Clothing gift giving from mothers to children, ages 8 to 12

Linda Langseth Manikowske

Iowa State University

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Clothing gift giving from mothers to children, ages 8 to 12

Manikowske, Linda Langseth, Ph.D.

Iowa State University, 1993
Clothing gift giving
from mothers to children, ages 8 to 12

by

Linda Langseth Manikowske

A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department: Textiles and Clothing
Major: Textiles and Clothing

Approved:

Signature was redacted for privacy.

In Charge of Major Work

Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Major Department

Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Graduate College

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

1993
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family who have been instrumental in helping me achieve this educational goal. My parents, Verle and Geraldine Langseth, have taught me more about life and living than could ever come from classes or textbooks. I know Dad is looking down from above with great pride. Mom, who always takes time to listen, is my greatest exemplar and mentor. My husband, Marc, has provided constant support through his unfailing love and patience. Trista and Tara, my wonderful daughters, have never ceased to divert my attention to what is truly important in life.
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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Gift giving is a universal behavior and one of the processes that integrates a society (Sherry, 1983). Clothing is a popular choice as a gift. Belk (1979) found that clothing accounted for 25 percent of the gifts given by 73 Philadelphia residents. In a random sample of 110 Middletown adults, Caplow (1982) found that 35 percent of the gifts given were clothing. Britton (1969) reported that gifts of new and used clothing from outside the family were the most important supplementary sources in a low-to-moderate income group in a midwestern city.

Few researchers have studied gifts of clothing, despite the importance of gifts for family clothing consumption and to the apparel market. The literature on gift giving has been written mainly by specialists in anthropology, social psychology, and marketing. Some of these papers are theoretical, involving no data collection (Poe, 1977; Schwartz, 1967; Sherry, 1983); few researchers have tested the theories proposed. Of the empirical research, many papers use game-type simulations with college students as subjects. In 1979, Lutz criticized gift-giving research for its lack of realism.

With the exception of Belk (1976), few researchers have examined the responses of gift recipients. Among the few papers that address gift giving within families are Jolibert and Fernandez-Moreno (1983), who compared Christmas giving practices of French and Mexican families, and Caron and Ward (1975), who examined where middle-class, elementary-school children get their ideas for gifts they want and how
their parents respond. In both studies, clothing ranked high or highest among gifts wanted and received.

Peters (1968) is one of the few researchers who dealt with clothing gifts, but limited the study to gifts from outside the family. Garner and Wagner (1988) found that in 1984-85 U.S. families spent an average of $764 per family annually on gifts of all kinds to persons outside the family unit, with $18 of this spent on gifts of clothing to infants under two. Horne and Winakor (1988) in a small pilot study found that gifts of clothing within middle-income families were substantial in quantity and price.

Sherry (1983) stated that the process of gift giving and the behavior patterns involved in the exchange of gift objects has received little attention from researchers. He suggested that a qualitative, comprehensive study tracing the entire process of gift giving would make a substantial contribution. Few studies have examined matched sets of donors and recipients; none were found that used parent-child dyads. These dyads are an appropriate focus around which to design a study.

In this research, mothers and their 8- to 12-year-old children are the dyads studied. Women are likely to be the chief buyers of clothing gifts because they are the chief purchasers of clothing for family members (Sauskojus, 1984). Females gave 84 percent of all gifts recorded by Caplow (1982), with about half of the gifts going to primary kin. Caplow also found that almost all parents and children exchanged gifts regardless of the distance between residences. Divorce and remarriage in American society today create multiple parents and grandparents, resulting in children receiving more gifts from more people.
Gifts from respected adults close to children can help children interpret who they are. Because gifts help to define the identity of the receiver and relation to others, they may facilitate or impede maturation or create anxiety in children if too far above or below the child's current stage of development (Rucker, Boynton, & Park, 1987; Schwartz, 1967). Belk (1979) pointed out that gifts selected for children may affect formation of values such as giving, receiving, materialism, competitiveness, and aesthetics. At ages when children are highly suggestible, the socializing and communication power of gifts is strong.

In this research, the relationship between the mother and child was examined through the entire gift-giving process using the model proposed by Horne & Winakor (1991). Children in middle childhood were selected as a seldom-studied age group. Verbal skills are expanding at this age allowing children to express their preferences more clearly. Awareness of appearance and interest in clothing are also increasing with age in middle childhood. Qualitative techniques were used to examine matched sets of exchange partners to assess the effect of specific gifts on overt behavior.

A naturalistic approach was selected for this research in order to understand the dynamics of gift-giving behavior from the insider's perspective. The focus is on "tapping how insiders view and conceptualize their worlds using their own language" (Littrell, 1992, p. 29). Naturalistic researchers are particularly interested in the range of reactions or meanings related to a topic as opposed to how often a particular behavior takes place.
The choice of a naturalistic approach was based on the type of research questions being asked. "How" and "why" questions are common to naturalistic research (Littrell, 1992). For this research, the questions were:

1) How does gift-giving behavior unfold, progress, and change over time?
2) What does it mean when givers and receivers behave in a particular way?
3) Why does the behavior evolve in one way and not another?

Objectives

The first objective of this research was to describe the clothing gift-giving behavior of mothers to children in terms of:

* type of clothing selected.
* sources of clothing gifts.
* consumption of clothing gifts.
* occasions for which clothing gifts are given.
* motives for selection of a particular clothing gift object.
* motives for selection of a clothing gift vs. another type of gift object.
* the child's role in the gift selection.
* satisfaction level of mothers as givers and children as receivers of clothing gifts.
* consumer socialization of child and parent, including mother's consumer behavior as example, mother-child interaction, and mother's consumer education goals.
The second objective was to identify factors that may be associated with clothing gift-giving behavior. Among factors suggested by the literature are family level of consumption, family composition, and geographic proximity of residence of close relatives.

The third objective was to propose a classification of dyads according to discriminating variables that emerge and develop a model that could be tested in further research.

The fourth objective was to relate the findings to existing theory and possibly propose additional theories that might be useful in the study of gift-giving behavior.

**Definitions**

**Clothing:** Articles designed to cover, protect, or adorn the body that are not destroyed when removed, including shoes, jewelry, scarves, belts, sleepwear, undergarments; excluding medical accessories or appliances.

**Consumer socialization:** The gradual development of a broad range of skills, knowledge, and attitudes which are related to consumption or functioning in the marketplace such as attitudes toward television commercials, products and brands, skills for allocating discretionary money, budgeting, and pricing (Ward, Wackman, & Wartella, 1977). Shopping interests and search strategies are also among the attitudes and skills passed on to the child by an adult.

**Family:** A group of persons related to each other by blood or law and sharing a dwelling unit.
**Family composition:** Ages and sexes of family members and their relationships to each other, such as father, mother, and children.

**Gift:** Something given to show friendship, support, or affection (Webster's, 1986, p. 589). Also something given to show respect, acknowledgment, or thanks, ordinarily with no expectation of reciprocation.

**Level of consumption:** "An aggregate of the food, fuel, and other nondurable goods used up; the services of houses, automobiles, clothing, and other durable and semidurable goods utilized, and the services of human beings used, by an individual or group, in a given period of time" (Davis, 1945, pp. 3-4).

**Limitations of the Research**

Some limitations are due to financial and time restraints common to most research. Other limitations are characteristic of naturalistic research.

Participants were mother-child dyads with children being 8 to 12 years of age. Generalizations cannot be made to mothers with older or younger children or to other kinds of dyads. Participants interviewed resided in three communities in two midwestern states and rural areas of one state in the west north central part of the United States. The communities contain universities and may not be representative of all communities. The interview questions dealt only with gifts of clothing; generalizations cannot be made to other gift items.

The following limitations are inherent in research using qualitative techniques for data collection and analysis. The purposive sample could have been biased in
that participants were willing to share their thoughts. Members of the Cooperative Extension Service staff provided suggestions for participants; this may have resulted in contacting participants who were more agreeable to being interviewed.

Face-to-face interviews may have resulted in participants' hesitation to discuss negative experiences. The researcher may have shaped the interview as participants tried to say what they believed the researcher wanted to hear. This could have affected the results by producing less accurate data from participants. Careful formulation of open-ended questions and allowing participants to digress as appropriate served to counter this limitation.

Data were collected, analyzed, and interpreted by the researcher. This potential source of bias was minimized by pilot-testing the interview schedule with the assistance of the researcher's major professor, audio taping and transcribing interviews verbatim, and conducting reliability checks during data coding with two other researchers. Recall data gained through the interview process could have varied depending on the time of year when data were collected and the child's age.

Implications

This research was designed to contribute to basic understandings of decision-making processes within families and interaction of families with the market. It may also contribute knowledge applicable to helping families increase efficiency of their resource use. Retailers may use the findings to develop services that enhance consumer satisfaction and increase purchases of clothing for gifts.
Research on consumer socialization involves children's influence on intra-family patterns. Because the family is an important consumer unit, knowing how early learning experiences facilitate or inhibit changes in consumption patterns is helpful. Childhood experiences are of great importance in shaping and predicting patterns of adult behavior (Churchill & Moschis, 1979; Ward, 1974).

This dissertation was part of a larger project, "Clothing Acquisition Practices of Iowa Families: Gifts, Proxy Buying, and Retailer Policies," Project 2772 of the Iowa Agriculture and Home Economics Experiment Station. It was funded in part by the American Home Economics Association Foundation. Another dissertation completed during the project was that of Horne (1992) which examined risks that husbands and wives perceive in giving gifts of clothing to family members.
CHAPTER II. GIFT-GIVING BEHAVIOR, FAMILY DYNAMICS, AND CONSUMER SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN

This chapter presents a review of the literature, citing relevant sources pertaining to the purpose of the study. The review is divided into two sections, with the first section discussing the economic and social dimensions of gift giving and the implications for clothing gifts. The process of gift giving is presented as the conceptual framework. The second section addresses family interaction dynamics and is subdivided into the influence of demographic trends, families, peers, and the marketplace on consumer socialization of children, children’s consumer behavior, and children’s clothing consumption. A statement of the purpose of the research summarizes the chapter.

Gift-giving Behavior

Gift giving has become a research topic of increasing interest, particularly in the social science disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and consumer behavior. It is a multi-dimensional phenomenon with important social and economic functions. Expenditures for gifts are of substantial economic importance, both to families and the economy. Gifts also serve an important role in creating and maintaining social relationships and in acknowledging life cycle events (Belk, 1979; Sherry, 1983). There is evidence that clothing is a frequently-given gift that comprises a substantial expenditure for consumer units (Horne, 1992).
Economic dimensions of gift giving

Much of the conceptual work on gift giving has been done in social science fields other than economics. Most of this work examined the social dimensions of giving but some researchers also collected information on gift expenditures (Belk, 1979; Caplow, 1982; Cheal, 1987). Small sample size of some of these studies limits the ability to generalize these findings to larger populations.

There are problems with interpretation of these findings. It is difficult to estimate what percentage of income is spent on gifts because research on gift giving has not been consistent in defining the unit of observation. Gifts may be given within the family or to persons outside the family. Many economic studies that have been done on gift giving are based on data from the Consumer Expenditure Survey of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). If gifts are given within the family, expenditures for the gifts are recorded in the BLS studies as clothing, food, toys, or whatever the item is rather than as gifts. When a gift is given to someone outside the family, the money spent is counted as expenditure for a gift.

Economic theory

The classic assumptions of economic theory are based on market exchange, where two parties exchange goods or services of equal value. Under the utility-maximization assumption of economic theory, consumers allocate resources among commodities or goods wanted for personal consumption, staying within their spending limits. The objective of these consumption decisions is to maximize personal satisfaction whereas the objective of gift giving is usually to maximize the satisfaction
of others (Garner & Wagner, 1991). However, Becker (1974) proposed that commodities might also include social needs such as affection or status. These intangible commodities can also contribute to consumer satisfaction of the giver when accrued through gift giving.

Gift exchange affects social relationships and becomes a type of social exchange where the receiver of the gift can decide if and how to repay (Garner & Wagner, 1991). Market exchange and social exchange, however, do not operate independently. Both play a role in the economic dimension of gift giving.

According to Becker (1981), gifts are resources given to impart skills and knowledge necessary for personal and occupational development. Boulding (1973) refers to gifts as a form of grant -- an exchange between two parties that results in enhanced levels of welfare for both. Grants may be in the form of donations, one-way transfers where the recipient is not expected to reciprocate. For example, a parent may give a child money to use for college tuition, expecting no goods or services in return. The parent gains satisfaction from seeing the child use the education to get a job and become successful in adult life. In these definitions, Becker and Boulding have used a human capital theory approach to incorporate gifts into economic theory.

Belk (1979) thought it unusual to consider gift giving a type of economic exchange when a gift is defined as something voluntarily given with no expectation of compensation. Although most gift giving is reciprocal with special occasions providing a tradition for one gift to be exchanged for another, Belk indicated that
economic exchange alone is not sufficient to support gift-giving behavior. Some of the other functions of gift giving found in the social dimension may provide added satisfaction to "better balance the costs" (Belk, 1979, p. 102). In making these statements, Belk narrowly considered economic exchange to be simply the exchange of goods or services of equal value when in fact economists have defined it in a much broader sense as related to gift giving.

**Consumer gift expenditures**

Garner and Wagner (1988) calculated expenditures per consumer unit for gifts to persons outside the household. Using data from 4,139 households from the U.S. Consumer Expenditure Survey for 1984 and 1985, they found average annual gift expenditures to be $764. The Conference Board estimated that American families would spend a total of $37 billion on Christmas gifts in 1988 (Asinof, 1988). It did not state, however, what proportion of this was for gifts within versus outside the consumer unit.

In an ethnographic study of 110 Middletown families, Caplow (1982) found that Christmas gifts amounted to four percent of annual family incomes for married couples compared with 3.1 percent of the individual annual incomes of single consumers. He too did not state what proportion of this expense was for gifts within versus outside the family consumer unit, but his findings indicated that most of the gift expenditures were for related persons.

Davis (1972), in an English study, also estimated that purchased gifts accounted for more than four percent of typical household expenditures. Belk (1979) found
that total average annual gift expenditures of 73 Philadelphia residents was $280, with
two thirds of the recipients being related. Again, there was no information on gift
expenditure for persons outside versus within the consumer unit.

An Engel curve indicates the relationship between the quantity of or
expenditures for a good purchased and household income. Normal goods are those
for which expenditures increase as household income increases. Normal goods may
be either luxuries or necessities. Garner and Wagner (1991, p. 374) found gifts given
to persons outside the consumer unit to be luxuries, in that "as income increases, the
proportion that is allocated to expenditures for such gifts increases more rapidly than
the proportional increase in income." Their study also showed that low income
households were less likely to give externally than were high income households. The
researchers suggested that expenditure data on giving within the consumer unit be
collected and compared with data on external giving.

Cultural differences may also impact gift expenditure. A study of gift-giving
practices of 167 Mexican and 161 French families revealed that the Mexican families
were somewhat more likely to give expensive Christmas gifts than were the French
families (Jolibert & Fernandez-Moreno, 1983).

**Expenditure for clothing gifts.** Few researchers have studied expenditure for
clothing gifts within or outside the consumer unit. Previous work has cited clothing
as one of the most frequently given gifts, accounting for 25 percent to 35 percent of
all gifts (Belk, 1979; Caplow, 1982).
In a pilot study of eight consumer units, Horne and Winakor (1988) found that consumer units spent an average of $287 on clothing gifts for Christmas. Slightly over half of this was spent for persons within the consumer unit with most of the remainder spent for related persons outside the consumer unit. Britton (1969) estimated that 11 percent of new clothing acquired by lower middle and low income families came from gifts from outside the family. One-third of the 4,139 households from the 1984-1985 Consumer Expenditure Survey reported purchasing infants’ clothing as gifts, amounting to three percent of these households’ total expenditures for gifts to persons outside the family (Garner & Wagner, 1987).

Belk and Coon (1991) found clothing (particularly sweaters), clothing accessories, and jewelry to be among the traditional gifts given in dating relationships. The Mexican and French families surveyed by Jolibert and Fernandez-Moreno (1983) also identified clothing as a frequently given Christmas gift.

Regarding gifts from mothers to their children, how frequently is clothing given as a gift to children in middle childhood? Is clothing also given to children outside the immediate family? Does clothing gift expenditure vary with level of consumption of the consumer unit? Answers to questions such as these would contribute to better understanding the economic dimensions of gift-giving behavior.

Social dimensions of gift giving

Anthropological literature contains information concerning the origin of gift giving as a form of social as well as economic exchange. From the context of the cultural anthropologist, the exchange of gifts is a social obligation governed by rules,
norms, and values. Studies have provided examples of people's interactions in gift-giving situations in specific cultures. Mauss (1954) used the Potlatch of the North American Indians and Beals (1970) studied Oaxaca peasants' gift-giving occasions. The descriptive nature of anthropological studies captures the continuous and dynamic character of gift-giving in many societies.

Social exchange

Gift giving plays a role in establishing, defining, and maintaining interpersonal relationships. Gifts can indicate the status of a relationship, feelings of concern or love, or the promise of future interaction. They reinforce friendships and social relations but can also become tools of social control or manipulation (Belk, 1979; Poe, 1977).

The nature of the gift selected and the occasion can define a relationship. Generally the more expensive and intimate the gift, the closer the relationship (Cheal, 1987). According to Sherry (1983), expressive gifts are more often given in close relationships where utilitarian gifts are more likely to be given in distant relationships. Closer relationships are often defined by the giving of more costly, higher quality gifts (Belk, 1979; Cheal, 1987). Caplow (1982) suggested that Christmas gifts may serve to reinforce kinship ties weakened by lack of opportunity for contact. Within the family unit, geographic distance had no great effect on gift-giving behavior.

In a study of gifts given in dating relationships, Belk and Coon (1991) found that giving became more costly and intimate as the relationship progressed. In a
continuing relationship, however, eventually the material gift giving tended to decline as non-material gifts of time and attention became more common.

Gift giving also plays a role in status maintenance within a society. Gifts from higher status persons to lower status persons are acceptable and may be defined as charity (Belk, 1979).

Gifts serve as social support in various rites of passage from one life stage to another (Belk, 1979). It may be the receipt of gifts on ritual occasions such as Christmas and birthdays or for ceremonies such as graduation or weddings that help most to confer status (Belk, 1979; Cheal, 1986, 1987; Schwartz, 1967).

In the past, the adult female was a symbol of status for her husband in middle and upper class families. The married woman's role included serving as a showcase for the family's wealth (Veblen, 1899/1934). As a result, the husband bestowed upon his wife gifts such as jewelry, which indicated the family's place in society. Throughout most of the 20th century the woman has gradually assumed a greater role as an economic contributor to the family. According to Schwartz (1967), children have since assumed the role of family status representative. This process may have advanced even more since 1967 as indicated by the wearing of designer clothes and visible brand names. The researcher might ask, are higher income families more likely to choose brand name clothing as gifts for their children? Are brand names important only to the child or are they also important to parents?

**Gender differences.** Males and females have been found to differ in their gift giving behavior. Studies have shown females to be the primary gift buyers,
particularly within the family unit (Caplow, 1982; Horne & Winakor, 1988, in press; Jolibert & Fernandez-Moreno, 1983; Sherry & McGrath, 1989). In Caplow’s study (1982) females gave slightly over twice the number of gifts that males gave. In Fischer and Arnold (1990), female respondents reported giving over one and one-half times the number of gifts given by males.

Even though females give a larger number of gifts, males have been found to give more expensive gifts (Caplow, 1982). Caplow proposed that this might reflect the status of men as the major income earners for the family. This situation could be different as the proportion of single parent families increases (Schwartz, 1992). Rucker et al. (1991) found that males placed more emphasis on price whereas females were more concerned with satisfaction of the receiver.

Manikowske and Winakor (in press) found that both males’ and females’ perceptions were characterized by concern for the gift recipient, pleasing recipients, and impressing recipients. In contrast, Horne and Winakor (in press) found that wives placed greater importance on the well-being of the recipient while husbands placed greater importance on the way the recipient perceived the giver.

The gift-giving dyad. Exchange partners make up yet another component of gift-giving behavior. Givers and receivers may be individuals, families, or organizations (Belk, 1979). According to Sherry (1983), these exchange partners may be individuals or corporate groups -- corporate meaning a group that acts as a single unit. For example, a family may act as a unit in the gift-giving process but its behavior may be different from that of an individual giver. Furthermore, donors and
recipients may even be the same individual or group as suggested by Schwartz (1967) and Levy (1982). Until recently, no empirical research was directed toward this idea of gifts given to one's self, although advertisers have capitalized on this type of consumer behavior for some time (Mick & DeMoss, 1990).

Exchange between individuals may be the most common type of gift giving. Research focused on the dynamics of exchange partners is of great value to the understanding of gift-giving behavior (Sherry, 1983). Recently, a few studies have examined the behavior of matched sets of givers and receivers, or dyads.

Rucker et al. (1991) studied gift behavior of 60 couples to determine perceptions of cost and equity in exchange situations. Durable goods were valued more highly than nondurable goods because gifts of nondurables were seen as a lack of commitment to the relationship.

In a qualitative study, Belk and Coon (1991) investigated the role of gifts in a dating relationship. Respondents indicated that a message conveyed by dating gifts is that the giver has confidence in the relationship and is committed to the partner. Gifts were also seen as "tests of the giver's sincerity" (p. 525). Gifts in a dating relationship were also found to stimulate negative feelings of obligation and guilt.

Caplow (1982) found that within kin networks, nearly three times as many gifts are given to the next generation down as are given one generation up. Children are the center of many gift-giving occasions. Children are also given gifts for no occasion, as souvenirs of trips, or as rewards for good behavior. Parents and their
children are frequent gift exchange partners; however, no research was found which used this dyad as the unit of study.

**Motivations for giving**

Three general categories of motivations are found in the literature on gift giving: 1) self-interested giving, 2) conforming to social norms, and 3) altruistic giving. Lutz (1979) referred to this topic as "opening the black box."

Self-interest is seen by some scholars as the only motivation for giving. The creation of obligation or receiver indebtedness is the benefit most often obtained from this type of giving. Other benefits include establishing wealth and status and impressing receivers with gifts (Belshaw, 1965), reinforcing valued friendships (Caplow, 1982, 1984), and extending one's self through the life of another with a gift (Belk, 1988).

Reciprocity creates obligatory motives in gift giving. In contrast to the standard definition of a gift, the participants in gift exchange lean toward fairness but reciprocity is not strictly maintained. Caplow (1982, 1984) found no expressions of anger or disappointment at Christmas when gifts were not reciprocated. Because the majority of gifts are given to relatives, the importance of obligation and self-interest as motives may have been overestimated by researchers (Wolfinbarger, 1990).

Gift exchange is the social norm in marking relationships and occasions (Wolfinbarger, 1990). Gifts are sometimes given in recognition of a change in role such as retirement, or in recognition of achievement such as graduation. Certain types of gifts are traditional for these situations; for example, watches are given for
retirement and household goods for weddings. Sometimes the social norm of gift giving is violated as when a married couple decides they will no longer exchange gifts on certain special occasions (Wolfinbarger, 1990).

Altruism is defined as "unselfish concern for the welfare of others" (Webster's, 1986, p. 41). One altruistic motive for giving a gift is that of expressing love for the receiver, expecting no gift in return. Wolfinbarger (1990) found that spouses identified their favorite gift as one that had been a complete surprise, given to show love. In understanding gift-giving behavior, it is important to recognize that receivers attribute altruism to givers, whether or not altruism can be established as the motive.

Symbolic communication

The symbolic statements that gifts make about givers and receivers and the relationship between the two parties are important topics in gift-giving research. In a study of the symbols of relationship identity, Baxter (1987) found that physical object symbols (often in the form of gifts) were especially important.

"Gifts are symbols of the existence of an active and interactive social fabric" (Poe, 1977, p. 60). The process by which symbols are used in communication is a fundamental principle for understanding gift giving.

In an exploratory study, Wolfinbarger (1990) found four themes to be related to symbolism of gifts. Uniqueness was a theme identified by both givers and receivers as they described a gift as "one-of-a-kind". Some gifts are valued because they symbolize togetherness as they were jointly chosen by the giver and receiver. A third theme was identified as a gift that represented a "turning point" in the life of a
couple such as when they were finally able to afford a very expensive gift. A final theme involved symbolism that was attached to a favorite gift -- often something that had been designed or made especially for the receiver.

Gift giving functions as a form of symbolic communication between giver and receiver (Belk, 1979; Cheal, 1987). Gifts are indirect messages that must be interpreted. They may communicate the giver's impressions about the identities of both the giver and the receiver. Because people are social by nature and desire interaction with others, "each new gift provides communication from others that confirms and often extends the views of self developed through previous interactions" (Wolfinbarger, 1990, p. 703).

**Social-psychological theories**

Poe (1977) recommended that the socio-psychological theories of equity, reactance, and attribution be applied in research on gift giving. These theories were not formulated originally to account for gift-giving behavior and application of them has been infrequent in studies to date. Manikowske and Winakor (in press) examined these theories in an affective study of clothing gifts. They are reviewed briefly here.

**Equity theory.** Equity theory guides gift-giving behavior as the giver desires to equalize the ratio of receipts to inputs (Poe, 1977). Although gift relationships between adults and children are expected to be asymmetric and the child does not need to consider matching value and quantity of a reciprocal gift, adults may expect a particular behavioral outcome from a child in exchange for a gift. The giver may
adjust money and effort expended on a gift according to previous behavior on the part of the child.

**Attribution theory.** Social psychologists refer to the process of inferring the causes of someone's behavior as attribution. When a person engages in an act, the causes for that behavior may be unknown both to an observer and to the actor. The observer then attributes the behavior to possible causes (Manikowske & Winakor, in press). According to Wegner and Vallacher (1977), people use systematic processes to make attributions that have consequences for future behavior and relations with others.

Attribution theory can be applied to gift giving as the receiver attempts to interpret the meaning of the gift and arrive at a cause-effect context (Poe, 1977). An individual tries to go beyond what another person has done and ask "why this gift?" or "what does this gift mean?" Miscommunication can also occur in decoding the meaning of the gift because the message is nonverbal (Belk, 1979). Nonverbal cues provided by the clothing gift are an important segment of the total attributional package (Kelley & Sweat, 1983-84). For example, the receiver may conclude that the giver disapproves of the way he or she dresses if the clothing gift is of a style or color not usually worn. The receiver's understanding the intentions of the giver contributes to the ultimate success of a clothing gift (Manikowske & Winakor, in press).

**Psychological reactance theory.** Perceived threat to a person's freedom is the essence of psychological reactance theory. The degree of reactance is a function of the importance of the threatened or eliminated freedom (Brehm, 1966). Gifts can be
seen as bribes or as a means of manipulating the behavior of another person. Clothing gifts can be perceived as threats to freedom to choose one's own style of dress or to express one's own taste (Poe, 1977).

**Implications for clothing gifts**

Clothing may be a frequently-chosen gift because it has a highly personal quality that is not present in other gift objects. Certain items of clothing such as underwear may be given as symbols of intimacy in some relationships (Belk, 1979). Cheal (1987) on the other hand suggested the nondurable nature of clothing and fashion cycles as reasons for the popularity of clothing as a gift.

Some cultural groups might choose to give clothing more often than other types of gifts. Jolibert & Fernandez-Moreno (1983) found that French families gave more clothing than toys to children as Christmas gifts whereas Mexican children received equal numbers of toys and clothing.

Clothing plays a role in self-expression, conveying information about sex, age, status, and personality. Clothing is also a form of non-verbal communication. A gift of clothing may be an effective way for a giver to communicate his or her perception of the receiver and the relationship. As a result, there are risks involved in giving gifts of clothing; for example, the chosen gift could conflict with the recipient's self-image or identity (Horne & Winakor, 1991).

A gift of clothing from mother to child could build their relationship if the child is mature enough to realize that the mother has spent time, effort, and money trying to find something to please him or her. At the same time, if the chosen gift is an
attempt to try to change the way the child dresses, it could have a negative impact on
the relationship. What is the mother's perception of the affect of a clothing gift on
the relationship between her and her child? Are gifts given as rewards for good
behavior on the part of the child or is a particular behavior expected in return for the
gift? Is giving to children a cultural ritual where mothers are expected to give gifts?
What is the level of satisfaction of mothers as givers and children as receivers in the
clothing gift-giving process? Are most clothing gifts successful? What becomes of
unsuccessful gifts? These unanswered questions are explored in this research.

**Conceptual framework: The gift-giving process**

Several researchers have proposed conceptual frameworks on gift giving. Belk
(1979) identified givers, gifts, recipients, and conditions as the four dimensions of gift
giving and treated the gift as a vehicle for symbolic communication, social exchange,
economic exchange, and socialization of children. Sherry (1983) described gift giving
as having social, personal, and economic dimensions, with interaction among people,
the gift object, and the environment inherent in each dimension. Banks (1979)
proposed an interactive paradigm involving four stages: purchase, interaction,
consumption, and communication.

The conceptual framework of this study was proposed by Horne and Winakor
(1991) as one applicable to research on clothing gifts. The framework consists of
four stages: prepurchase, purchase, presentation, and postpresentation
(see Figure 1). The concepts are not reviewed in detail because they were
described in the Horne and Winakor (1991) paper.
The prepurchase stage includes factors considered before deciding on a gift object to purchase. This stage includes the occasion; attributes of the gift object; interactions among the recipient, the occasion, and object; how much to spend; and where to find information. In the purchase stage, the giver actually obtains the gift, deciding where to purchase it, how far to travel, and method of payment. The giver prepares the gift and presents it to the recipient in the presentation stage. In the postpresentation stage, the recipient must make decisions about the use or disposal of the gift received (Horne & Winakor, 1991).

This framework forms the basis for development of the interview schedule used in the present research. Little is known about participation of family members in the process of gift giving. Taking the mother-child dyad through the process may help them to recall incidents from the previous year that can provide insight into the gift-giving behavior of families.

Figure 1. Conceptual framework for the gift-giving process (Horne & Winakor, 1991, p. 26). Reprinted by permission.
Family Interaction Dynamics

Individuals become what they are through reciprocal interaction with the environment. For children, the most important environment is the family. By virtue of their immaturity and dependent status, children are not the originators of their own actions in the same sense as adults are. Children are presented with stimuli and expected to accomplish goals set for them by adults. By controlling the environmental context, caretakers can have a determining effect on children's intelligence, character, and competencies (Baumrind, 1978, 1980).

Socialization is the process by which children acquire the knowledge, skills, and values that will enable them to participate effectively in any phase of human interaction within a group, culture, or society (Baumrind, 1980; Mead, 1976). For each role that people perform in a society, there is a socialization process that determines what they do in that role.

Belk (1979) suggested that one function of gift giving might be as a socializer for children. "Besides its effect on children's identities, the selection of gifts to children may affect the formation of values regarding materialism, personal property, giving, receiving, aggression, competitiveness, education, and aesthetics" (p. 104). While gifts are not the sole factors affecting these values, the socializing function of gifts is potentially strong and is not clearly understood. One of the ways that gifts might function as a socializer is in teaching children to be consumers.
Consumer socialization

The procedure for becoming a consumer begins in childhood and continues throughout life (McNeal, 1987). Consumer socialization is defined as the "processes by which young people acquire skills, knowledge, and attitudes relevant to their function as consumers in the marketplace" (Ward, 1974, p. 2). More specifically, the definition includes attitudes toward television commercials; knowledge of the purpose of commercials; knowledge of products, brands, and shopping outlets; pricing, budgeting, and skills for allocating discretionary money. More indirectly it can encompass skills, knowledge, and attitudes which motivate purchases but are not directly involved in the transaction itself (Reid, 1979; Ward, 1974; Ward et al., 1977).

Theoretical perspectives

There are multiple theoretical perspectives that can be used to explain children's consumer socialization. More than one theory might be needed to provide a rationale for the relationship between variables (Moschis, 1987; Robertson & Feldman, 1975).

Cognitive development theory provides a basis for explaining differences in how children of different ages process information as part of the consumer socialization process. Learning results from a process of interaction of personal and environmental factors. Family and media influences have been found to be the most important factors affecting consumer socialization (Moschis & Churchill, 1978; Ward, 1974; Ward et al., 1977).
Learning theory emphasizes sources of influence which transmit norms, motivations, behaviors, and attitudes to the learner (Moschis & Churchill, 1978). Children are exposed to the stimuli of commercials and products in stores. They may obtain the products by buying them or urging their parents to buy them. Children may strive to imitate the activities of role models such as parents or peers (Ward et al., 1977).

Moore and Stephens (1975) examined differential processes associated with four measures of consumer learning including price accuracy, slogan recall, brand specification, and attitudes toward advertising. Skills of middle school and high school adolescents were measured and compared. Neither group of adolescents scored very high on price accuracy, slogan recall, or intrafamily communication about consumption. The researchers concluded that the low level of consumer skills may have indicated that "the adolescent was not provided with learning opportunities and appropriate modeling experiences from parents, teachers, and other socialization agents" (p. 91).

**Family Influences**

Consumer behavior begins to have significance at the age of four or five when parents are the most important influence in the lives of their children. Parents have established themselves as the primary source of need satisfiers. As a result, children look to their parents as guides in familiarization with the marketplace. Children are introduced to stores and store personnel while they are infants. Parents initiate the
use of money by permitting children to give money to the 'store man' or put money in a vending machine (McNeal, 1987).

**Parenting styles**

Carlson and Grossbart (1988) used the work of Baumrind (1978) on parental styles to design a study of consumer socialization of children. Becker's (1964) three dimensional model of parental types served as a useful framework. Parental styles of the sample were empirically determined using Baumrind's instrumentation. Five styles represented 93 percent of the sample of 499 mothers of elementary school children -- Authoritarian, Permissive, Rigid Controlling, Authoritative, and Neglecting. According to Carlson and Grossbart, three concepts in consumer socialization research are closely related to the general socialization framework of Becker and Baumrind. These concepts are children's consumption autonomy, parent-child communication about consumption, and restrictions monitoring consumption and media exposure. They formed the basis of the hypotheses tested in the study.

Carlson and Grossbart (1988) found that authoritative mothers have more consumer goals and are more active in consumer communication and intervention of media influence when compared to authoritarian and neglecting mothers. This is consistent with parental style theory. Authoritatives are also most concerned about how children are exposed to the world. They want to guide their children's development. Neglecting mothers are detached from such matters. Authoritarians do little to teach children to adapt to outside influences and restrict consumption more than mothers in the other categories. Permissive mothers try to promote
consumer learning by communication rather than control, intervention, or noncompliance with children's requests.

**Parental communication**

According to Moschis (1987), the family context of interpersonal communication is believed to have the greatest influence on consumer socialization. Churchill and Moschis (1979) studied 806 adolescents as a means of developing and testing a model of consumer socialization. Ten variables were included in the model. The variable 'family communication about consumption' was defined as overt interaction between parent and adolescent concerning goods and services. The researchers found that this type of communication declined as the child became older and increased with the amount of television viewing and peer communication. Findings of the study highlight the family's mediating function in the socialization process. Contrary to expectations, socioeconomic status was not found to be related to communication about consumption.

"One of the most important factors in the child's acquisition of consumer skills, knowledge, and attitudes is believed to be intrafamily communication about consumption" (Moore & Moschis, 1981, p. 43). The pattern or quality of communication has also been linked to effective consumer learning.

Moschis and Moore (1979) identified a fourfold typology of family communication patterns similar to the Baumrind (1978) typology. Laissez-faire parents engage in little communication with their children. Pluralistic parents encourage open communication and discussion of ideas. Protective parents stress
obedience and social harmony with little concern for conceptual matters. Consensual parents stress communication and an interest in the world of ideas as long as the family's internal harmony is not disturbed. Moschis and Moore (1979) found that adolescents from pluralistic families are more likely to have greater consumer knowledge and to perform socially desirable consumer behavior. They are also less likely to hold materialistic attitudes. Consumer socialization is conditioned by the family communication environment, involving more than mediation of media effects.

**Life-cycle perspective**

The study of consumer socialization is no longer restricted to learning that occurs during childhood but applies to learning throughout the life cycle. The life-cycle perspective suggests the need for socializing the person into new and changing consumer roles over the life cycle (Moschis, 1987).

Children also serve as agents of change in parental consumer behaviors. Over the long term, parents may change their consumer behavior through yielding to requests from children.

The reciprocal relationship between parent and child is an important aspect of the continuing socialization of the person. According to Peters (1985), optimal parental socialization occurs in families in which affectivity remains mutually high, members enjoy mutual respect, and parental power is not exercised. Researchers in various disciplines have increasingly applied socialization perspectives to help them understand and explain selected aspects of human behavior over a person's life cycle (Moschis, 1987).
These views are consistent with those in the field of child development. A major contribution of child development research in the 1970s was the recognition of the bidirectional influence of socialization. Children influence parents just as parents influence children. These influences are not equal in the relationship, however. In most households, parents have more control during the early childhood years (Belsky, Lerner, & Spanier, 1984).

**Peer influences**

The influence of peers begins in early elementary school and increases each year. During adolescence, a person's need for independence from his or her parents leads the child to dependence on his or her peers (Moschis & Moore, 1979). Peers become agents of consumer socialization for adolescents and appear to have greater influence than do parents (Ward, 1974).

Peer influences on consumer behavior have been noted among very young consumers as well. Caron and Ward (1975) found peer influence among third graders to be stronger than advertising, retailing, and catalogs in their gift requests to Santa Claus. Children expect to conform to group norms and want to be accepted by their age group. Moschis and Moore (1979) found that peers were a major information source for adolescents when buying products important for acceptance by a group, such as wallets and sunglasses.

Consumer socialization effects of peers are incidental rather than intentional. Children learn from friends by observing them and participating in the consumption process with them (McNeal, 1987). Youth susceptibility to peer influences is
conditioned by relationships within the family. When parents are available and have
good relationships with the child, peer group influence is diminished (Moschis, 1987).

**Market Influences**

Retailers are very important socialization agents for children. Store visits take
on significance at an early age when children realize that the retailer owns the goods
and services that give them pleasure (McNeal, 1987).

Stores influence the consumer behavior of children by providing facilities for
children such as eye-level displays. Allowing field trips and providing printed
materials are additional means of consumer education. Personnel are trained to be
responsive to children -- helping them count change or giving them treats.

Sales of children's specialty chains grew from $120 million in 1979 to $800
million in 1986. Specialty clothing stores like Esprit Kids® and GapKids® have
caused department stores to fight back by creating special lines like McDonald's
McKids®, which Sears introduced in 1987. Toys 'R' Us® was rapidly expanding its
Kids 'R' Us® discount apparel unit and Woolworth's was planning to open 475
Kidsmart off-price outlets in the coming five years (Friel, 1988).

Advertising is the primary vehicle that manufacturers use to influence children's
consumer behavior. Estimates are that a half-billion dollars in advertising is targeted
at children, with much of the intent being to direct the children’s influence on
parental spending (McNeal, 1992). Research has shown that since the 1970s
advertising has been the primary source of product ideas for children. Caron and
Ward (1975) found that television advertising was a source for gift ideas 27 percent
of the time, followed closely by friends (26 percent), stores (22 percent), and catalogs (15 percent). More information sources are available to young consumers in the 1990s, however, and the percentages might be different for certain products. In a study of children's attitudes toward styles and brands of athletic shoes, other children were the major information source 46 percent of the time with advertising accounting for only 10 percent (McNeal, 1992).

Many parents fear the socialization effects of advertising because these may conflict with their own goals and desires for their children (Grossbart & Crosby, 1984). The effects of television advertising on children and adolescents has been a topic of public interest in recent years, generating an overwhelming amount of research. Critics contend that advertising strongly influences consumer attitudes, values, and behavior of young people, resulting in undesirable socialization consequences such as non-rational choices, impulse-oriented decision-making, and the development of strong materialistic values. Advertisers argue that the main sources of these behaviors are parents and peers and that advertising actually creates positive consumer socialization such as greater knowledge of the consumption process (Moschis & Moore, 1982; Ward, 1974).

Children watch television an average of 25 to 30 hours per week. Estimates are that children are exposed to around 20,000 advertisements per year and pay attention to them at a rate of approximately 200 per week (McNeal, 1987). Caron and Ward (1975) found that fifth grade children are more likely than third graders to cite television as a source of gift ideas. The researchers suggested that the older children
may have learned to use TV as a source of product information while third graders were more inclined to use their perceptual environment. Much has changed with regard to children's television programming and advertising since 1975, however. With the amount of TV watched by children, at what age do they begin to use this medium as a source of product information?

Advertisers looking for more efficient and less expensive ways to deliver messages to American youth turn to radio, newspapers, and magazines. The number of magazines for young people nearly doubled between 1986 and 1991 with 81 new titles. Some children's magazines try to establish brand loyalty at this early age on the assumption that children carry these brand decisions into their adult lives (List, 1992).

More than 68 percent of teenagers read daily newspapers at least one day during the week. Many newspapers print special sections for children, targeting the 8- to 14-year-old reader. Children's radio is another emerging medium for advertisers. A radio station in Minneapolis offers news, theater, and music for young children, claiming to reach 50 to 60 percent of children under age 12 in the St. Paul-Minneapolis area (List, 1992).

In summary, consumer socialization has become a research interest in the field of consumer behavior for a variety of reasons. The belief that childhood experiences are of great importance in shaping and even predicting patterns of adult behavior is common among behavioral scientists (Churchill & Moschis, 1979; Ward, 1974). Public policy-makers are interested because of issues surrounding the effects of
marketing activities on young people and their families. Research might help increase the success of information campaigns sponsored by nonprofit organizations and government agencies interested in communicating with young people. Marketers are interested in improving their communication campaigns directed to children as consumers (Churchill & Moschis, 1979; Moschis & Churchill, 1978; Ward, 1974).

**Children as consumers**

Thirty or 40 years ago, children were spoken of as savers, not as consumers. Even if children received allowances, the amount was usually small and many parents dictated how much could be spent. This situation is changing along with the characteristics and needs of families in American society. Several demographic changes have implications for the current research. For example, increases in the number of working parents and one-parent families have had a major effect on children as consumers. Children of working mothers are expected to assume more consumer responsibilities than children of non-working mothers (Aldous, 1974). Eight percent of children ages six to eleven said they help their parents select their clothing and 13 percent reported using their own money to buy clothing (Stipp, 1988).

In the late 1980s, a growing number of women were having children later -- during higher earning years -- and were having smaller families, leaving more money available per family member (Edmondson, 1985; Rucker et al., 1987). Sixty-four percent of women with children under 18 worked outside the home. Two-thirds of
6-to-11-year-olds lived in households with both parents employed or in one-parent households where that parent was employed (Stipp, 1988).

The increase in number of mothers in the work force gives some families more disposable income and some mothers more control over how the money she earns is spent. To compensate for lack of time spent with children, parents are spending more money on them (Friel, 1988), sometimes giving gifts to make up for the parents' absence (Silver, 1989). Do children play a larger role in helping to select their own gifts because parents have less time to shop and return unsuccessful items? Do children receive more gifts in families where the mother is employed outside the home?

According to a National Center for Health Statistics report cited by Schwartz (1992), nearly half of children will live in single parent families at some time during their childhood. Sixty-one percent of children under age 18 in this country live with both biological parents, while eleven percent live with their divorced mother but no father, nine percent with their mother and stepfather, and eight percent with a never-married mother and no father. Divorce creates highly complex family relationships as children have ties to more people (Hagestad, 1988). This situation may result in children receiving more gifts from more people.

Children are viewed as a complex market segment by many manufacturers and retailers. McNeal (1992) determined the income, spending, and savings of children ages 4 to 12 in a 1989 study of 1,018 households. A similar study in 1984 allowed McNeal to make comparisons of the findings over time. In 1989, children in this age
group received an average weekly income of $4.42, up 46 percent from 1984 without adjustments for inflation. Multiplied by the number of children in the U.S. (based on Census Bureau forecasts), this amounted to an $8.6 billion market. Most of this money was spent rather than saved.

When data from the 1984 and 1989 studies were compared, the greatest change in children's spending was for clothing. In 1984, children made so few clothing purchases that there was no category for clothing. The 1989 data indicated that children spent nearly $700 million a year on clothing and shoes (McNeal, 1992). McNeal suggested the following reasons for the increased spending. Children had more money to spend which allowed them to purchase higher-cost-per-unit items such as clothing. Children like conspicuous products that help them identify with a group. Clothing and shoes serve this need. Parents who once purchased most of the clothing for their children are now working and may pass this responsibility to the child who has more time to shop.

Children in the 1990s have more money, more responsibilities, and more influence on purchases. Marketers see children as more than one market. Children are seen as a current market, having needs, money to spend, and a willingness to spend money (McNeal, 1987). Marketers also see children as a future market -- tomorrow's consumers to be cultivated now. In addition, children are considered to have substantial influence on purchases of their parents. Some retailers attempt to win favor with children so they will influence the spending of their parents toward a particular product (McNeal, 1987). Does advertising for clothing influence the
choices mothers make for their children? Do children request a particular clothing item as a gift because they see an advertisement for it? These are questions that are asked of mothers and children in the current research.

**Children's clothing consumption**

Clothing is important to children. It contributes to their physical, social, and emotional growth as well as to their personality development (Ryan, 1966). A limited number of research studies have been done on the topic of children's clothing. The majority of the work that has been found was carried out during the period from 1950 to 1970.

According to Winakor (1969, p. 634), "a complete model of the process of clothing consumption will have to consider the nature of individuals and families and the social and economic environment in which they live." Social, psychological, physiological, and economic aspects are interrelated and must be considered together in a study of children's clothing. Variables found important for adult clothing consumption may differ from those for children (Kunz, 1970).

Clothing is often a source of conflict between parents and children. Most often, parents concern themselves with the aesthetic aspects of children's clothing. Their concern with social, economic, or protective functions depend largely on their socio-economic and educational level (Ryan, 1966).

Rapid growth and hard wear are physiological factors predominant in children's clothing consumption. Comfort may be most important to children but during
periods of rapid growth it is difficult for many families to have adequate numbers of garments that fit well (Ryan, 1966).

Kunz (1970, p. 19) suggested that children's garments are habitually consumed goods "which are high enough in price that the buyer attempts to purchase them more cheaply." Children's garments of large unit cost such as winter coats are less postponable than those for adults due to rapid growth and hard wear. Garments of small unit cost such as socks or underwear are frequently purchased in multiples.

Supplementary sources

Numbers of garments acquired from supplementary sources (sources other than purchased new) can affect children's clothing consumption. If a large number of children's garments are acquired as gifts or are handed down, the number of garments purchased new could be lower. Peters (1968) found that supplementary sources were more important for children's clothing consumption than for adults.'

The extent to which acquisition of new, purchased garments is affected by garments from supplementary sources such as gifts depends on whether the garments from supplementary sources are substitutes in the eyes of the child or parent. Children's clothing gifts selected by givers outside the family may not be as successful as those selected by mothers. For this reason they may be less likely to serve as good substitutes for new purchased garments.

The following unanswered questions related to the role of supplementary sources in giving of clothing gifts to children are explored in this research. Are garments that are given to children from relatives as successful as those given by the mother? Does
the proximity of relatives make a difference in whether they choose to give clothing as gifts and in the success of clothing gifts? Can clothing gifts received from outside the family be returned if they are unsuccessful?

**Store returns**

Rucker et al. (1991) found clothing to be the type of product most often returned to the store, with 77 of 91 respondents citing clothing as their most recently returned gift (85 percent). The authors suggested that economic and social factors were reasons for greater willingness to return clothing gifts. Respondents indicated that clothing was of sufficient value to make it worth returning. Poor fit or the wrong color were given as socially acceptable reasons for returning clothing. With another type of gift, the recipient might have to say that he or she did not like it.

**Demographic trends and implications for clothing gifts**

Several demographic trends have implications for children's clothing consumption as it relates to the current research. According to Exter (1992), the U.S. Census Bureau estimated that the population aged five to nine would grow from 18.5 million in 1990 to 19.4 million in 1995. The number of children aged 10 to 14 was expected to increase from 17.3 million in 1990 to 20 million in 2000. The high number of births in the late 1980s and early 1990s would create a demand for businesses that serve the needs of elementary school children and teenagers.

Retail sales of children's wear totaled approximately $15.7 billion in 1986. Children's wear retailers are fortunate that children grow in physical size, creating a continuing need for both basics and fashion merchandise. Physical growth of the
child cannot be relied upon to build sales, nor does it guarantee that consumers will continue to spend clothing dollars at department and specialty stores when there are discount alternatives available (Gruber, 1988). Retailers must understand psychological and behavioral traits of consumers in order to meet their needs. What types of stores do mothers prefer in buying clothing gifts for their children? Does the type of store preferred vary with the income level of the consumer or the type of garment being purchased? What types of services or store policies are important to buyers of children's clothing when it is to be given as a gift?

Summary

The purpose of this research is to examine the interaction between the mother and child in the four stages of the gift-giving process. Little is known about gift-giving behavior specifically related to clothing and family members' participation in the process. Mothers and children are an appropriate unit of analysis because women are the primary gift buyers in the family and, according to Sauskojus (1984), the chief purchasers of clothing for family members.

Children are frequent recipients of clothing gifts. Children in middle childhood are a seldom-studied age group. Middle childhood is an age when children are beginning to become more interested in clothing and appearance and are taking a more active role in becoming clothing consumers. In this research, variations in clothing gift-giving behavior of mothers are identified as they emerge in the study and mother-child dyads are profiled by level of consumption.
Gifts of clothing make up a substantial expenditure for consumer units. In order to estimate the economic magnitude of clothing gifts, however, the researcher must first define the term "gift" in relation to the giver, the receiver, and the consumer unit (Horne & Winakor, 1991). In the present research, mothers are asked to define a clothing gift that they would give to their child, when is it given, and what the motives are for selecting a particular item. The child is also asked to define a clothing gift and tell in what way it differs from non-gift clothing.

Gift giving plays an important role in the development of interpersonal relationships. A gift can indicate the closeness of the relationship between the giver and the receiver. This research examines whether the relationship between the mother and the child impact the gift-giving behavior in the family. Level of satisfaction of mothers as givers and children as receivers is estimated through discussion of successful and unsuccessful gifts. Communication between the mother and the child may affect the success of the gift exchange.

The application of social psychological theories is explored to a limited extent in this research. Children are asked if they react to a clothing gift as a threat to their freedom to choose their own style of dress. For example, a clothing gift could be used as a reward for good behavior or particular behavior expected in return for a gift, suggesting a confirmation of equity theory.

Research on consumer socialization involves children’s influence on intra-family patterns. The child has an impact on consumption of the entire family. Because of the importance of the family as a consumer unit, understanding how early learning
experiences facilitate or inhibit changes in consumption patterns is helpful in the study of consumer behavior and in market research (Ward, 1974). Bi-directional influences of socialization may influence the consumer behavior of the mother with regard to clothing. Influences of advertising, peers, and the marketplace may be increasing in importance as the child nears the age of adolescence. Clothing gifts could create an additional opportunity for consumer socialization of children.

Consumer researchers have generally adopted a narrow perspective toward study of gift exchange. With a holistic focus using naturalistic inquiry techniques, interpretation of gift-giving behavior may become more comprehensive.
CHAPTER III. PROCEDURE

In this chapter, the technique, setting, sampling procedure, and method for collecting data for this research are described. Criteria for choice of participants are presented. Management of data and the procedure used for data analysis are also discussed.

Technique

A multiple-case study technique was used for this research to examine gift-giving behavior within the mother-child relationship. Because the process of gift-giving from mothers to children has not been studied holistically, the case study design adds depth and a human perspective to the study of gift-giving behavior.

Case studies are based on the indepth investigation of an individual, group, or institution and allows critical examination of a phenomenon within a bounded system (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Yin, 1984). For this research, the bounded system under examination was the phenomenon of a mother giving clothing gifts to her 8- to 12-year-old child and the child's reactions to those gifts. The case study is a valuable method when the investigator is interested in adding to humanistic understanding of a phenomenon or answering "how" or "why" questions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Stake, 1978; Yin, 1984). Case studies provide the reader with a "thick description" which is valuable to human perspective (Geertz, 1973).
Setting

The setting for this study was three communities with populations of 13,000, 50,000, and 65,000 people in two states of the north central region of the United States, plus rural areas of one of these states. Data were collected in the homes of the subjects in order to estimate level of consumption of the household and have access to examples of recently-given gifts.

Sample

A purposive sampling procedure was used for this research. Mother-child dyads were selected to achieve a high degree of contrast on dimensions such as family composition and level of consumption that might be likely to affect their attitudes, experiences, or behaviors with respect to gift giving. Dyads were sought from low, middle, and high income groups based on occupation of one or both parents and type and location of the family's dwelling.

While families were purposely chosen with income level in mind, the researcher was more interested in level of consumption (LC). It is difficult to obtain accurate information on income. Also, income fluctuates from year to year while consumption may remain fairly constant. Income alone is not sufficient for measuring capacity to consume due to borrowing and other factors. In an interview, asking about income can negatively affect the rapport between the interviewer and participant. For the purpose of the present research, level of consumption was a better measure of the family's well-being. Depending on personal values, some families with low incomes
may spend more on their clothing than do some higher income families. The method for determining low, moderate, and high level of consumption for each dyad is discussed in the section on data collection. The researcher's decision regarding which LC group best characterized a particular dyad was not made until the interview had been completed.

A prerequisite for inclusion in this study was that the child be at least 8 and no more than 12 years of age and the biological or adoptive child of the mother being interviewed. All participants were Caucasian in order to minimize variation by race. Researcher dialogue with Cooperative Extension Service personnel and co-workers generated a list of participants who met the criteria.

**Instruments**

In this section, the instruments used during the data collection phase of this research are described. Five different tools were used by the researcher. Three were developed by the researcher, one was developed by others, and one was developed by others but adapted by the researcher for use in this research.

**Interview schedule**

A semi-structured interview guide of open-ended questions was developed by the researcher to facilitate conversation (Appendix B). Separate guides were developed for mothers and children. The interview guide was pilot tested with two mother-child dyads for ease of understanding and approximate time for completion. Slight revisions were made to the interview guide based on information gained from the
pilot sessions. The guide was designed to follow the four stages of the clothing gift-giving process (Horne & Winakor, 1991).

In the prepurchase section of the mother’s interview, participants were asked to tell about their child’s interest in clothing. They were also asked about sources of information that help them make decisions about what to buy such as advertising or shopping with the child. Mothers were asked to describe how gifts of clothing might differ from other clothing purchased for their children. Motives for selection of a particular clothing gift were also discussed.

The second section of the interview was about the actual purchase stage of the gift-giving process. Mothers described where they shopped and the importance of various store policies such as ease of return and payment options in their decision to buy.

In the third section, mothers were asked questions about the presentation of a clothing gift to their child. They discussed the importance of surprise and the reaction of their child upon receiving a clothing gift.

In the final section of the mother’s interview, questions focused on the post-presentation stage or the time after the gift was presented. Each mother was asked to describe a successful clothing gift given to her child in the past year and the reasons for its success. Some were also able to describe an unsuccessful clothing gift. They expressed feelings about the possible role of a clothing gift in the relationship shared with their children. This section also explored consumer socialization of children in relation to clothing in general and more specifically to clothing gifts.
The child's interview schedule was much shorter but questions corresponded to those asked of the mothers in order to make some comparisons. For example, each child was asked to describe a favorite outfit and tell what sorts of clothing he or she liked to wear. The importance of brand names was discussed. Children were also asked how their mothers obtained ideas for what to purchase for them as a clothing gift. For other questions refer to the Child Interview Schedule in Appendix B.

Open-ended questions and face-to-face interviews are effective when the dynamics of the case are not known with certainty (Miles & Huberman, 1984). The semi-structured interview allowed the researcher to investigate important information volunteered by the participant. The researcher used probes to help the participant elaborate on concepts.

**Demographic questionnaire**

A self-administered demographic questionnaire for mothers was developed by the researcher (Appendix C). The questionnaire asks information about the participant's age, marital status, educational level, and number and ages of children. Mothers were also asked to describe their occupations and, if married, the occupations of their husbands. This information was used to describe the sample (see Chapter IV) and assisted in classifying the mother-child dyads by level of consumption (see Chapter VI).
Iowa Parent Behavior Inventory

In addition to the interviews, data were collected using the Iowa Parent Behavior Inventory (Crase, Clark, & Pease, 1979; see Appendix D). The Iowa Parent Behavior Inventory (IPBI) is a parent behavior rating scale administered to parents. Each item in the scale represents a possible behavioral situation. The items are rated on a 1 to 5 scale where 1 indicates that the parent almost never behaves that way and 5 that the parent almost always behaves that way. Use of the 3 rating indicates that the parent behaves that way about half the time. Ratings are based on the parent’s perception of her own behavior. The instrument attempts to measure parental behavior in relation to a child, as opposed to attitudes. The behaviors measured are those found by researchers to be salient in the parent-child relationship (Crase et al., 1979). In the present research, IPBI scores of mothers were used in two ways: first, to compare the behaviors of mothers in this research with those in the larger sample, and second, to examine the mother-child relationship within dyads as related to gift-giving behavior.

The IPBI was chosen as a standardized instrument because it has been administered to a large sample and a statistical analysis completed on the data. During its development, the IPBI was administered to 393 mothers involved in a regional research project. The inventory has a separate form for mothers and fathers. For the present research, only the mother form was used since it was the mother-child relationship that was of interest. Fathers were not participants in this research.
Child’s Report of Mother Behavior

After consulting professionals in child development and family studies, the researcher was unable to find an instrument that would meet the specific needs of this research related to the child’s assessment of mother’s behavior. The Child’s Report of Parental Behavior Inventory (CRPBI) is an instrument designed to "objectively assess specific parental behavior as perceived and reported by children" (Schaefer, 1965, p. 413). This instrument consists of 192 items. Children respond to the items as being "like," "somewhat like," or "not like" the parent. Using this instrument as a guide, the researcher developed a much shorter version containing 30 items which could be responded to by 8- to 12-year-old children (Appendix D). Items for the Child’s Report of Mother Behavior (CRMB) were selected to correspond to the mother’s behavior as assessed through the IPBI. Some items were revised after pilot testing to be better understood by the eight-year-old children in the sample. The CRMB ratings were compared with the information presented by the children in the interviews and also with their mothers’ responses on the IPBI.

Checklist for Level of Consumption

A checklist was developed by the researcher to assist in estimating level of consumption of each dyad (Appendix E). A similar checklist used for a household textiles survey (Wolf, 1973) served as a guide in development of this instrument. The checklist facilitated recording age and condition of the home, furnishings, yard, and vehicles. The checklist was also used for making notes about collections, housekeeping, and appearance of the participants.
Data Collection Procedure

The Iowa State University Committee on the Use of Human Subjects in Research reviewed this project and concluded that the rights and welfare of the human subjects were adequately protected, that risks were outweighed by the potential benefits and expected value of the knowledge sought, that confidentiality of data was assured, and that informed consent was obtained by appropriate procedures. Permission from this committee was obtained prior to conducting the trial interviews. All procedures for sample selection and instrumentation were reviewed by this committee and approval granted for administration.

Interviews

Interviews were arranged with participants through a telephone screening followed by a letter of confirmation (Appendix A). All dyads approached were willing to participate although four interviews did not take place due to scheduling conflicts. At the time of the interview, verbal consent of each participant was obtained following a standardized introduction to the study. Assurance was given that answers to the questions would remain confidential because respondents' names would not be associated with the interview in any way. This procedure was repeated for mothers and children. Participants were assured that their answers would not be shared with the other member of the dyad. The goal of the researcher was for the mother and child not to hear each other's answers to the questions. This was accomplished in all but two dyads.
Tape-recorded interviews were conducted privately by the researcher at the homes of the participants. The mother interview was conducted first because information from that interview was used in the child interview. Mother interviews lasted from one to one and one-half hours. Child interviews lasted from 20 to 30 minutes. During the child interview, the mother completed the demographic questionnaire and the IPBI. The CRMB was administered to the child following his or her interview. For some of the younger children, the researcher read items and the children independently circled their responses.

During the interview the participants were asked to describe a previously given gift of clothing which was particularly successful. If they were able to do this, the researcher asked at the end of the interview if the gift was available and a photograph was taken. When convenient the child would model the gift item for the photograph.

When the interview was completed, each dyad was given a $15.00 premium. The Checklist for Level of Consumption was completed as soon as possible after the interviewer left the home. A thank-you letter from the researcher was sent to each participating dyad within three days of the interview.

Data collection continued until responses became repetitive and the researcher believed that no new information was being given by the participants. Data collection took place over a 12-month period from the summer of 1990 through the summer of 1991. The resulting sample size was 41 dyads. Thirty-eight of the 41 dyads were interviewed during the months of January through August 1991.
Level of consumption classification

Following the interview, the researcher designated a level of consumption group for each dyad. This decision was based on observations recorded on the checklist, demographic information such as education and occupation of parents, and responses of the participants in the interview. All of these factors were considered together before the LC group classification was made. In the pilot stage of the data collection, a second researcher attended two interviews and assisted in the designation of level of consumption for these two dyads.

Condition of the home and furnishings proved to be better indicators than age of the home. For example, two dyads lived in homes that were quite old but had been completely restored and well-maintained. Furnishings of these homes included such items as a grand piano and high quality new furniture. These two dyads were placed in the high LC group. Another dyad lived in an older home that they were in the process of restoring. They were only able to do a room at a time due to financial limitations. The husband and father was employed in a management position and the mother was not employed outside of the home. This dyad was placed in the moderate LC group. Members of the low LC group generally lived in rental units or in older farm homes.

Level of consumption for clothing also entered into the classification of families by level of consumption. The researcher derived this information from participant responses about clothing and clothing gifts purchased for their children. For example, mothers who purchased multiple clothing items for their children's
birthdays, Christmas, and other holidays were more likely to be in the high level of consumption group. Mothers who selected the more expensive brand name clothing such as Guess® and Esprit® were more likely to be placed in the high LC group. In contrast, mothers who purchased a basic wardrobe item such as a coat for their children for Christmas or birthday and relied on grandparents to provide additional clothing gift items were placed in the moderate or low group.

Data Management

Separate file folders were prepared for each participant prior to the interviews. The following materials were placed in each folder: 1) a copy of the interview guide, 2) a copy of each of the behavior inventories, 3) the Checklist for Level of Consumption, 4) the letter of confirmation, and 5) the thank you letter. Following the interview, all instruments were coded with participant number and retained in this file. The interview guide was used to make notes regarding time, date, and duration of each interview as well as selected responses. This filing system facilitated preparation for each interview because a single file folder was taken to each interview with all materials included. The researcher could also check back to see if a letter had been sent by looking in the file.

Audio tapes of the interviews were assigned participant numbers and transcribed verbatim either by the researcher or a paid typist using Wordperfect 5.1® computer software. Once transcribed, interviews were printed, allowing adequate margins on the transcripts for written codes and comments. Each transcript was saved in a
separate file on computer disks, identified by participant number. Confidentiality was maintained by identifying the tapes and transcripts only by number.

Data Analysis

Qualitative analysis

Qualitative research is essentially an investigative process. One makes gradual sense of a social phenomenon, and does it in large part by contrasting, comparing, replicating, cataloguing, and classifying the object of one’s study (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 37).

Content analysis was applied to the qualitative interviews. Content analysis involves examining interview transcripts for descriptors, categories, and themes (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Patton, 1980). It is the process of selecting, simplifying, abstracting, and transforming raw data into a communicable form (Patton, 1980). The challenge for analysis is attempting "to describe personal rationality in ways that honors [sic] the richness of human experience" (Littrell, 1992, p. 29).

As the researcher read each interview transcript, she noted themes and important concepts in the margin. A review of the literature and existing theories was helpful in recognizing themes. A small exploratory study of mothers and daughters (Manikowske & Littrell, 1991) along with consultation with other researchers were helpful in identifying some of the themes.

This list of themes and concepts became the categories of a coding guide used for both mothers and children. As each subsequent interview was read, new categories were added and the coding guide was revised. After reading 15
transcripts, the researcher concluded that the coding guide seemed to need no further revision and was ready to be used.

Units of analysis were distinct ideas in the form of phrases or sentences found in an answer to an interview question. The researcher identified and highlighted units of analysis in each transcript. A second researcher independently marked units of analysis in one transcript to check that all ideas were being identified by the researcher.

A system was developed for numbering the coding guide. Three-digit numbers were used as code numbers corresponding with Roman numeral sections of the guide (Appendix F). Each unit was assigned a code number using this guide.

Three interviews were randomly selected to check the coding guide for reliability. The researcher and a research assistant used the coding guide independently to code each of the three interviews. Minor changes were made in the coding guide based on differences that were found in the assigned codes. The following formula (Touliatos & Compton, 1988) was used to determine the inter-rater reliability:

\[
\text{ratio of agreements} = \frac{\text{number of agreements}}{\text{number of agreements} + \text{number of disagreements}}
\]

Reliability averaged 0.86 for the three interviews and ranged from 0.84 to 0.88. A total of 439 units of analysis were coded in this reliability check. Ten questions from 10 additional interviews were randomly selected and coded independently by the research assistant. Reliability averaged 0.81 across the 100 questions checked in this test.
All remaining interviews were coded by the researcher. Code numbers were entered into the transcript using a computer. Wordperfect 5.1© computer software was used to sort the units of analysis by code number. All similar codes were grouped together by the computer and arranged in ascending order using the sort capacity of Wordperfect 5.1©. Each dyad computer file was then printed in this format. Next, the computer files for each dyad were merged together by level of consumption groups. This composite file was then sorted so that all code numbers were again arranged together. The merged file was then printed. As a result of this procedure, the researcher was able to read and consider all responses on a particular theme together for each level of consumption group. The analysis of these responses resulted in identification of themes and sub-themes that provided the organization of the findings.

**Analysis of mother-child relationship**

Quantitative data were collected primarily for the purpose of comparison of descriptions of mother-child relationships to qualitative interview data. The researcher performed statistical and graphical analyses on the quantitative results obtained using the IPBI and the CRMB.

In the development of the IPBI by the Child Development researchers, the regional sample (n=393) of mothers' tests was analyzed using factor analyses. The factor analyses resulted in six factors: Parental Involvement, Limit Setting, Responsiveness, Reasoning Guidance, Free Expression, and Intimacy. A description of each of these factors appears in the manual (Crase et al., 1979) and in Chapter V
of this dissertation. Specific items within a factor are also identified in the manual and in Appendix D of this dissertation. Reliability estimates of the instrument were computed by Crase et al. (1979) and are reported in the manual.

The factor raw scores of the mothers in the current research were calculated for each mother by summing the mother's rating on each item within a given factor. Scores could range from 1 to 5 for each item. The factor scores for the 41 mothers in this research were compared to the means and standard deviations of factors from the mothers in the larger sample.

Children's responses on the CRMB were assigned numerical values -- 3 for a response of "Like My Mother", 2 for "Somewhat Like", and 1 for "Not Like". A Pearson Product Moment Correlation was computed on these data. Items having correlation coefficients significant at or beyond the .05 level were plotted on graph paper and examined to see if they formed clusters. The scores on each individual item were tallied. Individual child responses that differed from the modal response were examined and compared to mothers' responses to similar items on the IPBI.

Findings related to mother-child relationship within dyads were summarized. Further details regarding analysis of the mother-child behavior inventories are discussed in Chapter V.

Interpretation

Dyads were classified according to selected variables and gift-giving practices. Gift-giving practices were examined within these classifications. The results of the
analyses were examined, interpreted, and conclusions were drawn. Recommendations were made for further research in this area.
CHAPTER IV. THEMES: IDENTIFICATION AND DISCUSSION

This chapter reviews the entire process of mothers' giving clothing gifts to their children. First, the sample is described based on the demographic questionnaire (Appendix C) and checklist for level of consumption (Appendix E). Second, themes from the transcribed interviews are identified and discussed. Selected participant comments illustrate key points. Last, the research findings are summarized.

Sample

The sample for this research comprised 41 mother-child dyads. Dyads were grouped according to level of consumption. Seven dyads were classified as having low levels of consumption, 23 moderate, and 11 high levels of consumption.

In the families of 14 dyads, one or both parents were involved in education as an occupation. Five families were involved in farming as the primary occupation although others lived in rural locations and worked in nearby towns.

Mothers

Thirty-two mothers were employed outside the home. Age groups represented were 26-35 years (n=14), and 36-45 years (n=27). Just over half of the mothers (n=25) possessed college degrees; 10 had graduate degrees. Possibly the high number of educated mothers in the sample was because the study was conducted in communities with colleges or universities. Additional information about participants' education and occupations of all participants is found in Appendix G.
Thirty-eight mothers were married; three were single parents. The number of dependent children in the family ranged from one to five, with the median being three. Further information about the number, age, and sex of each child in the families is found in Appendix G.

**Children**

Twenty-two female and 19 male children participated in this research. Table 1 shows the distribution of these children. There were similar numbers of females and males in the younger age groups. However, there were more females (n=10) than males (n=4) in the 11- to 12-year-old group.

Table 1. Child participants identified by age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>8 yrs.</th>
<th>9 yrs.</th>
<th>10 yrs.</th>
<th>11 yrs.</th>
<th>12 yrs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Emergent Themes**

Six major categories of themes were identified from the responses of participants: 1) attitudes toward clothing and appearance, 2) consumer socialization of the child related to clothing, 3) comparison of gift and non-gift clothing, 4) buying
practices, 5) presentation of the gift, and 6) outcome of the presentation. These broad categories are supported by themes discussed in this chapter.

Quotations from the transcribed interviews are identified with code numbers. [MB8] indicates that the participant was the mother of a boy age eight, and [B8] indicates a response from an eight-year-old boy. Similarly [MG12] is the mother of a girl age 12 and [G12] is a 12-year-old girl. Abbreviations are also used for levels of consumption. For example, high LC or HLC refers to the high level of consumption group.

**Attitudes toward clothing and appearance**

To begin the interview, the researcher asked each mother to describe her child's interest in clothing and the sorts of clothing her child liked to wear. A similar question was asked of each child. This discussion preceded any questions about gifts of clothing. The themes that emerged provided understanding about the importance of clothing to these children and the behaviors of the mother-child dyads as related to clothing and appearance. Children described garment characteristics preferred and the importance of comfort, sports, and the influence of peers. Mothers identified how their own attitudes influenced those of their children. These responses were useful for subsequent probing for detailed information when discussing clothing gifts. Both mother's perceptions and children's comments are included.
Clothing interest and attitudes of children

The prevailing attitude toward clothing of these 8 to 12 year-old children was that they like clothes. Interest appeared to increase as children approached middle school ages, i.e. 11-12 years.

She is really into clothing now. It used to be before I could just buy her anything and she would wear it. But she is into the Middle School right now and she is much more aware...[MG11].

These older children also seemed more particular or "picky" about what they would wear. This tendency was most prevalent among those in the high level of consumption (LC) group.

He has started choosing a lot of his own clothes and especially what he is going to wear during the day so he has a definite interest and liking for clothing [MB10].

... she's REALLY picky, really picky [MG8].

Interest in fashion trends was also increasing in middle childhood. Children paid more attention to what was being worn by peers and what they saw in the media and in stores. This finding was supported by responses of mothers and children to a question about what the child liked to wear.

... she has a real sense of putting colors together and styles together [MG8].

He likes to wear what is probably in style [MB10].

The things that she sees other friends in from the tops down to her shoes to socks, I mean every little detail, she's real detail conscious right now. [MG8]

The ones [clothes] that are sometimes in style, and I try to not wear the ones that aren't in style [G9].
By contrast, a few children in this age group were not particularly interested in fashion. Only six out of all 41 children interviewed could be characterized as having this non-interest.

... she doesn't have much of a need or desire to be on the cutting edge of fashion, which is kind of a relief... I think you cut yourself out of the most stylish things because you're not spending the kind of money that those things require. In some ways I see a lot of her clothes as sort of generic clothes, you could get them at any number of stores and they aren't real expensive [MG8].

She has never been really interested in clothes [MG10].

I don't know, just basically anything that my mom gets me or something [B12].

In some dyads, it was the mother's perception that clothing was unimportant to the child. The children may have stated otherwise in their responses.

**Favorite outfits.** To determine interest in clothing, the researcher asked each child to describe a favorite outfit. Mothers were not asked this question directly. Rather it was used as a probe when trying to identify their perception of their child's interests. Generalizations regarding this question are difficult as responses varied greatly. Some children identified a specific outfit -- "This one little bubble dress I have, it is kind of frilly and stuff" or "my Esprit® shirt and my white pants." Others indicated a particular type or style of clothing -- "...just comfortable, oversized stuff." Children in the high LC group tended to have more clothing that they liked and were less likely to identify a favorite item -- "I don't know, I have lots" or "No, I just like all of my outfits." Only one of the seven low LC children did not identify a favorite outfit. This boy had little interest in clothing in general.
**Garment characteristics preferred.** Several mothers of girls at all consumption levels indicated that their daughters liked dressy clothes -- dresses with lace, ribbons, and lots of fabric. These girls liked to wear the dressy clothes for special occasions but preferred more casual or "sporty" clothes for school or play.

... she likes to dress in dressier clothes and in dresses. She doesn't a whole lot though, because of gym, and it being so cold. If I would let her she would wear her dress slacks and dress clothes all of the time [MG10].

She almost likes just opposites, because she likes the very frilly types of things for dresses, and then she wants these neon spandex type of leggings and tops to wear to school [MG9].

 Mothers of boys did not have as much to say about particular types of garments preferred by their sons. Most indicated that "casual clothes" were preferred.

Because casual dress is more acceptable than in the past even for special occasions, perhaps mothers of boys do not buy as many dress clothes for them. Two mothers in the high LC group commented about their children dressing differently when doing some activity with the mother or with the mother and her friends.

Although he wears mostly t-shirts, when he knows he is dressing up to go someplace special and when he and I are going out, then he will choose a shirt that looks a little dressier [MB10].

If I was going to have some of my friends over, I [would explain to her] that it means a lot to me that she look nice when my friends are here...that she be dressed in something that is kind of cute and sporty looking...[MG8].

Jeans, sweatpants, sweatshirts, and t-shirts were the styles preferred by children in this study. For several the style of jeans was important. The jeans needed to have
pockets on the legs or elastic at the bottom or be narrow enough at the bottom so that they could be rolled up.

There are these kinds of jeans, they are a light weight fabric and they just have these neat designs and I want to get some of those, really baggy [B8].

He likes the baggy style, or the ones that have the elastic around the ankle [MB8].

Four mothers indicated that their children preferred denim fabric that was stone- or acid-washed for their jeans. Only one boy mentioned that he preferred jeans to be "faded with white spots, you know, stonewashed." The fact that this trend has become widely accepted in recent years for adult and youth fashion may account for the small number of mothers and children who mentioned it.

Both mothers and children indicated that big, oversized tops and baggy, comfortable jeans were preferred garments. Comfort was mentioned as one reason for preference of oversized and baggy styles. Look was also important to the children. Mothers did not object to this look because it allowed for growth and seemed a more modest style than the skin-tight leggings also worn by girls at this age.

For some boys, certain styles of shoes were important. Mostly shoes were mentioned in discussing brand names.

I used to like high tops, I still have a pair of NIKE® high tops in my room, but now I am starting to like low tops better, like these kind [B10].

I've noticed with both our boys that shoes, particularly athletic shoes are suddenly a real status object, that's a real big thing right now [MB9].
Color was very important to these children. They would use color in describing the garments they wore. Bright colors, fluorescent, neon, or "hot" colors were favorites of all of the girls and the younger boys. Eleven-to-twelve-year-old boys preferred these bright colors less often, favoring solid, darker colors such as black, navy, or gray. Black was popular among all children. Mothers' feelings about this color were mixed. Some felt it was too dark and dreary looking, but was very practical to wear on the school playground. Some children had a favorite color and that served as a guide in choosing gift clothing.

I like to wear things that are purple because it's my favorite color and she usually buys me things that are purple [G9].

In addition to color, printed design on fabrics, t-shirts, and sweatshirts were preferred by these children. Some mentioned licensed characters such as Bart Simpson®. More often just the fact that the shirts had something printed on them was most important -- "something printed on the t-shirt like a cat or a saying or something." Other preferred designs were:

... polka dots and stripes [G8].

Wild stuff. Like striped pants with dots, zigzags, all that stuff [B8].

... stuff that has a lot of weird designs on them [B9].

Mothers in the high LC group discussed colors as related to aesthetics and the child's personality. This type of comment, which was not made by mothers in the
other groups, may have related to these mothers’ personal interest in clothing and appearance or in their preferences for fashion trends.

... because of his personality I tend to look for a lot of color, I kind of think that he likes color and I think he looks good in a lot of bright colors which are big right now anyway [MB9].

...for a while I was buying pink for her and finally she said "you know, I haven’t liked pink, it's not my favorite color," and I hadn’t been picking up on that and I feel I should have known that [MG8].

I guess anything purple. That's the first thing that comes to mind and that's something that many people associate with her [MG8].

Fit of garments was mentioned frequently in discussing clothing preferences. The importance of fit seemed to be multi-faceted. Some children related fit to comfort -- "I like loosely fitting things that are nice and cool to wear." Possibly, children who are very active like to be able to move in their clothes and don’t want to feel restricted when playing. These children may prefer sweat pants over jeans or jeans that are baggy. For other children, fit was important for the "look" of the garment such as the current fashion of big, oversized shirts. Still other mothers were aware that their children were very particular that garments fit well and not be too big -- "Everything must fit" or "he doesn’t like things too big." Finally fit was important in terms of modesty or the developmental stage of the older girls in the study.

...she is developing on the top and she doesn’t want anybody to know about it [MG10].

She doesn't like anything that's really skimpy...which I am glad about, like some of the girls, so she is kind of modest [MG11].
Affective qualities. Comfort, aesthetics, sports, and the influence of peers were factors that emerged as important to the children's interest in appearance and clothing. Comfort has already been discussed in terms of preferred garments. Additionally, it was mentioned as a quality related to dress in general -- more often by the children than the mothers. Very few children failed to mention comfort at some point in the interview.

...anything comfortable really [G12].

She also likes to be pretty comfortable, she has always been that kind of a dresser [MG8].

You can just tell when she feels comfortable in an outfit [MG12].

...it has to be comfortable [MB8].

Some mothers seemed to be concerned with neatness, making comments such as "she likes to look nice" or "he's really kind of neat." The idea of matching and coordinating styles and colors was important to these mothers.

She's getting better; matching is questionable once in a while still [MG8].

I like him to look coordinated, I like him to look clean and sharp so I want him to pick out things that go together well [MB8].

Sports influence was identified as important in only one high LC dyad and one low LC dyad in contrast to eight moderate LC dyads. All comments were made by mothers of boys or the boys themselves. Some boys liked sports garments in general and others had definite preferences as to teams or players --"Michael Jordan is a real
favorite of his." Some mothers chose to purchase sports clothing for their sons because they were more confident that it would be worn.

...with sports I can buy him three or four pair of shorts if they have the Cubs on them or Celtics or whatever and then I know I can bring that home and it'll be all right [MB8].

He has about four or five teams that he really likes and I can get anything, sweats, shorts, t-shirts, sweatshirts, anything as long as they have one of those teams on them I am safe [MB8].

The importance of peer group influence emerged at two separate points in the interview: in discussion of the child's attitudes about clothing and in discussing the mother's gift selections. Peer groups were very influential in forming attitudes and preferences about appearance for the 8- to 12-year-old children in the low and moderate LC groups in this study. These children indicated that they liked "wearing whatever other people are wearing" or "just normal clothes, like that a lot of people would wear." Use of the word "normal" in this case seemed to imply that if you didn't wear what everyone else was wearing, you might not be seen as normal by the group. One family had moved often to different states because of transfers in the father's work. This mother recognized that dressing like his peers helped her son to feel part of the group more quickly. She used clothing for this purpose.

Other mothers seemed to understand that dressing their children like their peers was one way of increasing self esteem and success in school. Children in the high LC group did not show the same concern for peer group acceptance. The response of one mother in this group provides a possible explanation for this finding:
I think she is one of the influencers. I think she sets the styles among her peers right now [MG11].

Older siblings were also an influence for these children. The older sibling was not necessarily of the same sex. For example, sometimes a boy had an older sister who would let him know if he was wearing the right thing. In the low LC group, one girl who had learned to accept handed down clothing said, "I usually like to wear what my sister is wearing." Other children just admired an older sibling and chose to dress like him or her.

He uses what [older brother] wears a lot as his measuring stick as to what is OK to have and what isn't [MB8].

**Brand names.** The theme of brand names as related to attitudes about clothing included three separate concepts: 1) the importance of brand names, 2) the child's ability to identify a brand name, and 3) the reasons for buying brand names. Preferences for brand name clothing also emerged in the theme related to how gift clothing differs from other clothing purchased for the child.

Matching mother and child responses on the question about the importance of brand names revealed that 22 dyads were in agreement. Eleven dyads agreed that brand names were important to the child and 11 dyads responded that brand names were unimportant to the child. In dyads where the answers did not agree, five mothers said brands were important while the child said they were not. Three mothers said brands were not important while the child said that they were. In four mother-son dyads, there was agreement that brands were important only for shoes.
Brand names was a theme for which variation existed among the three levels of consumption. Mothers in the low LC group seemed to be aware that brand names were important to children as they approached adolescence. However, most of these mothers were unable to provide brand name clothing for their children. As a result, some of these mothers tried to socialize their children to the idea that brand names only cost more but were not better.

...we really don’t have the income and I have taught them early on that you can buy just about anything [for] a lot less as long as you don’t have the brand name on it [MG8].

He would prefer to have Levi’s® versus Penney’s® or something like that. They know all of those names, too but they are just outrageous. They can’t have those now [MB8].

Some mothers tried to buy the brand name items that seemed to be very important to their children, such as athletic shoes. One low LC mother of a boy who had little interest in clothing considered buying brand name clothing to help him cope with peer pressure.

I was thinking about buying him some Bugle Boys® this year because I thought maybe he would like it and he’s going to be with 5th and 6th grades where I thought there might be a little bit more pressure on him, so he feels like he’s in with the other kids [MB10].

In the moderate LC group, much more was said about the importance of brands. Children in this group knew there was a possibility that they might acquire brand name garments and expressed this preference to their mothers. Brand name
was most important for jeans and shoes. The trend toward wearing visible labels printed on the shirt and shoes was also identified as important.

I like Guess® jeans because they are popular in school [G10].

The Guess® sweatshirt, the name brand, you know. Wow, we have something with a name brand on it [MG10].

One mother in this group made interesting comments about brand names which were not expressed by any other mother. In answer to a question about the importance of brand-name clothing to her daughter she responded:

Yes, but the only thing is Guess® jeans. As far as other brands, I think literally that is the only one that I recall she has expressed any need to have, and she sees it as a need [MG12].

Her daughter's response when asked if she liked to wear certain brand-name clothing was:

Well, if I had some, I would like to wear Guess® jeans, but I don't have any [G12].

This same mother's other thoughts on the issue of brand names were as follows:

We're real, in some ways opposed to it...that it is outrageous to pay $60 for a patch on your fanny...I refuse to have L.A. Gear® in the house, because I am offended by the price paid to people who advertise for them, so she sees a pair and says, 'Oh, never mind, those are L.A. Gear®' and she is comfortable with that, and she understands that it is kind of irrational [MG12].

Mothers in the high LC group talked about brand names throughout the discussion of attitudes about clothing. It was difficult to distinguish whether brand
names were more important to the mother or to the child. One mother’s remarks indicated the importance of brands to her by the number of different names mentioned:

I am very picky about the kind of sweatshirts that I buy her. I always buy her Esprit®. Guess® are all right. I like some of the Guess® but not all of them, and I like Benetton® sweatshirts a lot because of the way they are made...I'd be real leery to go Polo® for a child. She's kind of into the name brands, the Guess®, the Esprit® [MG8].

In this dyad, the mother's perception was that brand names were somewhat important to her daughter. When this child was asked if brand names were important to her, she surprisingly answered "No." There were other children in the high LC group who did not respond positively to the question about the importance of brands. However, when asked to describe a favorite outfit, they would say "my Esprit® sweatshirt" or "my Bugle Boy® pants and shirt." Perhaps these children have an abundance of brand name garments and as a result take them for granted. Children in the other groups may want more brand name clothing than they are able to acquire. This may create an awareness of the importance of brand names.

The researcher asked each child to give an example of a brand name to make sure that he or she understood the subsequent questions about brands. Nearly all of the children were able to identify a brand name. Sometimes they knew what was meant by a brand name but were unable to think of an example without assistance from the researcher. Others had already used them in answering previous questions and quickly gave an example. Children in the moderate and high LC groups
mentioned the more expensive brand names such as Guess® and Esprit®. Brand names cited at least once by the children and the incidence of the response follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brand Name</th>
<th>Incidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adidas®</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avia®</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bugle Boy®</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chic®</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esprit®</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gitano®</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guess®</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hang Ten®</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordache®</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. A. Gear®</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee® (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levi® (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nike® (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ocean Pacific®</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several reasons were given for buying brand names. These reasons were not specific to LC group and were stated by both mothers and children.

1. **Fit** - Consistency of fit within a brand was cited frequently. Mothers who shopped without their children bought the same brand because they knew what size to buy. Comfort was related to fit. For example, one brand may fit a tall slender child better than another brand.

2. **"Look" or style** - Some children or mothers liked the "look" of a specific brand so would continue to purchase it. They said it was not so much the name but the style or "look" they wanted.

3. **Shopping time** - Time was saved shopping for brands because it wasn’t always necessary to try garments on. Shoppers went to a specific department or area within the children's department to find clothing liked by the child that would also fit. Advertising of brand names also saved time by directing shoppers to the stores that carried the preferred brands.

4. **Quality** - Mothers in the study found some brands to be of better quality than others. Some children had also picked up on the quality issue. Mothers
preferred to buy brands they knew would perform well. Some brands had been found to be better values because the wear-life of the garment offset the cost.

5. Child will wear it - Some brands were purchased by mothers because they knew from experience that the children would wear it -- "I don't mind spending $60 on a pair of Guess® jeans because I know she is going to wear them and wear them and wear them." Some even pointed out to their children that the higher cost of the brand name clothing would mean having fewer different garments to wear. These children accepted this fact and still wanted the brand. Peer influence was also related to this reason because children wanted to dress like their friends who might be wearing a particular brand.

Higher cost was the only reason given for not buying brand names. Some mothers never shopped for brand names because they assumed the price would be higher.

**Attitudes of mothers**

Without being asked specifically, several mothers spoke freely of their own interests in dress and appearance, relating it to that of their children. Individual values were reflected in statements by mothers in the high LC group. This group made the most statements.

I am interested in clothing so maybe that has rubbed off on her [MG8].
I am pretty clothes conscious myself, and I look at the magazines for style. I want to be an informed consumer myself as far as styles and so on, so I think I am kind of with it! [MG8]

If I go to the mirror and I feel like I look good then I feel good all day and I think that is the same way with children...[MB10].

Mothers in the moderate LC group also commented about spending on clothing for the child. Interest in clothing varied a great deal within this moderate consumption group but did have an impact on the child's attitudes and overall interest in clothing.

I'm still finding that I dress her the way I dress...I dress in a lot of sportswear [MG10].

...he realizes that clothing is more important to me than him [MB9].

I would say our tendency is to have her get more things at a less cost, because for one thing, she kind of messes them up and stains them and wears them out... I don't think it is worth the money to invest in a good wool skirt...that sort of thing [MG12].

The children have lots of clothes, because I enjoy clothes, and I like them to have a lot of different clothes. They probably have more than they need [MB11].

None of the seven mothers in the low LC group spoke of their own interest in clothing. They seemed to put the needs of the children first where clothing was concerned. These findings suggest that lack of available resources rather than lack of interest may be the reason.
Clothing conflicts between mother and child

Middle childhood appeared to be an age when limited conflict occurred between mother and child over clothing choices. During the interviews, the children were asked, "Do you and your mother like the same types of clothing for you?" All of the low LC children answered "Yes" or "Most of the time." About half of the high LC children answered positively to the question but answers were more commonly "Usually" or "Pretty much." Two of the high LC mothers in particular liked to have control over the appearance of their daughters, so tended to select and purchase clothing for them rather than take the girls shopping.

Once in a while she can talk me into something, not real often because usually I prefer to shop for her without her along because we just knock heads on what she likes and what I like [MG8].

Yes, control is a good word. She has a good head on her shoulders, I don't think she would do anything to embarrass me...I do have a lot of input [MG12].

One high LC mother who expressed a strong interest in clothing and fashion, designed and created garments for her daughter. She did have final say with regard to the daughter wearing a particular outfit and this caused conflict.

I would make that skirt exactly that way again, I have too strong an opinion. She wanted it as long as her sister's and I said "your sister is 6 inches taller than you, this is the way it should be on you, this is the way it should be." It is so cute, I think I will make it again exactly the same and she'll probably fight about it but she will eventually wear it [MG8].
In the middle LC group, several conflicts were about differences in fashion preferences between the mother and child -- "Sometimes our tastes are different." These differences were identified more often by children than mothers. Conflicts were about color as well as style and fit.

...I don't like her tastes really...her color combinations and the fit that the clothing has. I don't think she minds what I get but I don't know...she has never showed that she doesn't like it, but I don't like some of the things that she picks out [G12].

Sometimes she gets stuff that I really don't like that's kind of plain and doesn't have any really loud patterns to it [B9].

Sometimes these differences in taste did not result in conflict. Some mothers let the child do the choosing in order to avoid problems. Mothers of children this age seemed to expect such differences and accepted them. For example, the mother of an eight-year-old boy stated, "He has different tastes than we would like him to have, which is normal." This acceptance was particularly true when the mother had older children who had been through this life stage. In families where there were adolescent children, any differences in this middle childhood age seemed minor and mothers avoided getting into conflict at this early age. In one dyad, the child saw the mother as not recognizing that she was growing up and this caused some problems.

I don't like to wear outfits with lace and all that kind of stuff, because I'm older, and I guess my mom thinks I am still little and that I should wear that kind of stuff. She likes that stuff and I don't really, I like fashion stuff [G9].
Still another difference had to do with making practical choices of what to wear for a particular situation. Again, color was an issue related to time spent caring for clothing: "Mostly she doesn't like me getting white stuff because I get it all dirty." Worn versus new was also a point of conflict as garments with holes are accepted as a fashion trend.

He has a couple pair of sweat pants that he really likes that have holes in the knee. His grandma used to mend things like that but he wouldn't wear it because it "looked gross"...he'd rather walk around with huge holes in the knees. I said, you've got weekends and evenings to wear that stuff but you are not wearing those to school, and he just had a fit [MB12].

Mothers also were concerned with their children's health and expected them to dress for the weather. Children as well as mothers identified weather conditions as a source of conflict.

I had a cold this one time and it was just a nice warm day. I got on my new shoes and my new shorts and everything and a short sleeved shirt and when I went downstairs my mom said, you have to change when you go outside [B8].

Despite these comments about conflict, most dyads indicated that the differences were small and that they did agree most of the time. One high LC dyad had only positive comments to make about their relationship and clothing choices.

I guess I think it has been a positive experience for us because so far we tend to be kind of on the same wavelength of what is appropriate to wear and what's not and I think it's...we kind of enjoy the same things...we wear the same colors, and we are at the point right now where there are a few things of mine that she can even wear. I have always been real pleased with her tastes [MG11].
Consumer socialization

Consumer socialization has been defined for this research as the development of a broad range of skills, knowledge, and attitudes related to consumption or functioning in the marketplace including attitudes toward advertising and decisions about spending (Ward et al., 1977). The researcher asked several questions in both the mothers' and children's interviews to determine the type of consumer socialization that takes place in middle childhood regarding clothing purchases.

Mothers' consumer behavior

A theme related to shopping attitudes, values, and practices emerged when mothers were asked what kinds of things they did as consumers that they would like their children to learn. Responses varied widely and differences were found among the three LC groups. The most frequent responses were grouped into six sub-themes. Quality, durability of construction, ease of care, and fiber content are extrinsic properties of clothing items mothers used to guide their selections. Appearance, fit, and wardrobe versatility as criteria for selection were values of varied importance to mothers. Price consciousness and the ability to avoid impulse buying were attitudes some mothers wanted their children to learn.

Table 2 shows the number of mothers in each LC group who mentioned a particular shopping attitude, value, or practice considered important in consumer socialization. These six sub-themes are listed in the table in descending frequency of mention. They are then discussed in that same order with supporting quotations.
Table 2. Shopping attitudes, values, or practices mentioned by mothers in high, moderate, and low level of consumption groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shopping attitudes, values, or practices</th>
<th>HLC (n=11)</th>
<th>MLC (n=23)</th>
<th>LLC (n=7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quality; durability of construction</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of care; fiber content</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price consciousness</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appearance; fit</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wardrobe versatility</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid impulse buying</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **Quality; durability of construction** - The quality of the clothing item was important to mothers in all groups; however the highest percentage of response was in the high LC group. Most mothers referred to 'quality.' Several related quality to durability of construction or how well the clothing item was made. Quality described a garment that kept its new appearance longer. Typical comments included:

I tend to try to buy good quality clothing, just because I feel it lasts so much better [MB9].

I would want them to be looking for the quality [MG12].

...something of fairly good quality, and I'm not necessarily meaning the brand, but in the construction [MG8].
2. **Ease of care / fiber content.** Moderate LC group mothers particularly mentioned ease of care and knowledge about various fabric performance as important skills for their children to learn. Clothing care concerns included shrinkage, fading, staining of whites, wrinkling, and the need for dry cleaning. Examples of these comments included:

...things that don't stay the same size after you have washed them. And I look at whether it is washable or has a lot of special care [MB18].

I don't buy anything that needs to be dry cleaned. I just feel that if it can't be washed I don't want to mess with it. I don't want to spend that much money [MB10].

Some mothers made specific comments about fiber content -- "...avoid clothing items with acrylic in them." More often comments about fiber content also included mention of care requirements or garment performance after care. The following comment by a mother in the moderate LC group indicated an interest in performance and ease of care.

I don’t care to buy things that have rayon in them because they are wrinkly looking. I've gotten so I like, for care, the nylon clothes a lot because you just need to wash them and hang them up or dry them [MB10].

3. **Price consciousness** - The most frequent concern about price of a clothing item was expressed by mothers in the low LC group followed closely by those in the moderate group. Some of these mothers had specific strategies such as purchasing off-season or at sales which helped them save money. Mothers taught their children to wait for sales and to recognize a "good buy" or
"bargain" when they saw one. Some mothers avoided buying brand names due to their higher prices. Others only purchased the more expensive brand names when they were sold at reduced prices.

To watch for sales and go into stores every once in a while just to look around because one week to the next they will be having sales...[MG10].

To have an amount in mind before you go out so that you aren't swayed by a tag or because an item looks wonderful regardless of the price. I would like him to be price conscious [MB8].

4. Appearance / fit - Sixty-four percent of high LC mothers compared to thirty percent of moderate LC mothers mentioned the importance of appearance or fit. Comments varied a great deal within this sub-theme and included reference to color coordination, fit, allowance for growth, and creation of a pleasing appearance. For example:

I would want her to know what might be flattering to her and what might not be [MG12].

I try to instill in them that although it may look good on the children in the pictures that doesn't mean that it's for my children, and it took me a while to come to that conclusion [MG8].

Mothers in the low LC group made no comments related to this sub-theme. Other concerns took precedence for these families.

5. Wardrobe versatility - Ability of a clothing item to fit into the existing wardrobe was identified by only nine mothers, none of whom were in the low LC group -- "Things where we can coordinate several shirts with the pants, or mix and match shorts and tops around." Length of time the item could be
worn also emerged in this sub-theme. Mothers did not want their children to purchase too many trendy items that may not be worn very often -- "... not something too trendy or far out that they only could be worn once."

6. Avoid impulse buying - Three mothers in each of the high and moderate LC groups referred to impulse buying as a negative characteristic. They did not want their children to spend money on clothing without thinking about how the item would fit into their wardrobes or how it would perform. One high LC mother recognized that she tended to buy on impulse, but did not consider it a problem.

I have a tendency to impulse buy, so if I am shopping and I don’t find something for me and I happen to see something for her, I’ll buy it [MG12].

A moderate LC mother also identified this tendency in herself and her daughter but hoped that the daughter could improve as she grew older.

I suppose she and I tend to be impulse buyers. She is worse than I am but I realize that I am a little older. [I’d like her] not to be too impulsive about her purchases. She can be just radically impulsive about purchasing anything and I want her to be careful with that [MG12].

Mothers' consumer socialization of children

Mothers used several methods to teach consumer skills to their children. The three methods identified most frequently were shopping together, at-home communication, and 4-H club work. The researcher also asked mothers if a clothing gift was ever used in this manner.
**Shopping together.** Mothers who shopped with their children used this time for spontaneous teaching. Most taught unconsciously and had not considered consumer socialization before the interview. As these mothers talked with the researcher, many realized that they socialized their children in this manner. Typical responses included:

I guess I have talked about it at the time that we bought it [MG12].

When we go to the store we’ll look at racks where things are coordinated [MB8].

By taking her to the store with me and just showing her the difference in price and watching for the sales [MG10].

**At-home communication.** In addition to talking with children during shopping trips, mothers taught children at home. Discussions took place when children tried on a new garments at home which had been purchased by the mother.

We are great at just putting things on our charge and then bringing it home, trying it on, and seeing if it goes with anything else we have. We make a purchase and bring it home and we talk about it [MG10].

I’ll lay out the clothes and say this looks nice with this or these go together because they are the same shade of blue or we bought these together because they are an outfit. I do that [MB8].

Problems with garment performance after wearing or refurbishing also prompted discussion between mothers and children.

...with the stonewashed jeans, they will ask, now why do these jeans have holes in other places besides the knees, and I explain to them that it is because of the acid used it has weakened the fibers [MB8].
4-H Club work. Three moderate LC mothers and one low LC mother credited judging and preparation of 4-H clothing projects with teaching their children consumer skills. In some cases the teaching was still done by the mother but the 4-H project facilitated the learning.

They are in 4-H and they have done this selected outfit each year. We go to town and I try to teach them to look at the construction and the material for the purpose of whatever they are buying it for. They try to get the best price for what they are getting [MG11].

Use of a clothing gift for consumer socialization

An objective of this research was to determine whether a clothing gift was used for consumer socialization of children. After gaining a sense of the consumer skills and values of the mothers, the researcher asked mothers, "Have you ever used a clothing gift to teach [your child] how to choose what to buy?" Children answered a similar question.

Only seven of the 41 mothers recalled having used a clothing gift in this way. For these mothers it was not common practice. Some could not think of a specific instance when they had done this -- "I'm sure I have, but I can't think specifically what item." Consumer socialization took place most often for specific gift items such as shoes where the mother and child shopped together for the gift -- "Like with the basketball shoes we talked about why we weren't going to buy the most expensive pair, because we didn't need to."

Most mothers responded that they had not used a clothing gift in this way. Typical answers were "I don't think so" or "Not that I would know that I was doing
that." Some mothers felt that explaining to the child why an item was purchased would take the fun out of the gift giving. Others had just never thought of taking advantage of the gift-giving situation as a chance to teach. Two high LC mothers realized they might have missed such an opportunity:

I could have used the coat as an example, but I have to say that I didn’t. It has the thinnest hood on it you have ever seen, but I bought it more for fashion than anything else. That would have been a good example [MG8].

No, I haven’t, and that’s what I am thinking when I sit here visiting with you, that boy, there is probably more to this than I ever thought [MG11].

It is difficult to identify a theme in the children’s responses to this question. Most children answered simply "No." Some who answered "Yes" gave reasons which were not specific to gifts. This may be related to the children’s definition of a gift, which is discussed in a subsequent section of this chapter. Examples from a boy and a girl follow:

She tells me that if stuff is more than you want to pay you have to set a price before you go into a store [B10].

Yes, she tells me what outfits you can wash good and what outfits you don’t really need to iron and things like that [G9].

In summary, mothers used various strategies to socialize their children as clothing consumers. Clothing gifts were not among the strategies used by most mothers. Several mothers thought of situations where they might have used a clothing gift in this way. Participants of this study may use future gift-giving occasions for consumer socialization of their children.
Children’s consumer behavior

To become aware of the consumer behavior of children in middle childhood, the researcher asked questions about use of money and understanding of advertising. These questions were asked only of the children.

Use of money. The researcher asked children two questions about use of money—"Suppose your mom gave you $20.00, what would you do with the money?" and "What do you think your mother would want you to do with the money?" Themes emerged related to spending and saving. Table 3 illustrates how children in the three LC groups responded to both questions.

Table 3. Children’s use of $20 identified by high, moderate, and low level of consumption groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use of money</th>
<th>HLC (n=11)</th>
<th>MLC (n=23)</th>
<th>LLC (n=7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children’s own use:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save it</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spend half; save half</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spend it (general)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy clothing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy toys</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy baseball cards</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s perceptions of mothers’ wishes for use:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save it</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buy clothing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spend it (general)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some children indicated specifically what they would spend the money on such things as clothing, toys, or baseball cards. Other children said they would spend it on something they wanted but were not specific -- "spend it on something good." A surprising number, about one-third of each group, saw the value in saving the money until they needed it -- "I would save it for college." Several children had learned they could spend half if they also saved half -- "Save part of it for college and then spend half of it." About half of the children in each group thought their mothers would want them to save the money. "Probably put it in the bank" was the answer given most often.

If given $20.00, only girls would choose to buy clothing, with the exception of one boy who would buy socks -- "If I could I would probably buy some socks." The highest percentage of children who thought their mothers would want them to use the money for clothing were in the high LC group. These were children whose mothers had a high interest in clothing and appearance.

Understanding of advertising. All children answered "yes" when asked if they knew what was meant by an ad or commercial. With the exception of three eight-year-olds, all children were able to explain how they could tell that something they read or saw on TV was an advertisement. The most explicit responses included:

If you are watching a show and they say...it's different than the show. They show different stuff on it sometimes [B8].

It's like a commercial, like "Here, buy this." It shows something like...it has a story to it or something [G10].

It's like, it usually has pictures or it's on the TV [G11].
Most children also agreed that advertisements make you want to have things. Children in this study had a clear understanding of the purpose and influence of advertising as indicated by their comments:

Sometimes you don’t know if it’s true or not but...they want you to buy it [B10].

Yes. They try to jump on you and say you HAVE to buy it, or it’s the best thing in the world [G8].

Ads kind of exaggerate a little bit [B10].

Summary

Interpersonal communication in the context of the family is believed to have the greatest influence on consumer socialization (Moschis, 1987). In this research, some mothers communicated regularly with their children about clothing and appearance. In the dyads where this communication took place, the children's comments reflected the mother's influence on the children's acquisition of consumer skills. These findings support those of Churchill and Moschis (1979) that the family plays a mediating role in the socialization process.

A comparison of gift and non-gift clothing

Findings of this research support implications from previous studies (Horne & Winakor, in press; Manikowske & Littrell, 1991) that clothing gifts are poorly differentiated from non-gift clothing. When mothers were asked to tell about clothing gifts given to the child in the past year, they asked the researcher to define what was meant by a gift. The researcher did not define it for them but instead asked them to think about clothing gifts given in their family and in so doing
establish their own definition. Sometimes this definition evolved throughout the subsequent questions in the interview. As a result, it is not possible to write a simple definition of a clothing gift based on the information presented by these participants. Still, several factors were identified by the mothers and children as ways that clothing gifts differ from non-gift clothing including involvement of the child in the purchase, how much the item is wanted or needed by the child, cost, and the specific item given.

**Involvement of the child in the purchase**

Seven dyads indicated that not involving the child defined the purchase as a gift. In other words, to be a gift meant that the item given was a surprise to the child. This point did not emerge in the interviews with high LC dyads. Two middle LC mothers made the following comments:

- I think of a gift more as something that I buy when she is not with me [MG9].
- Both our perceptions of a gift is that it is a surprise, it's something that she doesn't know she's getting [MG9].

The following comment was made by a mother in the low LC group:

- Whenever I do buy them something when they’re not with me, they think it is a big deal when I give it to them [MG8].

**Wants versus needs**

Nearly all mothers described a gift as something the children desired and would wear. Knowing a clothing item was wanted by the child made it more probable that he or she would wear it -- "It would have to be something he really wanted." All
dyads in the high and some in the moderate and low LC groups tended to see a gift as something over and above what is needed. What was seen as a need, however, differed among the groups, particularly in regard to quantity of items in the child's wardrobe. A mother in the high LC group might indicate that the child needed several new pairs of jeans to start school in the fall while a low LC mother might say the child needed a new pair of jeans because he or she had outgrown his or her other pair.

Basically it is something that we may consider to be a luxury more than a necessity [MG8].

I see it as a gift because it's something that she isn't in dire need of [MG10].

Some mothers felt strongly that if the clothing item was really needed, then it was not a gift. An example was the giving of new shoes because the child had outgrown his or her others.

If they need something I just pick it up and bring it home and it is not a gift, it's just something that they need [MB8].

One mother who chose to give shoes as a gift gave the following rationale for considering them a gift.

...because their other shoes, there was nothing wrong with them, and they would have been OK for basketball, but yet they wanted these special basketball shoes [MB8].
Expenditure for clothing gifts

Clothing gifts were often more expensive than non-gift clothing items purchased for the child. Some mothers volunteered information about higher spending for gift items in defining a gift -- "something that costs a little bit more." Others agreed when asked a specific question about spending. The children also recognized this tendency of the mothers to spend more -- "She buys me more expensive stuff as a gift."

Sometimes clothing gifts were more expensive because the price had not been reduced on a sale. This was often because they were needed at a particular time for a special occasion. One low LC mother stated, "Sometimes I just have to have it so I will pick it up at the regular price and I don't like to do that."

Purchasing brand names accounted for higher expenditures for two moderate LC mothers. This factor was not mentioned by the other groups.

Gift occasions once in a while I will splurge and buy the Guess® sweatshirt for $20 or $30, otherwise no way would I be spending that kind of money on one sweatshirt [MG10].

I'd probably buy a brand name [as a gift] so it might be more expensive [MB10].

Two mothers in each of the high and moderate LC groups did not purchase more expensive clothing items as gifts. One indicated that even though she wasn't spending more, she did not take as much time to make the decision to buy a gift as she did for other clothing.
I don’t know that I might spend more but I might not worry about it as much because I might think that it is his birthday present or his Christmas present whereas I might spend longer thinking about it if it were not a gift. I still think about the money but I might not worry as much [MB10].

Purchase of used clothing may be increasing as the prices of new clothing continue to increase. Mothers in the low and moderate LC groups mentioned buying clothing at garage sales as one way to decrease spending. Three mothers in the low LC group purchased most of their children’s clothing at used clothing stores but tried to purchase new clothing as gifts.

When we usually get gifts it’s usually brand new [MB10].

When you go to a store and you buy brand new stuff, that’s really nice and for good, that’s different [MB10].

**Given for a special occasion**

Some mothers said that the only time that they would define clothing as a gift for the child was when it was given for a special occasion. Otherwise it was just something that was provided to meet the child’s needs.

There has to be a special reason for it, a birthday, or Christmas or something [MG9].

I would consider a gift Christmas, birthday. Easter sometimes there is a little package, just special celebration times [MB8].

I guess basically when I consider it a gift is when she has a birthday or maybe an Easter present [MG9].

Obviously if it is at Valentine’s Day or if it is his birthday then it is obviously a gift [MB8].
Clothing items given as gifts

Mothers were asked to describe what they looked for in a clothing item that they would give as a gift. The researcher categorized the descriptors presented by the mothers as trendy versus practical, level of embellishment, something "special," and specific garments. This information provided by the mothers may assist in development of a clearer definition of a clothing gift.

"Trendy" versus "practical" garment styles. These two descriptors may seem to conflict but both were indicated by mothers as garment types given as gifts to their children. Because fashion trends appeal to many children, these types of garments were often purchased by mothers in trying to please their children -- "A clothing gift would be more fun, a fun style, a sportier style, not as practical." Mothers in the low LC group did not have the resources to purchase the latest trends unless the clothing given also met a wardrobe need of the children.

The gift still has to be a more basic item that will be worn...not just a one time occasion thing. But for a gift I would choose something a little more just for fun [MB8].

I'm not really a real fashion-minded person because I have such a budget. I have to just find the cheapest nicest looking thing I can and still stay within a certain style [MG10].

Nine of the 23 moderate LC mothers valued some clothing items for their longer wear-life -- "more classic for the dresses." For some this was a personal value because they saw an item as more practical if it could be worn for more than one year.
I want to get him something that next year, it's not going to be totally out of style [MB10].

Wear-life of a garment depends partly upon the wearer. Children grow and wear out garments quickly. As a result, some mothers indicated that they purchased desired fashion trends despite the fact that the child would not wear the garment for more than one season. On the other hand, some children were more conservative in their tastes and mothers chose classic styles to please these children -- "He's not much for the trendy, so it tends to fall more to the classic end of it." Practicality becomes partly a matter of pleasing the child so that the garment will be worn.

Level of embellishment. The children in this research liked garments with embellishment in the form of colored design, texture, or printed characters. Embellishment also emerged as a factor in the clothing interest of this group. Children liked to wear garments that would catch the attention of their peers and give them something to talk about. Again, these embellished items are purchased as gifts because they are what the child wants -- "It would have to have something on it that they like." Rucker et al. (1987) found degree of embellishment or trim was one item that distinguished gift purchases from regular purchases of children's clothing.

Garments with sports team logos were frequently given to boys but despite the number of girls who are now involved in school sports, these garments were not mentioned as being given to girls.

Usually at Christmas we try to buy him something like that, sweatpants, sweatshirt or something like that to do with a team...[MB10].
A comment made by one mother in the low LC group differed from those in the other groups for an important reason. Clothing in this family needed to be handed down to younger children. When embellishment is in the form of licensed characters they can go out of fashion before they can be worn by the younger child. In this instance, hand-me-downs become even less acceptable to the child.

We really don't go with the promotional items for several reasons, of them being that Ninja Turtles two, three, or four years down the road they probably won't be [popular] and that same shirt is not going to be able to be handed down, and we have hand me downs. Another reason is that they are always twice the price. You can always get a shirt of the same quality or better for half the price [MB8].

**Something special.** "Special" was a word frequently used by mothers to describe a clothing item given as a gift -- "I try to make a gift something special." In most cases it was used to mean something more "unique" or "distinguishable" -- "something that maybe nobody else has." Sometimes clothing items were more special because of the use of embellishment as these two mothers indicated:

...something special like a Bart Simpson® sweatshirt which he was into last year....that would be a gift [MB9].

He just likes to watch basketball and Michael Jordan, so it was more special than just another sweatshirt [MB10].

The only low LC dyad that used this descriptor spoke of clothing purchased for a special school program:

She most of the time buys for my birthday like special clothes that I wear to church and special school programs. They are usually a little more dressy [B12].
Special occasion garments were also given as gifts by mothers in the moderate LC group. A child in this group described it this way:

When she gets me Christmas stuff it's usually a dress or something, but where she just buys me stuff it is usually like a t-shirt or some pants or socks usually [G10].

Souvenirs from travel. In response to probes by the researcher, some mothers agreed that clothing items purchased when travelling might be considered gifts. Most had not thought about including this in defining a gift. These gifts were given by fathers as well as mothers when they travelled for business or leisure.

I guess I would consider things that I bring back like from the cities [Minneapolis and St. Paul, MN] a gift, yes [MG9].

We'll buy a sweatshirt or something or if we go on a trip or something we'll buy a sweatshirt or a t-shirt and I think those would be considered a clothing gift [MB8].

One high LC mother did not consider items purchased when travelling to be gifts. In her case travel was likely to be a shopping trip to a nearby city rather than a vacation or work-related trip. She made the following comment:

I have in the past but it wouldn't be considered a gift, it would be something like a Christmas outfit or something that she needed anyway [MG11].

Specific items given. The researcher asked mothers to recall what types of clothing gift items were given to the child during the past year. Mothers were seldom able to remember how many items were given. Through probing, mothers remembered special occasions and described what was given on each occasion.
Children also were asked to remember what they had received as clothing gifts in the past year. Their recall was even more limited than that of their mothers as seen by the lower numbers of children who mentioned receiving an item. Table 4 shows that a wide variety of items was given. The numbers in the table indicate number of mothers who reported giving a particular item as a gift and the number of children who reported receiving a particular item as a gift. The table also shows differences between what the mother and child perceived as gifts and agreement between the members of a dyad. Shoes, for example, were an item where 18 mothers said that they had given them to their children as gifts, while only five children reported

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>No. of mothers</th>
<th>No. of children</th>
<th>Dyads in agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blouses/shirts</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socks</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underwear</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pajamas</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeans</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweatshirts</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T-shirts</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coats</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweaters</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hair accessories</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pants (other)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dresses</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweatsuits</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shorts</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloves/hats/scarves</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skirts</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leggings</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewelry</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
receiving them. Only three mother-child dyads mentioned shoes. Children are usually along when shoes are purchased and perhaps don't see them as a gifts. In contrast, mothers may feel that certain brands of shoes are gifts because they are asked for by the child or because of the higher price. Many more mothers than children said that underwear and socks were given as gifts. For this item, the children may not have remembered getting the underwear while they did remember being given a special sweatshirt or t-shirt.

In addition to the specific items listed in the table, four moderate LC mothers and one high LC mother described a gift as being a complete outfit rather than a separate item. In their opinion this factor made the clothing more of a gift.

If I buy a gift, I don't buy one article. It has to be an outfit. You don't buy one piece without the other [MG12].

...completeness, like if I'm just out shopping and she needs a new pair of shorts it's one thing, but if it's a gift then usually I get socks and and shirt and shorts [MG9].

The child's definition of a gift

When the researcher asked the children to define a clothing gift, some of their answers were comparable to the mothers' but some responses were quite different. Many children felt that anything their mothers gave them was a gift -- "It's whatever she gives me" or "Anything I get is a gift." None of the mothers anticipated that the children would respond in this way. Mothers thought that the children would consider gifts to be only wrapped items given for special occasions. However, some children believed that unless something was purchased with their own money, it was a
gift. Perhaps this is because children in middle childhood have been given more spending money in recent years and spend some of it on their own clothing (McNeal, 1992).

Not all children felt this way, however, and several used some of the same criteria as mothers in defining a gift. Children mentioned items that were given for special occasions and differentiated between what was needed versus wanted -- "It is mainly an occasion, because usually when we go shopping we need it or something." Others mentioned specific items traditionally received as gifts -- "A sweatshirt or sweater wrapped up in a box."

Perhaps because a clothing gift was poorly defined in the minds of the children, nearly all of the children answered "No" when asked if clothing gifts were different from other clothing.

"Not really, because they are just clothes, so I think they are the same [B8]."

"Nope. It's exactly the same [G12]."

**Motives for selection of a clothing gift**

The mothers were asked about their motives for selecting a particular gift. In most cases, the researcher referred to a previously mentioned gift. For example, a mother was asked, "What reason did you have for selecting the Vikings sweatshirt for your son?" This technique seemed to help participants focus on why a particular gift was selected. They were then able to generalize about motives for selecting other clothing gifts for their children. Motives mentioned most often were: pleasing the
child and mother, meeting a wardrobe need, marking an occasion, reduced prices, and travel souvenirs.

**Pleasing the child and the mother.** Communication with the child and involvement of the child in the search process were indications that a mother wanted the gift to please the child. When the researcher sensed that this was a motive, she probed for verification when the mother did not mention it on her own. Always the answer was affirmative:

> As far as clothing, I guess like you say I try to please him and as far as buying the clothing I try to get what he likes to make him happy [MB10].

> Sometimes it is more fun to give than to receive and you see how much they love it [MB10].

> I think we have just kept in mind what we know will please him when he opens it so he doesn't look at it and say, "Oh, clothes!" [MB8].

Satisfaction of the mother was another concept within this motive. If the gift pleased the child or looked very nice on the child, the mother gained satisfaction in having made a successful purchase.

> If I liked it and if I could see him in it and think, well, that's my kid [MB8].

> I buy what I like and what I think she will enjoy a little bit [MG10].

> When you are going through the store, and you see the clothes, and you spot this and you say, "Oh, [child's name] would like this" mostly it's, "I would like it, too" [MG10].

> She wouldn't give me a bad present. She will give me something that she likes and I like too [B10].
If the mother felt that the child wanted a particular item, she would purchase it because she was more confident the child would be pleased——"I knew it was something that she really wanted." Sometimes this was because of color, brand, or the influence of a sports team. These comments were made by mothers in the high LC group and were not found in the other two groups.

She is pretty easy to please because of the brands that she wears, and I pretty much know. It is pretty much that manufacturer that she likes everything of and so it is really pretty easy right now, as long as we stick to those things [MG12].

Something that would be flattering to her and make her look more attractive, in the case of both of these that we've talked of, the colors were good colors for her [MG8].

T-shirts would be what he wants and what he likes. I know he likes CUBS so...he has plenty of t-shirts [MB10].

**Wardrobe need.** Because clothing is a basic human need and children rapidly outgrow their clothing, 'need' was often mentioned as a motive for giving clothing. Interestingly, however, only 57 percent of the low LC mothers mentioned need as compared to 63 percent of the high LC group and 87 percent of the moderate LC group. The highest number of comments were made by the moderate LC group. The concept of need varied greatly among these three groups, however. One high LC mother said that her child "desperately needed black jeans" while a low LC mother said "...she needed one [a coat] at the time." The high LC child had several other pairs of jeans but the mother wanted black jeans to coordinate with various
shirts in her wardrobe. The low LC child needed a coat because she had outgrown the one she had been wearing.

Another high LC mother was concerned that her child realize that all gifts are not going to be toys, but that needs such as clothing are also appropriate gifts. She seemed to want the child to learn to value clothing -- "...clothes are kind of special, and that it is not always just toys and stuff, you give him things that he needs."

Other statements regarding need varied from more general "because she needs it" to specific items needed for a particular purpose such as dress clothes for church, shoes for sports, or to replace something that has been worn out.

...all of his other ones pretty much had holes in them [MB10].

He was starting basketball so we figured he needed something in that order for basketball [MB10].

I did buy him special black pants for choir this year. I guess I would consider that a gift. I wouldn't get them otherwise [MB10].

She was borrowing her sister's, and her sister didn't like it so I knew she needed one of her own [MG11].

Sometimes need was associated with something that fits into the wardrobe plan of the child with statements such as, "We try to make her wardrobe work with what we have already" or "coordinates with several different things in her wardrobe."

To mark a special occasion. Clothing was given as a gift to mark a special occasion. For many of these mothers, an occasion such as the child's birthday or a holiday such as Christmas created a motive for giving a gift of clothing.
Christmas and birthday, we always give the kids clothes for both of those occasions [MG10].

Clothing gifts usually happen at Christmas and birthdays [MB8].

On some occasions, it had become a family tradition to give certain items of clothing as gifts. These traditions assisted parents and grandparents in the decision of what to buy. Children in these families expected certain clothing items as gifts and accepted them without being disappointed that it wasn't a toy.

Christmas they always get a new pair of pajamas, that is just standard, and a sweatsuit and probably a sweater. Birthday, clothes are probably not given as much for birthdays [MB11].

It has been kind of a tradition to have a new nightgown for Christmas, that is kind of the motive behind that one [MG11].

They always get a new pair of tennis shoes for Christmas. We've done that for so many years they just know that will be part of their Christmas. And I think that they do like it [MG10].

Some mothers used special occasions as a reason for giving something more practical such as clothing for a gift. In doing so they started a family tradition that became accepted by the children.

At Easter years ago to get away from giving so much candy, I would put like a short set in for Spring or as they've gotten older and things have gotten more expensive, I've gone to like a t-shirt [MB10].

Mothers and children were asked about the occasions or times when clothing was given or received as a gift. Table 5 lists all occasions mentioned by the participants. The number of mothers who reported giving gifts for that occasion and
the number of children who reported receiving gifts on that same occasion are also reported. The number of dyads where both mother and child cited a particular occasion are also presented in the table. These numbers indicate the importance of the occasion to clothing gift giving. The researcher first asked an open-ended question about occasions. Probing was used to determine if clothing was given on other occasions as well.

Table 5. Gift-giving occasions cited by mothers and children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occasion</th>
<th>No. of mothers</th>
<th>No. of children</th>
<th>Dyads in agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christmas</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthday</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel souvenirs</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No special occasion</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valentine’s Day</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special school events</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weddings</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal (before school starts)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal (summer)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
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Mothers and children agreed on some of these responses and differed greatly on others. For example, Christmas and birthday were mentioned by nearly all of the 41 mothers and children with 38 and 36 of the 41 dyads agreeing. In contrast to this agreement, 27 mothers said they would bring the child a gift of clothing as a souvenir from a trip but only seven children identified that occasion as one on which they
would receive a gift of clothing. Possibly, children take for granted gifts they receive when a parent returns from a trip, especially if parental travel is frequent. These children may not recall getting gifts on this occasion. Equal numbers of mothers and children mentioned giving and receiving gifts for no special occasion, but only 13 of these were from the same dyads. Some were not sure that this would be defined as a gift while others said that it would be. The occasion might have been a shopping trip the mother took without the child or with the child. Participant answers varied greatly on this topic.

**Reduced price.** For mothers in the moderate and low LC groups, "good price" or "sale price" emerged as a motive for selecting a particular gift. Several of these mothers prided themselves on being good bargain shoppers as reflected by their comments:

I am always looking for a bargain [MB8].

I bargain hunt...if I see a good deal I pick it out because I figure if he doesn’t like it I can always save it for one of the other children [MB10].

Some mothers were more likely to buy clothing items on sale and give them to their children as "no occasion" gifts. When the researcher probed for answers about occasions versus no occasion, one mother answered, "Yes, if I find a good deal I will." Others bought the item on sale and saved it for a special occasion -- "I might find it on sale and hide it and then give it to him on his birthday or something." One mother was able to purchase an item at the end of the season and save it for the next year's Christmas giving. Sales were also used to complete or add to an outfit.
We ended up getting her the skirt, too, after the skirt went on sale. We had gone back again and it was on sale [MB8].

**Travel with or without the child.** Travel became a motive for gift selection when clothing items were purchased as souvenirs of a trip. T-shirts or sweatshirts embellished with the name of a particular place or sports team were the most common gifts. These were often purchased by the father when he traveled for business -- "His dad goes on quite a few trips, and he brings back shirts with numbers and teams on them..." These souvenir shirts were also considered as gifts when the child accompanied the parents on the trip. The following comment was made by a low LC mother and was the only one made by this group related to travel.

He’s gotten like Twins shirts and stuff like that, when we’ve gone to the cities for his birthday [MB10].

**Buying practices for clothing gifts**

In order to learn more about the pre-purchase and purchase stages of the gift-giving process, the researcher asked mothers and children about buying practices specifically related to clothing gifts. These practices included sources of information for decision-making, factors that affected how much was spent, where buying took place, and the time and travel involved. Mothers were reminded in this phase of the interview that the questions were about clothing gifts as opposed to regular clothing buying.
Sources of information for decision-making

An objective of this research was to determine what influences mothers' decisions about clothing items selected as gifts. Mothers were asked, "How do you make a decision about what to buy?" and children were asked, "How does your mother decide what to buy you for a clothing gift?" Advertising, shopping, and communication with the child emerged as information sources that assisted in decision-making.

Advertising. The researcher asked mothers if advertising affected their decisions about what to buy their children as clothing gifts. Only three out of 41 mothers said that advertising affected their buying with comments such as, "I think it affects it more than we think about." Six mothers said sometimes it depends on what the item is. All other mothers said that it did not affect their choices -- "No, I don't think that it does" or "I don't particularly go for what I see advertised." Some of these mothers associated advertising with brand names -- "Yes, that's where you come into your name brands, Guess® for kids and Esprit® for kids."

Mothers who used advertising as a source of ideas for what other children were wearing were those most concerned with peer pressure and helping the child to fit in with the group.

I always look at the things that come out in the Sunday paper especially, maybe for an idea, kind of what is in and what the kids are wearing [MB10].

My own personal beliefs on that is that I don't think they have to have the most expensive fashion but they do have to be within the acceptable range of clothing [MB8].
Other mothers used advertising to see what clothing was in fashion and where it was available. One mother said it helped her make a decision if she could see the clothing on a model rather than just on a hanger in a store. For this reason she chose to order more from catalogs -- "If we see it on a person in a catalog I am more apt to buy it." Another mother made a related but different point. She preferred to shop in stores in order to see the garment on her child.

I do windowshop more than look in the paper. Ads might say what it is and they might say what it is made from. I am better off being in the store and actually seeing the different styles. I think they look differently off than on the hanger [MB10].

In contrast, the perception of the children was that advertising did influence the purchase decisions of their mothers. In the high LC group, all of the children said that advertising affected the mother's decision somewhat. In the moderate LC group, ten children said it affected her decision, five said it did not, and four said "sometimes."

Several mothers indicated that advertising influenced their children and cited athletic shoes as an example. Possibly this is because athletic shoes are one of few children's clothing items advertised on television and in sports magazines. Mothers of boys provided these comments:

I don't think advertising does much except maybe in the Reebok® tennis shoes. That's how I kind of got into those because they seem to be one of those major ones that's being advertised [MB9].

The certain tennis shoes...that interest is generated by what he sees on TV [MB9].
...the Reeboks, the pump-ups they picked up somewhere, I don't know where they picked them up from, whether it was other kids or whether it was advertising [MB9].

Most mothers said their children did not request a clothing item as a gift after seeing an advertisement for it -- "Not particularly, I don't think he's into it that much." With probing, several mothers commented that their children had made a request for an item of clothing after seeing an advertisement for it. The request was not for a gift item in most instances. The advertising was more likely in a catalog than a newspaper, as this mother indicated:

He does, in fact the other day he just did that, he brought the Penney's catalog and he opened it to a page and it had sports t-shirts, shorts, jackets and something else and he said, "Mom, I want one of these on this page right here" [MB10].

Television has some influence on children even though clothing is seldom advertised on television. Programs that include children as actors also have an influence. Some of the children in this research pointed out specific styles or items worn by children on a program they were watching with their mothers, saying things like, "Mom, that's neat, I'd like that."

The influence of advertising increased with the age of children in middle childhood. One mother identified a change that was taking place as the child grew older.

He hasn't in the past very much but I have noticed a real change in him this year and I can see that it is coming, it is going to start [MB8].
Many mothers were influenced by sale advertising even though they generally did not report that advertising was a source of information about what to buy their child for a gift. It was difficult to determine if sale ads influenced gift purchases or non-gift clothing purchases. Partly this was because clothing gifts were not clearly defined in the minds of these participants. Many of the moderate LC mothers watched sale advertising for children’s clothing in general. Sometimes the advertising coincided with a gift purchase, as one mother said:

...if I can find things on sale at that time of the year that’s fine, but I don’t particularly, necessarily shop just sales for his birthday [MB10].

Sometimes a sale price influenced the clothing item selected by the mother.

If I see that jeans are on sale for 25% off versus a sweater that is not on sale I’m going to buy the jeans. I’ll wait until the sweater hits another time [MB8].

I try to shop for sales, so I don’t typically pay full price for something. If I can postpone a purchase or buy something in advance I’ll try to do that [MB9].

Mothers in the high LC group made fewer comments related to sale advertising.

One said, "I don’t shop the sales much." Another indicated that a department store sale in a nearby metropolitan area might make it "worth a trip" to purchase children’s clothing, but the travel was not specific to gift buying.

Participants were asked where they were more likely to see an advertisement: on television, in newspapers, magazines, or catalogs? Table 6 shows how responses varied among the three level of consumption groups and between mothers and children.
Table 6. Sources of advertising for clothing gifts among mothers and children in high, moderate, and low level of consumption groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of advertisement</th>
<th>HLC (n=11)</th>
<th>MLC (n=23)</th>
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<td>6 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catalogs</td>
<td>8 4</td>
<td>13 13</td>
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The proportion of children citing television as a source was highest for the low LC group. Several mothers indicated not watching much television themselves. Children in middle childhood do not often read newspapers (McNeal, 1992). Results of this research support McNeal’s findings. The moderate LC children who identified newspapers specifically referred to the colored store brochures that come with the Sunday newspaper as a source of advertising that they read. They did not read the black and white advertisements found within the newspaper.

Catalogs were of some importance primarily as a source of ideas for what to buy. Sometimes mothers looked through catalogs with their children and at other times alone "just to see the styles." The proportion of mothers who cited catalogs as a source was highest in the high LC group. Many of these were specialty catalogs as opposed to the general merchandise catalogs such as JC Penney or Sears mentioned by mothers in the moderate and low LC groups.
We will go through the catalogs and I'll say show me what you like so I can have an idea, like if Christmas is coming up or something [MG10].

I very seldom order anything, but I really spend a lot of time going through them just to see what is available when I do go shopping [MB9].

One boy expressed an opinion about why he liked catalogs -- "I usually show her things in the catalog because I don't like to go shopping." Other children mentioned that they did not like to shop but did not report using catalogs to avoid the experience.

**Shopping with the child.** The researcher asked two separate questions of mothers regarding shopping with the child. One question was, "Do you shop with your child for ideas for what to buy?" A separate question was, "Do you shop with your child to buy the actual clothing gift?"

Mothers and children who liked to shop did so together for gift ideas. Those for whom shopping was not an enjoyable experience did less shopping together for ideas. Mothers and daughters did more shopping together than did mothers and sons. For some dyads it was unnecessary to make a special shopping trip to gain ideas for a gift-giving occasion.

We go shopping a lot and so she'll always say "Do you like this" or I'll say "I like that" and those kinds of things [G8].

We're out there enough together that we might stop and look together. Then when she gives me these ideas I'll remember them, but I don't say "Now you've got a birthday coming up, let's go shopping...[MG8].
Some mothers of boys made a special point of taking their sons shopping before a gift-giving occasion. They did this not only for ideas but also to have their sons try on garments to know what size to buy. The reason given for not taking a son shopping was most often because he did not enjoy it.

The only time he ever goes shopping with me is if he needs basketball shoes or new tennies...and he wants to get in and out, so we don't window shop [MB8].

Yes, he gets real bored with me, but...Usually I'll take him and have him try it on or tell me which kind he likes before I get it so that I know that he is going to like it when I do get it [MB10].

Other mothers of boys relied on catalogs for ideas and shopped where store policies allowed for return of an item if it did not fit.

I tend to think I'd be more apt to just make the choices myself. I guess I know what I like him to wear and I know what he likes to wear, so I just hope that I can make a choice that is one he will like [MB9].

For occasions such as Christmas, mothers took advantage of the need to do other shopping to gain ideas from the child -- "Looking for gifts for other family members we would just check out the boys department and I would try to get ideas."

Answers were varied to the question about the practice of shopping with the child to buy the actual gift. Some mothers felt strongly that if the child was involved in choosing the item, then it was not a gift -- "If it's a gift, why then you pick it out later." This buying practice relates back to these mothers' definition of a gift and the importance of surprise.

It is very important to both of us that the gift is a surprise, it has to be something that you didn't know you were going to get it [MG9].
Other mothers said that if they happened to be shopping with their children when it was close to the gift-giving occasion, they would buy a clothing item and let their children know that it was part of their gift.

If we know his birthday is coming up and we happen to be shopping and then I would be more likely to say "shall we get this for your birthday present" or "this can be part of your birthday present" [MB9].

The older the children, the more likely mothers were to shop with the child to actually choose the gift. It seemed that as the child approached age 12, the mother was no longer certain of his or her tastes and felt more comfortable involving the child in the purchase. Experience had taught some mothers that this was the best approach. For example, one high LC mother commented:

I do less and less bringing home because the things that I've brought home that I have thought were wonderful she didn't think were quite as wonderful as I did and then they don't get worn. It is such a terrible waste. I see myself as very practical in that respect. I put good money into something that didn't appeal to them and there is no way they are going to wear something that they don't like. I learned that the hard way [MG12].

The researcher asked mothers if they shopped together with their children more often for some items than for others. Coats were mentioned as an item that required more involvement from the child, possibly due to the price of the item and the importance of it to the child. Children in elementary school spend a fair amount of time interacting with their peers outside during recess and before and after school. Having an acceptable coat to wear was very important. As would be expected, shoes
and pants were the items where mothers found it necessary to have their children along to fit. This was true for both boys and girls.

Probably pants...he tends to be difficult to fit, he's stockier and shorter, so I have had to be more careful with those. Shoes are an absolute, he has to be with me [MB9].

Shoes, jeans, because with jeans, the fit has to be there and then they have to decide if they are stone washed or not, or zipper backed or not, or how many bows [MG8].

Children understood their mothers' reasons for taking them along shopping. When asked, "Do you and your mother ever shop together for clothing gifts for you?" most children answered "yes." When asked, "Why do you think she likes you to go along?" they answered "because then she will know what I like" or "because she is afraid that it wouldn’t fit me, because she doesn’t know what size my jeans are."

Communication from the child. Communication emerged as an important source of information, particularly from the child's interview. When asked, "How does your mother get ideas for what to buy you for a clothing gift?" nearly every child answered "I tell her" or "she asks me." This level of communication between mother and child appeared to be a key ingredient in successfully choosing a clothing gift. Communication also reduced the likelihood of conflict about clothing between mother and child. Often this communication took place while shopping but this was not always the case. Some mothers did more listening to their children on a day-to-day basis and were interested in their children's feelings about clothing and appearance. These mothers were those who also mentioned communication from
the child as a source of information for making clothing gift decisions. Comments from the following two mothers are good examples:

I try to listen when she points out things that she likes which is often quite a few things. And I try to pay attention to things that she has said over and over that she would like to have [MG12].

I just try and ask questions...and then after we have visited then I go to my little booklet and write down notes and then I know what I want from that [MB12].

_Influence of others._ The importance of peers emerged in the discussion of sources of information just as it did in the discussion of the child's interests about clothing. Sometimes mothers and children volunteered this idea as a source of information; others agreed when the researcher probed for additional information. Some mothers had opportunities to observe other children the same age as their children on a daily basis because of their employment in a school system -- "When she is teaching she looks at the clothes other kids are wearing." Other mothers were attentive to what the child's friends were wearing and made comments such as, "I do see her friends some and I look at the kids in 4-H and see what they are wearing" or "we see other kids when we drop him off and at concerts and things, so you are constantly seeing different styles." The child often communicated his or her preferences by referring to something a friend was wearing.

He may say that so and so was wearing a neat shirt, and I'd like one of those, so that may be a way that I might get an idea if I knew that I was going to be purchasing a gift for him [MB9].

Sometimes I see my friends in cute clothes and I say that is a cute outfit [G9].
One mother of a child who had little interest in clothing looked at other children to gain ideas, knowing the child would not do this himself -- "I try to keep up with the other kids in some of the things that he...he's not the type to do that."

Talking with other parents was another source of information, although it was not used by very many mothers. This source was not used by mothers in the low LC group. Four of the 11 high LC mothers used this source, compared with only three of 23 in the moderate LC group. One of the high LC mothers had a daughter with a fitting problem that prompted her to talk with other mothers. Her answer was related to all clothing she purchased for her daughter, not just gift clothing.

She is really big for her age, so I was kind of stuck, what other girls her age were wearing was not...she wasn't in that size range anymore. So then I really had to ...I just felt lost, she wasn't ready for women's clothes. So I did seek out other mothers whose kids were also tall and there were stores in the mall that I wasn't even aware existed, so that really helped [MG12].

Siblings were a source of information for few mothers but it was mentioned. Sometimes a child looked up to an older sibling of the same sex. In other dyads, the mother looked to an older sibling of the opposite sex for help in choosing a gift.

The girls I think are pretty up on those kinds of things, and they do influence what I buy or what they give him for gifts because they also give him gifts [MB10].

I have two older girls...I'll take my oldest daughter along and say, OK, what do you think [child] will like because I feel her tastes are closer than my tastes would be [MG11].

**Consumer information.** Consumer information was a source for few mothers. These mothers may have been speaking of clothing in general and not specifically
of clothing gifts, although the researcher tried to keep this part of the discussion centered around gifts. Two high LC mothers mentioned editorial sections of the newspaper, not advertising, as a source of ideas for what is currently in fashion for kids. Two moderate LC mothers identified Cooperative Extension Service educational materials as a source of information about fabric performance and colorfastness. Magazines were a source for still another mother:

I try to watch journals, too. We used to get Parents magazine and I read through some of the lay journals kinds of things [MB11].

**In-store promotions and displays.** Store displays were a source of influence for many mothers in the moderate LC group and nearly all high LC mothers. Mothers found that one benefit of looking at displays was gaining ideas about combining colors in an outfit.

Displays definitely affect what I choose. In fact I bought her one outfit this summer - it's Hyper Colors by Generra®...I never would have bought it had I not seen it on one of her models and thought, now that's kind of cute, maybe I'll see if that's something she would wear...just by it hanging on the rack I would have passed right by it [MG8].

Some of the displays just because of their choice of colors, they might put together colors that we have never thought of, that might affect our choice [MG12].

We may go to the store to shop for something and end up with something completely different because of the displays [MG12].

One mother in the low LC group was affected by displays but chose not to purchase the items as she explained:
That usually stops me, yes. I may look, but nine times out of ten the ones that
the mannequins have on are the higher priced ones [MG11].

A current marketing strategy involves the use of in-store promotions and sale
racks where items are a percentage off the original price. This was an effective
strategy to gain the attention of mothers in this study. Most moderate and low LC
mothers said they would always look at a sale table first before looking at the regular
priced clothing items.

Sale signs probably more than anything. If we see a rack that is marked down
we will probably take a look, we may not end up buying from the rack
necessarily, but it will stop us and make us look around [MB8].

I would probably tend to go to a table marked 25% off first to see if there
would be something that would be on sale that I might be interested in [MB9].

Yes, definitely. If I can save a dime I'll do it [MG10].

One high LC mother made an interesting but rather atypical response to this
question. This attitude may have been shared by other mothers in this group.

[A promotion] like 25% off, yes...but if I have to complete the outfit with
something that is full price, I will still buy it. I don't have to buy on sale but I
like bargains [MG12].

Factors affecting spending

In order to assess factors that affect spending for children's clothing gifts, the
researcher asked mothers a general question about what determines how much they
will spend on a clothing gift for their child. Most of their responses concerned the
occasion, the particular item given, money available in the family budget, and time
available to shop. Good behavior on the part of the child was not a factor that
influenced spending for most mothers.

**Occasion.** The gift-giving occasion made a difference in some dyads and not
in others. The occasion for which spending was higher also varied. For some, a
birthday would result in the purchase of a more expensive gift and for others it would
be Christmas.

For Christmas we usually spend more than for his birthday [MB10].

For a birthday if that was the only thing that she was getting -- if she was
getting one gift, I'm sure I would spend a little more [MG10].

In other dyads, birthdays and Christmas were lumped together as occasions where
spending would be greater than for occasions such as Valentine's Day. These
mothers did not differentiate between birthdays and Christmas in terms of spending.

[I would] spend more for her birthday or Christmas than say Valentine’s Day
[MG9].

It probably depends on the occasion. I would probably be more willing to
spend more for this birthday or Christmas than just for one of those incidental
gifts like I've mentioned before [MB10].

**Particular item given.** Several points were made regarding spending based on
the actual item being purchased. The decision to spend more money depended on
how much the item was liked either by the mothers or their children. Mothers knew
that the appeal of the gift to the child would ultimately determine how much the
item would be worn and so were willing to spend more for preferred items.
I would rather spend $15 on a t-shirt that she'll absolutely love and wear 3 times a week than spend $3 on a t-shirt she's not going to like [MG12].

I could justify paying a lot for that Nike® jacket because we bought it big and I know he'll wear it, if he likes it he'll wear it [MB10].

Wear was also mentioned separately from liking of the item as a factor affecting spending. This factor was mentioned more times by moderate and low LC mothers than by those in the high group. The wear factor had to do with "how many times she is going to wear the item" as well as "how long he is going to wear it." For example, items without a close fit such as sweatshirts or coats prompted higher spending. Higher spending occurred for items such as jeans that were worn often despite the fact that they would be outgrown more quickly.

It depends on what it is I'm buying. If it's something that I feel she'll be able to wear, like a whole school year or even two school years to school, then I'll spend more than if it's something that's either kind of trendy or a color that she's in love with now [MG9].

Three moderate LC mothers also identified the number of garments that their children had for a particular purpose as a factor affecting spending. This point was not made by mothers in the other two groups:

I'll spend a little more on a pair of pants because I know he is only going to wear two or three different ones [MB9].

Dresses are very expensive but she usually only has like maybe two [MG9].

Quality of the item itself was identified by two mothers in each of the three groups as a factor affecting spending. However, the manner in which spending was affected varied among the groups. For the low LC mothers, the basic considerations
or determinations of quality were the "practicality or durability of whatever it is" or the fabric weight for an item such as jeans. In contrast, one mother in the high LC group tied quality and the resulting spending specifically to brand names while the other mother seemed to feel that price determined quality:

I don't hedge too much on price. I guess I should maybe be more careful with price but like I said I like Benetton, and they're expensive, but I think the quality is pretty good [MG8].

...and I think quality. I have found that several of the things that she has gotten or that I have had experience with that probably wear 10 times longer than some of the...we really steer away from the real inexpensive items unless I can see that it is of exceptionally high quality [MG11].

Difficulty in finding a specific item to give as a gift also made a difference in how much mothers were willing to spend. Sometimes in trying to please the child, a mother might have spent a great deal of time and effort in the search for a specific item. If and when that item was found, the price was no longer important. Six moderate LC mothers identified this as a factor with comments such as:

What the garment is itself is a big factor. It depends on how tired and how desperate I am by the time we finally find what we are looking for [MB8].

If I've looked and just haven't been able to find anything I'll spend more than what I had previously set out to spend just because it seems there are no other options [MB8].

**Money available in the family budget.** The amount of money available was a important factor for several mothers in the low and moderate LC groups. Only one high LC mother made a comment and it was about how much she had in her
personal checkbook. This mother talked about spending $200 for clothing one month and possibly none the next because of time available to shop.

"Budget for the month" or "within my budget" were two phrases often used by mothers in the other two groups. The amount budgeted was not identified by any mothers but seemed to vary within the groups based on income and number of children in the family. Comments by moderate LC mothers included the following:

I have in mind how much I feel I can spend on each girl because I have three of them [MG11].

With the birthday present I got her now, she liked it, it fit good within my budget, so I bought it. I didn’t hesitate and it didn’t necessarily have to be on sale [MG12].

Low LC mothers made somewhat different comments:

Basically what is in the checkbook [MG11].

It is not very often that I can buy clothes. I just don’t have the money for it [MG10].

I am on such a budget there is no allowance for that. I have to get it when I can get it [MG10].

Reasonable price emerged as a related factor only in the moderate LC group. Most did not indicate what they thought was reasonable, but it seemed to be inherent in their value system. One mother said, "Well that’s got to be just an inner value system I guess of what something is worth." Others used phrases such as "if it seems reasonable" or "if it seems within reason."
A question about setting limits on spending also generated information related to the theme of money available. None of the high LC mothers decided in advance how much they would spend. Again the response of some in this group included the mention of brand names.

I guess I have an idea of the last time he bought a pair of jeans or the last time he bought a pair of Nike's®. I knew that basically the Nike® was a good shoe, a good brand that he could be happy in and it was still in the top line of the expense but going the $150 for the Air Jordan® is just ridiculous [MBIO].

Fourteen of the moderate LC mothers set a limit on spending for a particular clothing item given as a gift. Six mothers in this group did not set a limit. For some of these mothers, a price limit was set regardless of the item being purchased -- "usually $25 per item is my limit." This is an interesting comment considering the wide range of items purchased as gifts and the variation in prices. More than one of these mothers did have different limits for various items.

I probably say I won't spend more than $15 for a shirt and not more than $20 for a pair of pants if it's given as a gift because it's always kind of a side gift, and you don't want to spend all that money on clothing if he'd get more of a thrill from a toy [MB9].

Still other mothers did not set a limit but indicated they tried to stay within a price range for certain items. These mothers did more shopping to see what the price range was for a particular item before making a decision to buy. One mother stated this very well, although she did not identify what she meant by the "norm" or "a normal range."
Most of the time I see what the norm is for price ranges and then try to stay within a normal range. I have kind of a range in mind, but not a limit necessarily [MG10].

Six of the low LC mothers decided in advance how much to spend and for this group the amount was definitely based on money available. Most did not indicate how much they were willing to pay for a particular item. One mother made a point about the price level she considered appropriate for a coat.

If I know that he needs a new coat, we comparison shop. I knew that I wouldn't spend over $25 because I knew I was going to get some kind of a coat for around that kind of money at that time of the year [MB10].

**Time available to shop.** Time was not mentioned by many mothers as a factor affecting spending. A few significant comments were made, however. One high LC mother with four children spent more on one shopping trip so that she would save the time of needing to go again. She was able to do this because she didn't need to stay within a budget for any given month.

If I am shopping, and I'm in the right place at the right time and a lot of things that I see are worthwhile, I may spend $200 and get a lot of things this month, and maybe next month I won't spend any, I think it's because of my time [MG9].

For some mothers, the resource of time was more of a limitation than money. A moderate LC mother indicated that if she didn't have enough time to shop she might spend more than she would prefer. More time would allow her to do more comparison shopping to get the lowest price for the clothing item of choice. Some
mothers set limits on the time they could spend shopping, and, as a trade-off, spent more money.

One mother in the low LC group lived 100 miles from a city with stores to buy children's clothing. She considered lack of time to shop an important factor in her spending for clothing in general. Shopping for recreation was not done by participants from rural areas as was the case for those nearer to or living in a city. Rural families who raised livestock indicated it was difficult if not impossible for them to get to a larger city to shop. When they did get to town, the entire family was usually along and there were many other errands to be done, limiting the time to shop for clothing. This time limitation included shopping for gifts.

Time is something that will catch me every time. You go to town and you have many things to do and you have to quick buy something and so you pick it out whether you like it or not, because you don't have the time to shop somewhere else. ...the furthest we would ever get away is [town 100 miles away] for an afternoon maybe and then it would be real fast [MB12].

Summary. Some of the factors affecting spending for a clothing gift are interrelated. A mother might spend more money on a specific item because she is limited in the amount of time she can spend looking. If she were free to spend more time, she could shop at several stores and be more likely to find an item to please the child. The search might involve traveling to a larger shopping area in order to have more of a choice. This travel also takes time and costs money. Time and money were important resources to the participants in this research.
Retail sources for clothing gift purchase

The researcher asked participants questions to assess consumer behavior during the purchase stage of the gift-giving process. A theme related to retail sources emerged as participants discussed where gifts were purchased, the types of personnel assistance requested, and the importance of various store policies.

Retailer type. The researcher asked participants what type of store they most frequently chose for the purchase of a clothing gift -- department, specialty, or discount store, or if they purchased through catalogs. Distinct differences were found among the three LC groups in choice of store for gift buying. Table 7 depicts differences among the groups and also indicates the number of dyads that agreed on a particular type of store as the first or second choice for gift buying.

The greatest differences occurred in the specialty and discount store choices, as was expected by the researcher. Ten of the 11 high LC mothers indicated buying gifts from specialty stores, compared to 14 of 23 moderate LC mothers and no low LC mothers. Prices are usually higher in specialty stores and the low LC mothers said that they never considered shopping in these stores. Several moderate LC mothers indicated shopping in specialty stores only when there was a sale.

Only two high LC mothers agreed to shopping at discount stores for some items given as gifts. Discount stores were not the first or second choice of this group. Only when the researcher probed for more information did these two mothers agree that they did shop discount stores occasionally. Thirteen of the 23 moderate LC mothers cited discount stores as a source compared to all seven of the low LC
mothers. All seven of the low LC children also identified discount stores as the source of most of the clothing gifts they received from their mothers, indicating complete agreement among the dyads in this group.

Table 7. Retail sources identified for clothing gift purchases by mothers and children in high, moderate, and low level of consumption groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of retail source</th>
<th>Number of mothers</th>
<th>Dyads in agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HLC (11)</td>
<td>MLC (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialty store</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discount store</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department store</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catalog</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Department stores were mentioned by mothers in all groups as an important source of clothing gifts. There were differences among groups in which department stores they shopped, however. The high and moderate LC groups cited Dayton's and Younkers most often as the preferred department stores. Some mothers in the moderate LC group and all mothers in the low LC group listed JC Penney and Sears as the department stores shopped because prices are generally lower in these stores. The one low LC mother who did not shop at department stores said, "I don't go to Penney's where it is so expensive."
Catalogs were a seldom used source of clothing gifts for the participants in this study. One high LC mother of an 8-year-old boy used catalogs as a primary source. Another mother in this group said a specialty catalog would be her second choice after a specialty store. Three mothers each in the moderate and low LC groups purchased gifts from a catalog. Three children in the low LC group also mentioned catalogs, resulting in total agreement with the mothers on this source.

The level of agreement of the LLC dyads about retail sources is an interesting finding. Perhaps because their options are more limited, the children know where items are purchased. Mothers in the low LC group were also less likely to go on shopping trips to other cities without their children.

**Assistance from sales personnel.** The researcher asked mothers what kinds of assistance they requested from store employees in the selection of a clothing gift. Three themes emerged in response to this question: sizes, coordination of items, and gift ideas. Frequently, the immediate response of mothers to the question was they did not request any help, preferring to shop without the interruption of store personnel. When the researcher probed for information about finding the correct size or coordination of items, mothers agreed that they did occasionally request help from sales personnel.

Only two mothers indicated that they relied heavily on the assistance of personnel in a particular specialty store. One of these mothers was from the moderate LC group and one was from the high LC group but both referred to the same specialty store. These two mothers were similar in that they had a high interest
in clothing and appearance for themselves and their children. Their comments follow.

At [specialty store] we do have a lady that works with us and I really like her. She knows the girls well enough already that she'll say that she knows something that [daughter] will really like and she'll bring it out. She's so smart because I'm sure I end up buying more than if I had to look through everything. I maybe wouldn't see it or I wouldn't take the time. But she is really good about that [MG10].

I basically shop in two stores. I don't have the time to spend on my clothes shopping. I have clerks who know me when I walk into stores in [city], so I have built up that kind of rapport and I feel very comfortable with them and the help they have given us [MG11].

About half of the mothers in the high and low LC groups agreed to needing help in finding the correct size. In the moderate LC group, 17 of the 23 mothers indicated use of sales personnel for this purpose. Sometimes this was necessary because a child was difficult to fit.

I appreciate someone being able to help in the fitting process, and maybe it is because I have a daughter who is developing and changing and is in-between the sizes a little bit. It is nice to know that there is someone who knows, and can be very frank with me and say what size she will need [MG11].

I've always asked for sizes for [daughter] because she usually needs slims and they are hard to find, and being age 10 she is usually wearing a size one year beneath her age, so I have a tougher time finding things that will fit her [MG10].

If I see an item I like but I can't find the right one I might ask if they have one of that specific style but a different size [MB8].

When shopping without their children, some mothers also requested help in comparing sizes of different brands. For example, one low LC mother said, "I will
ask them if it is running large for its size, or if it is running small." In asking this question, the mother expected the sales person to have seen the garment on other children in the store.

Coordination of items also emerged as a theme. This included coordinating different garments to create an outfit, matching colors, and accessorizing. Three mothers in the moderate LC group indicated they did their own coordinating and did not use sales personnel in this way.

No usually because I always feel that I know more than what they know [MB10].

I generally don't ask too much help of the sales people, simply because they don't seem to know very much about fabric and fiber content [MG9].

Four high LC mothers also indicated they did not request much help of any kind from sales personnel, making comments such as:

I like to look on my own. I don't like to be pestered. If I'm looking, just let me look [MG8].

Not much at all. I'd rather they left me alone [MG8].

Eight mothers in the moderate LC group, three in the high LC group, and two in the low LC group asked sales personnel for assistance in coordinating different garments to create an outfit. Two of these mothers indicated that asking for such help saved shopping time. Typical responses were:

I usually will ask for help to match, like here is the pants and skirt, what other kinds of tops do they have to go with that, kind of looking for a combination [MG12].
If I am looking for a particular outfit like for Christmas or something, if I see a pair of pants like in a specialty store then I'll say, "what do you have to go with this," because a lot of times they'll have the pants someplace and the shirt someplace else instead of being together or whatever [MB9].

I might ask if they have a sweater that goes with this shirt or something like that [MB10].

Only one high LC mother and one low LC mother specifically mentioned asking for assistance in matching colors. Some who mentioned coordination might have been talking about matching colors where others specifically mentioned styles. The two ideas seemed integrated in the mothers' responses. Only one mother in the low LC group indicated asking about matching accessories. Again, other mothers' use of the term "coordination" might have included accessories. They did not use the term accessories, however, and the researcher did not specifically probe for it.

Rarely did mothers ask sales personnel for ideas for what to buy. One moderate LC mother said, "I have asked for ideas of what the kids are wearing." One high LC mother of a 12-year-old girl said she might ask a young female salesperson, "Would a 12-year-old wear this? -- Would you wear this?" This same mother also requested suggestions on how to wear certain styles -- "Would you put another top over this?" or "How do you put this together?"

In general, many more comments were made by mothers in the moderate and high LC groups than by those in the low LC group. This corresponds with the information presented on types of retail sources shopped. All low LC mothers shopped in discount stores and several purchased through catalogs, minimizing the potential for assistance from sales personnel.
**Retailer policies.** The importance of retailer policies was another point of inquiry in the purchase stage of the interview schedule. The researcher asked mothers about the specific policies of ease of return, payment options such as cash versus charge, and giftwrapping.

Ease of return was important to most of the mothers in this study (HLC= 10/11, MLC=20/23, LLC=7/7). Several indicated that they asked if an item could be returned while others said they assumed that anything could be returned unless it was a clearance item. Because most stores in today's marketplace do have generous return policies, this factor did not determine which stores the mothers chose to shop.

Mothers liked being able to return an item with no questions asked and without being pressured to purchase a replacement item at the time of the return.

Absolutely number one thing [return policy]. That's why I like [department store] so well. There is no question. You can bring it back, they alter things for you. They are extremely helpful and they are not real high pressured in getting you to buy something else [MB11].

In the purchase of a clothing gift, the return policy was more important to mothers when the children were not involved in the selection.

...if I am buying a gift [the return policy] is very important to me because if I'm going to take the chance of buying something that I'm not sure is going to fit then I need to be able to bring it back [MB8].

You might not hit the right thing that they want, and I have to be able to take it back [MB9].

If it's something that I want to take home when they are not there with me then I make sure that I can bring it back and they usually will [MG12].
Three mothers mentioned the return policy was also important when the performance of the garment did not meet their expectations. These comments were related not only to clothing gifts but to clothing purchases in general.

If they are going to stand behind their merchandise, that is very important to me [MG10].

I've had times too, I'd wash something and the color just faded right out of it. I brought it back and I didn't have the receipt or anything, no problem. I had bought the item on sale and they refunded me full retail, so to me that is very important [MB11].

The importance of payment options was mixed for mothers in the high and moderate LC groups. Being able to charge was important to six of the 11 high LC mothers and 16 of the 23 moderate LC mothers. Mothers in the high LC group who used a charge card, did so for convenience.

I think charging is important just from the convenience sake, that I feel often times it just makes the transaction of returning something a lot easier than them dealing with cash [MG11].

I just charge. I don't carry cash [MG12].

Five high LC mothers made comments such as "charging is not a problem" or "we don't charge except for catalog." These mothers made the point that being able to charge was unimportant because in their financial situation they didn't need to defer payment. They wanted the researcher to know that they were able to pay cash with no problem. Some mothers in the moderate LC group also charged for convenience and for ease of return. Others charged or used layaway as a means of spreading out the
payments, particularly for back-to-school or Christmas gift purchases. This finding supports a similar finding of Sauskojus (1984) that credit card use was important for the back-to-school and Christmas seasons. For some of these mothers, the choice of store may have been influenced by having a store charge account. Others used general charge cards such as VISA® or Mastercard®. Because nearly all stores accept these cards, choice of store was not affected by ability to charge.

Charging, yes that’s important. I do have a charge at [department store] and sometimes in the fall when we kind of load up on everything he needs from underwear to jackets to pants and shirts, I’ll go to Daytons because I know I can charge it and not have to pay for it with a check [MB8].

Charging, yes that’s important too, especially since [daughter’s] birthday is two weeks exactly after Christmas, and sometimes I am in bad shape by then [MG9].

Most mothers in the low LC group did not charge. For these mothers it was not an option -- "We have no charge of any kind -- everything we use cash on." One mother indicated that she would really like to have a credit card but was unable to qualify for one because of her income. She felt it would solve many financial problems for her. This mother chose to use layaway when available.

I don’t have charge cards but if the store will let me layaway that helps me out a lot because then I can just make payments [MG10].

Those low LC mothers who did have credit cards found that it made no difference in where they shopped for clothing gifts.

I just got a charge account with [department store] when I started work a year ago. I’ve always shopped at [same department store] so it doesn’t make a difference [MB12].
Based on the findings of this research, in-store giftwrapping was not a service that retailers need to provide for their customers. Only two mothers in the high LC group and one in the moderate LC group indicated that it was of any importance in choice of store.

If I am getting a gift and the policy for refunding is the same at both places then I might choose one store over the other if they will wrap it so that I am all done [MG9].

If they both have the same item and one provided gift wrapping, yes, I would go to the store that offered gift wrapping [MG12].

Most mothers said that they did not want to pay extra for giftwrapping or that they liked to wrap the gifts themselves. Some also did not want the gift wrapped because they wanted to show it to another family member, usually their husband, before giving it to the child. Typical comments included:

Giftwrapping never makes a difference. If they do it and I need it, fine, if they don't, it certainly isn't going to keep me from buying it [MG8].

I'd rather do my own giftwrapping [MB10].

A lot of places they don't do it anymore...at Christmas time they might, but lots of times I don't because I want to bring it home and show it to someone else before I give it to him [MB10].

One mother said she requested gift boxes but did not have the gift wrapped in the store. The giftwrapping policy is related to type of retail source. Specialty stores are usually the only ones to offer giftwrapping free of charge to their customers. Discount stores do not even offer the service for a fee. For this reason, those
mothers who shop at discount stores would not find giftwrapping a policy that was of any importance.

**Shopping time and travel**

Time and travel involved in the purchase of a clothing gift were the final themes to emerge in the category of buying practices. The researcher wanted to determine amount of time spent in the purchase of a clothing gift for a child. Another unanswered question was whether the mother traveled farther to buy a clothing gift than she did to buy non-gift clothing.

**Time spent shopping for gifts.** During the pilot phase of data collection, the researcher found that mothers could not recall how much time they spent on average when purchasing a clothing gift. It became necessary to ask how much time was spent in the purchase of a specific gift that had been mentioned previously in the interview. Even when referring to a specific gift, the researcher found that responses of the mothers could only be coded as spending a little time or a lot of time. Another problem appeared to be that availability of the mother's time affected her perception of whether time spent was a little or a lot. For example, one mother might have said she spent a lot of time by shopping for one hour where another mother would say that she spent two hours which was not very much time. Despite these limitations in the functioning of this question, some points warrant reporting.

About half of the high and low LC group mothers indicated spending little time in the purchase of a clothing gift and half considered their time spent as more substantial. In the moderate LC group, 16 responded that they spent little time
compared to six who spent a lot. This finding may be due to the fact that more mothers in the moderate LC group were employed outside of their homes, limiting the time available to shop.

Mothers volunteered various reasons for the amount of time spent. Some mothers didn't need much time to make up their minds. High LC mothers made up their minds quickly because the price was not as important. They made comments such as, "If I see something I like, I just get it." A moderate LC mother made a similar comment but also mentioned price:

When I see something I like, I buy it. It doesn't take me very long to decide. The price will, but if I think that it is reasonable, I'll get it [MG10].

Mothers who knew the specific item their children wanted did not spend much time making the selection. For example, a mother who purchased new athletic shoes for two of her sons for Christmas said, "I didn't spend a lot of time because I knew that they wanted them."

Some mothers simply didn't have much time to spend as illustrated by the following comments by high and low LC mothers:

I don't have a lot of time to shop, so I want to be as efficient as I can and I want to get exactly something that she will be happy with that doesn't have to go back [MG12].

No, we're usually just running down the aisle [MB10].
Several mothers indicated spending more time in the selection of a clothing gift than in shopping for non-gift clothing. Some of these mothers also enjoyed shopping as a leisure activity.

I can spend a lot of time looking for a nice outfit for her. I can go out to the mall and spend a couple of hours and look through everything to try to find something unique [MG8].

I enjoy shopping, so I ...sometimes I like to look at it all and then make a decision, hit every store. I have more time to do that because I am not a working mom [MG12].

Mothers in the low LC group spent more time because they were looking for a gift at an affordable price. This point was not emphasized by mothers in the other groups.

It takes you a while, because if you are going to spend good money and you want him to be happy you don't just pick the first thing [MB10].

It probably took us several hours because we didn't...we went like three weekends, and the third weekend we finally found the store where we wanted the shoes, and the style and the price we agreed on [MB12].

**Travel to purchase a clothing gift.** Mothers in this research frequently traveled to a larger city to purchase a clothing gift for their children. About half of the mothers in each of the LC groups indicated that they would travel farther to purchase a gift of clothing compared to non-gift clothing. Mothers in the high LC group traveled as far as 200 miles while those in the other two groups usually traveled an average of 35 to 50 miles. It was necessary for some of the rural families in the study to travel a minimum of 30 miles to get to a town with a clothing store.

When we are in the cities or someplace bigger I definitely look for the kids because there are some things that they haven't seen here; more variety [MG11].
...for Christmas I probably would look more carefully and possibly go to Sioux Falls or somewhere like that to find something that's a little bit out of the ordinary [MB9].

Some mothers justified travel for gift shopping only when combined with another purpose. These mothers would not make "a special trip" only to select a gift for their children but would purchase gifts if in the city for another reason such as "work" or "doctor appointments and other errands."

I probably won't make a special trip to Sioux Falls for the only purpose of buying a birthday present, but if I am in the city I might buy extra if I know that his birthday is coming up [MB8].

Some mothers wanted to support the stores in their home towns so always looked in local stores first before traveling out of town. Only when they could not find what they wanted locally did they travel or order from catalogs -- "I always look here first to see what's available." Involvement in a local retail business seemed responsible for this tendency -- "We try to do all of our shopping here in Brookings as much as we can."

**Presentation of a clothing gift**

The presentation stage of the gift-giving process involves the actual bestowal of the gifts on the children. For this research, the researcher asked mothers about the importance of surprise -- both to themselves and their perception of the importance of surprise to their children. Another question asked about the frequency of gift-wrapping. The researcher also inquired about reactions of the children to receipt of a clothing gift and the influence of that reaction on future gift buying.
Importance of surprise

The element of surprise was very important to nearly all mothers in this study (HLC=6/11, MLC=20/23, LLC=5/7). Only two mothers in the low LC group and three in each of the moderate and high groups said surprise was somewhat important. Two high LC mothers indicated that it was unimportant. These mothers cited fit and being certain the child would like the gift as reasons for choosing not to give items that were a total surprise.

The importance of surprise was one of few themes where the age of the child appeared to make a difference. Being surprised was less important to children at age 12 than at age eight. Some mothers recognized this tendency, for example:

As my children have gotten older, I've learned that it can be a real problem if it's not something that's going to fit or that they will like so I am not as in tune to the element of surprise as I probably once was [MB9].

I'd prefer to surprise him. It's getting harder the older they get because they want to pick out, but I'd rather surprise him [MB10].

Mothers liked surprising their children on special holidays such as birthdays or Christmas. They worked harder at making the gift a surprise for these occasions, as one high LC mother stated:

If it's her birthday or Christmas, definitely, I want it to be something that she doesn't know she is going to get. Even if she...what I'll do is if we are out shopping and she points something out to me I won't say, "that's a good Christmas gift," you know, I'll just try to blow it off or say we can't afford it right now or something. Then I'll come back and buy it later, so I want it to be a surprise for them. I like surprises [MG8].
Surprise was important to some mothers because they thought the children would not see the item given as a gift if they already knew what it was going to be:

Important...it's kind of neat...otherwise I don't think it feels like a gift to him if he's not surprised by it, or if it's not gift wrapped [MB9].

Still other mothers indicated the importance of surprise depended upon the nature of the gift given. Some children were surprised to receive a clothing gift because it was unexpected -- "...they don't expect clothes as a gift, so it is always a surprise." Mothers of boys used other gifts for surprises:

I like to surprise him on different things, I guess, but I don't know if I ever do it with clothes [MB9].

It depends on what it is I guess. Clothing he probably wouldn't care [MB10].

Manikowske and Winakor (in press) also found that female gift recipients liked to be surprised when they received gifts of clothing. Horne and Winakor (in press) found that surprise was important to both husbands and wives in giving to female family members such as daughters. Differences by sex were less obvious in the present research although mothers did choose to surprise their daughters more often than their sons with a gift of clothing.

Nearly all mothers in the moderate and low LC groups (MLC=19, LLC=6) perceived surprise as very important to their children, compared to about half of the mothers in the high LC group (HLC=5):

She loves it. It's much more exciting than knowing what you are going to get [MG11].
I would say it probably ranks up there rather high with him, too. They have fun with trying to guess what is in the box and outwit you, but it is always a let down if they really do know what is inside [MB8].

Three high LC mothers realized that they did not know if surprise was important to their children or not. One mother in each group thought it was only somewhat important to their children -- "I've never thought of it...I think it is kind of important." Three moderate LC mothers and one high LC mother said that surprise was not important to their children, at least not for a clothing gift -- "I would perceive that it is no big deal."

**Giftwrapping**

All mothers wrapped clothing gifts at times before presenting them to their children. Table 8 shows how mothers answered the question about how often the gifts given to their children were wrapped. Responses were similar among the LC groups.

Table 8. Frequency of clothing gifts being wrapped before presentation identified by mothers in high, moderate, and low level of consumption groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of giftwrapping</th>
<th>HLC (n=11)</th>
<th>MLC (n=23)</th>
<th>LLC (n=7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Only for special occasions</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The highest percentage of mothers in each group wrapped gifts when given for special occasions such as birthdays, Christmas, or Valentine's Day -- "A Christmas gift or a birthday or Valentine's gift would be wrapped and I guess I can differentiate that way." Those mothers who responded that gifts were always wrapped considered giftwrapping as integral to their definition of a gift, for example:

When you say the word gift, I guess I interpret that as something that I have purchased and have gone a few extra dollars to buy something more out of the ordinary, and it's a wrapped package that is presented to her on an occasion [MG11].

Other mothers sometimes wrapped gifts but did not refer to special occasions in their responses. Giving a clothing gift in the bag from the store or laying the item on the child's bed were examples of presentations made without giftwrapping:

She has a thrill just of seeing the bag from the store, with the store name on it, she knows mom got clothes there, so they are not wrapped. But the anticipation of opening that bag, even with them just wrapped in the tissue paper is fun [MG11]

If I am at the store I will just pick something up and give it to him. I don't do all of the wrappings and all of that, but I suppose I would consider it a gift [MB10].

**Reaction of the children to a clothing gift**

The researcher asked similar questions of mothers and children concerning reactions to the receipt of a clothing gifts. Table 9 summarizes the responses of mothers and children along with the number of dyads whose responses agreed.
Table 9. Children's reactions upon presentation of a clothing gift identified by mothers and children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reaction</th>
<th>No. of mothers</th>
<th>No. of children</th>
<th>Dyads in agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excited or happy</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depends on the item</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grateful</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disappointed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children in this study enjoyed receiving gifts of clothing -- even more often than realized by their mothers. Half of the mothers and three-fourths of the children identified a positive reaction to the receipt of a clothing gift. Excited or happy was the category which received the greatest number of responses by both mothers and children. Children used the descriptor "happy" more often than mothers. Mothers used "excited" or "positive" more often than children. These terms were tabulated together as they appeared to describe similar reactions on the part of the children. Sometimes the two terms were used together -- "Happy and excited; I just like all of the gifts."

Thirteen mothers responded "Depends on the item." In seven of these 13 dyads, the children also said their reaction depended on the item given. An example of a dyad's response follows:

It depends on the item. Like a warm-up suit he might really be excited about and he'll wear it right away, go put it on [MB8].

It depends what it is. Like if it was wild clothes I'd thank her a lot and if it was like plain old clothes I'd thank her but not a lot [B8].
Only two dyads responded that the reaction was one of disappointment. These children were eight-year-old boys who preferred to receive something other than clothing for a gift. Statements of both members of a dyad illustrate this type of response agreement:

...clothing gifts don't arouse quite the excitement another kind of gift would [MB8].

...like if it is a toy, then I'll be happy, but if it is clothes, you can't do anything with clothes, you just have to wear them, I mean...they are just there [B8].

**Influence of the children's reactions on future gift-buying**

Reactions of children to the presentation of a clothing gift influenced the future gift-giving behavior of most mothers. Four related ideas emerged in mothers' responses to the question, "How does your child's reaction influence what you choose to buy or not buy in the future?"

Positive reactions encouraged mothers to choose similar gift items in the future. Two mothers made statements representative of 10 other mothers:

If you make a wonderful impression with something like the coat, that's encouraging and you want to be able to do it well again another time [MG8].

It's fun to be successful and because of that you will buy that type of item again versus something that wasn't as appreciated or as special [MG11].

A negative reaction influenced mothers not to choose a particular type of clothing item again as a gift for their children. Mothers learned from these mistakes -- "Like when I gave him the underwear and he was so upset...I would never do that
again. Communication with their children contributed to more successful future choices.

The few times I have not had a positive reaction from her it was when I wasn't watching what her likes and dislikes were and if it was a questionable item, then it was something to learn from [MG10].

Thirteen mothers were not influenced by their children's reaction to clothing gifts. Some mothers continued to purchase clothing because it was needed. Others were not affected knowing the children would never be excited about clothing gifts -- "It doesn't really affect it I guess because I know he's never ever going to be excited about clothes." Still others were not influenced because the children's reaction was always positive -- "I can't remember a time she was disappointed."

Finally, the idea of spending money on unsuccessful gifts influenced mothers not to make the same purchases again.

Yes, now it does, because I've spent too much money on things that she won't wear, and so now it does [MG8].

It would influence me because clothes are too expensive to hang in the closet [MG9].

**Outcome of the gift presentation**

Several themes emerged related to the post-presentation stage of the gift-giving process. Clothing gifts impacted the relationship in some dyads but not in others. Mothers discussed ideas related to the social psychological theories of equity and reactance specifically as applied to clothing gifts. The researcher compared successful and unsuccessful gifts identified by mothers and children. Children talked
about their preferences for clothing versus other types of gifts. Dyads also discussed the ability of a clothing gift to substitute for a needed item of clothing, thus providing a supplementary source for family clothing consumption.

**Impact on mother-child relationship**

The relationship between givers and receivers is an important topic in gift-giving research. Gift exchange between mothers and children is a social norm in American society and plays a role in maintaining that interpersonal relationship. The dynamics of mothers' giving to children is valuable to understanding gift-giving behavior.

Nearly all of the dyads in this study enjoyed positive, healthy relationships with each other. Although middle childhood is a time of growth and change for children, many of the parenting problems associated with adolescence have yet to develop.

The researcher asked mothers if the giving of clothing gifts played any part in the relationships they had with their children. The first response of many mothers was that a clothing gift played no role in this relationship. As the researcher probed for more information, several mothers realized that a clothing gift may play a role but they had not given this idea any thought before the interview.

Mothers who maintained that a clothing gift had no impact on the relationship provided various arguments. Some indicated that they had close relationships with their children despite any gifts that were given. One mother expressed her feelings in this way:
I would hope not. I hope that no gift that I give him would have that much of an influence on our relationship. I know he was more amiable after he received the jean jacket because that was one thing that he wanted, so in a way maybe that brought a better attitude for a period of time anyway. That wasn't the purpose of my giving the gift. I wouldn't do that just to say, OK, now I know that he will be happy so I am going to do this. I hope no that a gift wouldn't have that much of an effect on our relationship [MB8].

One single parent in the study made a similar point:

No, I don't really think so because I think we kind of have a special relationship just because we are alone...you know...that is a lot of it. I think she has her feelings for me and that is it. I don't think that plays a part...she just knows she needs clothes and that's why she gets them [MG10].

Several mothers saw possible ways a clothing gift impacted their relationships with their children. By pleasing the children with the presentation of gifts that they liked, mothers knew they were showing the children that they cared about them.

I think a gift of any type plays a part in a relationship because it's caring. It's not just material, it's the thought. I don't think the gift type matters [MG10].

I think it does because it would show if I know her or not, if I know what her interests are [MG10].

I think sometimes when I come home and I have picked up a couple things for him, it not only surprises him but I think he appreciates that I thought of him [MB8].

Sure I do. I think that any time you can give someone a gift that you know is something they enjoy wearing and get pleasure or pride out of wearing it...that's done because you want to acknowledge that relationship which is something they are doing for you because they love you [MB9].

Mothers needed the approval of their children to provide the satisfaction of feeling they were "good" mothers.
So I feel really good as a mom having someone who respects what I do and thanks me. So it is like, yeah, you did OK. It is nice to have that relationship be a good one [MG11].

I think if you happen across something that he thinks is really cool, in his words, maybe Mom isn't so far out in left base. Yes, I think it does [impact relationship] [MB10].

Two mothers spoke of giving gifts to compensate for lack of time spent with their children. These mothers were unsure of the impact this might have on the relationship but expressed interesting perspectives:

Sometimes I guess you feel that you give a gift because you feel guilty that you went somewhere. You shouldn't, but I think there are times that I do that. You feel that [a gift] compensates for you not being there. But you hope that it isn't the type of thing that I am giving...you don't want it to be in a bad way, like I don't have time for you so here is a gift type of thing [MG9].

I am able to afford to give him the Cubs shirt, the Athletics shirt. With me teaching I don't feel that I have to be as accountable. It is extra money. If I had to count how many shirts he was going to get in a year, perhaps I would be answering considerably different than I am. I get him what he needs however he has more than he needs. Maybe it is a payoff for me feeling guilty that I am teaching. If we were on a lower salary base I think a lot of these things would be different [MB10].

Mothers also discussed the importance of self-esteem in answering this question on relationships. These mothers recognized that their children's appearance and acceptance by peers contributed to building a healthy self-concept. Assisting their children in this way strengthened the mother-child relationship.

Yes, I think it does [strengthen relationship] because that's one way that I can show him that I do understand...I do understand why he thinks he needs these. He wants to look good. It's very important to him that he looks good. If he thinks clothing is going to do it, that's the least I can do for him [MB10].
We want him to feel good about how he looks. I think that is important to have self-esteem. I worry about self-esteem maybe being a school teacher because I see it. Boy that plays an important role in success or lack of success and I do want him to feel good about himself [MB8].

Social-psychological theories

In the present research, mothers and children answered questions pertaining to equity and reactance theories as related to giving and receiving clothing gifts. The successful or unsuccessful outcome of the gift presentation was sometimes affected by behaviors associated with these theories.

Equity theory. Gift exchange between mothers and children is expected to be unbalanced where the child does not need to consider matching value and quantity of a requited gift. This research questioned the expectation of a particular behavioral outcome from the children in exchange for a gift. The researcher asked mothers, "Do you ever use a clothing gift as a reward for good behavior or expect a particular type of behavior in return for a gift of clothing?" Children responded to two similar questions: "Do you ever receive a clothing gift as a reward for good behavior or for doing a particular task?" and "Do you ever feel you are expected to act a certain way as a result of receiving a clothing gift?"

About half of the mothers used gifts to reward good behavior and their children agreed. For children who liked clothing, the reward was frequently a clothing gift:

Last week she mowed the yard so I gave her a pair of tennis shoes [MG12].

If I did a good job on a test or something then she'd get me something, like a shirt [G12].
Children less interested in clothing were given a toy or other favorite item -- "...probably a toy before I would an article of clothing because that's what he would be more interested in."

Several mothers preferred to think of gifts given as means of thanking their children for a job well-done rather than as a reward for good behavior -- "...not so much for behavior, but mostly more for helping, a thank you." Other mothers used good behavior as a reason for purchasing clothing items for their children but did not use the promise of a gift as a bribe.

We don't say, "if you get good grades we will go out and do some shopping," but if I find something and it is a good price I might say, "Well, gosh, you really had a good report card last week" [MG12].

Several dyads could not recall having used a clothing gift as any type of reward. One mother indicated that there was no need to reward good behavior in this way:

She is so well behaved most of the time...no, no, usually there are other things to motivate, like an event coming up [MG12].

Others stated that good behavior and helping with tasks was expected of their children and it was not necessary to reward it:

I never reward his good behavior. I guess we might say let's go have a pop because you did a good job or something but I don't like to pay him for doing stuff because I think it's just part of the family unit [MB10].

Mothers cited two types of behavior as expected in return for giving a clothing gift to their children -- an expression of gratitude and care of the item given. Most
children also recognized that these were the expected behaviors in response to probes by the researcher. Their initial response was usually, "No."

I guess the only thing that I might expect is that it be treated with a little bit of respect, and that I not find it on the floor a few days later, or something like that [MG12].

Yes, she expects me to take care of things [G12].

If they realize that it is something a little above the norm or what the average would be that they are going to have to appreciate that gift and take care of it. I don't expect them to go out and play in the mud and the weeds and the grass when they realize that we have spent probably more money than we needed to [MB9].

We expect him to act like he's thankful for it and that he appreciated it. We want him to say, "Oh, thank you very much," and we always make a point, even if he is with us when we buy it. "What do you say," or "Don't you think you need to say something now that we've done this." Kind of encourage him to remember to do it on his own [MB9].

Well, you should be thankful that they bought it for you [G9].

One mother made several comments related to siblings and the equity in giving similar quantities or value of items to all children in the family -- "I do try to kind of equal out so everybody gets a good bunch of stuff at different times when they need it. I think kids kind of keep track of how much each person is getting."

**Reactance theory.** The nature of psychological reactance theory is perceived threat to a person's freedom (Brehm, 1966). While gifts reinforce relationships, they can also be used for social control or manipulation. Clothing selected by mothers as gifts for their children may be intended to change the children's manner of dress.

This question was asked of mothers and children in the present research.
Mothers primarily answered "yes" or "no" to the question about use of clothing gifts to change the way in which their children dress. Differences existed among the LC groups. Over half of the high LC mothers responded "yes" (n=7) compared to fewer than one-third of the moderate group (n=7) and none in the low LC group. Dyads did not always agree on this question. Many children said "yes," their mothers did use gifts in this way in dyads where the mothers had said "no." An example of this type of dyad response follows:

No, I may have done that in the past when she was younger, but like I said I have learned the hard way, it is not worth it, because they just don't wear it [MG12].

Yes, lots. There are things that are still up in the closet that I just don't like...she buys them because she likes them [G12].

Some mothers achieved success in using a gift to provide children an opportunity to try a new style. One mother expressed it in the following manner:

Yes, I have done that. I sure have. Jeans for one thing. A year ago all he wanted to wear were the old bell bottom jeans, and so I got him some with some pockets on the outside at the risk of making a trendy child, which I don't want to do. I thought we have to broaden possibilities here just a wee bit, and so I did get him a gift of a different style jean. He liked them and he wore them, although he was a little bit questionable at first [MB8].

Mothers who did not use clothing gifts to change the children's manner of dress (HLC=4/11, MLC=16/23, LLC=7/7) indicated that the reason was because the item given would not be worn. Typical responses were:

I don't force her into something that she really doesn't like because then it is just going to hang [MG12].
No, I usually find out what they like because these kids don't change. I've learned...I would buy something that I wanted him to wear, but I don't do that much any more at all. I might try to influence them, I might take them over to something, but if they say they don't like it, I don't buy it [MB9].

Still other mothers tried to change the children's dress for some types of items but not all items. Special occasion clothing worn to church or other special events was a point of conflict in some dyads where the mother considered some items too casual. Other examples given were swimsuits and pajamas worn to a slumber party where modesty was the concern.

We seem always this time of the year to get to that battle of what we are going to have for a swimming suit. Mother doesn't appreciate some of the two piece ones. So yes, there have been times when I have tried to kind of sway things a little bit [MG11].

**Successful gifts**

A successful gift was the goal of all mothers in this research. Most worked hard to achieve success through communication and shopping with the child and time spent finding just the right clothing item to be given. In the final section of the interview, each mother described a successful clothing gift given to her child in the past year, citing reasons for and indicators of success. Children also identified a successful clothing gift and provided their perspectives on reasons for its success.

Table 10 lists the clothing gifts identified by each dyad. An 'X' in the column titled "dyad agreement" indicates that mothers and children identified the same item as a successful gift. All items are listed as described by the participants in order to show the range of items given.
Table 10. Successful clothing gifts identified by mothers and children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dyad no.</th>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th>Gift item</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Dyad Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>blue satin dress; sweatshirt outfit</td>
<td>blue satin dress</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cubs® shirt</td>
<td>National zoo t-shirt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Esprit® sweater</td>
<td>Esprit® sweater</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>winter jacket</td>
<td>winter jacket</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>hair accessories; slippers</td>
<td>socks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>winter coat</td>
<td>winter coat</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>red knit pants &amp; sweatshirt</td>
<td>red knit pants &amp; sweatshirt</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>black sweatsuit (bicycle design)</td>
<td>blue and gray sweatsuit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>swishy pants (nylon)</td>
<td>jeans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pink winter jacket</td>
<td>pink jean jacket</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>neon pink &amp; green coat</td>
<td>polka dot outfit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>winter jacket</td>
<td>(could not identify item)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>jeans</td>
<td>jeans</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>athletic shoes</td>
<td>pants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>hiking boots</td>
<td>dress shirt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>summer jacket</td>
<td>summer pullover jacket</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>basketball shoes</td>
<td>basketball shoes</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>dress and accessories for concert</td>
<td>sweater &amp; pants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>sweatshirt</td>
<td>(could not identify item)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>jean jacket</td>
<td>shorts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>black shorts &amp; polka dot top</td>
<td>biker shorts with lace</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>striped shorts; t-shirt</td>
<td>polo shirt with logo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>denim Oshkosh® outfit</td>
<td>pink jumpsuit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>warm-up suit (pony applique)</td>
<td>warm-up suit (pony applique)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>hair accessories</td>
<td>hair accessories</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>jean jacket</td>
<td>shorts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>coat</td>
<td>sweatsuit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>sports clothes</td>
<td>sweatsuits, t-shirts</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>navy polka dot dress</td>
<td>sweatshirt (cat print)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nearly half of the mother-child dyads (n=18) identified the same successful gift item. Recall depended to some extent on the length of time that had passed since the occasion for which the gift was given. For example, the mother may have remembered the child's last birthday gift which was given eight months before the interview. When the child was asked to recall a successful gift, he or she may not have remembered back to the time of the birthday. This was particularly true if Christmas or another gift-giving occasion had occurred since the child's birthday.

When children's responses did not match those of their mothers, the researcher asked the children how they felt about the gift mentioned by their mother. In all

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dyad no.</th>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th>Gift item</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Dyad Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>dress pants</td>
<td>Bugle Boy® pants and shirt</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>knit tops; skirt</td>
<td>t-shirts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Bugle Boy® pants</td>
<td>t-shirt (painted baseball)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>two dresses</td>
<td>hair accessories</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>sweater</td>
<td>pajamas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Guess® white denim shorts</td>
<td>white denim shorts</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>shoes</td>
<td>summer outfit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>orange sweatshirt</td>
<td>orange sweatshirt</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>yellow t-shirt; pants</td>
<td>white summer outfit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Nike® jacket</td>
<td>Nike® jacket</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>baseball pants</td>
<td>pants with knee pockets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>shoes; jacket</td>
<td>shoes; pants; shirt</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
instances, the children also considered that gift to have been successful. It simply
was not the one they had first recalled.

Reasons for success. Mothers and children cited very similar reasons for the
success of a particular clothing gift: 1) color, print, or design on the garment,
2) selection was made by the child, 3) sports influence, 4) brand name, 5) style of the
garment, and 6) it was a surprise. These reasons are discussed and supported by
quotations.

1. Color, print, or design - Overall color or print of the garment was frequently
mentioned. Embellishment added through applique, cross stitch embroidery,
or printing also created successful gifts.

I like polka dots a lot, black and white, they are my favorite colors [G11].
It has a lot of green which goes good with my hair and navy in it [G12].
It was purple. That is her favorite color [MG10].
It has an eagle. It is really a neat screen print [MB11].

2. Selection made by the child - Successful gifts were often those the children
had selected themselves. Sometimes children expressed their wants clearly
enough that mothers made pleasing selections.

He happened to see some in the store when we were just generally shopping
and I just kind of saved it as an idea and it happened that they had his size
and they had the type that he wanted and I never mentioned anything about it
to him after he had seen it that one time. So when he did get the boots it was
a big surprise and it was exactly what he had chosen [MB8].

It was something really special to him that he picked out that he really wanted
[MB8].
3. **Sports influence** - T-shirts or sweatshirts with sports team logos or favorite sports made successful gifts for boys. Often mothers chose these items over others, knowing they would be successful.

It was the Cubs team that he likes. I had selected the team that he really likes [MB10].

It has a bicycle on it [B8].

4. **Brand name** - When children desired to wear specific brand names, clothing gifts with those labels were successful. As stated in an earlier section of this chapter, some mothers purchased the more expensive brands only as gifts. They were confident these items would be successful.

The Guess® sweatshirt, the name brand, you know. Wow, we have something with a name brand on it [MG10].

It has this brand name on it that I like. I can't remember it though [B10].

5. **Style of the garment** - Children in this research preferred to wear particular styles or fashion trends. Sometimes it was a style worn by their peers.

They were the kind and color that I wanted and they were the kind that other kids were wearing [B12].

It was the new style or whatever and it had the puffy stuff, the puffy ponytail holders in there [G11].

It acknowledged his interest...his desire to have these designer kinds of things [MB9].

6. **Surprise** - For some children, a gift was successful just because it was unexpected. This idea was mentioned more often by children in the low LC
group. In contrast, one mother in the high LC group said her daughter was pleased because she received both outfits she wanted when she was only expecting one.

I was surprised when she brought it home from layaway [G10].

There was an element of surprise to the coat and maybe not so much wrapped up in it for her because she knew I hadn't spent night after night sewing it [MG8].

I like those colors a lot, so when I saw it I was surprised that she had found one [G8].

In addition to these reasons, one mother mentioned a gift being successful because it was a souvenir purchased in remembrance of a trip. Children indicated that a garment's comfort made it a successful choice -- "It was comfortable. It's nice to walk around in and it feels good." Comfort was not cited as a reason for success by mothers.

Indicators of success. Mothers determined the success of clothing gifts in various ways. A theme emerged related to indicators of success as mothers answered the question, "What made you decide that the gift was successful?"

The most frequent responses concerned wearing of the clothing item. Children wore successful items often, tried them on at the time of presentation, and wore them right away. Children also asked to wear the items to school.

She just put it right on and wore it and has worn it [coat] every day since [MG10].

Generally something that he'll go put it on right away or he'll wear it for five days in a row [MB9].
I have to pry it off him to wash it [MB10].

Children took better care of successful gifts. This special care was an indicator of success to some of the mothers in this research. Even though mothers expected children to take care of all of their clothing, they were more likely to care for favorite items such as athletic shoes.

He took real good care of them [MB12].

I keep my Adidas® in tip top shape...I don't ever wear them anyplace where they will get dirty. That's my favorite pair of shoes that I have [B10].

Not surprisingly, the children's reactions to the gifts were also indicators of success. This included not only the immediate reaction upon receipt of the gift but also the gratitude expressed later during wearing of the item.

She squealed. She was excited and jumping up and down [MG10].

A lot of comments he has made. He is really proud of it [MB8].

When he saw it he knew right away that I had been listening and that I had bought it and he was very pleased [MB8].

He kept saying off and on when he would wear it, "Gee, Mom, thanks for getting me this coat..I really like this coat" [MB10].

In summary, the themes that emerged as reasons for and indicators of success of a particular clothing gift parallel those themes related to children's interest in clothing and appearance. They are also similar to ideas discussed in the theme regarding motives for selection. As mothers attempted to achieve satisfaction from
giving a successful gift, they looked to the children’s interest in clothing in order to make a selection that pleased the child.

**Unsuccessful gifts**

The researcher asked mothers to recall an unsuccessful clothing gift that they had given to their children in the past year. Several mothers (HLC=7/11, MLC=8/23, LLC=5/7) were unable to identify such a gift. Unsuccessful gift presentations were uncommon among the dyads in this research. Those who did identify an unsuccessful gift remembered one specific item and it might not have been within the last year. Items cited as unsuccessful were dressy garments, sweaters, underwear, pajamas, and summer shorts.

The pajamas were just mediocre, kind of like yah, thanks. It wasn’t too exciting, but he needed them and it has kind of gotten to be a standard thing at Christmas. We always give him pajamas, so he expected them and it’s not as exciting [MB11].

I can’t think of anything...maybe a couple of years ago I may have bought him a couple of nice sweaters to wear for Christmas but that was the only time he ever wore them [MB9].

Children were asked if they ever received clothing gifts that they did not like rather than to identify a particular gift. Responses of the children were very similar to those of the mothers.

**Reasons for lack of success.** Mothers provided few reasons for the failure of a gift, just as they had identified few unsuccessful gifts. Color, cited previously as a criterion for success, was also mentioned as a reason for failure. Children preferred jeans that were stone-washed rather than dark blue. Some children favored more
colorful garments -- "It wasn't very colorful or anything...it was just plain." Garments that did not fit to the children's liking became unsuccessful. Some of these garments were too large -- "She didn't like them because they were too big in the waist or something." Some were too small or close fitting which created problems with modesty or self-consciousness about body size for girls.

I think the reason she won't wear it is because it's fitted. It shows her body too much [MG10].

She put it on and she thought the sweater made her look too fat [MG11].

Sometimes mothers gave wardrobe needs which children accepted but were not very excited about. Examples included basic items such as underwear and classic clothes that could be worn for more than one season.

...underwear or socks. It's just not something he would want to get as a gift [MB10].

It [underwear] just wasn't his idea of a gift [MB8].

Only one mother cited garment performance as a reason for failure. Her example was a sweater that stretched out and didn't wear well.

**Indicators of lack of success.** The primary indicator of lack of success was when a garment was not worn by the child. Some said "she simply won't wear it" while others responded that it was "worn very little." The children's reaction upon receiving a clothing gift sometimes resulted in mothers' feeling the gift was a failure. This type of behavior varied with the children's sensitivity to the mother's feelings.
If she's kind of like ugghh when she opens it up I would probably either say...ask her if she liked it or if she would rather have something else, or shall we take it back or something like that [MG9].

**Resulting action due to unsuccessful gifts.** Often unsuccessful gifts were returned to the store and exchanged for other items or different sizes. Those items that were not returned remained in the closet or drawer and were not worn by the child. Some mothers liked the item and didn't want to spend the time returning it. They hoped that the children would change their minds about the item and wear it sometime.

They hang there and I think that at the right occasion they will wear it. I hope that it will become acceptable in the future [MG12].

I encouraged her to wear them [shorts] and she did start to wear them later on in the summer [MG12].

Gift clothing that was not liked by the children was worn seldom, at home, "around the farm," visiting grandparents, and other such places where peers were not present. The children avoided wearing these items to school.

If they are a gift, I might just wear them like for Saturday or something [B12].

Put them in my closet, wear them once in a while, put them in my closet, try and forget about them and then when my mom says to wear them I wear them a little bit [B9].

In two dyads unsuccessful gifts were handed down to younger siblings with the hope that they would be more acceptable to these children. One mother said the items would be sold or given to charity and still another "made rags out of them."
Feelings of the children about unsuccessful gifts. The researcher also asked children to express their feelings about receiving gifts that they did not like. Several children were more explicit in responding to this question than most other questions in the interview. Feelings of disappointment, anger, unhappiness, and even guilt were common among the children in this study. Examples included:

Kind of mad because whoever got it for me didn't know what I liked [G11].

I just sort of feel down inside [B8].

Well, kind of terrible in some ways, because you don't wear it, and you don't want them thinking that you don't like it [G12].

Kind of guilty because she bought it and I didn't like it. She thought I would like it [B9].

Gifts caused fewer bad feelings for children who communicated more openly with their mothers. Children were more willing to tell their mothers they didn't like a gift than to tell grandparents or other relatives.

I don't like to be mean or say something like I don't like this. I usually tell my mom and then she asks if we can return it or something like that [G12].

Children's preferences for clothing versus another type of gift

Boys and girls differed in their preferences for type of gift received. The question asked of the children was "How do you feel about clothing gifts compared to other types of gifts that you get?" Slight differences also emerged among the LC groups. Table 11 shows the number of boys and girls who preferred gifts of clothing
or other items such as toys, games, or books. The number of children who had no preference between the two types of gifts is also reported.

Overall a greater number of girls (n=10) than boys (n=4) preferred clothing as a gift. An interesting rationale was expressed by one girl who appeared to appreciate the durability and usefulness of clothing gifts:

I like clothing gifts a little better because you can wear them all of the time and books you can tear and you can't read them all of the time and the toys could get broken. You wouldn't have them all of the time. But clothes you can usually have a lot of time [G9].

In the low LC group, more boys than girls preferred clothing as a gift, recognizing the need for clothing as they grew older — "I sort of feel like I've grown out of the stage where I want lots of toys and stuff and I like getting clothes." Boys in the

Table 11. Boys’ and girls’ preferences for type of gift in high, moderate, and low level of consumption groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of gift</th>
<th>HLC (n=11)</th>
<th>MLC (n=23)</th>
<th>LLC (n=7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (toys, books, games)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No preference</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
moderate group either preferred toys (n=8) or liked both types of items equally (n=2) -- "I like other kinds of gifts better because sometimes they are like toys or something that is really fun."

Slightly less than half of all children (n=16) were equally satisfied with receiving clothing and other types of gifts. Some qualified their responses with satisfaction for clothing only if they liked the item received:

Well actually I like them all, but if I like the outfit, clothing is probably my favorite...if I like it [G12].

I get books and jewelry. I like clothing if it is nice, but I always enjoy books and stuff too. I like them about the same [G12].

Substitution of a clothing gift for a needed item of clothing

When clothing gifts substitute for needed items in children's wardrobes, they become an important supplementary source in family clothing consumption. Nearly all mothers considered clothing gifts as substitutes for clothing items they would have needed to purchase for their children's wardrobes. Five mothers in the high LC group indicated that a gift did not substitute because it was "over and above what was needed." Children's responses to a similar question closely matched those of their mothers. When a gift met a wardrobe need, it was considered a substitute -- "They take the place of something that I need."

When a gift-giving occasion such as a birthday was in the near future, children felt mothers would save a needed item such as jeans and give it to them as a birthday gift -- "If it was really close to my birthday, I bet they would give it to me on my
birthday." One mother did not like to substitute needed items for gifts -- "I always feel a little cheap when I do that, like if I know she needs underwear I won’t wrap them up for Christmas."

**Additional themes presented**

The researcher asked questions at the end of the mother and child interviews which were indirectly related to the gift-giving process within the dyad. These questions yielded information warranting inclusion in the findings of this research. Themes emerged related to: 1) gifts received by the children from givers outside of the immediate family, such as grandparents, 2) gifts given by the mother to children outside the immediate family, and 3) sewing, alteration, or decoration of clothing gifts for children.

**Grandparents and other givers**

All children in this study received gifts from grandparents or other givers outside of the immediate family. Grandparents, aunts, and uncles were cited as most frequent givers. Friends, neighbors, and godparents also gave gifts of clothing.

Gifts from grandparents supplemented needed items in some families. The range of items given varied greatly, but again popular choices were items such as sweatsuits and pajamas where fit was not as important. This finding supports Winakor, MacDonald, Kunz, and Buzicky (1969) who found gift substitution rates to be higher for items where style and coordination are of less importance and where
sizes are more standardized. In the present research when jeans or pants were selected, the outside giver asked mothers for size information:

They have bought them jeans and stuff but then that goes into, she wants to be able to return them if they don't fit, and then she always asks what size they are [MG8].

Some mothers gave very specific information to assist in selection of a successful gift -- "I would try to suggest an Ocean Pacific® sweatshirt and say a size so it was not a question that he would like it."

Parents and children sometimes received money from grandparents who requested that a clothing gift be selected. This was more common when grandparents lived some distance away and more often for the older children in the study:

Usually I pick it out and they pay for it because they don't know what to buy. They are not comfortable picking it out. They don't know what she likes [MG12].

They have a little trouble buying, because they are not sure. They will buy for the younger ones but not the older ones. They just give them a monetary gift and say "go get what you like" [MG11].

Grandparents who lived in close proximity of their grandchildren sometimes took them shopping. This pleased children and mothers:

She [grandmother] takes them shopping so they can go and choose. She takes them to [specialty stores] which is wonderful because I would never spend...She likes to see it on the girls and likes to have the final say [MG10].
Living a short distance from their grandchildren also meant that grandparents knew the children's likes and dislikes better. As a result they purchased more clothing gifts and more successful gifts.

He really wears what she buys. She doesn't take him shopping. She knows him really well and she has good taste. They are very close. Very. He wears them a lot [MB8].

The rate of success was not as high for gifts from outside the family when compared to the success of mothers' gifts. The success varied with the item and somewhat by level of consumption. In this study, satisfaction was greater for children in the low LC group. Two of these children had grandmothers who sewed gifts for them which pleased them greatly:

She really asks us what we want, and she makes all of the stuff. So we just tell her what we want and she makes it. I like it [B12].

I like them but most of the stuff we get are from our grandma anyway. She makes them and I really like them [G11].

In contrast, one mother in the high LC group was very unhappy with the choices of a particular grandmother. This particular mother wanted control over her daughter's appearance and had different tastes than the grandmother. Her daughter, on the other hand, liked the items given by the grandmother. Responses of the dyad follow:
Her grandma got her an outfit for her birthday that I wouldn't buy for her, I thought it was ugly. But it was OK that grandma got it for her and she loved it. It was pretty. And she wears it to death and it really is cute on her. It just isn't my taste [MG8].

I like them [G8].

**Gifts to children outside the family**

All mothers in this research gave gifts to children outside their immediate family. Most of the receivers were nieces and nephews, but some gave clothing gifts to the children of friends. Gifts of clothing were commonly given to new babies, both within the extended family and to friends.

A pattern emerged related to the items given as gifts. Mothers often chose t-shirts or sweatshirts because fit was not a problem and children liked to wear these comfortable garments -- "We will buy a sweatshirt or pajamas or something that isn't real important for size." Mothers considered these items "safe" because they were likely to be successful and not to be returned. Socks, jewelry, and other accessory items met the same criterion -- "...an accessory-type item, maybe a belt or mittens unless I have the mother's ideas."

Mothers of boys liked to give feminine items to young girls. This appeared to satisfy their desire to shop for girls' clothing -- "Real girlish things...little sweaters and dressy things, not sweatsuits."

Still other mothers chose to give something more unusual that the child's own mother would not buy. In a way, the mothers in this research felt sorry for some
nieces and nephews and thought these children deserved to be given something more special than they would ever get from their own mothers. For example:

The one niece...they don't buy her very nice things so if I see something that is cute I will buy it for her, even if its totally frivolous, because she doesn't have anything like that in her wardrobe. One year it was a little sundresss, like a real frilly type of thing, easy to care for, because I knew my sister wouldn't iron it, and then some barrettes with a floral pattern. I've gotten for her birthday some shorts and a sweater that I thought looked nice...her parents wouldn't think of buying something that is coordinated, and she needs things like that [MG9].

I look for something trendy. I look for something that they probably wouldn't choose...something more special or something gify. Fun socks. Things that are more uncommon. Something the mother probably wouldn't choose [MG9].

**Home sewing, altering, or decorating clothing gifts**

Few mothers in this research (n=7) chose to sew clothing gifts for their children. Those who did made robes or pajamas that did not require much fitting. Mothers found it difficult to sew a gift and keep it a surprise. One mother hired a professional seamstress to sew clothing gifts for her children, particularly special occasion dresses.

The reactions of the children to gifts sewn by their mothers was the same as for ready-to-wear clothing gifts received. Mothers who sewed instilled in their children a value for hand-made items, providing satisfaction for some.

I think there is some pride when other people learn that her mother made it. Because many times at school you know she'll come home and say so and so said you are so lucky your mom sews [MG8].

I think handmade ones are a little better because somebody took a lot of work on it and they really liked it and they really wanted you to have it [G9].
Sometimes she likes them better, and it's special to her because mom made it for her [MG12].

One mother found no difference in her daughter's reaction at present but had hopes for the future:

I don't think there is any difference at this point. I'm hoping that later on she will look back and say my mom always made a dress for me or for Christmas or my birthday or whatever [MG9].

Alterations occasionally needed to be made on clothing gifts received from givers outside the family -- "They have gotten things from people that I have had to change." If a clothing gift given by the mother did not fit, it was exchanged rather than altered -- "Usually when I buy I want it to fit, I don't want to have to mess with it."

Decorating or embellishing clothing items was not done by mothers for the children in this research. Several indicated having decorated sweatshirts using paint or embroidery when the children were younger but chose not to do it for children at this age. Two mothers said the children decorated their own clothing.

When he was younger I would do things like that but at this point and time I'd be real nervous about doing that [MB8].

No, I have never decorated anything. That is something for her to do [MG9].

Summary

This chapter identified and discussed six major categories of themes. Mothers responded at length about the process of giving clothing gifts to their children. While
children's responses were more limited, interesting information was obtained from their interviews as well.

The categories "attitudes toward clothing and appearance" and "consumer socialization" provided understanding of the importance of clothing and appearance to mothers and children in middle childhood. These categories were not specifically related to clothing gifts.

Themes also emerged supporting categories of a comparison of gift and non-gift clothing, buying practices, presentation of the gift, and outcome of the presentation. These themes described the clothing gift-giving behavior of mothers to children in terms of type of clothing selected, retail sources of gifts, gift-giving occasions, motives for selection of a particular gift object, and satisfaction of mothers as givers and children as receivers of clothing gifts.

Family level of consumption influenced gift-giving behavior. Differences were identified among the high, moderate, and low level of consumption groups in nearly all categories. Chapter VI discusses these differences in greater detail as mother-child dyads are classified by level of consumption group.
CHAPTER V. FINDINGS RELATED TO MOTHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

Children's relationships with their parents are extremely important in the socialization process. Developmental theorists agree that primary caretakers are highly influential in determining children's development (Crase et al., 1979).

A goal of this research was to determine the role played by a clothing gift in the relationship between mother and child. This goal was accomplished primarily by examining the responses from the interviews. In addition, the researcher used two behavior inventories (Appendix D) to assess the behavior within the mother-child dyads. These inventories are described in Chapter III. This chapter reports the findings obtained through the use of these measurement tools.

**Iowa Parent Behavior Inventory (IPBI)**

The IPBI was designed to learn more about the quality and quantity of parents' behaviors toward their children. In the development of the instrument, Crase et al. (1979) derived six factors from the data analysis of the larger regional sample (n=393): Parental Involvement, Limit Setting, Responsiveness, Reasoning Guidance, Free Expression, and Intimacy. The items which comprise these six factors are listed in Table D-1, Appendix D. These factors were used in the present research.

The scoring of the IPBI involves mothers assigning a rating to themselves on the behavioral characteristic described by each of the 36 items. Ratings could range from a low score of 1 to a high score of 5 on each item. In the present research, the rating for each item was entered on a separate score sheet for each mother. The
factor raw scores of the mothers were calculated for each mother by summing the mother's rating on each item within a given factor.

Factor scores were tallied for the 41 mothers in the present research. The distribution of scores (see Table D-2, Appendix D) was approximately normal for most factors and similar to the distribution of scores of mothers from the larger study by Crase et al. (1979). The researcher subjectively identified mothers who fell into groups above and below the median score on each factor according to breaks in the frequency distribution. In each column in Table D-2, scores above and including the first underlined frequency are classified as low; scores below but not including the second underlined frequency are classified as high. Mothers assigned to the high and low groups for each factor are identified by dyad number in Table D-3, Appendix D. Refer to Appendix G for demographic information about these mothers. Discussion of factors for the IPBI and mothers' factor scores for the present research follow.

**Factor I: Parental Involvement**

This factor describes the active involvement of mothers with their children. The four items included in this factor in the inventory describe the mother's activity including playing with and helping her child with tasks and activities. The willingness of mothers to be interrupted from other activities in order to assist their children in solving problems is also measured. Mothers' scores on this factor ranged from 9 to 20. The possible range was 4 to 20. The median score was 13.

Ten mothers scored low on this factor. This group indicated that they seldom excused themselves from invited guests or interrupted a phone conversation
to assist their children with such things as pasting or model building. They also said that they would find activities they could do together with their children about half of the time or they were unsure of how often they behaved in this way, assigning a rating of 3 to items characterizing these behaviors. Most mothers with lower scores on this factor were employed in jobs that demanded much of their time, leaving less time available to spend with their children.

About one-fourth of the mothers (n=10) scored higher than the median on this factor. These mothers responded that they often or almost always did the above-mentioned activities with their children and were sometimes willing to interrupt their own conversations to assist their children. Some mothers in this group were employed as teachers and possibly saw the value in this type of involvement with their children and thus created the time to do so. Other mothers stayed at home full-time with their children, providing more time for child-centered activities.

**Factor II: Limit Setting**

This factor characterizes mothers who are predictable in setting and enforcing limits for their children. Mothers' scores ranged from 23 to 37, with a possible range of 8 to 40. The median score was 33.

Seven mothers were classified in a lower scoring group on this factor, with scores of 23 to 30. These mothers reported setting limits for their children on the behaviors described in these items about half the time, a rating of 3. An exception was item number 2 which concerns requiring children to remain seated in the car. This item was rated as 5, or "always" by most mothers. No pattern emerged among mothers in
this lower group because those items mothers considered important varied greatly. Lack of time may have been a reason some mothers did not enforce limits. In other dyads, the children’s behavior may not have required setting limits.

Six mothers clustered into a group with higher scores on this factor. Some children in these dyads were 12 years old and mothers may have expected certain behavior due to the children’s level of maturity. During the interviews the researcher had judged two mothers of eight-year-old children to be more cautious and protective than was the norm for other mothers in this sample. This protective behavior may have prompted mothers to set and enforce more limits.

**Factor III: Responsiveness**

This factor describes mothers who respond to expressed or implied needs of their children. Promptness of the response is an important aspect, including interruption of the mothers’ own behavior to provide assistance to the children. Total factor scores for mothers in this study ranged from 23 to 35 with a median score of 31. The possible range was 7 to 35.

Nearly all mothers in this research rated themselves as very responsive to the needs of their children. Only a four point spread existed between the median score of 31 and the highest possible score of 35. Many mothers ranked the various items in this factor as 5, "always" or 4, "almost always." As a result, no characteristics distinguished mothers in the group with higher factor scores.

The two mothers with the lowest scores on this factor also had low scores on Factor I, Parent Involvement. These mothers had very busy lifestyles with time
demands imposed by their employment. Another low-scoring mother was a single parent who attended college full-time and worked at more than one job.

**Factor IV: Reasoning Guidance**

This factor describes mothers who provide their children with reasons why certain behaviors are acceptable or unacceptable. These mothers also listen to their children’s reasons for misbehavior and support the children’s expression of emotion. Factor scores ranged from 24 to 35 with a median score of 30. The possible range was 7 to 35.

Only four mothers clustered to form a group with lower scores on this factor. One item, "Ask your child for his or her reasons when he or she misbehaves," caused the low scores. Three of these four mothers rated this item as 2 or "seldom" which lowered their total scores. They rated all other items in this factor as 4 or "almost always" which was similar to the ratings of all mothers in the sample.

Six mothers had total scores of 34 or 35 on this factor. Four of these mothers worked with children on a daily basis as teachers or day care providers. Perhaps the need to communicate and reason frequently with children in their jobs provided skills used in parenting their own children. Five in this group were mothers of boys, with three of the boys being eight years old. Behavior of boys and girls in middle childhood may differ in the amount of reasoning and guidance needed from mothers.

**Factor V: Free Expression**

This factor describes mothers who openly express their emotions in the presence of their children. These emotions include fear, annoyance, and frustration. Three
items were included in this factor and scores ranged from 3 to 13, with a possible range of 3 to 15. The median score was 7.

Eight mothers scored in the 3 to 5 range on this factor, indicating that they 1, "never" or 2, "seldom" behaved in this way. Five mothers had total scores of 11 to 13. No clear pattern emerged among the mothers in the lower scoring group. Those mothers in the high group communicated quite openly with their children in general. These mothers also openly expressed feelings about gift giving to the researcher during the interviews.

Factor VI: Intimacy

This factor describes mothers who openly express physical affection to their children and to others in the children's presence. These mothers also work together with their children and encourage positive verbal expressions. Seven items were included in this factor and scores ranged from 19 to 33. The median score was 28. The range of scores was similar to that in Factor II, Responsiveness. Some similarity also existed in mothers' responses to the items in Factor II and Factor VI. For example, three mothers who had high scores on responsiveness also had high scores on the intimacy factor. Surprisingly, little similarity existed among the mothers' scores on Factor V, Free Expression, and Factor VI even though one item in Factor VI concerns crying in the presence of the child and is much like the other items in Factor V.

Two of the five mothers in the low-scoring group were single parents. This caused them to rate the item on expressing affection toward a spouse with a 1 or no
rating. Other patterns did not emerge for this factor, possibly due to variations in ratings of items within the factor. For low, modal, and high scoring groups, item ratings within the factor ranged from 1 to 5.

Interpretation

The IPBI provides a source of information about mothers’ own behaviors directed toward their children. The instrument functioned well with this sample with one exception. Some items did not apply to single parents due to reference to behavior towards a spouse. Several mothers in the present research also commented that the behaviors described by some items more commonly occurred when their children were younger. The instrument may be better suited to mothers of younger children.

It is possible that some mothers answered questions with what they thought to be socially acceptable responses. However, the instrument yielded more objective information than that provided by an open-ended question about relationships asked during the interviews in a small study by Manikowske and Littrell (1991).

The self-reported behaviors of mothers in this research were similar to those of mothers in the larger regional study used in development of the instrument (Crase et al., 1979). This is an important finding considering that the sample for this research was purposively selected.

Child’s Report of Mother Behavior (CRMB)

The data collected from the CRMB (Appendix D) are much more limited than those obtained from use of the IPBI. Because the CRMB is an instrument adapted
for use in this research, there are no comparable data from a larger and more representative sample with which to compare findings from this research. Nevertheless, some interesting patterns emerged from the children's assessment of the mothers' behavior when compared to the mothers' assessment of their own behavior.

Children responded to each of the 30 items in the CRMB using a three-point scale. A child's rating of 3 indicated the behavior described by the item was "Like My Mother," 2 was used for "Somewhat Like," and 1 indicated "Not Like." The Pearson Product-Moment Correlation computed on these data did not result in formation of clearly identifiable clusters of items. It proved more informative to examine individual child responses that differed from the modal responses of the children in the sample on specific items. Therefore, the scores on each individual item were tallied for the 41 children in the sample (see Appendix D, Table D-4).

On item 28, "Acts as though I'm in the way," a surprising number of children (n=12) responded that this behavior was "somewhat like their moms." One eight-year-old girl responded that this was "like her mom." The researcher did not expect this response based on observations of the mother-child relationship and comments of the mothers during the interviews.

Overall, fewer than one-fourth of the children (n=8) deviated on more than three items from the modal responses of the group. Most of these items related to issues of control or limit setting by mothers, such as item 15, "Lets me dress any way
I please" and item 21, "Wants to control whatever I do." Demographic characteristics of these eight children varied.

Four of these eight children were from dyads in the high level of consumption group. Mothers of three of these children did not express to the researcher during the interviews a need to control their children, but these children perceived that their mothers greatly restricted their activities. The mother of another of these children did appear to the researcher to be highly controlling, but her score on the "Limit Setting" factor of the IPBI was low. The child's perception supports the observation of the researcher that the controlling behavior of the mother was negatively affecting the relationship with her daughter.

Of the remaining four children, one was an 8-year-old boy who perceived his mother as controlling his behavior, although she did not score high on the "Limit Setting" factor of the IPBI. Conflict within the dyad was not evident to the researcher in the interview. This mother was an elementary school teacher, however, who preferred a highly organized and structured lifestyle. Another was a 12-year-old boy who perhaps wanted more independence than his mother was willing to give him. He reported that his mother was inconsistent with her behavioral expectations of him, insisting he follow a rule one day and forgetting about it the next (item 25). He also indicated that his mother complained about his behavior and would not allow him to spend his money in any way he chose (item 18). This dyad was in the low LC group which may have affected the mother's behavior regarding spending.
A 10-year-old girl in this group appeared to the researcher in the interview as a difficult child to parent. She found fault with much of her mother's behavior. The child indicated that her mother was unable to make her feel better when she was upset (item 17) and would not let her do the things other children her age were able to do (item 29). She also responded that her mother would not allow her to spend her money in any way she chose (item 18). The mother in this dyad, on the other hand, scored high on the "Responsiveness" factor on the IPBI and average on all other factors.

Another child in this group was an 11-year-old girl who felt that her mother was not very patient (item 6). The girl also believed that her mother did not allow her to tell her when she thought she had better ideas (item 5). The mother in this dyad scored in the lower group on "Parental Involvement" and "Responsiveness." Perhaps lack of time spent with the child accounted for the child's perceptions on these items.

**Interpretation**

Most of the children in this research responded to the CRMB in a manner expected in healthy mother-child relationships. Conflict was infrequent among the dyads in this sample.

At the same time, the results of the CRMB confirmed that not all relationships were without some negative feelings and interactions. Most of the children whose responses deviated from the mode for the group were those who had expressed some dissatisfaction with their mother's behaviors during the interview.
Summary

These two behavior inventories provided additional insights to the mother-child relationship that were not gained through the interview process. The instruments also afforded a more objective method of assessing this relationship than might be obtained through the use of face-to-face interviews.

Children's responses on the CRMB agreed to a greater extent with interview responses than did the mothers' IPBI scores. For example, the four HLC mothers who told of their need to control their children's appearance during the interview did not score high on Factor II: Limit Setting. Rather, three scored in the modal group and one in the low group. Children in these dyads and other dyads in the high LC group indicated that controlling behavior was characteristic of their mothers. These results suggest that the mothers' interview responses provided a more valid estimate of the mothers' behaviors than did the IPBI.

It might be expected that mothers scoring high on factors such as parental involvement, responsiveness, or intimacy would have the greatest success in giving gifts to their children. This pattern did not emerge, however, as nearly all mothers were successful in their gift-giving behavior with their children. At the same time, mothers who scored in the low group on involvement and responsiveness were those who indicated lack of time to shop due to time commitments from their employment. These results support the information presented in the themes (Chapter IV).
CHAPTER VI. PROFILES: CLASSIFICATION OF MOTHER-CHILD DYADS

Mother-child dyads in this research clustered into four behavioral groups based on demographic characteristics, family level of consumption, and attitudes toward and interest in clothing. Assignment of dyads to these groups assisted the researcher in understanding the gift-giving behavior among the dyads. The previous two chapters identified, described, and analyzed behaviors for similarities and differences. This chapter continues the analysis by grouping dyads based on these similarities and differences, and then describing the groups. This classification system and the characterization of the groups fulfills the third objective of this research stated in Chapter I.

The researcher classified dyads into low, moderate, or high level of consumption groups using the Checklist for Level of Consumption (Appendix E), personal observations, and analysis of responses across the interviews. Details of this procedure are discussed in Chapter III. The decision to analyze data using level of consumption groups was made after the researcher observed differences in behavior that appeared to be associated with level of consumption. Variation in level of consumption thus became a discriminating variable affecting gift-giving behavior.

Mothers' and children's attitudes and interest in clothing and appearance was also a major discriminator of gift-giving behavior among dyads. Clothing interest of the child was determined by asking mothers to tell about their children's interest in clothing. Mothers often spoke of their own attitudes and interests without being asked. Children were also asked to tell about their interest and what types of
clothing they liked to wear. Clothing interest was also used in the classification of dyads; however, in this research, interest in clothing and appearance seemed to be closely tied to differences in level of consumption. Clothing interest further differentiated dyads in the moderate LC group.

Both level of consumption and interest in clothing and appearance are continua in these groups. In this research, however, the dyads appeared to fall into four relatively distinct groups. In the general population there are probably high LC families with limited clothing interest and low LC families with high clothing interest. In this sample, the high LC group seemed to consist entirely of high clothing interest dyads. The fact that clothing consumption was considered in evaluating level of consumption may have exaggerated these findings and may partly explain the homogeneity of clothing interest within these groups.

Each of the four groups is described in the following section. The descriptions emphasize characteristics that distinguish each group including lifestyles and shopping practices for clothing in general and for clothing gifts. Table H-1, found in Appendix H, summarizes these characteristics by group.

Four Classes of Mother-Child Dyads

**Group I: Low level of consumption, limited Interest in clothing**

Group I consists of seven dyads who had a low level of consumption and limited interest in clothing and appearance. These mothers formed the youngest group with five of the seven being in the 26-35 year age group. This group also had the largest
number of children per family. One mother was a single parent with only one child. Other families had from three to five children each. Three mothers were full-time homemakers, three were employed in service positions such as day care or clerical work, and one was a student. Four families lived on farms and the fathers were employed as farmers. Two fathers were in skilled-labor occupations. Four mothers had attended some college, two had high school diplomas, and one had a college degree.

All dyads in Group I lived in older homes, with the exception of one who lived in an apartment. Furnishings in four dwellings were old but in fair condition, two were in poor condition, and in one unit they were quite dilapidated. Some units were sparsely furnished but very neat, while others were rather cluttered. Vehicles owned by five of these families were several years old. One dyad had no vehicle of any kind and no vehicles were observed at another home although the family did own a car. Farm families owned multiple vehicles necessary for the farm operation, although in Group I these were not new vehicles.

No mother in the low LC group volunteered that she was interested in clothing; a few indicated that such interest was limited by lack of financial resources. Four mothers perceived that their children had limited interest in clothing compared to three mothers who recognized that their children had a higher interest. Children's responses about their own interest agreed with mothers' with the exception of one dyad where the child's interest was greater than the mother seemed to recognize. Six
dyads agreed that brand-name clothing was unimportant. The dyad that agreed that brands were important mentioned only brands of athletic shoes in their responses.

Mothers in Group I mentioned quality, durability, and ease of care as the most important clothing properties guiding gift selections. All seven mothers wanted their children to be conscious of the price when they were shopping although none mentioned impulse buying as a problem. No mothers mentioned appearance, fit, or wardrobe versatility as values important in making gift selections.

Discount stores were all mothers’ first choice for buying clothing and clothing gifts. Department stores such as JC Penney or Sears were mentioned as a second choice. Mothers in rural areas sometimes ordered from the JC Penney catalog when they were unable to go town to buy.

Six mothers in Group I indicated that clothing gifts substituted for needed wardrobe items for their children. The one who said gifts did not substitute was in a dyad where clothing was not frequently given as a gift to the children.

**Group II: Moderate level of consumption, limited interest in clothing**

Group II consists of 14 dyads, forming the largest group. These dyads had a moderate level of consumption but were more limited in clothing interest than Groups III or IV. Three of these mothers were in the 26-35 age group compared to 11 in the 36-45 age group. The average family size was three children. Eight mothers in Group II were employed as teachers, either at the elementary or college level, five were in clerical positions, one was a day care provider, and one a full-time homemaker. The largest number of fathers (n=6) were employed in middle-
management business positions, three were in labor positions such as construction, three were teachers, and one was a farmer. One single mother was also in Group II. Six mothers in Group II had graduate degrees, four had attended some college, one had done some graduate work, one had completed college, one had completed high school, and one had attended some high school. Group II had the highest number of mothers in education-related occupations which may account for the high number with graduate degrees.

Dyads in Group II lived in all types of homes. None of the homes was new, with most being 10 years old or more. Sizes of the homes varied and were somewhat determined by family size. Condition of furnishings ranged from fair to good. Some rooms in the homes had been recently redecorated and newer furnishings purchased for these rooms. Group II families generally owned two vehicles, particularly when both parents were employed outside of the home. One vehicle was usually a car less than three years old and the other vehicle was an older car or pickup.

Group II mothers had limited interest in clothing, similar to the mothers in Group I. No mothers spoke of their own clothing interest when asked to describe the child's interest. All but one of the Group II mothers were employed full-time outside of their homes. Lack of time for shopping may have contributed to this limited interest. Nine mothers indicated that their children had a high interest in clothing; however, only three children expressed high interest to the researcher during the interviews. This finding might indicate that the children's interest was seen as high by the mothers compared to their own interest but when compared to
other children, it was limited. Interest in brand name clothing seemed to correspond to the clothing interest as eight mothers perceived that brands were unimportant to their children. Twelve children said the brand of clothing given to them was not important compared to only two who said that it was important. Only two dyads disagreed as the mothers perceived that brands were more important to the children than the children said.

Eight mothers in Group II mentioned quality, durability, and ease of care as the most important clothing properties guiding gift selections. Half of the mothers (n=7) considered price consciousness an important value to teach their children, compared to all of the mothers in Group I. Appearance and fit of the garments was important to four mothers and wardrobe versatility was mentioned by three.

Ten of the 14 mothers in Group II chose to purchase clothing and gifts at department stores, with seven of the ten specifically referring to JC Penney. Three purchased gifts at discount stores and one used the JC Penney catalog.

The ability of a clothing gift to substitute for a needed wardrobe item was important to ten of the 14 mothers. Four indicated that a clothing gift sometimes substituted in this way.

**Group III: Moderate level of consumption, high interest in clothing**

Group III consists of nine dyads who were classified as moderate level of consumption but were characterized by a relatively high interest in clothing and appearance. Four of these mothers were in the 26-35 year age group and five were in the 36-45 year age group. About half of these dyads (n=4) were in families with
three children, three had two children, one had four children, and one had only one child. Occupations of mothers varied as three were teachers, two were day-care providers, two were full-time homemakers, one was in sales, and one worked in a laboratory. Three fathers were employed in education, four as business managers, and one was a farmer. One mother in Group III was a single parent. Four mothers had completed college, two had attended some college, one had a high school diploma, one had done some graduate work, and one possessed a graduate degree.

Dwelling units of the dyads in Group III were similar to those in Group II with one exception. Group III homes tended to be decorated more attractively with newer furnishings. More artwork and more pictures of the children were found on the walls. A less-cluttered appearance was more common among the homes in this group.

Five of the nine mothers mentioned their own interest in clothing when answering the question about their children's interest. At other times during the interview, these mothers spoke of the importance of color and other aesthetic factors when choosing clothing for their children. These concepts were not mentioned by the mothers in Groups I or II. Complete dyad agreement was found among mothers and children related to the children's interest. Seven mothers perceived that clothing was important to their children and these seven children also expressed a high interest in clothing. Two mothers indicated their children did not share their interest in appearance and these two children agreed that clothing was more important to their mothers than to themselves. Four mothers in Group III expressed further
interest in clothing by creating garments for themselves and their children by sewing at home. Still another mother in this group hired a custom sewer to make special occasion dresses for her children and to sew for the mother herself.

Four mothers volunteered that brand-name clothing was important to their children. Three indicated that it was unimportant, and two did not mention brand names in their discussion of clothing interest. Four children indicated that the brand of clothing they were given was important; five said that it was unimportant. Only five dyads were in agreement on this topic. Two of the mothers who said brands were unimportant were those who did home sewing.

Quality was mentioned as an important criterion for selection of clothing by four mothers in Group III. Price consciousness was also mentioned by four mothers as important. These mothers liked to purchase brand-name clothing at reduced prices. Their family incomes did not allow them to purchase the type of clothing they liked to wear at full price. Some associated brand names with quality. Still others tied the wearing of visible labels to an expression of status. Because this group had a higher interest in appearance, it was important to them to dress similarly to those in higher-income families.

Specialty stores were the first choice of five mothers in Group III. The remaining four chose department stores such as Younkers or Daytons where brand name clothing items are sold. These mothers often traveled 50 miles or more each way to a city where they could shop at specialty stores.
Group IV: High level of consumption, high interest in clothing

Eleven dyads comprised Group IV. These dyads had a higher level of consumption than Groups I, II, and III and a high interest in clothing and appearance. Only two of these mothers were in the 26-35 year age group compared to nine in the 36-45 year age group. Family size was quite similar to Groups II and III. Five dyads were in families with two children, three with three children, and three with four children. Four mothers were full-time homemakers, two were teachers, and three assisted their husbands doing clerical work or sales in the family-owned business. Fathers were employed as follows: business owners (n=4), medical professionals (n=3), education (n=2), and business management (n=2). Five mothers had college degrees, three had graduate degrees, two had done some graduate work, and one had attended some college.

All dyads in Group IV lived in large, new homes or older homes that had been completely restored. Several homes had a formal living and dining room along with a family room on the main floor of the home. Family rooms had electronic equipment such as televisions, video cassette recorders, and stereo systems displayed in some type of entertainment center. Generally a second level of the home contained the children’s bedrooms. Furnishings in the homes were new or in excellent condition. These families owned two or more late-model cars or vans. Some also owned recreational vehicles such as campers or boats.

Clothing interest of Group IV dyads was generally the greatest of all groups. Six mothers mentioned their own interest throughout the interview, similar to the
mothers in Group III. All but two mothers indicated that their children had a high interest in clothing. Children answered similarly, although two dyads disagreed on interest level of the child. One of these children rebelled against her mother who liked to control what her daughter wore. As a result, the child showed little interest in clothing and chose to wear the same items over and over.

Importance of brand names was greatest in Group IV. Nine mothers indicated that brand-name clothing was important to their children. Only five children admitted to its importance, however. Children in this group seemed to take their clothing for granted, including expensive brand-name items. These items were commonplace in their wardrobes and as a result they did not desire to acquire them. These children differed from those in Group III who were interested in clothing and expressed their desires for brand name garments to their mothers.

Mothers in Group IV frequently shopped for clothing, sometimes with their children and sometimes without. These mothers made the most comments related to shopping attitudes, values, and practices. Quality was important as it was in all other groups. Ease of care was of somewhat less importance for Group IV. These mothers were willing to spend the extra time to care for items that were currently fashionable, even those made from 100% cotton or rayon. Appearance and fit was most important to Group IV mothers. Several mentioned selecting colors and styles that were flattering to their children as criteria for selecting clothing and clothing gifts.
Specialty stores were the first choice of six mothers in Group IV, followed by department stores. This finding is very similar to the choices of Group III and is closely related to interest in clothing. These stores allowed mothers to choose items for their children that were more distinctive than those they could purchase at discount stores or general merchandise stores such as JC Penney. Group IV mothers also shopped through children's specialty catalogs; however, this was not a common source of clothing gifts.

Substitution of a clothing gift for a needed item of clothing was not done by four mothers in Group IV. These mothers indicated that clothing gifts were over and above what their children needed. Five said that gifts sometimes substituted. This finding differs from all other groups and is most probably due to income available to purchase clothing for the children.

**Mother-child relationship**

Inspection of IPBI factor scores revealed few clear differences among the four groups. For all factors, the largest number of mothers clustered around the median score (see Table H-1, Appendix H).

For Factor I: Parental Involvement, Group IV had the largest number of mothers scoring in the high group. Groups I, II, and III had smaller numbers in the high scoring group and larger numbers in the low scoring group. Because a greater percentage of mothers in Groups II and III were employed outside their homes, they might not have had as much time available for active involvement with their children's activities. One of the low scoring mothers in Group I worked nights,
causing her to be away from home during the evening mealtime. Her child also
indicated that she did not spend much time with him. The other low scoring mother
in Group I was a farm wife with four children. The child interviewed was the oldest
child. For all other factors, the groups were very similar.

Patterns of behavior that emerged in the analysis of data from the IPBI and
CRMB did not correspond to the classification of dyads by level of consumption and
clothing interest discussed in this chapter. Mothers in all four groups appeared in
the low, modal, and high scoring groups within the various factors. This finding
suggests that behaviors salient in mother-child relationships are not associated with
economic well-being of the family.

**Profiles of Mother-Child Dyads**

The following section presents profiles based primarily on one or two dyads
within each group, incorporating distinctive traits from other dyads within the group.
Profile numbers correspond to group numbers discussed in the previous section of
this chapter. Fictitious names have been assigned to the dyads in each profile, to
protect their privacy. First is a description of the family and their home
environment. Second, characteristics of the mother-child dyad interviewed are
presented. Finally, buying practices for clothing and clothing gifts within each dyad
are discussed.
Profile I: The Smith family

The Smith family lives on a farm 10 miles from a small rural town. A larger community of 13,000 residents is located 25 miles from their farm. Mr. and Mrs. Smith are about 30 years old. They have five children: two daughters ages 11 and 12, and three sons ages 10, 8, and 4. Mr. Smith is employed full time on the farm and Mrs. Smith is a full-time homemaker. In addition to some grain, they raise a small number of cattle and pigs on their farm.

The Smiths have two vehicles parked in the yard, a car and pickup each about 15 years old, along with some older farm equipment. The Smith farm has one newer metal storage building but the home, barn, and garage are in need of repair. The small house, which appears to be about 50 years old, is badly in need of paint. The concrete step going into the back entrance of the home is badly cracked. There is no sidewalk leading to the door and family members and pets track dirt from the yard directly into the kitchen of the home.

The kitchen of the home is small and doubles as a laundry room. Mrs. Smith is canning sweetcorn from the family's garden. The Smith family raises many different vegetables which they can and freeze for eating during the winter months. The older girls assist in the processing.

The living room of the home contains several pieces of furniture in poor condition. Clothes are hanging from hooks on the walls and in doorways. Shoes are piled on the floor. Mrs. Smith makes no apologies for the condition of the home but mentions that there are no closets in any of the rooms.
The mother-child dyad

Mrs. Smith does not have a strong interest in clothing and appearance. She dresses neatly but not in the latest styles or fashions. Nancy, her 11-year-old daughter, shows more interest in appearance but knows she is unable to have many new clothes to wear due to the family's limited income. According to her mother, Nancy is rather modest but likes to wear dresses if they aren't too skimpy. She accepts clothing handed down from her older sister because she looks to her for advice on what to wear. Nancy is a member of a 4-H club and has learned about buying clothing through her projects.

No conflict is evident in this dyad. Mrs. Smith and Nancy appear to have a positive, healthy relationship. Nancy is a kind and thoughtful child. If given $20, Nancy indicates that she would first buy something for her mother and then something for herself. She was the only one of the 41 children interviewed to make this statement.

Nancy helps her parents with work on the farm and also with the care of younger siblings. Her mother makes no complaints about Nancy's behavior. Nancy considers a gift to be anything given to her and is very appreciative of what she receives.

Buying practices for clothing and clothing gifts

Mrs. Smith avoids brand-name clothing because she believes it is more expensive than unbranded clothing. She socializes her children to shop for certain styles rather than for brands. She teaches them that brand names are unimportant. Nancy states
that when you go shopping you might want to get a certain brand because it is "what everybody else is wearing." At the same time, Nancy says the brand name of her clothing doesn't make any difference to her. When asked to identify a brand of clothing, Nancy mentions Gitano®, a lower-priced brand sold in discount stores.

**Retail sources.** Mrs. Smith purchases mostly used clothing for her family at second-hand stores and garage sales. Any new clothing purchased is from discount stores. A clothing gift is usually an item purchased new from a discount store. Accessories are given to the girls because they are lower priced and allow them to update an existing outfit to make it more fashionable. 4-H project work has taught Nancy these skills.

No retail sources for clothing are available in the small rural town nearest their farm. Mrs. Smith shops for clothing in the community 25 miles from her home. Clothes shopping is combined with farm-related errands or grocery shopping. Shopping time is limited because the entire family often goes to town together. Mr. Smith waits in the car while Mrs. Smith and the children shop. Although she prefers to surprise her children with gifts, the children are usually along on the shopping trips to avoid paying for child care.

**Spending.** Mrs. Smith spends as little as possible on clothing for her family. Other demands such as food must be given priority. To compensate for not being able to afford to buy new clothing for the children, she tends to purchase a greater quantity of used items. Used clothing in this community sells for less than one dollar per item.
Both sets of grandparents live in close proximity to the Smith family. The grandparents often give clothing gifts to the children for special occasions. This is greatly appreciated by the parents and children in the family. Sometimes the grandparents give Mrs. Smith money and ask her to purchase clothing for the children.

The Smith family has no credit of any kind. All of their purchases must be for cash. Mrs. Smith wishes she had charge accounts to allow her to defer payments. She also uses layaway when available for some larger purchases such as winter coats for the children.

Profile II: The Black family

The Black family lives in a small community with a population of 5,000. This community is located 30 miles from a larger city of 60,000 residents and 30 miles from a community of 13,000 residents. Mrs. Black is divorced but receives child support payments from the children's father. She is an instructor in nursing at a university and commutes 30 miles to work each day. Mrs. Black is 45 years old, and has two teenage daughters and one son, age 9.

The Blacks' home is approximately 50 years old but has been well-maintained. It has a large front porch where the children store their bicycles. The lawn is neatly mowed and landscaped but there are no flower gardens. There is a small vegetable garden in the backyard.

The children each have a bedroom upstairs and Mrs. Black has a small bedroom on the main level. The home is clean but there are books and papers from the
children's school work scattered about the dining room and kitchen. A personal computer is set up in a corner of the dining room.

In the living room of the home there are several pieces of refinished antique furniture. Collecting and refinishing antiques is a hobby for Mrs. Black. The children are learning the refinishing process through their 4-H club work. Mrs. Black is wallpapering one of the bedrooms. She gains satisfaction in doing the work herself but also appreciates the dollars saved.

The Blacks have two vehicles -- a five-year-old sedan which Mrs. Black drives to work and a small older station wagon which the teen-age girls use as transportation. The girls assist in caring for their younger brother after school and transport him to various sports activities when Mrs. Black is unable to do so.

The mother-child dyad

Mrs. Black has a good relationship with her son, Brian, although she wishes she had more time to spend with him. Brian also feels that his mother is away from home too often. He is especially disappointed when she must miss one of his games although she tries to attend as many as possible. Brian spends little time with his father who lives a long distance away. Mrs. Black encourages Brian to communicate his feelings to her but fears he doesn't always tell her everything that's bothering him.

Mrs. Black often wears uniforms in her work supervising nursing students and has little interest in dressing fashionably. She dresses very casually in sweatshirts and jeans when not at work. Clothing is not very important to Brian. He is beginning to pay more attention to what his peers are wearing but until this time has been
satisfied to wear whatever his mother chooses for him. Brand-name clothing is of little interest to Brian and his mother hopes that this tendency will continue. His sisters sometimes make suggestions to their mother and brother about what he might choose to wear. Brian chooses to ignore most of their suggestions.

**Buying practices for clothing and clothing gifts**

Clothing is not Brian’s first choice as a gift. His mother buys him some clothing as gifts because she wants him to know that needed items such as clothing are acceptable gifts. For gifts, she tries to purchase items with sports team logos because she knows they will be more appealing to her son. Brian’s older sisters give their mother ideas for clothing gifts when they are shopping together. Sometimes they even make purchases for their mother to give to Brian. They are old enough to go shopping on their own.

**Retail sources.** Mrs. Black doesn’t have much time for shopping. Because Brian doesn’t have much interest in clothing, she tends to purchase most of his clothing at discount stores or lower-priced department stores. Brian doesn’t like to go shopping. His mother generally buys the clothing for him and he tries it on at home. It is important that the items be returnable because occasionally an item doesn’t fit properly. The stores where Mrs. Black shops have liberal return policies.

Sometimes Mrs. Black looks through a major catalog with Brian to get an idea of clothing items he would like to wear. She buys some clothing through catalogs because it saves shopping time.
Spending. Mrs. Black tries to keep spending on Brian's clothing to a minimum. Because clothing is not that important to her son, she is able to use more of her clothing dollars for her teenage daughters. Mrs. Black has a major credit card which she uses for mail-order purchases. She pays cash for most other clothing purchases.

Sale advertising affects when and where Mrs. Black shops. She reads local papers and store fliers primarily looking to save money on clothing for her daughters. The advertising catches her attention when she sees that jeans or other needed items for Brian are on sale.

Profile III: The Peters family

The Peters family lives in a small ranch-style home in a community of 13,000 residents. Mr. Peters is employed full-time as a shipping clerk in a local warehouse and part-time at a local service station. Mrs. Peters is a home day-care provider, caring for about eight pre-school children per day on a full-time basis. The Peters have two daughters, ages 8 and 10. Mr. and Mrs. Peters are in their mid-30s.

The home is immaculate. The living room has been recently redecorated with new carpet and furniture. There are several pictures of the girls and family on the walls. A sliding glass door in the dining room opens to a back-yard patio. The Peters like to entertain friends and often use the patio for barbecues. The backyard has several pieces of playground equipment for use by the day-care children. The basement of the home is also used as a play area for the daycare, limiting use of this area by the family.
The Peters have two vehicles, a newer car and a ten-year-old pickup which Mr. Peters drives to work. The home has a single-car garage and driveway so the pickup is parked on the street in front of the home.

The daughters take dance lessons and are involved in several athletic activities. Mrs. Peters volunteers to help with church and school activities when her time permits. Mr. Peters volunteers as a coach for one of the girls' softball teams.

The mother-child dyad

Mrs. Peters is very neat in her personal appearance and wears only good quality, fashionable clothing. She prefers more classic styles but also wears fashion trends that are becoming to her. She likes to wear accessories, particularly interesting costume jewelry. It is important to Mrs. Peters that her children be dressed in clothing similar to or better than children from higher-income families.

Judy Peters is tall and slim for her 10 years of age. She likes the latest fashions and accepts the control her mother places on her appearance. She learned at a very young age that it is important to always look your best. There are no apparent problems within the relationship. Mrs. Peters and Judy like the same types of clothing and are even able to share some items from each other's wardrobes. Judy appreciates her mother's efforts to help her maintain a fashionable appearance and be a leader among her peers.

Buying practices for clothing and clothing gifts

Because Mrs. Peters enjoys shopping, she often takes her daughters with her to learn their preferences and have them try garments on for fit. For gifts, she usually
goes back later to the store in order for the gift to be a surprise. She likes to
surprise her children and believes they also like being surprised. When Mrs. Peters
shops without the children, she frequently buys clothing items and presents them in
the store bag. Gifts for special occasions are always wrapped.

Mrs. Peters traditionally gives some clothing items as gifts to her daughters. At
Christmas, each girl always receives a gift certificate for new athletic shoes. After the
holiday, they go shopping and choose the shoes they want. This practice is necessary
because shoes are more difficult to fit.

**Retail sources.** Mrs. Peters shops at specialty and department stores. She buys
primarily brand-name clothing, claiming that some brands fit her daughters better
than others. It is difficult for her to find the unique styles she prefers for her
children at the stores in her local community. She mentions that since Judy has
grown into teen sizes this problem is not as great as when she wore large girls’ sizes.
Because their community has a university, there are more stores that sell junior and
teen size clothing.

Mrs. Peters has skills that allow her to sew some of the girls’ special-occasion
dresses. She sometimes orders fabrics from mail-order sources because there are a
limited number of retail fabric stores in her area. Her daughters value the home-
sewn dresses and are happy to receive them. The uniqueness and proper fit are
particularly satisfying to Mrs. Peters and her daughters.

**Spending.** Mrs. Peters is very price conscious and always tries to purchase items
on sale. She frequently makes the 100 mile round trip to a larger city to shop for
clothing when one of her favorite stores is having a sale. Advertising is an influence when she sees that a particular brand is on sale. She doesn't believe that she spends very much on clothing because she usually purchases items at reduced prices. She is willing to spend more for brand-name clothing because she has found that the performance and fit outweigh the costs. Mrs. Peters prefers to shop in stores where she can use a credit card. This allows her to make larger purchases and defer the payments over several months.

Sewing some clothing saves on the cost of purchasing. To Mrs. Peters sewing some items justifies spending more for items she is not able to sew such as coats or sweaters. Sweaters are frequently chosen as clothing gifts.

The grandparents of the Peters' girls live within 100 miles of their home. Both sets of grandparents also purchase clothing as gifts for the Peters children. One grandmother likes to take the girls shopping herself in a larger city and allow them to choose their own gifts. This practice is successful and appreciated by the Peters family.

Profile IV: The Hill family

The Hill family lives in a large new home in a city of 60,000 residents. The Hills have two children, an eight-year-old son and a 12-year old daughter. Dr. Hill is a pediatrician affiliated with a major hospital and clinic in the city where they live. Mrs. Hill has a college degree in elementary education but since the birth of her younger child has chosen to stay at home to care for the children. She is involved in volunteer work with the hospital auxiliary and her children's school. The children
participate in private music lessons and various athletic activities including swim

team, softball, and soccer.

The home is situated on a large lot. The lawn and shrubbery are neatly
trimmed. Dr. Hill enjoys working in the yard and flower gardens in his leisure time
although they occasionally must hire some of the maintenance work done. The
family owns a large van which they use for travelling, a new station wagon which Mrs.
Hill uses for errands in the city, and a small new sedan which Mr. Hill drives to
work. The home has a three-car garage to accommodate the vehicles.

The home is stylishly furnished. The lower level of the home includes a formal
living and dining room, a kitchen with adjoining family room, and a master bedroom.
There are four bedrooms on the upper level. Framed family pictures are placed on
some of the tables. Glass curio cabinets contain travel souvenirs and fine glassware.
Several walls display original watercolor paintings.

The mother-child dyad

Mrs. Hill feels that she has a healthy relationship with her son John. He argues
with her daily about the need to practice his music lessons but she perceives that as
normal behavior for a child his age. Mrs. Hill spends much of her time transporting
John to his various athletic practices and games. She believes that when John is
older he will be more appreciative of her efforts than he is at present.

John feels that his mother is never satisfied and is always trying to change him.
She requires that he wear coordinated polo shirts and twill pants to school when he
would rather wear t-shirts and jeans like his friends. John knows he is fortunate to
have more nice clothing and toys than many other children but wishes he had more control over his appearance and time. John knows that clothing and personal appearance are very important to his mother and is willing to dress as she chooses when he is with her or when her friends visit. He is looking forward to getting older when his mother won't be able to tell him what to do.

**Buying practices for clothing and clothing gifts**

A clothing gift for John differs from the other clothing he receives in that it is a complete outfit. Mrs. Hill sometimes chooses a polo shirt, pants, sweater, coordinating socks, and a belt and presents the entire outfit as a gift. John expects to receive clothing gifts and politely says "Thank you." He is not very excited to receive them, however. He would rather be given electronic equipment or toys.

John's paternal grandmother also lives in the city. She occasionally takes John shopping and purchases a sweatsuit or t-shirt of his choosing. He is delighted, but his mother would rather the grandmother would not do this because it just causes conflict when he wants to wear these items to school.

**Retail sources.** Mrs. Hill shops only at specialty stores and major department stores that carry the brands she likes for John to wear. Sales personnel at the specialty stores know her tastes and provide assistance in selecting clothing for John. John frequently accompanies her on shopping trips so that she can be sure that items fit properly. She doesn't like to take the time to return items to the store. She occasionally purchases items for John from specialty catalogs; however, this retail
source is not her first choice. She prefers to see the garments on her child and
doesn’t like the inconvenience of returning items through the mail.

The Hills sometimes travel to a major metropolitan area for the weekend. Mrs.
Hill takes advantage of this opportunity to go shopping. The family often makes this
trip before school starts in the fall.

**Spending.** The Hills’ financial situation does not limit spending for clothing. It
is not unusual for Mrs. Hill to spend $200.00 on clothing per child on a shopping trip
to a larger city. Mrs. Hill enjoys shopping and buying clothing for all of the family
members. She uses store credit cards because they are convenient. In this way she
can pay the entire amount with one check at the end of the month and items are
more easily returned. She uses a major credit card when purchasing items from
catalogs.
CHAPTER VII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this research was to examine the gift-giving behavior of mothers to their children in middle childhood. Objectives were to: 1) describe the gift-giving behavior of mothers to children including type of clothing selected, motives for selection, satisfaction level of mothers as givers and children as receivers, the child's role in the selection of the gift, and consumption practices for clothing gifts, 2) identify variations in factors that affected clothing gift-giving behavior, 3) propose a classification of dyads according to discriminating variables that emerged and develop a model that could be tested in further research, and 4) relate the findings to existing theory. This chapter presents conclusions and recommendations based on these objectives.

Gift-giving Behavior

Economic and social dimensions of gift giving

Results of this research reveal an interaction of the economic and social dimensions of gift giving. Mothers made gift decisions in order to maximize their satisfaction and the satisfaction of their children, supporting the assumptions of economic theory. Mothers gained satisfaction from pleasing their children through presenting them with gifts as well as from the affection they received from their children in return. This agrees with observations by Becker (1974) that social needs such as affection contribute to consumer satisfaction through gift giving.
Definition of a clothing gift

Results of this research indicate that the definition of a clothing gift is unclear, particularly when given within the family unit, in agreement with previous research (Horne & Winakor, in press; Manikowske & Littrell, 1991). The definition of a gift varied among dyads and between mothers and children within dyads. The social occasion and purchase context played a role in the definition. For some dyads, gifts needed to be wrapped items given for special occasions while in other dyads, gifts were defined as items of clothing purchased without the child knowing about it. Still other dyads took the children shopping to select some of their own gifts.

Further effort is needed to accurately measure expenditure for clothing gifts among persons within the consumer unit. The variation in definition of a gift creates problems in quantitative research. Use of recordkeeping in conjunction with multiple interviews may assist family members in remembering the number of items given and the amount spent. Studies might focus on gifts given specific occasions such as birthdays. The present research revealed a hierarchy of gift-giving occasions with Christmas and birthdays being the most common. Some families ritualized these occasions by giving a specific clothing item each year. Such rituals provide yet another focus for questions in future studies.

Mothers described a gift as something "special" or unique. Embellishment of the clothing item often created this uniqueness and distinguished a gift item, an observation also made by Rucker et al. (1987). Some gifts are valued because they symbolize togetherness as having been jointly chosen by the giver and receiver.
Several mothers in the present research enjoyed shopping for and selecting gifts with their children. Mothers may have appreciated the symbolism of togetherness created by such a purchase; however, children in middle childhood may not be mature enough to recognize this symbolism.

In adult relationships, certain items of clothing such as underwear are given as symbols of intimacy (Belk, 1979). Mothers reported giving underwear to their children because it was needed and they knew it would be worn. Children did not recognize underwear as a gift or perhaps because it was not a memorable gift, did not recall receiving it. Some mothers also gave underwear to their daughters as a symbol of a close, personal relationship and in recognition of a stage in their maturity. These results support the themes related to symbolism identified by Wolfinbarger (1990).

**Family resource use**

This research contributes knowledge applicable to helping families increase efficiency of their resource use. Thirty-two of the 41 mothers in this research were employed outside the home. Employed mothers generally purchased more clothing gifts for their children, sometimes to compensate for lack of time spent with the children. Some mothers purchased clothing gifts for their children when traveling alone on work-related trips. Also, employed mothers sometimes involved their children in selecting gifts because they had less time to shop and to return unsuccessful items. The sense of time was relative and differed among mothers but seemed to be mentioned as a limited resource most often by mothers employed full-
time outside of their homes. These findings support trends identified by Friel (1988) and Silver (1989) about changes in the family due to employment of mothers. Given the increased number of women in the work force in recent years, future studies might explore differences in gift-giving behavior based on the employment status of mothers as it relates to use of time and money resources.

When clothing gifts fail to satisfy children's wants, resources used to purchase them may be wasted. Selection of successful gifts minimizes returns and exchanges, saving time and transportation costs for consumers as well as retailer costs that are ultimately paid by consumers. Successful clothing gifts were described as those items worn and appreciated by the children.

**Clothing gifts as a supplementary source**

Choosing successful gifts is important because these items can substitute for non-gift clothing items purchased for children by their families. Dyads at all levels of consumption used clothing gifts to supplement children's wardrobes. The extent to which acquisition of new, purchased non-gift garments is affected by gifts depends on whether gift clothing substitutes for them in the eyes of children or parents. In this research, items such as pajamas, sweatshirts, t-shirts, and socks were frequently given to children because these were less likely to cause problems in acceptability by the children. Grandparents also chose these types of items as gifts, providing an important supplementary source appreciated by most parents and children. Winakor et al. (1969) also found a high substitution rate for gift items such as boys' and girls'
socks and underwear where style and coordination with other clothing were of low importance.

Results of the present research are limited by the fact that the question asked of mothers and children was simply, "Does a clothing gift substitute for a needed item of clothing?" Responses were generally "Yes, No, or Sometimes." Further research might ask additional questions to determine: 1) to what extent gifts reduced other expenditures for clothing and, 2) which items become one-to-one substitutions for items that would otherwise be purchased anyway.

Family Interaction Dynamics

Mother-child relationship

Clothing gifts serve an important role in creating and maintaining mother-child relationships. In the present research, mothers' efforts to please their children provided reinforcement for this valued relationship. Mothers did not perceive that they used clothing gifts for the purpose of building relationships with their children. Relationships were strengthened, however, through their efforts to please their children by satisfying their wants. Communication between mothers and children was the most important variable in this process. Mothers who reported that they asked their children's gift preferences and spent time shopping with their children rarely made an unsuccessful gift purchase. Some mothers wanted control over the appearance of their children and chose not to involve the children in the selection of
their clothing. Conflict over clothing appeared to negatively affect the mother-child relationship within these dyads.

In general, limited conflict over clothing choices occurred within mother-child dyads in this research. This lack of conflict expressed could have reflected participants' hesitancy to discuss negative experiences. While this research did not directly address changes over time, mothers' comments about how their children's attitudes toward clothing and appearance had changed in recent years provided useful insights. Several mothers anticipated an increase in conflict as children approached adolescence. A longitudinal study that follows a group of children from middle childhood into adolescence could determine if strong communication between mothers and children continues to minimize conflicts within dyads over clothing.

Whether the child interviewed was a boy or girl did not greatly affect reported gift-giving behavior of the mothers. In general, girls enjoyed shopping to a greater extent than boys did, so mothers had a tendency to do more shopping with their daughters than with sons. In the high and moderate LC groups in this research, more girls preferred to receive clothing as gifts while more boys preferred to receive toys. With regard to brand names, boys in this sample were more concerned with brands of athletic shoes than with brands of clothing in general. Findings of similarities and differences between boys and girls may be limited by the fact that a larger number of girls (n=10) than boys (n=4) were interviewed in the 11- to 12-year-old age group.
Social-psychological theories

Results of this research as well as those from a previous study by Manikowske and Winakor (in press) indicate that the socio-psychological theories of equity and reactance can help to explain behavior in giving gifts of clothing. Equity theory applied as mothers expected children to express gratitude and take care of the clothing item received as a gift. Clothing gifts were also given as rewards for good behavior and in rare instances for performance such as receiving high grades on a report card. These findings support Poe's (1977) premise that equity theory guides gift-giving behavior as the giver desires to equalize the ratio of receipts to inputs. Equity theory did not apply as mothers interviewed did not expect to receive gifts of matching value in return for giving gifts to their children, agreeing with Boulding (1973) that a gift is a grant that results in enhanced welfare for both parties. Mothers gained satisfaction when their children were pleased with the gifts received. With clothing gifts, the satisfaction is reinforced each time the child wears a gift item.

Clothing gifts could be seen as a threat to the child's freedom to choose his or her own style of dress, supporting the premise of psychological reactance theory (Brehm, 1966). Few mothers in this research chose to use clothing gifts to change their children's manner of dress because these items often became unsuccessful gifts that remained unworn or were returned to the store. In general, children's responses agreed with those of mothers that clothing gifts were not used in this way. However, a few mothers, particularly in the high LC group, purchased clothing for their children as a means of controlling the children's appearance. Sometimes these items
were given as gifts and the children were encouraged to wear them for special occasions or in the presence of the mother's friends, causing conflict within these dyads.

**Brand-name clothing and peer acceptance**

Several mothers expressed concern for the development and maintainance of healthy self-concepts in their children. These mothers believed that the children's satisfaction with their appearance and the acceptance of peers contributed to their children's self confidence in social situations. Consequently, these mothers chose clothing gifts that satisfied their children's need for peer-group acceptance. Mothers in all LC groups expressed these concerns; however, limited resources made it difficult for mothers in the lowest LC group to obtain brand-name clothing and particular styles important for acceptance by peers. These mothers compensated by selecting an item most important to their children; in many instances this was athletic shoes for boys or a new coat for either boys or girls. These findings support Belk's (1979) suggestion that the nature of gifts received by children may have lasting effects on the self-concept and behavioral patterns of children.

Children's wearing of designer and visible brand-name clothing appeared to be a means of displaying status by some moderate LC dyads and nearly all dyads in the high LC group in this research. Some children in the moderate group strived to dress like children in the high LC group. In some instances, mothers who were willing to spend more for gifts than for other clothing used gift giving as justification for providing their children with this type of clothing. Because little research has
been conducted on children's clothing in recent years, future studies might explore attitudes toward brand-name clothing of children in middle childhood and their mothers.

**Consumer socialization**

Results of this research revealed the bi-directional character of consumer socialization within mother-child dyads. Mothers taught children shopping attitudes, values, and practices regarding clothing purchases. At the same time, children shaped the consumer behavior of their mothers through their use of clothing gifts received. Several mothers indicated that they would no longer purchase particular items because they had "learned the hard way" that the items would not be worn or would need to be returned. These findings confirmed the views of Moschis (1987) who suggested a life-cycle perspective for the study of consumer socialization.

Family, more specifically shopping and communication with the mother, had an impact on children's consumer learning. Media were less important for clothing gifts because clothing is not widely advertised on television and children ages 8 to 12 in this sample did not read newspapers or magazines. The influence of peers was more important than media in consumer socialization of the children in the present research, supporting a similar finding of Caron and Ward (1975). Moschis and Churchill (1978), Ward (1974), and Ward et al. (1977) found family and media influences to be the most important factors affecting consumer socialization.

This research explored the idea that clothing gifts are a means of socializing children to be consumers. Most mothers did not use clothing gifts in this way but
they recognized opportunities to do so in the future. Mothers expressed appreciation for the insights they personally gained as a result of thinking through the process of gift-giving to their children. This finding has practical applications for agencies that work with families. Educational materials could be prepared suggesting ways to use clothing gifts for consumer socialization.

Retailers might use these findings to develop services that enhance consumer satisfaction and increase sales of clothing for gifts. For example, promotions of clothing gifts for children which include easy care would appeal to mothers. Displays showing color and style combinations might also increase sales. Ease of return was important to the mothers in this research, particularly when buying gift items without their children. Gift wrap services may be less important than store display. Emphasis on price promotions for children's clothing before gift-giving occasions such as Christmas would be an effective marketing strategy for mothers. In attempting to reach children as consumers, television advertising promises to be more successful than that in other media.

Classification of mother-child dyads

Dyads clustered into four groups based on discriminating variables found to affect gift-giving behavior. Level of consumption and mothers' and children's interest in clothing and appearance were identified as the major discriminators. For most dyads, mother's clothing interest was related to interest of her child. The four groups differed in their buying practices for clothing and clothing gifts such as choice of
retail sources and the importance of brand names. Discussion of these profiles in Chapter VI suggests variables for a model that might be tested in further research.

Future research might refine methods for distinguishing and characterizing families by level of consumption. Findings of the present research are limited in generalizability because level of consumption was based partly on observations of one researcher. Efforts should be made to establish reliability of this method. Use of a second observer at each interview would provide a check on reliability.

Because clothing interest emerged as a discriminating variable, use of a clothing interest inventory in future studies could assist in classifying groups. The two behavior inventories (Appendix D) provided still another possibility for classifying dyads. These instruments functioned well for the small sample in this research, particularly on interview questions concerning the mother-child relationship. The relationship behavior of the mothers with their children seemed to be unrelated to patterns of gift-giving behavior. Perhaps this was because the mother-child relationship was not associated with economic well-being of the family in this research.

The effect of parenting style on gift-giving behavior is unknown. Carlson and Grossbart (1988) used the work of Baumrind (1978) and Becker (1964) to study the effects of parenting style on consumer socialization of children. Baumrind's instrumentation could be used to classify mothers as Authoritarian, Permissive, Rigid Controlling, Authoritative, or Neglecting. A qualitative study might identify differences in gift-giving behavior of these groups of mothers.
Additional Recommendations

This research, an exploratory case study of 41 mother-child dyads, is limited in terms of its generalizability. Future researchers might develop questions based on one or more major categories of themes that emerged from this research and to survey a larger population of mothers and children in middle childhood. Other studies might focus on different age groups or geographic areas. Other dyads within the family unit could be studied, such as grandparent to child, father to child, sibling to sibling, or adult child to parent, including two-way exchanges. Patterns of gift-giving behavior among the generations within families would provide yet another topic to study. Giving of clothing by children to their parents could also be studied using equity theory as a base. The effects of family size and composition, including birth order of the child among his or her siblings, could be explored to a greater extent than was possible in the present research. Step-families would be an appropriate sample for a naturalistic study of gift-giving behavior related to clothing.

Given the globalization of the world economy, consumer researchers and marketers may benefit from cross-cultural research on gift-giving behavior related to clothing. Jolibert and Fernandez-Moreno (1983) found cultural differences in spending on gifts in a study of Mexican and French families. The effect of mothers' values on gift-giving behavior within or between cultural groups is still another potential research topic. Findings of this research are limited by the fact that all dyads were Caucasian and lived in sparsely-populated rural areas or relatively small urban areas of the midwestern United States.
In-store studies during gift-giving seasons are recommended to assess attitudes of givers at the point of purchase. Motives for selection might be more clearly defined at this time as compared to asking consumers to recall their motives later. Factors affecting spending and attitudes toward the amount spent might also be measured more accurately at the time of purchase. In-store observation of prepurchase behavior might better identify retailer strategies that influence decision-making.

Overview

Because little is known about the process of gift giving and the behavior patterns involved in the exchange of gift objects, insights gained in this research make a substantial contribution to the research base on gift-giving behavior. In general findings harmonize with existing literature in the field but also go beyond it. Use of qualitative methods provided greater understanding of the process from the mothers' and children's perspectives. Some insights might have been overlooked in a quantitative study. The range of reactions was more meaningful than how often a particular behavior occurred. This research was exploratory and provides a foundation for future research related to clothing gifts. One mother expressed the sentiments of the researcher well:

...what I am thinking, when I sit here visiting with you, is that there is probably more to this than I ever thought [MG11].
CHAPTER VIII. SUMMARY

This research used a holistic focus to interpret behavior related to giving gifts of clothing within dyads. The behaviors of mothers and children were examined in relation to the conceptual framework proposed by Horne and Winakor (1991). The four stages of the process -- prepurchase, purchase, presentation, and postpresentation -- characterized the mothers' gift-giving behavior. Parents and children are frequent exchange partners. Examination of behavior within dyads provided perceptions of both givers and receivers. Children in middle childhood served as an appropriate age group to study because attitudes and interests related to clothing are changing at this developmental stage.

Gifts of clothing comprise a high proportion of all gifts given. Economists define gifts as commodities exchanged to maximize the satisfaction of others, recognizing social needs such as affection as intangible commodities. Gifts may be given to persons within or outside the family. In order to estimate the economic magnitude of clothing gifts, gifts must be defined in relation to the giver, the receiver, and the consumer unit.

Gift giving plays an important role in the development of interpersonal relationships. Gifts establish social ties, reinforce friendships, and indicate feelings of concern or love. Gift exchange is one form of parent-child interaction.

Consumer socialization research involves the study of children's influence on intrafamily patterns. Family and the media have been found to be the most important factors affecting consumer socialization of children. Within the family,
parenting styles and communication with children serve important roles in the process of consumer socialization. Peers and retailers are also important socialization agents for children.

Demographic changes such as increases in the number of working parents and one-parent families have affected children as consumers. Marketers see children as both a current and future market with substantial influence on purchases of their parents.

Study of children's clothing consumption must consider social, psychological, physiological, and economic factors which are interrelated. Gifts are a major supplementary source for family clothing consumption. The extent to which purchases of new clothing are affected by supplementary sources such as gifts depends on the ability of the supplementary clothing items to serve as substitutes.

Procedure

A naturalistic approach was selected for this research to interpret the dynamics of gift-giving behavior from the perspectives of mothers and their 8- to 12-year-old children. Forty-one dyads were selected purposively to vary in family level of consumption (LC), family size and composition, educational level and occupation of the mother, and rural or urban location.

Separate semi-structured interview guides were developed for mothers and children. The open-ended interview questions allowed the researcher to analyze important information volunteered by the participants.
A self-administered demographic questionnaire for mothers obtained information about the participants' ages, educational levels, occupations, and family composition. The researcher administered separate behavior inventories to mothers and children to assess the relationship within dyads. Level of consumption was estimated using a checklist developed by the researcher, demographic information, and through personal observation during the interview.

Tape-recorded interviews were conducted privately at the homes of the participants. Audio tapes were transcribed using separate files for each participant.

Content analysis of the transcribed interviews inductively identified concepts, themes, and patterns of behavior. These concepts and themes became the categories of a coding guide used to identify and sort units of analysis across all interviews. The researcher performed statistical and graphical analyses on the results obtained using the behavior inventories.

Findings

Six major categories of themes evolved from the responses of participants: 1) attitudes toward clothing and appearance, 2) consumer socialization of the child related to clothing, 3) comparison of gift and non-gift clothing, 4) buying practices, 5) presentation of the gift, and 6) outcome of the presentation.

Attitudes toward clothing and appearance

Themes that emerged in this category provided understanding of the behaviors of the mother-child dyads related to clothing and appearance and the importance of
clothing to these children. Most of the 8- to 12-year-old children in this research liked clothing and interest was increasing as the children approached middle-school ages of 11 to 12. Most children preferred casual clothes such as jeans, sweatsuits, and t-shirts for school or play. Comfort, fit, and color were frequently mentioned by children as important factors in their clothing selection.

Peer groups were very influential in forming attitudes and preferences about appearance for children in the low and moderate LC groups. Mothers understood that dressing children like their peers was one way of increasing self esteem and success in school.

The importance of brand names varied among the three LC groups. Mothers in the low LC group recognized the importance of brands but were unable to provide expensive brand name clothing for their children to wear. Children in the moderate group often expressed preferences for brand name clothing, particularly the visible labels found on shirts and athletic shoes. Brand names appeared to be important to mothers and children in the high LC group. Reasons given for buying brand names included fit, "look" or style, shopping time saved, quality, and children's preferences.

**Consumer socialization**

The bi-directional influence of consumer socialization was analyzed by examining the mother's consumer behavior and consumer education goals for her children and to a limited extent the children's own consumer behavior. A theme related to shopping attitudes, values, and practices emerged pertaining to consumer socialization of children regarding clothing purchases. Quality, durability of
construction, ease of care, and fiber content are extrinsic properties of clothing items that mothers used to guide their selections. Mothers identified appearance, fit, and wardrobe versatility as criteria for selection. Price consciousness and the ability to avoid impulse buying were attitudes mothers most wanted their children to adopt.

Mothers used shopping together, at-home communication, and 4-H club work most frequently as means of teaching consumer skills to their children. Mothers who communicated regularly with their children about clothing and appearance influenced their children's acquisition of consumer skills. Few mothers used clothing gifts for consumer socialization but several indicated that they might use future gifts for this purpose.

A comparison of gift and non-gift clothing

Mothers were asked to define clothing gifts given to their children, state when gifts are given, and identify motives for selecting a particular item to be given. Children were also asked to describe a clothing gift and how it differed from non-gift clothing. Factors that distinguished a clothing gift from non-gift clothing included involvement of the child in the purchase, how much the item was wanted or needed by the child, cost, and the specific item given. Several dyads described a gift as an item that was a surprise to the child. Nearly all mothers described a gift as something the children wanted, while some believed it should be a needed item. The definition of "need" differed among LC groups. Clothing gifts were often more expensive than non-gift clothing items. Because children in this research liked to wear clothing with embellishment in the form of colored design, texture, or printed
characters, these items were frequently chosen as gifts. Embellishment sometimes made a gift item unique and as a result "something special." Several children used the same criteria as mothers to define a gift but a surprising number considered anything that was given to them a gift.

Typical motives for selection of a clothing gift included pleasing the child and mother, meeting a wardrobe need, marking an occasion, reduced prices, and souvenirs from travel. Communication with the child and involvement of the child in the search process were indications that a mother wanted the gift to please the child. Nearly all dyads cited Christmas and birthdays as gift-giving occasions. Mothers in the moderate and low LC groups mentioned reduced price as a motive for selection of a particular item.

**Buying practices for clothing gifts**

Advertising, shopping, and communication with the child emerged as information sources that assisted in decision-making. Peers and siblings also served as sources of information to mothers. Mothers were also influenced by in-store promotions and displays, particularly for ideas on how to combine colors and styles.

Various factors affected spending for children's clothing gifts. Spending varied with the gift-giving occasion. The degree of liking for and quality of a particular item as well as how often or how long an item would be worn also affected spending. In the moderate and low LC groups amount of money available in the budget determined level of spending.
In general, the high LC group shopped in specialty and department stores, the moderate group in department and discount stores, and the low group in discount stores and lower-priced department stores such as JC Penney® or Sears®. Few mothers purchased gifts from catalogs. Mothers requested assistance from store employees on sizes, coordination of items, and to a limited extent gift ideas. Ease of return was the retailer policy of greatest importance in gift purchases. The opportunity to charge purchases was seen as a convenience but did not influence choice of retail source. Giftwrapping was of virtually no importance. Few mothers took advantage of this service and only if it was offered free of charge.

Several mothers indicated spending more time in the selection of a clothing gift than for non-gift clothing while others simply could not find extra time. Mothers frequently traveled to larger cities to purchase clothing gifts with about half indicating they would travel farther to purchase gift clothing as compared to non-gift clothing.

Presentation of a clothing gift

The element of surprise was very important to nearly all mothers and children in this research. To facilitate this surprise, all mothers wrapped gifts presented on special occasions. Mothers often presented gifts given for no special occasion in the store bag.

Children enjoyed receiving gifts of clothing. Most were excited or happy while several said their reactions depended on the item given. Positive reactions encouraged mothers to choose similar gift items in the future.
Outcome of the gift presentation

This research examined the impact of gift-giving behavior on the relationship between the mother and the child. Clothing gifts impacted the relationship in some dyads but not others. By pleasing the children with the presentation of gifts, mothers believed they were showing affection and caring. Other mothers recognized the importance of appearance and acceptance by the child’s peers in building positive self-esteem.

Equity theory applied to the gift-giving behavior in this research as mothers used clothing gifts to reward good behavior. Mothers expected an expression of gratitude and care of the item given in return for receipt of a gift. Reactance theory applied as mothers used clothing gift to change children’s manner of dress. However, few mothers found it successful to use a gift in this way. The high LC group possessed the greatest percentage of mothers who used clothing gifts to exercise this type of control over their children.

Open communication between mothers and children contributed to selection of clothing gifts that children appreciated and wore. Nearly half of the mother-child dyads identified the same successful gift item, citing similar reasons for the success. The themes that emerged as reasons for and indicators of success of a particular clothing gift paralleled themes related to children’s interest in clothing and appearance and were similar to ideas discussed on motives for selection. As mothers attempted to achieve satisfaction from giving successful gifts, they looked to the children’s interest in clothing in order to make a selection that pleased the child.
Unsuccessful gift presentations were uncommon among the dyads in this research. The primary indicator of lack of success was when an item was not worn by the child. Unsuccessful gifts were usually returned to the store and exchanged for other clothing items.

A greater number of girls than boys preferred clothing as gifts. Slightly less than half of the children in this research were equally satisfied with receiving clothing and other types of gifts. Dyads agreed that clothing gifts substituted for needed wardrobe items.

**Additional themes presented**

All children received clothing gifts from grandparents or other givers outside of the immediate family. The closer the geographic proximity of these givers to the receiver, the more likely that clothing was the gift of choice and the more successful the gift. All mothers in this research gave clothing gifts to children outside their immediate families. Items such as t-shirts or sweatshirts were chosen to avoid problems of fit. Few mothers sewed clothing gifts for their children.

**Mother-child relationship**

The two behavior inventories provided additional insights not gained through the interview process. Patterns of behavior that emerged in analysis of data from these instruments did not correspond to the level of consumption classifications used in the discussion of gift-giving behavior.
Profiles of mother-child dyads

Mother-child dyads in this research clustered into four groups based on family level of consumption (LC) and clothing interest of mothers and children. Assignment of dyads to these groups assisted the researcher in understanding differences in gift-giving behavior among the dyads. Four profiles emerged with distinguishing characteristics in lifestyles and shopping practices for clothing and clothing gifts.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Mothers made gift decisions in order to maximize their satisfaction and the satisfaction of their children, indicating an interaction of the economic and social dimensions of gift-giving behavior. The definition of a clothing gift was unclear and varied among and within mother-child dyads. Dyads at all levels of consumption used clothing gifts to supplement children's wardrobes. Successful gifts, those items worn and appreciated by the children, substituted for non-gift clothing items purchased for children by their families.

Mothers' efforts to please their children with successful gifts strengthened the mother-child relationship. Communication within dyads was most important in this process. Several mothers chose clothing gifts that supported their children's need for peer-group acceptance, contributing to the children's self-confidence in social situations. Results revealed the bi-directional character of consumer socialization within mother-child dyads.
Further research might refine methods for distinguishing families by level of consumption and clothing interest as these were the major discriminating variables affecting gift-giving behavior. Studies might focus on other dyadic relationships, family compositions, cultural groups, and geographic areas. In-store studies are recommended to assess attitudes and motives of givers at the point of purchase.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A:

PARTICIPANT SELECTION

AND CONFIRMATION
Hello, this is Linda Manikowske. I'm a graduate student at Iowa State University in the Department of Textiles and Clothing. I am doing research on clothing gifts of mothers to their children. Your name was given to me by _____________ as someone who has a child in the 8 to 12 age group.

I will be interviewing mothers about the process of selecting and giving gifts of clothing to their children. I would like very much for you to participate in my research project.

I would like to set up a time when we can meet together. The interview will take about an hour. I would also like to ask your daughter (son) some questions after we have finished. That interview should take about a half hour. Is there a time in the next two weeks that we would be able to meet at your house? Would your daughter (son) be available at that time as well?

I will tape the interview in order to more accurately record the information, but these tapes will be erased and your opinions kept confidential. Do you have any questions about what we will be doing?

I look forward to seeing you on the (date) at (time). I will be sending you a letter that gives you more information and confirms the time. Thank you for talking with me. Goodbye.
Dear [Mother's Name],

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the gift-giving research study. In the interview I will be asking you about what you consider before deciding to purchase a gift, actual purchase of the gift, presentation of the gift to your child and the time after the presentation of the gift. Your responses to the interview will help me learn more about the process of clothing gift giving from mothers to their children.

Your interview is scheduled for Friday, March 15th at 7:00 p.m. The interview will take about an hour. I will then want to visit with [daughter or son's name] for about 30 minutes. I won’t need to speak to you together and it is actually best if you don’t hear each other’s answers.

Your responses to the questions will be confidential because your name is not associated with the interview in any way. The interview will be tape recorded in order to insure accuracy of detail in recording your answers. The tape recording will be erased after the research project is completed. If you feel uncomfortable with the questions asked during the interview, you may choose not to answer a particular question or withdraw from the interview.

There are also paper and pencil questionnaires I will want you to complete while I visit with your child. One is regarding your behaviors as a parent as they relate to the relationship you have with your child. The other asks background questions about you and your family such as age and occupation. I will also ask your child questions about your behavior as it applies to the relationship he or she has with you. Your child will respond to these questions by circling the appropriate response on the questionnaire.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at home or at my office.

Home: 2024 State Street
Brookings, SD 57006
692-6931

Office: 235 NHE
SD State University
Brookings, SD 57007
688-4037

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Linda Manikowske
Graduate Student
INFORMATION TO BE READ BY MOTHERS AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the gift-giving research study. In the interview I will be asking you about the factors you consider before deciding to purchase a gift, actual purchase of the gift, presentation of the gift to your child, and the time after the presentation of the gift. Your responses to the interview will help us learn more about the process of clothing gift-giving from mothers to their children.

There is also a questionnaire I would like you to complete while I visit with your child. Our interview should take about an hour and your child's interview about a half hour.

Your responses to the questions will be confidential because your name is not associated with the interview in any way. The interview will be tape recorded in order to insure accuracy of detail in recording your answers. The tape recording will be erased after the research project is completed. If you feel uncomfortable with the questions asked during the interview, you may choose not to answer a particular question or withdraw from the interview.

If you have any questions please feel free to discuss them with me.

Linda Manikowske
Graduate Student
Department of Textiles and Clothing
Iowa State University
INFORMATION TO BE READ TO CHILDREN AT TIME OF INTERVIEW

My name is Linda Manikowske. I am a student at Iowa State University in the Textiles and Clothing Department. Thank you for talking to me today. I am going to ask you questions about clothing and about clothing gifts you get from your mother. Your answers to the questions will help us understand more about gift giving for a research study at Iowa State University. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions, just say what you think or what you feel.

I won't be sharing your answers to the questions with your mother. Your name will not be used on the interview sheet. We will be tape recording your answers so that I can remember what you said when I have to write my report. The tape recording will be erased after the research project is finished. If you feel uncomfortable with any question I ask you, you may choose not to answer it or you may choose not to answer any more questions if you wish. If you have any questions as we go along, just ask.

We will be talking together for about a half hour.
APPENDIX B:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
MOTHER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The interview will consist of four parts, corresponding to the stages of the clothing gift-giving process - prepurchase, purchase, presentation and postpresentation. First we'll talk about the prepurchase stage. This is the time before you decide to make a gift purchase.

I. PREPURCHASE

Q-1 TELL ME ABOUT _____________'S INTEREST IN CLOTHING. WHAT SORTS OF CLOTHING DOES HE/SHE LIKE TO WEAR?

Q-2 HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE A CLOTHING GIFT THAT YOU GIVE TO ________________?

Q-3 FOR WHAT OCCASIONS DO YOU GIVE CLOTHING GIFTS TO ______?

_____ BIRTHDAY
_____ SPECIAL SCHOOL EVENTS
_____ CHRISTMAS
_____ OTHER OCCASION
_____ OTHER RELIGIOUS OCCASIONS
_____ NO OCCASION
_____ BRING BACK FROM A TRIP

Q-4 IN THE PAST YEAR, WHAT TYPES OF ITEMS DID YOU SELECT AS GIFTS?

_____ UNDERWEAR
_____ PAJAMAS
_____ SOCKS
_____ DRESSES
_____ SHIRTS/BLOUSES
_____ COATS
_____ PANTS
_____ SHOES
_____ SWEATERS
_____ ACCESSORIES

TOTAL NUMBER OF ITEMS ____________________
Q-5 DID YOU HAVE A REASON FOR SELECTING A PARTICULAR GIFT FOR ________________?

Q-6 DO YOU EVER USE A CLOTHING GIFT AS A REWARD FOR GOOD BEHAVIOR OR EXPECT A PARTICULAR TYPE OF BEHAVIOR IN RETURN FOR A GIFT OF CLOTHING?

Q-7 DO YOU EVER USE A CLOTHING GIFT AS A WAY OF CHANGING THE WAY ________________ DRESSES?

Q-8 HOW DOES ADVERTISING AFFECT YOUR DECISION TO GIVE A CLOTHING GIFT?

WHY?

Q-9 IN WHAT WAY DOES ADVERTISING AFFECT YOUR CHOICE OF CLOTHING ITEM TO GIVE AS A GIFT?

Q-10 FROM WHAT SOURCES DO YOU SEEK INFORMATION ABOUT CLOTHING?

_____ MAGAZINE _____ NEWSPAPER

_____ TV _____ OTHER ______________________

_____ STORE BROCHURES

Q-11 DOES ______________ ASK FOR SPECIFIC CLOTHING FOR A GIFT BECAUSE OF SEEING AN ADVERTISEMENT FOR IT?

TELL ME ABOUT AN ITEM THAT HE/SHE ASKED FOR.

Q-12 DO YOU AND ______________ LOOK AROUND AT STORES OR WINDOW SHOP TOGETHER SO THAT HE/SHE CAN GIVE YOU CLOTHING GIFT IDEAS? HOW OFTEN?

TELL ME ABOUT THE LAST TIME YOU DID THIS.
Q-13 DO YOU AND __________ SHOP TOGETHER TO BUY THE ACTUAL CLOTHING GIFT?

_____YES  _____NO

HOW OFTEN AND FOR WHAT TYPES OF ITEMS ARE YOU MORE LIKELY TO SHOP TOGETHER?

OR WHY DO YOU CHOOSE NOT TO SHOP TOGETHER?

Q-14 DO IN-STORE PROMOTIONS AND DISPLAYS AFFECT YOUR CLOTHING GIFT DECISIONS?

_____YES  _____NO

Q-15 WHAT ARE SOME OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION THAT HELP YOU MAKE DECISIONS ABOUT WHAT TO BUY?

Q-16 WHAT DETERMINES HOW MUCH YOU WILL SPEND ON A CLOTHING GIFT FOR __________?

_____OCCASION

_____CHILD’S BEHAVIOR

_____OTHER ________________________________________

Q-17 DO YOU DECIDE IN ADVANCE HOW MUCH YOU WILL SPEND?

_____YES  _____NO

Q-18 WHAT DO YOU LOOK FOR IN SELECTING A CLOTHING GIFT THAT IS DIFFERENT FROM ANOTHER CLOTHING ITEM YOU MIGHT PURCHASE FOR YOUR CHILD THAT YOU DON’T CONSIDER A GIFT?

MORE EXPENSIVE?

MORE FASHIONABLE?

MORE CLASSIC IN STYLE (CAN WEAR IT LONGER)?

NO DIFFERENCE?
Q-19 How much time do you think you spent in the selection of ______________ (refer to specific gift previously stated).

____ Less than one hour  ____ Four hours
____ Two hours  ____ More than four hours
____ Three hours  ____ Time varies a lot

Q-20 How far did you travel to purchase ______________? (refer to gift mentioned from Q-4)

Is this further than you would travel to buy clothing that was not a gift?

II. PURCHASE

Next, I'd like to ask you some questions about the actual purchase of a clothing gift.

Q-21 From what kinds of stores do you obtain most of the clothing gifts that you give to ______________?

____ Department stores (Younkers/Daytons)
____ Specialty stores (Engeldingers/Burke's)
____ Discount stores (Wal-Mart/Target)
____ Catalogs (J.C. Penney, Lands' End)
____ Off-price stores (Half-price store)
____ Other ____________________

Q-22 If you can't find what you are looking for at your first choice of store, where do you look next?
Q-23 WHAT KINDS OF HELP DO YOU REQUEST FROM STORE EMPLOYEES IN SELECTION OF A CLOTHING GIFT?

____SIZES
____COORDINATION OF ITEMS
____IDEAS FOR WHAT OTHER CHILDREN ARE WEARING
____OTHER ____________________________

Q-24 HOW IMPORTANT ARE THE STORE POLICIES IN YOUR DECISION TO PURCHASE A CLOTHING GIFT? (STORE POLICIES INCLUDE EASE OF RETURN, TYPE OF PAYMENT OPTIONS SUCH AS CASH OR CHARGE, GIFT WRAPPING, ETC.)

III. PRESENTATION

THE NEXT GROUP OF QUESTIONS RELATES TO THE PRESENTATION OF A CLOTHING GIFT TO ________________.

Q-25 HOW IMPORTANT IS "SURPRISE" TO YOU IN GIVING A CLOTHING GIFT TO ________________?

____VERY IMPORTANT
____SOMewhat IMPORTANT
____NOT VERY IMPORTANT

HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO ________________?

Q-26 HOW OFTEN ARE THE GIFTS YOU GIVE TO __________WRAPPED?

____ALWAYS
____SOMETIMES
____NEVER
Q-27 HOW DOES ___________ REACT WHEN HE/SHE RECEIVES A GIFT OF CLOTHING?
    _____ EXCITED     _____ NO REACTION
    _____ DISAPPOINTED _____ DEPENDS ON WHAT THE ITEM IS
    _____ NERVOUS     _____ OTHER _________________________

Q-28 HOW DOES ___________ REACTION INFLUENCE WHAT YOU CHOOSE TO BUY OR NOT BUY IN THE FUTURE?

IV. POSTPRESENTATION

THE FINAL GROUP OF QUESTIONS CONCERNS THE POST-PURCHASE STAGE - THE TIME AFTER THE GIFT HAS BEEN PRESENTED.

AFTER OUR INTERVIEW, I WILL BE GIVING YOU A QUESTIONNAIRE TO FILL OUT THAT TELLS ME ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP YOU HAVE WITH YOUR CHILD.

Q-29 DO YOU THINK THAT THE GIVING OF A CLOTHING GIFT PLAYS ANY PART IN THAT RELATIONSHIP?

Q-30 DESCRIBE A SUCCESSFUL CLOTHING GIFT YOU HAVE GIVEN TO _______________ IN THE LAST YEAR.

Q-31 WHAT MADE YOU DECIDE THAT THE GIFT WAS SUCCESSFUL?
    _____ S/HE WAS HAPPY
    _____ S/HE WEARS IT A LOT
    _____ S/HE GAVE ME A HUG
    _____ S/HE SHOWED IT TO HER (HIS) FRIENDS
    _____ S/HE SHOWED IT TO OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS
    _____ OTHER _________________________

Q-32 IS THE GIFT AVAILABLE SO THAT YOU MIGHT SHOW IT TO ME AFTER THE INTERVIEW?
Q-33 WHAT IS AN EXAMPLE OF AN UNSUCCESSFUL CLOTHING GIFT YOU PURCHASED FOR __________ IN THE LAST YEAR?

Q-34 WHAT MADE THE GIFT UNSUCCESSFUL?

_____S/HE DIDN'T LIKE IT
_____IT DIDN'T FIT
_____S/HE DOESN'T WEAR IT MUCH
_____OTHER ____________________________

Q-35 WHAT WAS DONE WITH THE GIFT?

_____RETURNED TO THE STORE
_____EXCHANGED FOR ANOTHER ITEM
_____JUST HANGS IN THE CLOSET/DRAWER
_____GAVE IT TO SOMEONE ELSE

Q-36 WHAT KINDS OF THINGS DO YOU DO AS A CONSUMER THAT YOU WOULD LIKE __________ TO LEARN?

ANYTHING ELSE?

Q-37 WHAT THINGS DO YOU WANT ___________ TO LEARN NOW AT HIS/HER AGE?

HOW DO YOU TRY TO TEACH THESE THINGS?

Q-38 HAVE YOU EVER USED A CLOTHING GIFT TO TEACH ___________

HOW TO CHOOSE WHAT TO BUY?

Q-39 CAN YOU THINK OF TIMES WHEN YOU MIGHT HAVE USED THE GIFT-GIVING SITUATION TO TEACH _____ ABOUT MAKING A PURCHASE?
Q-40 DOES A GIFT THAT YOU BUY FOR ________ TAKE THE PLACE OF AN ITEM OF CLOTHING YOU WOULD HAVE NEEDED TO PURCHASE FOR HIS OR HER WARDROBE ANYWAY?

_____YES   _____NO

Q-41 DO YOU EVER SEW CLOTHING GIFTS FOR ____________________________ RATHER THAN PURCHASING THEM READY-TO-WEAR?

_____YES   _____NO

IF YES, WHAT WAS THE REACTION TO A CLOTHING GIFT YOU HAVE MADE AS COMPARED TO ONE THAT IS PURCHASED READY-TO-WEAR?

_____EXCITED   _____NO REACTION

_____DISAPPOINTED   _____DEPENDS ON WHAT THE ITEM IS

_____NERVOUS   _____OTHER ____________________________

Q-42 DO YOU EVER MAKE ALTERATIONS OR CHANGES IN A CLOTHING ITEM BEFORE GIVING IT AS A GIFT? (I.E. DECORATE A SWEATSHIRT)

Q-43 DO YOU BUY CLOTHING GIFTS FOR CHILDREN WHO ARE NOT MEMBERS OF YOUR IMMEDIATE FAMILY?

_____YES   _____NO

IF YES, CAN YOU TELL ME A LITTLE ABOUT THOSE PURCHASES?

IF NOT, WHY DO YOU CHOOSE NOT TO DO SO?

Q-45 DO OTHER RELATIVES OR FRIENDS GIVE CLOTHING GIFTS TO YOUR CHILD?

IF YES, WHOM?

HOW FAR AWAY DOES THIS RELATIVE OR FRIEND LIVE?
WHAT TYPES OF ITEMS DO THEY GIVE?
HOW SUCCESSFUL ARE THEY?

TIME:________
DATE: ______________
NO. ______________
TIME OF INTERVIEW: ______________

CHILD INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

WE'LL BE TALKING ABOUT CLOTHING GIFTS YOU GET FROM YOUR MOTHER. THINK ABOUT CLOTHING AS ANYTHING YOU WEAR INCLUDING UNDERWEAR, SLEEPWEAR, SHOES AND ACCESSORIES LIKE BELTS, JEWELRY AND SCARVES (TIES).

Q-1 TELL ME ABOUT YOUR INTEREST IN CLOTHING. WHAT SORTS OF CLOTHING DO YOU LIKE TO WEAR?

TELL ME ABOUT A FAVORITE OUTFIT YOU HAVE.

Q-2 WHEN WE TALK ABOUT A "CLOTHING GIFT" WHAT DO YOU THINK OF?

[PROBE] CAN YOU TELL ME ABOUT THE CLOTHING GIFTS YOU HAVE RECEIVED IN THE LAST YEAR?

Q-3 FOR WHAT TIMES DO YOU RECEIVE GIFTS OF CLOTHING FROM YOUR MOTHER?

Q-4 HOW DOES YOUR MOTHER GET IDEAS FOR WHAT TO BUY YOU FOR A CLOTHING GIFT?

____ TELEVISION
____ YOU SHOW HER THINGS IN THE CATALOG
____ YOU SHOW HER THINGS OTHER KIDS ARE WEARING
____ ADVERTISEMENTS
____ OTHER __________________________________________

Q-5 DO YOU KNOW WHAT I MEAN BY AN AD OR COMMERCIAL?

____ YES ______ NO

HOW CAN YOU TELL THAT SOMETHING YOU SEE ON TV OR READ IS AN AD?

Q-6 DO YOU THINK ADVERTISEMENTS MAKE YOU WANT TO HAVE THINGS?
Q-7 DO YOU EVER SEE ADVERTISEMENTS FOR CLOTHING AND THEN ASK YOUR MOM TO BUY IT FOR YOU?
WHERE DID YOU SEE THE AD? (TV, MAGAZINE, NEWSPAPER)

Q-8 DO YOU AND YOUR MOTHER EVER SHOP TOGETHER FOR CLOTHING GIFTS FOR YOU?
DO YOU LIKE SHOPPING WITH HER?
WHY DO YOU THINK SHE LIKES YOU TO GO ALONG?

Q-9 WHERE DOES YOUR MOTHER BUY MOST OF THE GIFTS SHE GIVES YOU?
_____DEPARTMENT STORE
_____SPECIALTY STORE
_____DISCOUNT STORE (WAL-MART, TARGET)
_____CATALOG (JC PENNEY)
_____OFF-PRICE (HALF-PRICE STORE)
_____OTHER

Q-10 DO YOU EVER RECEIVE A CLOTHING GIFT AS A REWARD FOR GOOD BEHAVIOR OR FOR DOING A PARTICULAR TASK? DO YOU EVER FEEL YOU ARE EXPECTED TO ACT A CERTAIN WAY AS A RESULT OF RECEIVING A CLOTHING GIFT?
[PROBE MAY NEED TO INCLUDE AN EXAMPLE.]

Q-11 DO YOU KNOW WHAT I MEAN BY THE WORD BRAND? DO YOU KNOW WHAT A BRAND IS? GIVE ME AN EXAMPLE.
Q-12 WHEN PEOPLE GO SHOPPING, WHY DO YOU THINK THEY LOOK FOR DIFFERENT BRANDS?

DOES THE BRAND NAME HELP YOU WHEN YOU GO SHOPPING? HOW?

Q-13 DOES THE BRAND NAME OF THE CLOTHING SHE BUYS MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE TO YOU?

Q-14 SUPPOSE YOUR MOM GAVE YOU $20, WHAT WOULD YOU DO WITH THE MONEY?

Q-15 WHAT DO YOU THINK YOUR MOTHER WOULD WANT YOU TO DO WITH THE MONEY?

Q-16 DO YOU THINK YOUR MOM EVER HELPS YOU LEARN HOW TO BUY THINGS BY GIVING YOU A CERTAIN GIFT?

Q-17 HOW DO YOU FEEL WHEN YOU RECEIVE A GIFT OF CLOTHING FROM YOUR MOTHER?

_____ EXCITED
_____ DISAPPOINTED
_____ NERVOUS
_____ DEPENDS ON WHAT IT IS
_____ OTHER __________________________

Q-18 DO YOU EVER FEEL LESS FREE TO CHOOSE YOUR OWN CLOTHING WHEN YOU RECEIVE A GIFT FROM YOUR MOTHER?

Q-19 DO YOU AND YOUR MOTHER LIKE THE SAME TYPES OF CLOTHING FOR YOU?
Q-20 DO YOU THINK YOUR MOTHER USES A CLOTHING GIFT TO PERSUADE YOU TO DRESS IN A WAY THAT PLEASES HER RATHER THAN IN A WAY THAT PLEASES YOU?

Q-21 CAN YOU GIVE ME AN EXAMPLE OF A CLOTHING GIFT THAT YOUR MOTHER GAVE YOU THAT YOU LIKED?

WHAT DID YOU LIKE ABOUT IT?

IS IT AVAILABLE SO THAT YOU CAN SHOW IT TO ME AFTER WE FINISH?

(IF CHILD MENTIONS A DIFFERENT GIFT FROM MOTHER AS BEING SUCCESSFUL)

Q-22 YOUR MOTHER MENTIONED SHE HAD GIVEN YOU _______ AS A GIFT IN THE LAST YEAR. HOW DID YOU FEEL ABOUT THAT GIFT?

WHY DO YOU THINK SHE THOUGHT YOU LIKED IT SO MUCH?

Q-23 DOES YOUR MOTHER EVER BUY YOU CLOTHING GIFTS THAT YOU DON'T LIKE?

_____YES  _____NO

Q-24 WHAT HAPPENS TO THOSE GIFTS?

_____WE TAKE THEM BACK TO THE STORE
_____I DON'T WEAR THEM
_____I GIVE THEM AWAY
_____WE EXCHANGE THEM FOR SOMETHING ELSE
Q-25  How do you feel about the clothing gifts that she makes for you?

Q-26  Do other relatives like your grandparents ever buy you clothing gifts?

How do you like those gifts? What do you do with them if you don't like them?

Q-27  How do you feel if you get something you don't like?

Q-28  Do you think that the clothing gifts you get take the place of something that your mom would be buying for you anyway?

[Probe] If you needed new jeans and your birthday was coming up, would your mother wait to give you jeans for your birthday as a gift?

Q-29  Is clothing you get as a gift different from clothing your mother buys that is not a gift?

In what way?

Q-30  How do you feel about clothing gifts compared to other types of gifts that you get?
APPENDIX C:

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE
Your answers to the following questions will help me learn more about your experiences and will assist in interpreting the results of the study.

Q-1 Are you currently married? (circle number)

1 NO
2 YES

Q-2 Number of dependent children: ___

Q-3 List the age of each of your children:
Example: Daughter (3)

Q-4 What is your age? (circle number)

1 UNDER 26 YEARS
2 26-35 YEARS
3 36-45 YEARS
4 46-55 YEARS
5 OVER 55 YEARS

Q-5 What is the highest level of education you have completed? (circle number)

1 SOME HIGH SCHOOL
2 COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL
3 SOME COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OR OTHER TRAINING AFTER HIGH SCHOOL
4 COMPLETED COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY
5 SOME GRADUATE WORK
6 A GRADUATE DEGREE

Q-6 Describe your occupation.

_________________________________________________ TITLE

_________________________________________________ KIND OF WORK YOU DO

_________________________________________________ KIND OF BUSINESS OR INSTITUTION

Q-7 If married, describe your husband's occupation.

_________________________________________________ TITLE

_________________________________________________ KIND OF WORK HE DOES

_________________________________________________ KIND OF BUSINESS OR INSTITUTION
APPENDIX D:

MOTHER-CHILD BEHAVIOR INVENTORIES
IOWA PARENT BEHAVIOR INVENTORY (Mother Form)

Sedahlia Jasper Crase, Sam Clark, Damaris Pease
Department of Child Development
Iowa State University

CHILD'S NAME __________________________ DATE OF RATING ______________
CHILD'S SEX ________ CHILD'S BIRTHDATE ____________________________ (month, day, year)
MOTHER'S NAME _______________________________________________________

We are interested in learning more about how parents and children interact. The following statements represent a variety of ways that parents may interact with their children. Before you begin, have firmly in mind the child you are rating. Please respond to the statements in the way which you feel best represents your behavior toward the child. Base your ratings on your own experiences with this child over the last month.

Consider each statement separately. There are no "right" or "wrong" responses. In the space provided to the left of each statement, place the number (1 to 5) that best describes how you see your behavior toward your child. Respond "5" if you think you always behave as described and "1" if you think you never behave that way. Use numbers larger than "3" to show you behave that way more than half the time, and numbers smaller than "3" to show you behave that way less than half the time. This means the more you behave as described, the larger the numbers should be, and the less you behave as described, the smaller the numbers should be. To the extent you are uncertain you behave that way, your response should be "3". If an item does not apply to your particular home situation, place a "3" in the rating column. Please make use of the full range of the scale.

RATING SCALE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I almost never behave this way</th>
<th>I seldom behave this way</th>
<th>I behave this way about half the time OR I'm not sure how often I behave this way</th>
<th>I often behave this way</th>
<th>I almost always behave this way</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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RATING SCALE

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I almost never behave this way</td>
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</table>

TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU..........?

RATING ITEM

15. Tell your spouse of your annoyance with a neighbor or employer while your child is listening?

16. Insist your child speak politely to you as opposed to being sassy?

17. Remind your child when he or she forgets to do daily household chores?

18. Explain to your child, when he or she behaves in an unacceptable way, your reasons for not approving that kind of behavior?

19. Hold, pat or hug your child?

20. Point out to your child the acceptable choices of behavior when he or she misbehaves?

21. Maintain the limits you have set for your child's television watching?

22. Change plans to attend a night meeting so you can be with your child if he or she becomes ill?

23. Go immediately to your child when you see him or her hurt from a fall off a bicycle?

24. Disagree with your spouse when your child is present?

25. Ask your child for his or her reasons when he or she misbehaves?

26. Go to your child quickly when you hear him or her sobbing?

27. Get out of bed at night to go to your child as soon as you hear him or her crying?

28. Let your child know that you are afraid during fear provoking situations such as storms?

29. Make special efforts to stay with your child when he or she is ill?

30. Hug or kiss your spouse in the presence of your child?
270

RATING SCALE

I almost never behave this way
I seldom behave this way
I behave this way about half the time OR I'm not sure how often I behave this way
I often behave this way
I almost always behave this way

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<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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</table>

TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU........

RATING ITEM

1. Excuse yourself from invited guests when your child asks for help with such things as pasting, sewing, or model building?
2. Require your child to remain seated in the car while you are driving?
3. Give your child things he or she especially likes when he or she is ill?
4. Go to your child quickly when you see his or her feelings are hurt?
5. Find children's books, reference books or records that you and your child can share together?
6. Explain to your child the consequences related to his or her behavior?
7. Restrict the times your child can have friends over to play?
8. Find crafts such as painting, coloring, woodworking or needlework you and your child can do together on cold, rainy days?
9. Listen when your child tells you of a disagreement he or she has had with another child?
10. Interrupt a telephone conversation to assist your child if he or she can't find such things as scissors, thread or paste?
11. Require your child to put away his or her clothes?
12. Enforce your child's established bedtimes when he or she ignores them?
13. Restrict the kinds of food your child eats?
14. Listen to your child when he or she is upset even though you feel he or she has nothing to be upset about?
### RATING SCALE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I almost never behave this way</th>
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### TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU.......?

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<tr>
<th>RATING</th>
<th>ITEM</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>______</td>
<td>31.  Help your child to recognize another person's point of view?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>______</td>
<td>32.  Take your child with you when you visit friends?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>______</td>
<td>33.  Tell your child when you are in agreement with him or her?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>______</td>
<td>34.  Cry if you feel like crying when your child is present?</td>
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<tr>
<td>______</td>
<td>35.  Work together with your child on household and yard cleaning tasks?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>______</td>
<td>36.  Hold, pat and/or hug your child when other children are watching?</td>
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Thank you.
Table D-1. Iowa Parent Behavior Inventory items within factors on the mother form (Crase et al., 1979)

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<th>Factor</th>
<th>Item</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Parental Involvement</td>
<td>Excuse yourself from invited guests when your child asks for help with such things as pasting, sewing, or model building. Find crafts such as painting, coloring, woodworking, or needlework you and your child can do together on cold rainy days. Interrupt a telephone conversation to assist your child if he or she can't find such things as scissors, thread, or paste. Find children's books, reference books, or records that your child can share together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Limit Setting</td>
<td>Require your child to put away his or her clothes. Require your child to remain seated in the car while you are driving. Remind your child when he or she forgets to do daily household chores. Enforce your child's established bedtimes when he or she ignores them. Maintain the limits you have set for your child's television watching. Restrict the kinds of food your child eats. Restrict the times your child can have friends over to play. Insist your child speak politely to you as opposed to being sassy.</td>
</tr>
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<td>III Responsiveness</td>
<td>Go immediately to your child when you see him or her hurt from a fall off a bicycle. Go to your child quickly when you hear him or her sobbing. Change plans to attend a night meeting so you can be with your child if he or she becomes ill. Get out of bed at night to go to your child as soon as you hear him or her crying. Make special efforts to stay with your child when he or she is ill. Go to your child quickly when you see his or her feelings are hurt. Give your child things he or she especially likes when he or she is ill.</td>
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Table D-1. (continued)

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<th>Factor</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>IV</strong></td>
<td>Help your child to recognize another person's point of view.</td>
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<td>Reasoning</td>
<td>Explain to your child, when he or she behaves in an unacceptable way, your reasons for not approving that kind of behavior.</td>
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<td>Guidance</td>
<td>Explain to your child the consequences related to his or her behavior.</td>
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<td>Listen to your child when he or she is upset even though you feel he or she has nothing to be upset about.</td>
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<td>Ask your child for his or her reasons when he or she misbehaves.</td>
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<td><strong>V</strong></td>
<td>Tell your spouse of your annoyance with a neighbor or employer while your child is listening.</td>
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<td>Free</td>
<td>Disagree with your spouse when your child is present.</td>
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<td>Expression</td>
<td>Let your child know that you are afraid during fear provoking situations such as storms.</td>
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<td><strong>VI</strong></td>
<td>Hold, pat and/or hug your child when other children are watching.</td>
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<td>Intimacy</td>
<td>Take your child with you when you visit friends.</td>
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<td>Hold, pat or hug your child.</td>
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<td>Cry if you feel like crying when your child is present.</td>
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Table D-2. Frequency distribution of mothers' factor scores on the IPBI

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Frequency of mothers' factor scores:

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Table D-3. Mothers with factor scores in low and high groups based on responses to the Iowa Parent Behavior Inventory identified by participant number

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Low Group</th>
<th>High Group</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I: Parental Involvement</td>
<td>3, 9, 14, 16, 19, 26, 27, 28, 35, 40</td>
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<td>VI: Intimacy</td>
<td>1, 10, 14, 15, 18</td>
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CHILD’S REPORT OF MOTHER BEHAVIOR

Answer the following items about your mother. Listen while I read or read along with me and then circle the letter L if it is like your mother, SL if it is somewhat like your mother, and NL if it is not like your mother.

My Mom is: Like Somewhat Not

1. Makes me feel better after talking over my worries with her. L SL NL

2. Decides what friends I can go around with. L SL NL

3. Spends very little time with me. L SL NL

4. Tells me how much she loves me. L SL NL

5. Allows me to tell her if I think my ideas are better than hers. L SL NL

6. Isn’t very patient with me. L SL NL

7. Almost always speaks to me with a warm and friendly voice. L SL NL

8. Doesn’t seem to think of me very often. L SL NL

9. Likes me to choose my own way to do things. L SL NL

10. Doesn’t seem to enjoy doing things with me. L SL NL

11. Always listens to my ideas and opinions. L SL NL

12. Smiles at me very often. L SL NL

13. Tells me how to spend my free time. L SL NL

15. Lets me dress in any way I please. L SL NL
16. Often has long talks with me about the reasons for things. L SL NL
17. Is able to make me feel better when I am upset. L SL NL
18. Allows me to spend my money in any way I like. L SL NL
19. Really wants me to tell her just how I feel about things. L SL NL
20. Often praises me. L SL NL
21. Wants to control whatever I do. L SL NL
22. Gives me the choice of what to do whenever possible. L SL NL
23. Is happy to see me when I come from school or play. L SL NL
24. Often speaks of the good things I do. L SL NL
25. Insists I follow a rule one day and then forgets about it the next. L SL NL
26. Is always trying to change me. L SL NL
27. Often makes fun of me. L SL NL
28. Acts as though I’m in the way. L SL NL
29. Lets me do thing that other children my age do. L SL NL
30. Likes me the way I am. L SL NL
Table D-4. Frequency distribution of children’s item ratings on the CRMB

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APPENDIX E:

CHECKLIST FOR LEVEL OF CONSUMPTION
Checklist for Level of Consumption

Subject No.

Date

Type of housing:

- Single family dwelling
- Apartment
- Townhouse or condominium
- Mobile home
- Farm home

Approximate age of home:

Condition of Dwelling

Inside of home:

- Excellent
- Good
- Fair
- Poor
- Dilapidated

Outside of home:

- Excellent
- Good
- Fair
- Poor
- Dilapidated

Furnishings of home:

- Excellent
- Good
- Fair
- Poor
- Dilapidated

Yard and outbuildings:

- Excellent
- Good
- Fair
- Poor
- Dilapidated

Notes:

Age and number of vehicles observed:

Personal appearance of respondents:

Housekeeping:

Points of interest (collections, etc.):
**Condition of Dwelling**

**INSIDE OF HOME:**

**Excellent** - Paint and wallpaper is clean, without cracked plaster or torn paper. Floors are clean and do not show worn spots. Moldings and trim are clean and unmarred. No signs of leaks or spots. Lighting fixtures, switches, and other equipment all in first class condition.

**Good** - Paint, wallpaper, and trim generally clean and unmarked, but possibly a few finger marks around light switch or slight streaks above heat registers. Floors may be a bit worn or scuffed from wear, but not badly marked or neglected—maybe just in need of wax. Plaster may have very thin cracks from settling. No signs of prolonged leaks, broken fixtures.

**Fair** - Walls in need of painting or repapering. Dirty marks, leaks, and cracks may be visible. However, condition is not so bad that major repair work would be required before painting or papering. Moldings and trim may be marred, paint may be worn off in spots. Floors noticeably worn or scratched. Light fixtures may be cracked or mismatched, but still in working order.

**Poor** - Definite signs of neglect—torn wallpaper, peeling paint, wide cracks or broken plaster. Damaged flooring or torn linoleum. Broken or misfit lighting fixtures, or fixtures missing—bare bulbs. Signs of leaky roof or windows.

**Dilapidated** - Looks as though unit is beyond point of major repairs—large areas of plaster or paper broken or torn away. Walls may be covered with newspapers or other makeshift materials. Damaged and broken or missing moldings and frames. Missing or makeshift light fixtures. floors or walls crooked, sagging, floor boards may be missing. Signs of water or fire damage may be visible.

**OUTSIDE OF HOME:**

**Excellent** - Outside surface clean and fresh—whether paint, masonry, or whatever. Trim such as shutters clean and bright. Roof in like-new shape, gutters, porches, foundation in top condition. No signs of cracking, rotting, or deterioration of any kind.

**Good** - Paint, masonry, roof in good condition generally although siding and trim may look like it might need painting in a year or two. No missing shingles, bent gutters, or torn screens. Porches and foundation level and neat.
Fair - Siding or trim has been painted although paint looks old. Roof in fair shape although it might have a missing shingle or two, or show signs of patching. Gutters are whole but might be a big sagging. Porches, foundations could stand a little work.

Poor - Definitely in need of paint, repair of cracked masonry. Roof may look as though it needs replacing. Porches may sag, gutters definitely in need of repair. Possible signs of rotting wood. Some screens torn or missing.

Dilapidated - Roof sags, whole house may be crooked. Chimney and brickwork broken or fallen, bricks may be missing. Roof in bad shape or patched with sheet iron, tarpaper, or other makeshift material. No signs of paint for a long time, if ever. Broken steps or porch boards, broken railings, torn or missing screens, broken windows. Foundation broken or sagging.

FURNISHINGS OF HOME:

Excellent - Furnishings clean, fabrics unscuffed, wood unscratched and smooth, accessories neatly arranged and clean. Pictures hang straight; furniture is neatly arranged. Nothing visibly chipped, damaged, soiled, or broken. Curtains and draperies neat, clean, fresh.

Good - Upholstery slightly scuffed or slightly soiled from normal use but no tears or stains; accessories and furnishings may be arranged a bit helter-skelter but could easily be put in order. No signs of major damage or injury to furnishings which could not be fixed rather easily. Rug may show some slight wear but still looks good.

Fair - Furniture somewhat scarred; upholstery or draperies noticeably worn or soiled, perhaps in need of major cleaning or replacement. Slip covers torn or badly worn. Accessories somewhat damaged or worn looking, perhaps badly mismatched so they look like they don't belong together. Things look like they had had hard use but are not in such bad condition that a little refinishing or cleaning or a new slipcover would not help. Rugs may show noticeable worn spots.

Poor - Definite signs of neglect—broken furniture, torn upholstery, springs or stuffing beginning to come out, missing or torn curtains and draperies. Floor coverings ripped or missing. Broken and damaged accessories. Wood furniture badly scarred, stained, discolored.
Dilapidated - Most furnishings are beyond being helped even by major repairs. Upholstery ripped open, stuffing coming out badly, springs sagging to the floor, practically no items in good condition. Missing or makeshift accessories, furniture coverings, and window coverings. Signs of damage by water may be present.

YARD AND OUTBUILDINGS:

Excellent - All buildings and fences clean and fresh—trim clean and bright, no signs of decay. Gutters, steps, concrete work all in near new condition. Grass neatly trimmed, flowers and garden, if any neat; shrubs healthy looking and well-shaped.

Good - Paint, masonry, roofs, etc. in good condition although they might need some repair in a year or two. No missing gutters, damaged sections of fence, major breaks in the concrete, or big ruts in the drive. A few weeds in the lawn and garden but grass, trees and shrubs seem pretty well cared for. No trash scattered around.

Fair - Paint looks old on outbuildings, fences. No signs of sagging roofs yet but may be a few cracks in the foundation, some broken concrete. Farm drive may need a light grading. Lawn somewhat weedy but has been mowed fairly recently. May be an old auto tire or other junk around but not so much that a little clean-up wouldn't take care of it fairly quickly. May be some broken or rusted fencing, overgrown bushes or trees with some dead limbs.

Poor - Roofs and fences sagging, concrete walks and steps in need of major repair. Big ruts and puddles in farm drive. Weedy yard, scraggly bushes, trash and junk scattered around. Fallen tree limbs or whole dead trees on the property.

Dilapidated - Collapsed outbuildings, wood looks like it had never been painted. Whole sections of fence missing or broken down. May be junk cars, junk appliances, etc. in the yard. No grass or shrubs recognizable—just weeds and brush. Farm drive almost impassable.
APPENDIX F:
CODING GUIDE
CODING GUIDE

KEY:  
N = non-gift  
G = gift  
M = mother's values  
MP = mother's perception of child's wants  
C = child's own feelings, values,  
CP = child's perception of mother's ideas

100. I. Attitudes Toward Clothing and Appearance

A. Interest / Disinterest - Child
   --clothing is important to child
   --child likes clothing
   --child is particular about how he/she looks

B. Interest / Disinterest - Mother
   --mother likes fashion / trends
   --mother and daughter share clothing

C. Favorite Outfit
   --child identifies outfit
   --child doesn't have favorite

D. Brands -
   1. important / unimportant
   2. reasons for buying / not buying brand names
      --some brands fit better
      --prestige
      --cost too high
   3. child can identify brand

E. Garment characteristics preferred
   1. type
      --dressy
      --casual
      --classic
      --trendy / fads
   2. style/ design features
      --sweatshirts
      --t-shirts
      --jeans
      --shoes
3. color / print
   --bright
   --look good on them

4. fit

5. material / fabric
   --stone-washed denim

F. Mother and child agree / disagree on clothing choices
   --color
   --style
   --weather

G. Affective qualities
   1. comfort

   2. sports / team influence

   3. peer group influence

   4. appearance / aesthetics
      --neatness
      --modesty

   5. older sibling influence

II. Gift Clothing Compared to Non-gift Clothing

   A. Child is not involved in purchase

   B. Want vs. need
      --wanted by child
      --asked for specifically
      --above and beyond needs
      --luxury

   C. Cost
      --more expensive
      --less likely on sale

   D. Particular item given
      1. more fashionable / trendy

      2. more classic / lasting / practical

      3. complete outfit vs. separate item
4. embellishment
   --licensed characters
   --sports logo

5. couldn't be sewn easily

6. outerwear rather than underwear

7. something special - word special is used

8. specific garment
   --shoes
   --special occasion garment
   --dress pants

9. child wouldn't buy him or herself

10. quality

E. Motives for gift selection

1. to please child or mother
   --child would be comfortable in it
   --child would look good in it

2. wardrobe need
   --coordinated with other garments

3. sale price

4. tradition to give certain item
   --some gifts should be clothes

5. used to mark special occasion
   --birthday
   --Christmas
   --Valentine's Day

6. travel
   a. without child
   b. with child - souvenir of trip

7. family budget allowed for purchase of something extra

8. easy care
F. Child's preference of gift
   --like clothing better
   --like other gifts better / toys
   --like them all the same

G. No difference in gift vs. non-gift

H. Child's definition of gift
   --anything that is given
   --outfit for special event
   --particular item mentioned

I. Miscellaneous gift definition of mother
   --anything given

III. Social / Psychological Theories

A. Equity Theory
   1. clothing used as reward - yes / no
      --reward for job well-done
      --good behavior
      --toys but not clothes used in this way
      --thank-you
   2. particular behavior expected in return for gift - yes / no
      --care of clothing
      --expression of gratitude
   3. mention of siblings related to equity

B. Reactance Theory
   1. gift used to change child's manner of dress - yes / no
   2. child feels less free to choose own dress - yes / no

IV. Buying Practices

A. Sources of information for decision-making
   1. Advertising affects buying - yes / no
a. sale ads
   --look for sales
   --don't shop sales much

b. request from child - yes / no

c. ideas from advertisement
   --visual - helps to see model wearing garment
   --current fashion trends
   --availability of merchandise

2. source of advertisement / information / ideas

   a. magazine
   b. TV
   c. newspaper
   d. catalogs
   e. store brochures

3. communication from child
   --child says what they like
   --mother seeks information from child

4. shopping
   a. with child for ideas - yes / no
      --fit
      --color
      --time is a problem
   
   b. with child to buy - yes / no
      --gifts
      --non-gifts
      --some items but not others
   
   c. without child
   
   d. reasons for shopping together

5. influence of others
   a. peers
      --dresses different from friends
      --shopping with peers
b. other children's parents

c. siblings

d. college students
   --trends

e. Dad

6. consumer information
   --hangtags
   --education
   --literature / media

7. in-store promotions / displays
   --sale tables

B. Factors affecting spending amount

1. occasion

2. behavior of child

3. money available
   --family budget

4. reasonable price

5. particular item
   a. how much garment is liked by mother or child
   b. amount of wear it will receive
      --school clothes
      --special occasion garments
   c. number of garments child has for that purpose
      --only dress for church, etc.

4. quality

6. difficulty in finding something
432  f. what is needed

428  6. time available to shop

429  7. decide in advance how much to spend - yes / no

C. Stores

1. type

   a. department
      --Dayton's
      --J.C. Penney

   b. specialty
      --Burke's (Sioux Falls
      --Cole's (Brookings)

   c. discount
      --Target
      --Wal-Mart
      --K-Mart

   d. catalog
      --Lands' End
      --Penney's

   e. depends on what item is being shopped for

   f. used clothing store
      --rummage sale

   g. fabric stores

2. assistance from personnel

   a. sizes

   b. coordination of items
      --finding other items they like

   c. fitting

   d. care
3. policies
   a. ease of return - important / unimportant
      --stand behind merchandise
   b. payment options - important / unimportant
   c. gift wrapping
      --do own giftwrapping

D. Time spent
   1. little
      --shop for specific item so it doesn't take long
      --have looked before so actual buying takes little time
   2. a lot
   3. varies with the gift

E. Travel
   1. further to buy gift than non-gift - yes / no
      --out of town
   2. gift shopping only when combined with another purpose
   3. try to shop at home town
   4. distance travelled

V. Presentation of Gift
   A. Surprise factor
      1. important / unimportant to mother
         --like to surprise child
      2. decreasing in importance as age of child increases
2. important / unimportant to child

3. clothing is unexpected as gift

B. Giftwrapping
--always for special occasions
--sometimes given in bag

C. Reaction of child
1. Initial upon receipt of gift
   --pleased
   --excited
   --grateful
   --wear it right away
   --depends on gift

2. Influence on future gift buying - yes/ no
   --would not choose item again
   --would choose another color
   --would not choose clothing if child lost interest

D. Gift giving important in the family

E. Impact on mother-child relationship
1. does impact relationship

2. no impact / negative response
   --material things unimportant
   --relationship already good

3. builds relationship
   --makes child feel special
   --concern about self-concept

4. mother more successful than other givers - yes/ no
   --grandmother is also successful

5. mother creates image for child

6. mother buys most clothing gifts

7. mother identifies difference in gift-giving to her children than situation in her own childhood
VI. Outcome of Gift Purchase - Success / Unsuccess

A. Success
1. Reasons for success
   --wanted by child / liked
   --child involved in selection
   --reaction of other children
   --comfortable
   --embellishment
   --clothing like parent wears

2. Indicators of success
   --worn a lot
   --put it on right away
   --shown to other family members
   --behavior of child - excited
   --shown to friends
   --item is taken care of

3. Successful gift identified / described

4. Feelings of child about unsuccessful gift identified by mother

B. Unsuccess
1. reasons for unsuccess
   --poor fit
   --child didn't like it
   --mother's taste different from child's
   --uncomfortable

2. indicators of unsuccess
   --not worn
   --child expressed dislike
   --child just looks at it

3. resulting action
   --returned to store/ exchanged
   --given to someone else / handed down
   --stays in closet or drawer

4. feelings of child about unsuccessful gift
   --bad
   --embarrassed
5. no unsuccessful gift identified

6. unsuccessful gift mentioned / described
   --by mother
   --by child

VII. Consumer Socialization

A. Mother's consumer behavior

1. shopping practices / skills
   --looks for easy care
   --durability of construction important
   --wardrobe coordination
   --appearance fit
   --avoid impulse buying
   --avoid short-lived trends
   --compare prices
   --age appropriate garments

B. How consumer behavior is taught to child

1. during shopping trips

2. talking with child
   --after buying
   --trying on at home
   --during dressing

3. problems that come up after wear and care

4. through 4-H work

5. clothing gift used - yes / no

C. Mother's expectations of child's consumer behavior at their age

   --quality of garment construction

D. Child's consumer behavior

1. use of money
   --spend it
   --save it
   --spend half / save half
2. understanding of advertisements
   --child can explain ad
   --child unable to explain ad

3. buying / shopping skills
   --looking at size and fit
   --looking at prices / comparison
   --reading labels

800 VIII. Miscellaneous

A. Substitution of clothing gift for needed item of clothing
   yes / no

B. Sewing gift for child - yes / no

1. reaction of child - positive / negative

C. Alterations or changes - yes / no

D. Gifts for other children

1. receivers
   --nieces and nephews
   --friends' children

2. items given
   --those parents would not buy
   --easy fit items such as t-shirts, sweatshirts

3. success / unsuccess

E. Gifts from others

1. givers
   --grandparents
   --aunts
   --child's friends
   --friends
   --parents' friends

2. items given

3. success / unsuccess

a. resulting action
4. proximity of relatives
   --very close (same town)
   --close (within 100 miles)
   --distance away (more than 100 miles)

5. reasons for other not giving clothing
   --too expensive
   --don't know size

F. Other comments - no other category
APPENDIX G:

PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS
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APPENDIX H:

DYAD CLASSIFICATION
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Table H-1. (continued)

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<tr>
<th>Level of consumption</th>
<th>Group I</th>
<th>Group II</th>
<th>Group III</th>
<th>Group IV</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Low</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>High</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number in each group</td>
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<td>High</td>
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Clothing interest
- Mother mentioned own interest
- Mother's perception of child's interest
  - High
  - Low
- Child's report of own interest
  - High
  - Low

Shopping practices important to mothers
- Quality; durability
- Ease of care
- Price consciousness
- Appearance; fit
- Wardrobe versatility
- Avoid impulse buying

Brand names - importance to children
- Mother's perception
  - Important
  - Unimportant
- Child's response
  - Important
  - Unimportant

Retail sources for gifts
- Specialty stores
- Discount stores
- Department stores
- Catalog

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<tr>
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<th>Moderate</th>
<th>Moderate</th>
<th>High</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Price consciousness</td>
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<tr>
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<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Substitution of clothing gift for needed item

- Yes: 7, 10, 7, 3
- Sometimes: 0, 4, 2, 5
- No: 1, 0, 0, 4

IPBI Factor Scores

- Factor I: Parental Involvement
  - Low: 2, 4, 3, 1
  - Modal: 4, 7, 4, 6
  - High: 1, 3, 2, 4

- Factor II: Limit Setting
  - Low: 0, 2, 2, 2
  - Modal: 6, 10, 5, 7
  - High: 1, 2, 2, 2

- Factor III: Responsiveness
  - Low: 3, 2, 1, 0
  - Modal: 3, 9, 4, 9
  - High: 1, 3, 4, 2

- Factor IV: Reasoning Guidance
  - Low: 0, 2, 1, 1
  - Modal: 7, 9, 6, 8
  - High: 0, 3, 2, 2

- Factor V: Free Expression
  - Low: 3, 2, 1, 3
  - Modal: 4, 10, 8, 6
  - High: 0, 2, 0, 2

- Factor VI: Intimacy
  - Low: 2, 2, 0, 0
  - Modal: 5, 11, 5, 10
  - High: 0, 1, 4, 1