-12 years)	4	31	2	15	6	46	0	0	1	8	0	0	6	29 <sup>2</sup>	2	10	11	52	1	5	1	5
High (more than 12 years)	2	33	0	0	3	50	1	17	0	0	0	0	4	36 <sup>2</sup>	4	36	3	27	0	0	0	0
Family income	16	22	14	19	29	40	7	10	3	4	4	5	11	32	7	21	14	41	1	3	1	3
Low (less than \$200)	5	18 <sup>2</sup>	8	29	11	39	3	11	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Medium (\$200-\$349)	9	26 <sup>2</sup>	4	11	15	43	2	6	2	6	3	9	4	40	0	0	6	60	0	0	0	0
High (more than \$349)	2	20	2	20	3	30	2	20	1	10	0	0	7	30 <sup>2</sup>	7	30	8	35	1	4	0	0
Level of living	17	23 <sup>2</sup>	14	19	29	39	7	9	3	4	4	5	11	31 <sup>2</sup>	7	19	15	42	1	3	2	6
Low (ratings 1-5)	3	23 <sup>2</sup>	3	23	4	30	2	15	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0
High (ratings 6-7)	14	23 <sup>2</sup>	11	18	25	41	5	8	2	3	4	6	11	31 <sup>2</sup>	7	20	14	40	1	3	2	5
Occupational rating	17	24 <sup>2</sup>	12	17	29	40	7	10	3	4	4	6	11	31	7	20	15	43	1	3	1	3
Low (ratings 1-2)	8	19 <sup>2</sup>	6	14	16	38	6	14	3	7	3	7	1	50	0	0	1	50	0	0	0	0
Medium (ratings 3-4)	7	27	6	23	11	42	1	4	0	0	1	4	5	23 <sup>2</sup>	4	18	11	50	1	5	1	5
High (ratings 5-7)	2	50	0	0	2	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	45 <sup>2</sup>	3	27	3	27	0	0	0	0
Age of respondent	16	22	14	19	28	39	7	10	3	4	4	6	11	31 <sup>2</sup>	7	19	15	42	1	3	2	6
Low (17-35 years)	4	25	3	19	9	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	14 <sup>2</sup>	1	7	9	64	1	7	1	7
Medium (36-55 years)	7	22	6	19	11	34	4	13	2	6	2	6	8	53	4	27	3	20	0	0	0	0
High (more than 55 years)	5	21	5	21	8	33	3	13	1	4	2	8	1	14	2	29	3	43	0	0	1	14
Participation in activities	17	24	14	19	29	39	7	9	3	4	4	5	11	31 <sup>2</sup>	7	19	15	42	1	3	2	6
None	13	22	12	20	24	41	6	10	1	2	3	5	0	0	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0
Some	4	27	2	13	5	33	1	7	2	13	1	7	11	31	7	20	14	40	1	3	2	6
Employment status	17	24	14	19	29	39	7	9	3	4	4	5	11	31 <sup>2</sup>	7	19	15	42	1	3	2	6
Employed	1	33 <sup>2</sup>	0	0	1	33	1	33	0	0	0	0	2	22 <sup>2</sup>	3	33	4	44	0	0	0	0
Unemployed	16	23	14	20	28	39	6	8	3	4	4	6	9	33	4	15	11	41	1	4	2	7
Area of socialization	17	24	14	19	29	40	7	10	2	3	3	4	11	31	6	17	15	43	1	3	2	6
Rural	3	21 <sup>2</sup>	2	14	7	50	1	7	0	0	1	7	4	27 <sup>2</sup>	3	20	7	47	0	0	1	7
Urban	14	24 <sup>2</sup>	12	21	22	38	6	10	2	3	2	3	7	35	3	15	8	40	1	5	1	5

<sup>1</sup>Code 1—Nos. 14 and 15 look different than the others and similar to each other. They are neater. According to their clothes, Nos. 16, 17, 18 are related.

Code 2—No. 18 is dressed like a vendor or dancer.

Code 3—Nos. 14's and 15's nice neat clothes suggest they are tourists. The others are dressed like Mexicans.

Code 4—Nos. 16, 17 and 18 are humble because of their clothing while Nos. 14 and 15 are more elegant and probably have more money.

Code 5—No. 16 looks old because of dress, figure and hair.

Code 6—Other.

<sup>2</sup>Rounding errors.

they were "in town" because character 19 had a purse and was neat. The others said both characters had just come home from work; he was dressed as a manual laborer.

There was no significant statistical difference between the distribution of clothing themes assigned by Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans.

### CONCLUSIONS

The primary purpose of this research was to determine similarities and differences in clothing

response made by Anglo-American and Mexican-American women to a modified clothing TAT. These findings were related largely to socio-cultural factors rather than the social-psychological factors used by Rosencranz. Two main kinds of data were collected: 1) clothing awareness scores and 2) clothing protocols associated with each TATMA picture.

Although this study was largely experimental, 14 hypotheses were offered. Very few of these were substantiated statistically. These hypotheses and a sum-

TABLE 14. DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTHING THEMES ASSOCIATED WITH PICTURE VI BY ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND OTHER VARIABLES

Variables	Range of clothing themes <sup>1</sup>																					
	Mexican-Americans						Anglo-Americans															
	Code 1	Code 2	Code 3	Code 4	Code 5	Code 6	Code 1	Code 2	Code 4	Code 5	Code 6											
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%				
ISC scores	21	36 <sup>2</sup>	18	30	4	7	8	14	2	3	6	10	10	32	9	29	7	23	2	6	3	10
Low (1-2)	7	33	6	29	1	5	5	24	0	0	2	9	5	38 <sup>2</sup>	5	38	0	0	2	15	1	8
Medium (3)	7	33 <sup>2</sup>	5	24	2	9	1	5	2	9	4	19	3	30	2	20	3	30	0	0	2	20
High (4-5)	7	41	7	41	1	6	2	12	0	0	0	0	2	25	2	25	4	50	0	0	0	0
Education	20	34	18	31	4	7	8	14	2	3	6	10	10	32	9	29	7	23	2	6	3	10
Low (less than 9 years)	13	30	15	34	4	9	7	16	1	2	4	9	1	33 <sup>2</sup>	0	0	1	33	0	0	1	33
Medium (9-12 years)	5	42	3	25	0	0	1	8	1	8	2	17	6	35	8	47	0	0	2	12	1	6
High (more than 12 years)	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	27	1	9	6	55	0	0	1	9
Family income	22	37	18	30	4	7	8	13	2	3	6	10	10	32	9	29	7	23	2	6	3	10
Low (less than \$200)	10	40	6	24	2	8	5	20	0	0	2	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medium (\$200-\$349)	9	32	10	36	1	4	2	7	2	7	4	14	4	40	4	40	0	0	2	20	0	0
High (more than \$349)	3	43 <sup>2</sup>	2	28	1	14	1	14	0	0	0	0	6	29 <sup>2</sup>	5	24	7	33	0	0	3	15
Level of living	22	35	19	31	4	6	9	15	2	3	6	10	10	32	9	29	7	23	2	6	3	10
Low (ratings 1-5)	3	25	5	42	0	0	3	25	0	0	1	8	1	50	1	50	0	0	0	0	0	0
High (ratings 6-7)	19	38	14	28	4	8	6	12	2	4	5	10	9	31	8	28	7	24	2	7	3	10
Occupational rating	21	36 <sup>2</sup>	18	31	4	7	8	14	2	3	6	10	10	31 <sup>2</sup>	10	31	7	22	2	6	3	9
Low (ratings 1-2)	12	36 <sup>2</sup>	9	27	1	3	5	15	2	6	4	12	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Medium (ratings 3-4)	8	35	9	39	3	13	1	4	0	0	2	9	9	41 <sup>2</sup>	5	23	3	14	2	9	3	14
High (ratings 5-7)	1	33	0	0	0	0	2	67	0	0	0	0	1	13 <sup>2</sup>	3	38	4	50	0	0	0	0
Age of respondent	21	34 <sup>2</sup>	18	29	6	10	9	14	3	5	6	10	10	32	9	29	7	23	2	6	3	10
Low (17-35 years)	2	13 <sup>2</sup>	8	50	2	13	1	6	2	13	1	6	2	18	7	64	1	9	1	9	0	0
Medium (36-55 years)	12	43	6	21	3	11	4	14	1	4	2	7	5	36	1	7	5	36	1	7	2	14
High (more than 55 years)	7	37	4	21	1	5	4	21	0	0	3	16	3	50 <sup>2</sup>	1	17	1	17	0	0	1	17
Participation in activities	22	34	22	34	4	6	9	14	2	3	6	9	10	32	9	29	7	23	2	6	3	10
None	17	35	18	37	4	8	5	10	1	2	4	8	1	50	1	50	0	0	0	0	0	0
Some	5	31	4	25	0	0	4	25	1	6	2	12	9	31	8	28	7	24	2	7	3	10
Employment status	22	35	19	31	4	6	9	15	2	3	6	10	10	29 <sup>2</sup>	9	26	10	29	2	6	3	9
Employed	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50	0	0	1	50	2	22 <sup>2</sup>	2	22	4	44	0	0	1	11
Unemployed	22	37	19	32	4	7	8	13	2	3	5	8	8	32	7	28	6	24	2	8	2	8
Area of socialization	22	35	19	31	4	6	9	15	2	3	6	10	10	33	9	30	6	20	2	7	3	10
Rural	4	29	4	29	2	14	2	14	0	0	2	14	5	38 <sup>2</sup>	3	23	2	15	1	8	2	15
Urban	18	38	15	31	2	4	7	15	2	4	4	8	5	29	6	35	4	24	1	6	1	6

<sup>1</sup>Code 1—No. 19 is a housewife who is going to work or town because of her neat dress, gloves, purse. Her husband will stay home because he is unkempt. They look poor or he looks sick.

Code 2—No. 19 is a visitor or professional trying to help No. 20. Mentions her clothing as neat, nice.

Code 3—No. 20 is unemployed, since he is poorly dressed and unshaven.

Code 4—No. 19 is proper, well groomed; he is not.

Code 5—Because of his dress, appearance and surroundings, he is a gangster, bad person. She is trying to help.

Code 6—Other.

<sup>2</sup>Rounding errors.

mary of data supporting the associated conclusion follow:

1. *Social status is related positively to clothing awareness scores.*

There was no distinctly positive or negative relationship between clothing awareness and ISC scores for either ethnic group. A trend (P. = 75-90 percent) toward statistical significance existed between the Mexican-American clothing awareness and social status scores. This type of relationship was undiscernible for the Anglo-Americans.

Mexican-Americans with low and medium ISC scores generally had midrange (19-36) clothing awareness scores, while those with medium ISC scores had high (37-54) clothing awareness. The majority of the Anglos with low ISC scores had midrange clothing awareness scores. Two of the 10 Anglos with high clothing scores had low ISC scores.

2. *Occupational level is related positively to clothing awareness scores.*

Statistical analysis of Mexican- and Anglo-American husbands occupational ratings as they affected clothing awareness scores were not feasible because of the particular data distribution.

Proportionately, there were more low clothing awareness scores among the occupationally low than high Mexican-Americans. In this respect, there was no occupational difference among these women with high clothing awareness. On the 40 occupationally high Anglos, the majority had medium or high clothing awareness.

3. *Income level is related positively to clothing awareness scores.*

The statistical analysis of Anglo respondents' family income affecting clothing awareness scores was meaningless. This relationship among the Mexican-Americans was significant (P. = 90-95 percent). One-half of the low- and high-income Mexican-Americans had medium clothing awareness scores. Similarly, about 40 of each of these income groups had low clothing awareness scores. There was a tendency toward a direct relationship between the income and clothing awareness of those 40 Anglo respondents whose incomes were over \$200 per month.

4. *Educational attainment is related positively to clothing awareness scores.*

The statistical relationship between Anglo interviewees' educational attainment and clothing awareness scores was not meaningful. This relationship was significant (P. = 90-95 percent) among the Mexican-Americans. Proportionately, this relationship was essentially direct for both Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans. All of the Anglos who had high clothing awareness had either medium or high amounts of education. Similarly, only one of the seven with low clothing awareness had more than

12 years of education. The majority of poorly educated Mexican-American women had low or medium clothing awareness scores, while the majority of the better educated had medium or high clothing awareness.

5. *Social participation is related positively to clothing awareness scores.*

There was a trend for social participation to be related inversely and statistically to Mexican-American clothing awareness scores. The greatest percentage of low scores was among women who participated in some activities and the greatest proportion of mid or high scores was associated with nonparticipants. Although statistical analysis of Anglo data was not meaningful, social participation seemed to have little effect upon their clothing awareness, since 95 percent of them were participants, and about 60 percent of these 42 women had medium clothing scores.

6. *Respondents' age is related inversely to clothing awareness scores.*

Both Mexican-American (P. = 99.5 percent) and Anglo-American (P. = 97.5 percent) clothing awareness scores were related significantly to these respondents' ages. The relationship was inverse.

7. *Urban background is related positively to clothing awareness scores.*

The statistical effect of socialization areas upon both groups' clothing awareness was nonsignificant. Responses of urban-reared Mexican-American women were distributed about equally among the clothing score categories, but 70 percent of the rural-reared women had low clothing awareness. Proportionately, more rural-reared women had low clothing awareness scores, while more of the urban-reared women had high scores.

8. *Cultural affiliation is related positively to clothing awareness scores.*

The Anglo-Americans had higher clothing awareness scores than did the Mexican-Americans. The Anglos averaged about 29 compared to an average Mexican-American score of about 20. This difference was statistically significant (95 percent).

In further support of the hypothesis, Mexican-Americans scored lower than the Anglos when measured by the variables contributing to clothing awareness: lines of clothing comment (P. = 97.5 percent); characters whose clothing was mentioned (P. = 95 percent); pictures where clothing gave the main story idea (nonsignificant); clothing themes (nonsignificant); and clothing incongruities (P. = 99 percent).

9. *Respondents' cultural affiliation is related positively to clothing themes concerning other cultures.*

Cultural clothing themes were readily apparent in Pictures II, III and IV and were seldom noted in

Picture VI. Although none of the Anglo respondents had cultural clothing themes for Picture II, they (22 percent) were more likely to associate them with Picture III than were the Mexican-Americans (13 percent). Although the specific content of the cultural clothing themes differed, about one-half of each sample had this type of theme. These differences are statistically nonsignificant.

10. *Respondents' cultural affiliation is related positively to clothing themes concerning education.*

On the average, proportionately more Mexican-American respondents (68 percent) had *story* themes concerning education and related ideas than did the Anglo women (48 percent). However, when considered on the basis of number of *characters* and their clothing, the Anglos mentioned education-clothing themes more often. This is probably because they mentioned more characters, were more likely to relate each character to the central clothing-story theme and seemed better able to expound upon picture detail.

Although no statistical tests were meaningful, this hypothesis is tentatively accepted: Mexican-Americans generally had more educationally related clothing themes than did similar Anglo-Americans.

11. *Respondents' social status is related positively to clothing themes concerning social status and class affiliation.*

Because of the numerical breakdown of persons reiterating social status clothing themes among the three ISC groups, no conclusions or trends concerning this hypothesis could be identified. Slightly more Anglos in the higher ISC groups noticed this type of clothing theme than did those in the lower groups. These distributions were essentially the same among the Mexican-American data.

12. *Respondents' social participation is positively related to themes concerning social status and class affiliation.*

The large majority (78 percent) of the Mexican-American respondents did not participate in activities outside their homes. Consequently, the numerical distribution of participators did not allow a meaningful statistical analysis. When examining individual pictures, proportionately more nonparticipators had social status-related clothing themes. This was true also when response to each TAT character was considered.

This type of analysis was not possible for Anglo-American data since 40 of the cooperating homemakers participated in activities outside their homes.

13. *Respondents' cultural affiliation is related positively to clothing themes concerning occupational level.*

Because the Anglo-American respondents' husbands were much more likely to hold white collar

positions than were their Mexican-American counterparts, ethnic affiliation was equated with this variable. Also, it was thought that wives would share their husbands' lack of, or awareness of, clothing as an occupational tool. The data did not present conclusive evidence.

Of those homemakers who gave clothing themes for Pictures V and VI, approximately the same proportion of Anglos and Mexican-Americans had responses dealing with clothing used in an occupational situation. For Pictures I, II and IV, the Mexican-Americans who had clothing response gave an occupationally related clothing theme for Picture I; none of the Anglos did this. In Picture II, this was true for 15 percent of the Mexican-Americans and none of the Anglos. Slightly more than one-third of the Anglo-American women with clothing themes concerning Picture VI related it to occupations. More than one-half of the Mexican-Americans gave this type of response to Picture VI. These same types of relationships were also true for clothing response concerning specific characters. In no case did the Anglo-American respondents more frequently give occupationally oriented clothing response when compared to the Mexican-Americans.

14. *Respondents' age is related indirectly to clothing themes concerning age.*

Although there was not enough data for statistical analysis, the percent distribution indicated that the Mexican-American women from 36 to 55 years old were the most likely to use age-related clothing themes. This type of response was least likely to be given for Pictures II and VI by Mexican-American women less than 35 years old and for Picture I by those women over 55 years old. There was no evident pattern of response among the Anglo women. Regardless of ethnic affiliation, this type of response was associated only with Pictures I, II and VI.

The general conclusion is that people use clothing to identify the roles of unknown persons. Mexican-American women generally associated slightly different symbolic meanings with clothing than did the Anglo-American women studied.

In terms of human behavior, this is important for several reasons. If, according to Arendt, the plural or social condition is a phase of identifying the self with others while distinguishing it from others, clothing becomes an important tool for manipulation. Clothing, in its symbolic function, becomes a learned stimulus evoking a response identified with the indirect meaning of garments and appearance in general. The results of this study indicate that clothing symbols of two subcultures are at least partially predictable and common. Specific knowledge concerning these predictable and common symbols theoretically would help minority groups attain more social and occupational mobility.

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## APPENDIX I

### Preferred Pictures

*Pictures liked most:* Thirty-one percent of the Mexican-American respondents liked Picture I best, followed by 28 percent who preferred Picture V. Twenty percent liked the preferred picture because the characters were well dressed, and 19 percent liked it for being about education. Forty percent liked the preferred picture because it was realistic or about opportunity, family or Mexico.

Two-thirds of the Anglos said they liked Picture V best. About one-fifth liked Picture I and IV with equal frequency. They never preferred Picture III. Approximately 20 percent liked the picture because it was "easy," while 17 percent thought the characters were well dressed.

There was a significant statistical difference between the picture liked most by Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans ( $\chi^2_3 = 13.26$ ,  $P. = 99$  percent) and among the reasons they gave for liking it ( $\chi^2_5 = 12.55$ ,  $P. = 95$  percent).

*Pictures liked least:* Approximately 60 percent of the Mexican-American respondents liked Picture II

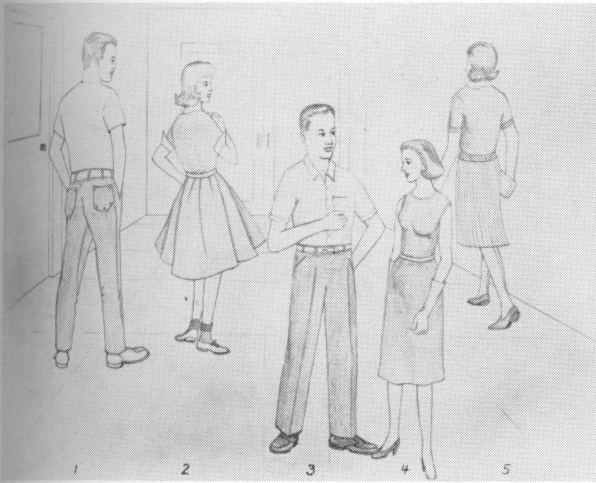
the least. Similarly, 13 percent said this about Picture IV and 10 percent about Picture VI. Picture I, the commonly preferred picture, was never liked least. About one-fourth of these women did not like a picture because the characters were not well dressed. The second most common reason (18 percent) was that it or the characters were sad. Fifteen percent said it was not a "nice" picture.

Forty percent of the Anglo-Americans liked Picture II the least, while another 27 percent were least happy with Picture IV. One-fifth of these women said the picture was too complicated to tell about or had no background. Seventeen percent each thought that the least liked picture was not "nice" or that the characters were not well dressed.

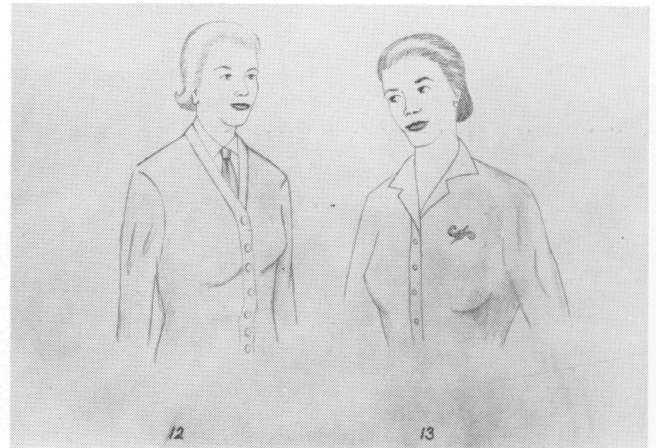
There was a statistical difference between the picture liked least by Anglo-Americans and Mexican-American respondents ( $\chi^2_3 = 7.61$ ,  $P. = 95$  percent), although the difference among the reasons was non-significant.

APPENDIX II

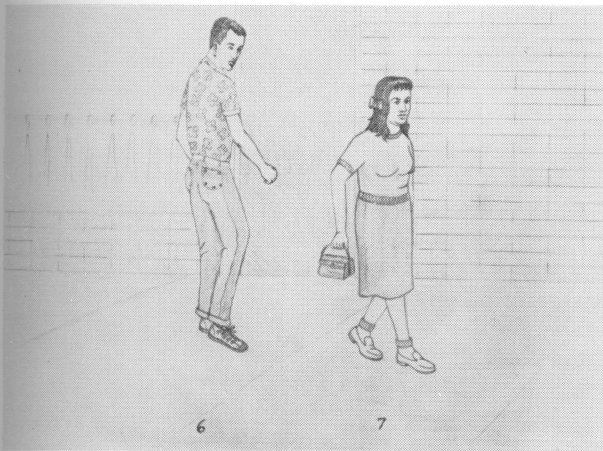
Pictures Comprising Modified Clothing TAT for Mexican-American Women



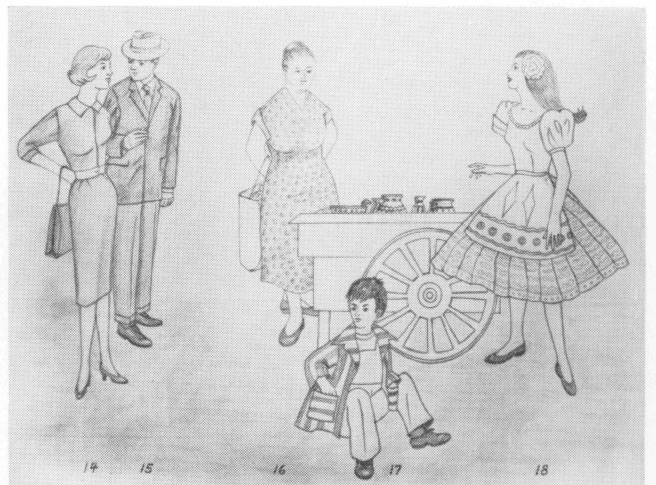
PICTURE I



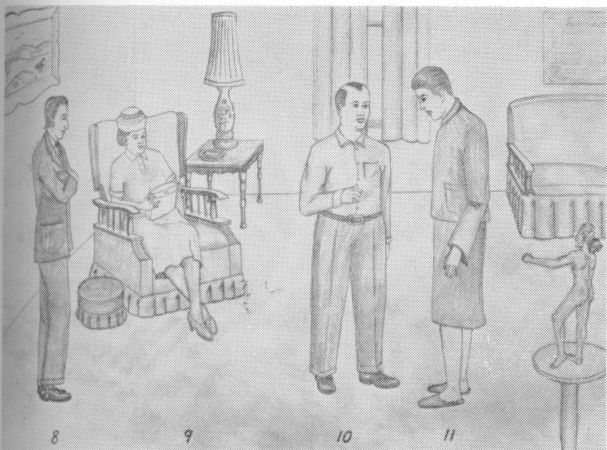
PICTURE IV



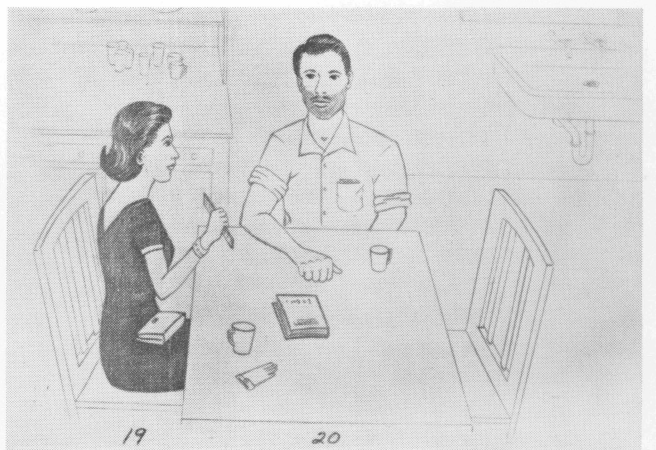
PICTURE II



PICTURE V



PICTURE III



PICTURE VI

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