



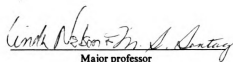
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FEMALE ADOLESCENT CLOTHING SELECTION
IN KOREA: A FAMILY ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

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FEMALE ADOLESCENT CLOTHING SELECTION
IN KOREA: A FAMILY ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

By

Sun-Jin Hwang

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ABSTRACT

FEMALE ADOLESCENT CLOTHING SELECTION IN KOREA: A FAMILY ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

By

Sun-Jin Hwang

This study was designed to gain an in-depth understanding of Korean family interactions in decision making about selection of school clothing for adolescent daughters by utilizing qualitative methods. Within an ecological framework, the author planned to develop propositions and hypotheses based on the content of the interviews.

Ten pairs of mothers and adolescent daughters who attended one middle and one high school in Seoul, Korea, accepted the invitation to participate in the study. They were interviewed as mother and daughter pairs as well as separately during 1986. Some interviews with teachers and some observations of school assemblies and shopping places complemented the data.

Models of Korean family decision making about adolescent daughter's school clothing selection were developed from the data and discussed. In addition, the concept of clothing adequacy emerged from the data analysis.

Sun-Jin Hwang

The five components of school clothing adequacy which emerged from inductive approaches were discussed and supported with data from the interviews. These components are: 1) self, 2) attributes of clothing, 3) situational context of the environment, 4) relational characteristics of clothing, and 5) anticipated outcomes.

Propositions and hypotheses were delineated. Implications for research and theory as well as for practice such as policy making and consumer education, were suggested.

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DEDICATION

To my parents for giving me love, care,
an heritage and environment for valuing
education.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A doctoral dissertation represents contributions from a variety of support systems. Their time and commitment have made my doctoral experience a very fulfilling and worthwhile one. I would like to give special thanks to my doctoral guidance committee members, family and friends who have made this endeavor possible. It is theirs as much as it is mine.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Western clothes were mandated for high level Korean government officers in 1894 during a time of political reform. This movement was dictated by men in the government who wanted to westernize and modernize the country. A few of the racial upper class of the Yi dynasty also began to comply (Park, 1982). After the Japanese annexation in 1910, all officers of the colonial government were required to wear western style clothes.

Western style school uniforms were introduced in Korea during the Japanese colonial period. They were prescribed for boys in the 1920's and for girls in the 1930's (Park, 1982). The introduction of western style school uniforms may have been the impetus for westernization of ordinary Korean dress.

From the beginning, the basic fiber (100 percent cotton), the color (black, white, indigo), and design were basic to the uniform. School uniform styles throughout this era were just variations on this theme. Boys wore black uniforms with a standing collar. Girls wore white blouses with blue or black pleated or flared skirts. Stiff, starched, white removable collars were the accents. During

World War II, some changes in style occurred. Girls were forced to wear Japanese style slacks (Mom-Pae) as a combat uniform (Park, 1982).

After gaining independence from Japan in 1945, while there were some modifications of color and shape, school dress codes continued to be strictly prescribed for thirty seven more years. As a result, adolescents and their parents in Korea had no voice in the selection of school clothing. On the positive side, uniforms not only identified students with one another, but may have also contributed to group solidarity and intentional separation from the rest of the society (Horn & Gurel, 1981).

From the early 1970's there has been a national campaign to re-establish Korean cultural and sovereign authority over the people's way of life. Instead of blindly following western styles of dress, the Korean government and people have sought to establish a national identity with a combination of the best of western and Korean styles.

This campaign has had an impact on the student uniform regulations. The Korean government held many public forums on school uniforms. Those who favored the use of uniforms viewed them as a device to resolve certain dilemmas of a stratified society ("A Survey on Clothing", 1982). They felt uniforms could possibly define students' boundaries, foster a sense of "belonging", eliminate the potentially unwholesome competition between students based solely on

cost and variety of wardrobe, and finally help parents economically.

Those who opposed the practice insisted that the uniform was a vestige of Japanese imperialism and was not practical in the sense of comfort or thermal control. Also, they favored adolescents developing the capacity for independent thought and attaining their personal aspirations ("A Pilot Study", 1982). They argued that adolescents' selection of their own clothing would help develop autonomous attitudes which would be valuable for ensuring a diverse and fluid contemporary society.

Before totally abolishing the school uniform regulation by changing the Korean law, the Board of Education decided to select twenty middle and high schools as pilot models for wearing free choice school clothing. Reactions to that change were collected from adolescents and their parents ("A Pilot Study", 1982). According to the survey conducted by the YMCA, most parents felt the timing of the abolition was too early, whereas most students felt it was too late ("A Survey on Clothing", 1982).

After much consideration, the government decided to abolish school uniforms in 1983 ("Emerging of Free", 1983). For the first time, adolescents in Korea had an opportunity to choose everyday dress for themselves. However, many parents and school authorities believed that the abolition of the school uniform resulted in an increase of misbehavior by students because it was more difficult to identify them

as students. The distinctions created by socio-economic background have lead to disagreement or conflict between adolescents and their parents about the amount of money spent and type of clothing desired by children ("Emerging of Free", 1983). Thus, another controversy in Korean society has developed, i.e., whether to reinstate the school uniform regulation or to modify the school dress code in order to reduce the negative side effects that are attributed to the abolition of school uniforms.

Justification

The abolition of middle and high school uniforms in Korea in 1983 has granted adolescents a greater role in decision making about their clothing. Adolescent clothing in Korea is facing a new epoch. Korean adolescents have been recognized as a new, promising segment of the apparel market and their clothing behavior as consumers has received increasing attention from parents, school teachers, government policy makers, merchandisers and scholars.

It is commonly theorized that clothing is one's most proximal environment and is a contributor to the accomplishment of developmental tasks. Especially during adolescence, clothing plays an important role in achieving approval, independence, and belonging within affiliated groups (Creekmore, 1974; Eicher, Kelly & Wass, 1974). In America, researchers on adolescent clothing behavior have focused primarily on the social and psychological

implications of clothing behavior such as personal and social adjustment (Evans 1964; Eicher et al., 1974), conformity (Smucker & Creekmore, 1972), self-concept (Gurel, Wilber & Gurel, 1972; Creekmore, 1974), and peer acceptance and leadership (Creekmore, 1974, 1980; Eicher et al., 1974; Morganosky & Creekmore, 1981).

The work by Evans (1964) dealt specifically with adolescent clothing selection and use. Warden and Cloquette (1982) examined clothing selection by adolescent boys. Koester and May (1985) studied clothing practices in the daily selection, care and purchase of clothing by both adolescent girls and boys.

Several marketing studies have examined variables relevant to decision making of the adolescent consumer who is defined as a person in the 6th through 12th grades. (Moschis, 1978a; Moschis & Moore, 1978; Moschis, Moore & Stephens, 1977; Saunders, Samli & Tozia, 1973). Unlike studies of adult consumer decision making, research on decision making by the adolescent has been far from systematic. It has focused on a specific stage rather than on several stages of the decision making process. For example, some studies have focused on the information seeking stage (Moore & Stephens, 1977). Only Moschis and Moore (1978) examined decision making patterns among teenagers and included several stages of the process.

In Korea, after the abolition of school uniforms in 1983, much money, time and effort were spent by the family,

school, and government policy makers. The expectation was that this opportunity to wear free choice clothing would develop the capacity for independent thought or autonomous attitudes in adolescents which would be valuable for ensuring a diverse and fluid contemporary society. However, many Koreans believe that the abolition of the school uniform has resulted in brand name emphasis and competition for clothing among students, which has fostered a wide range of distinctions based on family background (purchasing power for adolescent clothing purchase) and increased student misbehavior created by blurred (ambiguous) identification of the students as students. Consequently, parents, teachers, and even students themselves who have become anxious about these perceived side effects of the uniform abolition have begun to consider the resurrection of the school dress code.

Although family members, teachers, policy makers, and scholars recognized the importance of clothing for adolescent socialization, they had not paid serious attention to the influence of major socialization agents such as peers, family and mass media on clothing selection practices. During the school uniform period, clothing selection for school wear during the middle and high school days was taken for granted. Therefore, with the abolition of school uniforms, students, parents, teachers, government officers and scholars who are concerned with clothing and textiles and consumer education are challenged to increase their attention to the extent clothing selection is

influenced by major socialization agents in the ever changing environment.

Although the investigation of adolescent clothing selection in America provides important clues to understanding selection and usage decisions, these clues are limited only to partial explanations. Both in Korea and the United States, little is known about who or what actually influences the decision making in clothing selection or how the process occurs.

Most clothing selection research and decision making research in marketing have treated the individual as a unit of analysis (Koester & May, 1985; Moschis, 1978b; Warden & Cloquette, 1982). However, many purchasing decisions in the family involve more than one person. The family can be a decision making unit whose members can perform the role of information gatherer, influencer, decision maker, purchasing agent, and user. However, according to Davis and Rigaux (1974), who undertook one of the most detailed studies of husband-wife influences for 25 products, wives dominate decisions for food, clothing and household products.

Adolescents in Korea are assumed to be more economically and emotionally dependent on their parents than adolescents in the United States. The decisions about children's clothing are one of the major tasks of the mother of the family because Korean society is more separated in gender role than America (Khang, 1983; Kwon, 1983). While these findings show that a substantial portion

of decision making regarding adolescent clothing is done by the mother, adolescents and other family members also influence the decision making.

The fact that more than one person can be involved in the decision making process renders this phenomenon significantly different from the study of individual decision making. Not only must the researcher study individual preferences, but there is also need to understand how these preferences may be combined to result in a joint decision.

Clothing selection of Korean adolescents may be strongly linked to the family as well as to other major socialization agents such as schools, peers and mass media. However, a systematic approach is particularly lacking with respect to the study of the decision making processes about adolescent clothing selection in the family and interactions between the family and other systems both in the United States and in Korea. Little is known about the impact of a change of government policy on family and individual decision making. Therefore, clearly, there is need for better understanding of the decision making processes in regard to adolescent clothing selection within a larger interaction system.

Statement of Problem

The purpose of this research is to apply the human ecological framework to the study of specific behaviors

related to adolescent and family decision making in the selection of school clothing within a larger system. The perspective taken is the human ecological framework which is regarded as a very promising approach to the study of the family in the United States. However, this framework is relatively new to the study of Korean families.

The specific objectives are to (a) gain an in-depth understanding of the nature of family participation and interaction in the decision making processes involved in the selection of school clothing for female adolescents in Korea, (b) describe the interrelationships between the family and other selected systems in regard to the process of decision making about school clothing using the human ecological framework and (c) through analysis of findings, contribute to development of some preliminary theoretical propositions and testable hypotheses which are a prerequisite for theory building in clothing decision making.

Research Questions

This study explored the following questions in order to obtain information relevant to the problem under investigation.

1. To what extent is the human ecological framework applicable to the study of specific behaviors related to female adolescents' school clothing selection within the Korean culture and context?

2. What is the nature of the interactions within the family in regard to female adolescent clothing selection?
3. What is the nature of the interactions which occur between the family and other support systems in regard to female adolescents' school clothing selection?

Significance of the Study

The human ecological framework used in this study examines the nature of interactions within the family and interactions between the family and other selected systems involved in female adolescent clothing selection in Korea. Knowledge and understanding of the linkage between the family and other selected systems, which is the theme of the human ecological framework, may stimulate professionals in Korean Home Economics to explore the feasibility of the application of this framework to the study of Korean culture and behavior.

This research is of particular importance because it may lead to a greater sensitivity to the importance of clothing during adolescence as it contributes to the developmental tasks such as self-esteem, independence and autonomy of the adolescent. Also, it may allow a greater understanding of the communication channels, information flows, and feedback mechanisms operating within the family and other selected support systems.

Focusing on both the needs of the adolescent girl and on her family, this study directs particular attention to

the factors which are found within the family ecosystem context that affect the interface of the family with other support systems. Therefore, this study can help to develop understanding of these factors and eventually lead to a consideration among government policy makers, school teachers, parents, adolescents, clothing manufacturers, mass media and consumer educators concerning adolescent clothing. It will also aid the retailer in the development of more effective marketing and information campaigns targeted at this huge potential segment of the youth market in Korea.

Eventually, the researcher hopes that recognition of the interdependence between families and their support systems in a larger social context will encourage the individual, family and the rest of Korean society to improve their quality of life. Increased knowledge and understanding about these relationships may have significance in developing a theory of clothing selection. This attempt toward determining some preliminary propositions and testable hypotheses may facilitate conceptual clarity which is a prerequisite for grounded theory in clothing decision making.

Conceptual Framework

One of the difficulties in seeking a clear understanding of the decision making process in clothing selection is the complexity of the process itself. Strongly suggested in this recognition is the need for an integrated

holistic approach which allows both a macro-level overview and micro-level insights into the pertinent factors concerning the selection of adolescent school clothing in Korea.

To provide a broad and holistic perspective of a total system, including its structural components (organism and environment), their linkages and interdependencies, the human ecosystem model will be employed for describing and understanding decision making about clothing in Korea and examining interrelationships between the family and its environments. An ecosystem model, which is based on a systems perspective, focuses on the interrelationships and feedback processes between and among components of a system (Buckley, 1967). An ecosystem model has three central organizing concepts: human envired unit or organism, environment, and the patterning of interactions between them (Sprout & Sprout, 1965).

Human Envired Unit

Within the human ecosystem, the organism or human envired units of concern are humans: humans as individuals, humans as members of groups, humans as part of society. For the purpose of this investigation, the notion of Human Envired Unit (HEU) will be defined to include a human group or system, the family.

Definitions of families have varied over time and culture from a traditional parent-child kinship household definition to a view of "the family as a bonded unit of

interacting and interdependent persons who have some common goals and resources, and for part of their life cycle, at least, share living place..." (Andrews, Bubolz & Paolucci, 1980, p.32).

The Environments of the Family

The notion of Environment (E), the second structural component in the human ecosystem model, is also important in the conceptual framework of this study. The environments of the family furnish the resources necessary for life and constitute the life support system.

With this human ecological framework, environment is conceptualized to include natural (NE), human constructed (HCE), and human behavioral (HBE) components (Bubolz, Eicher & Sontag, 1979; Morrison, 1974). These three conceptually distinct but interrelated environments provide the context or setting in which individual and family activity takes place (Bubolz & Sontag, 1986).

Clothing, is an example of the human constructed environment which is defined in the human ecosystem model as an environment altered or created by human beings (Bubolz et al., 1979). Thus, in this study, clothing that meets important biophysical needs as well as aesthetic and socio-psychological needs is considered as the most proximal environment of adolescents. Because a family cannot build competencies without an interdependent system of supports, the three family support systems classified by Andrews et al., (1980) will also be included as environments of the HEU

in the study. As shown in Figure 1, for this study, formal support systems will be represented by schools and a government organization (Board of Education); non-formal support systems will be represented by non-school learning activities and mass media; informal support systems will be represented by friends, extended kin and neighbors.

Interaction

The third component of this human ecosystem is interaction, that is, a relationship of reciprocal influence among a system's components (Bubolz et al., 1979). Because humans are dependent on many components of their environment to satisfy needs and desires, the interaction between people and their environment is very important.

Interaction in a human ecosystem can take place within the envired unit, among the environments, and between the envired unit and environments. In this study, because the human envired unit (HEU) is the family including an adolescent girl, the interaction within the family as a decision making unit will be investigated as well as interactions between the family and its environments.

A Model of Input-Throughput-Output with a Feedback Loop

The family including the adolescent has been identified as the central system of interest within the human ecological framework. In this framework, the environments with which the family interacts are viewed as a source of input; the manner in which the user (systems such as a

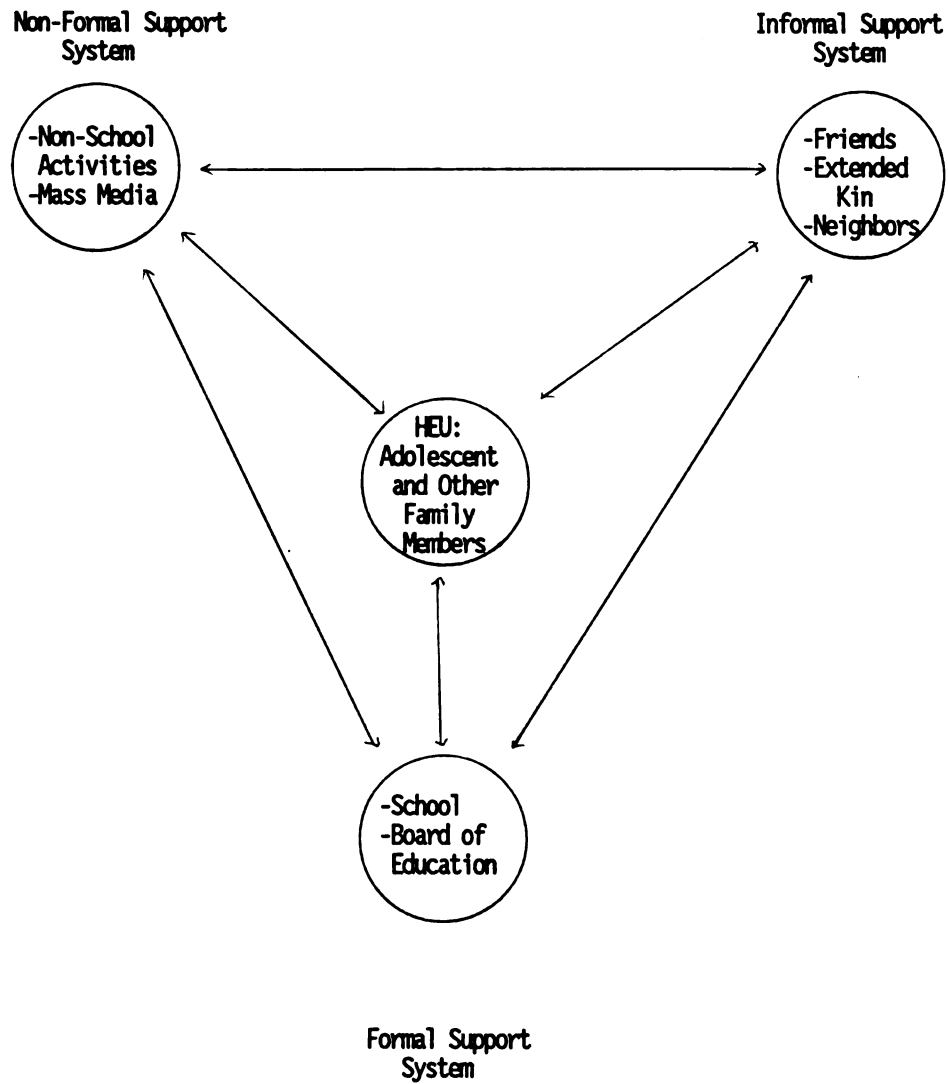


Figure 1. Links between the family and support systems.
[Adapted from Andrews, Bubolz and Paolucci (1980)]

family) adapts to the environments and modifies the environment is called throughput; material goods, waste and human capital are identified as the primary output which will affect the nature and quality of families, individuals, and the environment.

Further, a system that has the capacity to react and change as a result of changes in its environment responds via feedback mechanisms. Figure 2 conveys this dynamic interaction with the environment which is a primary characteristic of an ecological system.

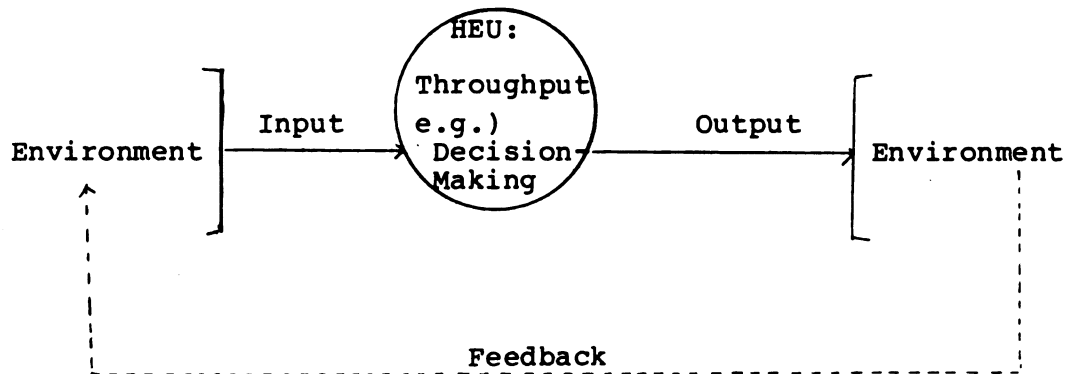


Figure 2. Model of input-throughput-output with a feedback-loop

Because the boundaries of the family are permeable, family members transform energy-matter and information from their environment in order to meet survival and higher level needs (Andrews et al., 1980). This flow of energy into and through the family system activates decision making and decision implementing processes.

Theoretical Assumptions

1. Phenomena must be examined in their wholeness of interaction and interdependence rather than by simple linear cause-effect relationships.
2. Humans are a part of the total system and cannot be considered apart from all other living species in nature and the environments that surround them. Therefore, the concept of humans, their environments, and the interaction between them remains viable, despite changing cultural values and social needs. Theoretically the ecological framework can be applied to Korea.
3. Theoretically, the components of the human ecological framework are universal, however, cultural manipulation may be different and thus the outcome may be somewhat different in any particular culture.
4. Families cannot build competencies without an interdependent system of non-formal, informal, and formal supports.
5. Clothing is the most proximal human constructed environment of human beings which meets important biophysical needs as well as aesthetic and socio-psychological needs.

Definitions

The following concepts are alphabetically ordered and are defined theoretically and operationally.

Decision Making: A critical adaptive process by which individuals or groups choose and implement a solution in a problem area or a situation of uncertainty in order to achieve desired ends. In this study, decision making is a multi-stage adaptive process. The different stages point to the nature of family interaction within the family or between the family and other environments in regard to female adolescent daughter's school clothing selection. Therefore, it is a group task, for which no externally "correct" or "best" decisions exist.

Environment: The sum total of the external surroundings which could or do actually enter into relationships with a system. In this study, the environment includes adolescent clothing as one's most proximal environment as well as the three family support systems within the community: formal, non-formal, and informal support systems (Andrews et al., 1980).

Family: A unit of transacting and interdependent persons who share some common values, goals, and resources. In this study, the family refers to the adolescent and at least one parent. The child may be natural or adopted.

Information: An adaptive tool which is used to satisfy needs and encompass knowledge created and retained

through and in spoken language, written records and applied technologies (Book, 1980). In this study, it refers to any knowledge about adolescent clothing which may be in spoken language, written records and applied technologies gained from other family members and/or the environment of the family.

Interaction: In general, a dynamic interplay and relationship of two or more things that vary. In this study, it refers to the interrelationship between the enviroined unit and the environment, as well as within the unit itself.

Reference Group: Any group with which an individual identifies so that he or she tends to use the group as a standard for self-evaluation and as a source of personal values and goals. Also, it is a group that an individual moves toward or away from in terms of social norms and goals. In this study, it refers to any group that adolescents and their family members indicate influences them in any way in clothing selection.

School Clothing: One of the essential constructed environments for human beings which meets important biophysical needs as well as aesthetic and socio-psychological needs. In this study, adolescent school clothing refers to all items of apparel including outer wear, underwear, and foot wear for the school setting.

Selection of Clothing: A person's process and actions with regard to purchasing, choosing, and wearing clothing for the purpose of achieving clothing expectations associated with the various achieved and ascribed roles that a person occupies. In this study, it refers to purchasing, choosing, and wearing clothing which will be appropriate for a middle or high school student.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Relatively few studies have precisely addressed the adolescent decision making area in regard to clothing. It is possible to take a broad view, however, and assess theoretical ideas and empirical research in various disciplines and fields of study.

The following review of research draws on investigations from various theoretical and research perspectives, i.e., developmental psychology, marketing research, home economics and communication research. Literature will be reviewed to seek inputs for this study related to: (a) the family as a decision making unit, (b) adolescent decision making, (c) clothing selection of adolescents, (d) school uniforms, and (e) Korean adolescent clothing selection.

The Family as a Decision Making Unit

It has been said that the contemporary family is to a large extent a decision making unit (Melson, 1980). This is especially true in a highly technological society where the choice of goods and services becomes a central family task.

Most consumer behavior research has treated the individual as the unit of analysis. However, the position

can be taken, as argued by Assael (1984) that "many purchasing decisions involve more than one person. In particular, the family is frequently involved in joint decision making" (p.382). As family decision making involves more than one person, the family can be defined as a decision making unit with prescribed roles and purchase influence (Assael, 1984). Family members fulfill consumption-related roles such as the information gatherer, the influencer, the decision maker, the purchasing agent and the user (Assael, 1984; Melson, 1980).

Thus, decision making may be thought of as a web of linked decisions. The decision making process as a part of the on-going interaction and communication network of the family, without clear beginning or end, is tied to the past experiences, outside relationships and environment. Also, family decision making may be colored by the perceptions, needs and values of the family members (Deacon & Firebaugh, 1981; Melson, 1980; Paolucci, Hall & Axinn, 1979).

Decision making has been approached from many different perspectives in various frameworks. Diesing (1962) indicated that five types of decision situations, (i.e., social, economic, technical, legal and political decision making) differ in their approach to reason. However, to some extent when the family is viewed as a social system, these distinctions often become blurred and most decisions tend to occur in some kind of combination.

Decisions within the family can be made on a joint or individual basis. Sheth (1974) described several situations in which joint decision making was more likely when perceived risk is high, the purchase decision is important to the family, and there are few time pressures. In joint decision making, family members play a variety of roles. Joint decisions often result in some kind of conflict in purchase objectives. Typically, the resolution of this conflict in the family has relied upon the determination of the power structure and exploration of the discrepancies between family member's preferences (Davis, 1976; Polland & Mitchell, 1972).

Decision Making as Process

Decision making has generally been treated as a sequential process, in which there are clearly distinguishable stages which may overlap and develop simultaneously or at different rates. The following delineation of the stages in decision making is representative of those found in the literature (Assael, 1984; Deacon & Firebaugh, 1980; Moschis & Moore, 1978; Paolucci et al., 1979).

Stage 1. Recognize and identify the problem.

Stage 2. Search for information in the problem field
(delineate alternatives).

Stage 3. Weigh the various alternatives perceived.

Stage 4. Make a decision or resolve alternatives.

Stage 5. Evaluate post performance.

The decision making processes are constrained by the family's material resources and intangible resources such as knowledge, family communication skill and patterns, cohesiveness and conflict-handling mechanisms. These tangible and intangible resources of the family may affect how they are able to use information gathered to make decisions that will bring them closer to their goals (Melson, 1980). Any time two or more people are involved in decision making, there is likely to be some degree of conflict in purchasing objectives, attitudes toward the alternatives, and the selection of the most desirable alternative.

The family is no exception. Sprey (1969) said that the normal state of the family is not one of agreement and stability. Close interdependence of family members means that joint decisions will lead to conflict. Davis (1976) studied a number of product categories and found conflict regarding the roles to be played in the decision. There were three types of conflict: (a) who would make various purchase decisions; (b) how should the decision be made (e.g., degree of information search, reliance on advertising); (c) who would implement the decision.

Therefore, it is clear that family decision making is not a simple process of arriving at a joint decision through consensus. It frequently requires the resolution of the conflicting goals and attitudes of family members. After purchase, family members may dispel their doubts about the

decision through dissonance reduction, but they also engage in critical evaluation of the product to some degree.

According to the above studies, relatively little effort has been devoted to understanding interactions within the family or the role of family communication effectiveness in several different stages of the decision making process. Clearly, there is a need for better understanding of family interaction patterns within the family and between the family and its environments.

Adolescent Decision Making

Research on consumer decision making has traditionally dealt with adult consumer behavior with little attention paid to consumer decision making among the young (Moschis & Moore, 1978; Ward, 1974). In recent years, however, some researchers' attention has been devoted to children's and adolescents' purchase decision making, their influence on parental purchases, and the cumulative process by which young people become socialized to the consumer environment (Moore & Stephens, 1975; Moschis, 1985).

Unlike studies of adult consumer decision making, research on decision making of the young has been far from systematic. It has frequently focused on a specific stage rather than several stages of the process. For example, some studies have examined adolescent consumer behavior at the information seeking stage (Moore & Stephens, 1975) and

others have explored the role of family communication in socialization of adolescents (Moschis, 1985).

It is a widely held belief in behavioral science that childhood experiences are of paramount importance in shaping patterns of cognition and behavior in later life. As adolescents mature, they appear to react from a broader sense of values and social standards, while attempting to accept themselves as persons of worth depending on which social valuing agent (e.g., family, peers or ideal-self, mass media) was most influential (Rosenberg, 1979).

The use of the socialization approach in consumer research has been proposed as a vehicle for the study of consumer behavior (Ward, 1974). In the life of every person, there are a number of people and institutions such as family, peers and mass media which are directly and indirectly involved in socialization.

Studies using the social learning approach attempt to explain socialization as a function of environmental influences applied to the person. Learning is assumed to take place during the individual's interaction with socialization agents in various social settings. Several studies examining the effects of socialization agents found that family, peers and mass media were the most important sources of consumer learning (Moschis & Churchill, 1978; Moschis & Moore, 1978; Ward, 1974).

Family

Much consumer socialization literature suggests that the family is the most important agent in teaching young people rational aspects of consumption. Although the family plays an important role in consumer socialization of the young, parental influence is often incidental and hence far from purposive consumer training (Melson, 1980). In fact, learning from family members may involve what Ward (1974) called "subtle interpersonal processes" (or indirect learning) more than direct learning, since purposive "consumer learning" apparently rarely occurs in the family. This finding seems to suggest that parents often expect their children to learn through observation.

During the course of the adolescents' interactions with other family members, they may acquire certain attitudes, values, and behaviors, which are often communicated explicitly. Family interaction processes can have content (e.g., expectations, norms, information about consumption) and structure, which refers to family relations concerning power and communication relations. Moschis and Moore (1978) found that consumer learning was associated with family communication patterns and structure.

Thus, communication is viewed as a facilitator in decision making. Support for this speculation is provided by several studies. For example, Moore and Stephens (1975) found that parent-adolescent communication about consumption predicted fairly well the child's knowledge of prices of

selected products and "rational" consumer behaviors, such as managing money and comparative shopping (Moschis, 1978b).

Another study found that there was parental influence on both economic and social motivations for consumption (Churchill & Moschis, 1979). Unfortunately, it is not clear from these studies how parents influence children's development of decision patterns regarding variant decisions, such as brand and store preferences, as well as motives and information processing skills.

The involvement of parents in decision making for their offspring appear to vary across stages of the decision making process and type of product. For example, a cross-sectional study of the development of adolescents' decision making suggested that parental influence may vary by the stage of decision making, with greater likelihood of influence at the information seeking stage than at the product evaluation stage (Moschis et al., 1977). Analysis of the data indicated that purchasing role structures varied significantly across selected items that were likely to be consumed by adolescents. Specifically, the data suggested that non-specialty goods such as clothing tend to be purchased by adolescents jointly with the family members, whereas specialty goods such as records, sporting equipment, and movie tickets tend to be purchased by adolescents in the absence of family members. Within the shopping goods category such as shoes, shirts, and jeans, the extent of involvement of other family members and adolescents in

purchasing appears to be related to the social visibility and price of product. These findings suggested that the degree of adolescent-family member involvement in decision making may be a function of the socioeconomic risk in a purchasing situation.

In another study (Moschis & Moore, 1978) of the development of a decision making model, i.e., independent or joint decision making, it was found that the extent to which adolescents take parental preferences or suggestions into account in choosing among brands may be a function of perceived risk associated with the specific decision. Greater parental influence was more likely to be present in the purchasing of high-risk products. Support for this speculation is provided by Assael (1984) who suggested that joint decisions within the family are more likely when perceived risk is high, the purchase decision is important to the family, and there are fewer time pressures.

Family influence on the development of a youth's consumer decision making appears to be based on certain parental and adolescent characteristics such as age, socio-economic status, and gender. Generally, young people attain greater family independence in decision making with age (Moschis & Moore, 1978; Vener & Hoffer, 1965), although the degree of independence varies by product type.

The extent to which young people exercise independence in decision making may be conditioned by specific characteristics such as socio-economic status and gender.

From the learning theory point of view, Ward (1974) argued that adolescents from a low-income family have less experience with money and may be less aware of the range of consumer goods than those from middle or upper income families. Therefore, their learning of some aspects of consumption may be less adequate than that of adolescents from an upper-income family.

Several research findings appear to support this line of reasoning. They show that young people from upper socioeconomic backgrounds have greater awareness of, and preference for, commercial stimuli in their consumer environment (Moschis & Churchill, 1978; Moschis & Moore, 1978; Ward, 1974). Moschis (1978a) suggested that young people from upper classes were more likely to seek information prior to decision making than their lower class counterparts.

Middle class adolescents appear to attain less independence in purchasing as they grow older than do adolescent consumers in lower and upper social classes (Moschis et al., 1977; Saunders et al., 1973). This finding has been attributed to middle class parents who have a greater desire to supervise closely their children's activities in an effort to socialize them into class norms. These findings may apply to other stages in the decision making model (need recognition, information seeking, product evaluation, and post-purchase stage).

Parental influence on the development of consumer behavior of their offspring appears to be affected by the gender of the child. For example, the higher need for conformity to peer group norms found among female adolescents was reflected in their purchasing stage (Saunders et al., 1973). Greater family independence (and thus less parental influence) was shown when purchasing products relevant to physical appearance, such as health care products and clothing (shirts and jeans) (Moschis et al., 1977). In summary, it appears that consumer socialization of adolescents proceeds more through subtle social learning processes than through purposive and systematic parental training.

Peers

During the adolescent years a person's need for independence from his or her parents leads to increasing dependence upon one's peers. This view went untested for many years in adolescent decision making studies. However, one study (Brittain, 1963) focused on this issue and showed that in areas such as taste in clothes, in which female adolescents perceived their ideas to be like those of peers, the girls tended to favor a peer suggested alternative. Several other studies suggested that the typical teenager is responsive to peer opinions on topics about which they have similar interests, opinions, and attitudes, such as clothing choice and hair style (Moschis & Moore, 1978; Saunders et al., 1973).

In his text book, Adolescence and Youth, Conger (1977) described three points that should be borne in mind when considering parent-peer issues in the decision making process. In the first place, Conger reminded us that usually there is a considerable overlap in values between parents and peers. Second, it would clearly be erroneous to assume that the values of either one's peers or parents are all-embracing, extending to every area of decision making. In this context, it should be remembered that the advice adolescents would ask for in decision making would depend upon the kind of advice they want to hear. Finally, it was in situations where parental interest was lacking, or where the adolescent had no parental support to depend on, that commitment to peer-group values was at its height. Thus, the role of the peer group under these conditions appeared to involve filling a vacuum rather than provoking a conflict between parents and teenagers. Floyd and South (1972) also suggested that the relative influence exerted by parents and peers is related to the adolescents' perception of need satisfaction.

It is also likely that consumer related cognition learned from interaction with peers will influence communication with the individual parents. These speculations are supported by research findings that show a positive relationship between the adolescent's frequency of communication about consumption with peers and the individual's frequency of initiating discussion about

consumption with parents (Churchill & Moschis, 1979; Moore & Stephens, 1975).

In summary, it is undoubtedly time that the role of the peer group should be seen in more realistic terms both as a source of influence more often congruent with, rather than contrary to, parental values and as a support and reference group which only plays a major part when the family proves to be inadequate. Although adolescents turn increasingly toward peers as referents in decision making, it has been demonstrated that the content of the decisions is the important element in determining whether parents or peers are more likely to be consulted. Adolescents are most likely to value the opinions of those whom they perceive as satisfying their needs in the area in which the opinion is sought.

Mass Media

While emphasizing the importance of familial and peer influence on adolescent socialization, the important role of media should also be recognized. Ward (1974) speculated that people learn anticipatory consumer cognition from the mass media. For example, Ward and Wackman (1971) suggested that there were different processes involved for younger and older adolescent groups in learning general attitudes toward advertising. For the younger adolescents, social utility reasons for advertising exposure and amount of television viewing were the two most important reasons for intrafamily communication about consumption. Socio-economic status was

the most important in explaining variations in general attitudes toward advertising among older adolescents.

Resnik and Stern (1977) suggested that children's brand choice may be influenced by television advertising. Similarly, print advertising may be effective in creating brand preferences (Teel, Teel & Bearden, 1979). Moschis and Moore (1978) examined decision making patterns among the young by focusing on several different stages of the process. They found adolescents tended to rely more on personal sources for information on products of high socio-economic and performance risk, and on mass media for information on products perceived as low for such risk. These findings are similar to those from adult consumer research (Engel, Blackwell & Kollat, 1978). In general, as young people interact with the mass media, they are exposed to a variety of advertisements and as a result may develop favorable orientations toward brands.

Clothing Selection of Adolescents

During the past decades, adolescent clothing behavior research has focused primarily on the social and psychological implications of clothing behavior. This has included personal and social adjustments, personal and social acceptance, conformity, and self-concept. Although specific clothing decision making studies for adolescents were not located, several studies compared clothing practices and attitudes of adolescent boys and girls.

It has become generally accepted that the selection of clothing is an especially important decision for adolescents. For example, Evans (1964) found that the majority of the adolescents in her sample of high school students met needs for independence through purchasing their own clothing. Gaining recognition from others and desire to conform were important motivations with respect to wearing clothing (Evans, 1964; Vener & Hoffer, 1965). Acceptance into different groups was also likely to be related to clothing selection. Adolescents tended to be very concerned about any factors that influence their acceptance by others. Vener and Hoffer (1965) discovered that expressions of clothing deprivation were less frequent for adolescents who participated more in organizational activities.

Four reports of high school students based on a longitudinal study indicated that dress was an important factor in both acceptance by friendship groups and overall popularity in school (Williams & Eicher, 1966; Hendricks, Kelly & Eicher, 1968; Kelly & Eicher, 1970; Littrell & Eicher, 1973). Questionnaires and interviews were used to assign female adolescents to one of three categories of social acceptance: isolated, mutual pair memberships, and reciprocal friendship structures. The adolescents were also asked their opinions concerning dress and appearance. Hendricks et al. (1968) found that the extent to which members of reciprocal friendship structures held similar opinions regarding clothing and appearance related

positively to the cohesion of the group. Littrell and Eicher (1973) extended the research by examining the relationship between opinions about clothing and movement from social isolation measured when subjects were in grade nine and again three years later. The results suggested that adolescents conform in clothing behavior as a means of seeking acceptance in a peer group.

Similarly, Gurel et al. (1972) reported that clothing choices are at least partially determined by the group to which one belongs. In their study conducted in the early 1970s with students in 9th to 12th grade, the hippie group members were the least conforming and wore unusual outfits such as capes, old uniforms or long old-fashioned dresses. In contrast, those in the "straight" or "collegiate" group wore simple, classic styles such as penny loafers, sports shirts and sweaters. The studies indicated that, particularly in high school groups, clothing plays an important role in symbolizing belonging and acceptance by peers.

Smucker and Creekmore (1972) demonstrated that, among high school sophomores, awareness of clothing norms was positively related to clothing conformity. This suggests that clothing selection is somewhat determined by information gained from others. Gilkson (1973) studied selected changes in the buying frames of reference of teenagers from 1960 to 1971. For example, parental influence had declined in importance in teenagers' buying

decisions in most of the product lines researched. On the other hand, the peer group had increased influence.

Kerman (1973) found that adolescent females' perceived appropriateness of clothing items could not be traced to their mothers' perceptions. The junior high school girls in Kerman's study presumably were using high school females as a reference group despite the fact there was little real interaction with them. The above finding would tend to lend credence to the statement of Ward (1974) that parents become less important as children enter adolescence and peers become more important.

A similar study was conducted by Moschis and Churchill (1978) who examined the purchasing role structure for eleven items consumed by adolescents. Variations in purchasing role structures for selected adolescent consumer products were found by type of product, social class, gender, and age of adolescent consumers. Eleven items, on the basis of their relevance to adolescents' consumption habits, were roughly divided into three categories: convenience goods (e.g., snack foods, health care products, camera film, and school supplies), shopping goods (shoes, shirts, and jeans, socks, coat), and specialty goods (records or tapes, sports equipment, and movie tickets). The results suggest that specialty goods tended to be purchased without family members whereas adolescent shopping goods tended to be purchased jointly by the adolescents and parents. Within the shopping goods category, the extent of involvement of

family members in purchasing appeared to be related to the social visibility and price of the products. Thus, adolescents appeared to have considerable freedom in purchasing products relevant to their own recreation, but they tended to depend on parental agreement when purchasing items of higher price and social risk. This dependence, most noticeable in upper and middle classes of society, may reflect parental concern over their children's well being, competence, and social acceptance.

In a study of 48 pairs of mothers and daughters (12 years of age), Saunders et al., (1973) investigated the degree of agreement or disagreement between mother and daughter in selecting the daughter's school clothing. Data were collected from the daughters on a group basis in school. Each was also given a questionnaire in a sealed envelope to be taken to her mother. The researchers found a higher percentage of agreements of mother-daughter opinion for expensive items such as a coat than for less expensive items such as a scarf. Less conflict occurred when the money used for purchases was provided by the daughter. These results suggest that the degree of family member involvement in purchasing for adolescents may be a function of the social approval risk present in a purchasing situation as well as the source of financial support.

Significant gender differences also were found by Moschis et al. (1977). Females had significantly greater family independence than males in purchasing shirts and

jeans, but not in shoes and coats. Males, on the other hand, appeared to have greater independence than females in purchasing sports equipment.

Another study has attempted to obtain information on clothing purchases and use-behavior of two groups of adolescent males, ages 13 through 15, and 16 through 18. Although the differences between younger and older adolescent boys in regard to clothing were stable, it was found that the differences were not great (Warden & Cloquette, 1982). The younger males were more conscious of the price of the items, an indication perhaps that they were still attuned to parental attitudes and financial resources. The older group exercised more independence and attempted to fulfill a psychological need to "express themselves". All in all, adolescent boys considered their friends the best source of new ideas and information regarding clothing that they might be interested in purchasing. This seemed to express a need for conformity and acceptance among their peers.

Another study (Koester & May, 1985) examined the clothing practices in the daily selection, care, and purchase of clothing by adolescents in order to determine the extent that these practices were performed independently or influenced by others and to identify the factors involved in the activities. The age group (juniors' ages 9 to 12, intermediate 13 to 15, and seniors 16 to 19) comparison revealed increasing frequency of independent activity in all

three clothing practice areas (selection, care and purchase) as age increased. Parental influence appeared to decrease with increased age. Siblings' influence was minimal. Peer influence on selection and purchase practices increased. Media influence through advertisements increased with age, but purchases of advertised clothing items remained about the same. Whereas senior girls increased the use of brand name information, senior boys decreased the use of this information.

Based on the above studies, it would appear that adolescent clothing decision making and its implications have not been well researched since the 1960's. The clothing decision making of adolescents and interactions between adolescents and their major reference groups such as family, peer and mass media have not been studied in depth. However, the results of the current studies in this area support the position that adolescent clothing selection is partly determined by the kind of person the adolescent is and concomitantly the groups with which the adolescent interacts directly or indirectly.

School Uniform

The survival of a group rests in its ability to exert some degree of control over its members who must carry out the goals of their organization (Littlejohn, 1978). In most cases, social control provides a relatively high level of conformity with organizational goals. Dress codes may

formally dictate the standards of dress for an organization. Thus, the uniform is viewed as a device to resolve certain dilemmas of complex organizations, namely, to assure that members will conform to their goals, and to eliminate conflicts in the status sets of their members (Joseph & Alex, 1979; Kaiser, 1985).

The idea of having students dress alike goes back to the founding of the great English universities (Schoenhof, 1967). After the universities had been in existence awhile, scholars' apparel began to be prescribed by university statutes to distinguish the different degrees of learning and the various faculties. The examination of the importance of dress in schools can help to better understand clothing symbolism in associative organizations.

In secondary schools in Britain, Australia and New Zealand, standardized clothing has long been a tradition (Kaiser, 1985). The school uniform in the United States goes back to the origins of the parochial system when uniforms for both boys and girls were prescribed (Schoenhof, 1967). Currently private and parochial schools often have dress codes that result in generally uniform appearance. Although the styles have changed drastically over the years, the reasons for clothing students alike remain. Generally, the school uniform has served the following functions: (a) a group emblem which instills a sense of belonging and dignity as a student, (b) the promotion of group spirit, (c) a belief that academic

standards are maintained through uniformity, (d) the easing of parental budgeting problems, and (e) the concealment of socio-economic differences (Barrington & Marshall, 1975; Doyle, 1967; Schoenhof, 1967). However, students have not always accepted these reasons for what they see as trivial or childish regulations that constitute authoritarianism. Opponents to school uniforms have declared the following: Schools must nurture the human differences required by a diverse and fluid society and students must develop the capacity for independent thought (Doyle, 1967).

In a New Zealand secondary school, the issue of abolishing the traditional school uniform was dealt with through a process of participatory decision making, involving contributions from parents, students, and school board officers and teachers (Barrington & Marshall, 1975). Those arguing in favor of maintaining the uniform presented the view that it promoted "group spirit" and "contributed to stability in a changing world." They also indicated that its abolition would involve a replacement with a new form of "uniform" (for example, blue jeans and denim jackets), and it would be difficult to identify non-student "intruders". There also would be, they claimed, increased competition for attractiveness and for social-status indicators. Opponents declared the uniform to be out-dated in the contemporary world and indicated that the public image of the school came from good behavior, not from wearing a uniform. Some staff members also indicated that they were sick of trying to

enforce the uniform regulations at the expense of more basic issues. Despite objections to the continued use of uniforms, a survey of the parents indicated that over two-thirds favored retaining the uniform, and a significant majority of the staff also voted in this manner. Furthermore, when formally asked, only a slight majority of the students voted in favor of abolishing the uniform. These findings might suggest that there is "comfort" to some in maintaining the status quo.

Korean Adolescent Clothing Selection

Most Korean family decision making and clothing selection investigations have treated the individual as a unit of analysis. Although in the 1980s it is the trend in Korea to focus study on family decision making, there are few studies to review in relation to family decision making especially those which have related to offspring's clothing selection.

Kim (1982) and Yim and Kim (1983) investigated the husband-wife dominant decision making area in home management. Data of Kim (1982) were gathered through a questionnaire of 299 families living in farming or fishing villages in Jeju Island in Korea. In her study, lending and borrowing money from the bank, participation in formal groups and control of agricultural chemicals were the husband's decision making areas. Food preparation, education of children, product purchases, and participation in

voluntary groups were the wife's dominant decision making areas.

Yim and Kim (1983) studied 400 urban families to investigate the degree of husband-wife participation in decision making and the level of participation according to various variables such as educational level of spouse and socio-economic level in the family. Like Kim's findings (1982), clothing purchase, food preparation, children's education in general, and family budget management were the wife's dominant decision making areas. Housing purchase and final decision making about the children's upper level school selection were the husband's dominant decision making areas. Conjugal role differentiation in family decision making was present and separate for the husband and wife.

Yim and Kim (1983) also found that the higher the wife's educational level and socio-economic status, the more likely she would participate in the decision making arena. The increase of the wife's participation in decision making can be regarded as an affirmative phenomenon so that her status is raised in home management and joint decision making is carried out. In addition, this study revealed that those who are more satisfied with their communication with their spouse find joint decision making easier than those who are not satisfied with their communication.

It should be noted that the above two studies collected data from the wife only. By relying only on the wife's responses, it is impossible to describe the entire picture

of the family decision making process and interactions within the family.

In Korea, the area of research about adolescent clothing behavior has focused on the psychological implications of clothing behavior such as personality traits (Park and Khang, 1984), perception (Chung, 1984), and political attitudes (Kim, 1986). However, after the abolition of the school uniform regulation in 1983, the area of research has focused on clothing behavior and family values (Choi, 1986), purchasing behaviors (Lee, 1984; Kim, 1986), clothing management (Lee, 1985) and clothing practices (Park, 1984).

The study by Choi (1986) dealt with family values and the adolescent daughter's clothing behavior in Seoul and Kwang Ju, another urban area. She included 237 high school girls in Seoul and 238 high school girls in Kwang Ju. She found that the materialistic family was negatively related to the modesty use of clothing in Seoul and positively related to the aesthetic use of clothing in Kwang Ju. The conventional family was positively related to modesty and management uses both in Seoul and in Kwang Ju. These findings indicated that to some extent family values were related to adolescent's clothing behavior.

The work by Lee (1984) and Kim (1982) dealt with clothing purchase practices of high school girls in Seoul. Based on Lee's study (1984), adolescents and their mothers frequently went shopping together and this behavior was more

likely to be seen in middle or upper socio-economic levels than in the lower level. In her study, television and window displays at the shopping stage were major sources of information for clothing selection.

Similarly Kim (1982) investigated high school girl's purchasing practices related to various family socio-economic levels. She found that the higher the socio-economic level, the more likely an adolescent was to buy expensive and famous brand clothing. Like Lee's findings (1984), friends, mass media, window displays and mother or siblings were the major fashion information sources.

According to Lee (1985) who investigated the actual state of high school girls' clothing management after the abolition of school uniforms, most of her subjects used ready-to wear clothing and had two or three blouses, skirts, pants and at least one formal suit. However, the researcher did not specify if this inventory of clothing was for only one season or for the whole year. Based on her study, the primary reason for discarding clothing was due to change in the physique. This demonstrates that the physical change during this period may be a motive to discard clothing and buy new garments. As expected, students just removed dust or stains from their clothing, while mothers laundered and cleaned their daughters' clothing.

Park (1984) investigated motives for selection of clothing (underwear and outerwear). The study included 513 high school boys and 501 high school girls. In general,

Park (1984) found that there were no significant differences in selection motives for clothing between boys and girls. The results were as follows: For underwear, the body appearance and the hygienic aspects were shown as important factors in clothing selection motives; and for outer wear, functionality and psychological aspects were shown to be important factors in clothing selection motives. Unfortunately, the researcher did not define the concepts of psychological aspects and functional aspects.

Most Korean research in clothing purchase behavior has focused on selection motives and information sources rather than investigating the entire decision making process. Most researchers used adolescent girls as participants and quantitative survey methods to pursue the purposes of their research. Results are not comparable because individual researchers used different measurements and did not mention the reliability or validity of the measurements.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The Qualitative Method

The purposes of this research were to gain an understanding of interactions within the family and between the family and other environmental systems in regard to female adolescent clothing selection in Korea, and to develop some propositions and hypotheses toward grounded theory in clothing decision making. Verification was not a major purpose of this research. In this study, the qualitative method was used for pursuing the purposes of the research.

As Filstead(1970) has noted:

Qualitative methodology refers to those research strategies, such as participant observation, in-depth interviewing, total participation in the activity being investigated, field work...which allow the researcher to obtain first hand knowledge about the empirical social world in question. Qualitative methodology allows the researcher to get close to the data, thereby developing the analytical, conceptual, and categorical components of explanation from the data itself (p.6).

Qualitative methodology advocates an approach to examining the empirical social world which requires the researcher to interpret the real world from the perspective of the participants of the investigation. Within the view

of qualitative research, the generation of theory through the inductive mode develops knowledge and understanding from the specific to the general.

In this paradigm, qualitative research studies approach a problem holistically; the researcher's inner understanding enables a comprehension of human behavior in depth. Some topics such as motives, meanings, or values and other subjective aspects of the lives of individuals and groups cannot be known by quantification because reducing them to numerical symbols alone could destroy their essence.

Lofland and Lofland (1984) emphasized learning how to take the role of the other in order to achieve understanding. Therefore, this approach enables the researcher to keep in sight the subjective nature of human behavior (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Schwartz & Jacobs, 1979). In other words, qualitative research takes the philosophical position that knowledge can come from inner as well as outer perspectives of human behavior.

It is important, according to qualitative researchers, to find out how individuals place themselves in categories that they see as relevant. It is also important to uncover the "multiple interrelations of any given social phenomenon" that are assumed to exist by those who see truth as "layered" (Rukin, 1983, p.341) rather than to be as clear-cut and objectively determinable as possible.

Validity and Reliability

Following the customary distinction, validity is concerned with the accuracy of scientific findings, and reliability is concerned with the replicability of scientific findings. It is important to recall that the qualitative researcher's contribution to increased understanding is to provide detailed description of patterns and processes, which are not proof, but a type of explanation. Validity is central to the qualitative domain. The direction of qualitative research is not toward prediction, control, or proof, as in the case for quantitative research which requires a high degree of replicability and consistency. Qualitative research can be viewed as providing valid measures. Its validity depends on authentic expression of what is happening in the world of the participants and in the setting being studied (Babbie, 1985).

Lofland and Lofland (1984) discussed seven areas of potential distortion in participant observation and listed a series of questions for researchers to ask themselves, in the belief that a clear awareness of sources of bias can help minimize it. LeCompte and Goetz (1982) delineated the problems of validity and reliability. They also described procedures to reduce the threats to research credibility.

In order to increase external validity, which addresses "the degree to which authentic representations may be compared legitimately across groups" (LeCompte & Goetz,

1982, P.37), LeCompte and Goetz(1982) suggested the following procedures:

1. Be concerned with comparability across groups.
2. Document participants' characteristics in quantitative terms.
3. Describe the setting under investigation.
4. Continually cross check meaning with participants.

These procedures can be valuable when the dynamics of participant-researcher interaction are taken into account. Honest, open rapport between researcher and participant can leave the way open for intimate sharing that will yield valid patterns of reality.

With respect to internal validity, which refers "to the extent to which scientific observations and measurements are authentic representations of some reality" (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, p.32), Lecompte and Goetz (1982) suggested that:

1. Increased internal validity can be derived from such techniques as collection of data through minimally structured interview methodology in a natural setting.
2. Internal validity can be further enhanced by the researcher's continual self-monitoring.

The suggestion to keep a personal diary, in which one can specify one's views and prejudices about the participants, specify one's hunches about hypotheses, and vent one's emotional reaction to the participants and the research process, is a common suggestion of one way to

achieve self-monitoring (Agar, 1980; Lofland & Lofland, 1984; Spradley, 1979). In qualitative research, because of the unique nature of each ethnographic setting, the phenomena under study cannot be precisely duplicated.

Reliability in ethnographic research is dependent upon the resolution of both external and internal design problems (Hansen, 1979). In order to increase external reliability which addresses "the issue of whether independent researchers would discover the same phenomena or generate the same constructs in the same or similar settings" (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982, P.32), LeCompte and Goetz (1982) suggested the following:

1. Identification of the researcher's role and status within the group being studied.
2. Delineation of types of participants who provide data.
3. Description of the social situations and conditions under which data were gathered.
4. Identification of analytic categories and premises.
5. Presentation of the research design and methodology.

LeCompte and Goetz (1982) suggested that internal reliability which refers to "the degree to which other researchers, given a set of previously generated constructs, would match them with data in the same way as did the original researcher" (1982, p.32) rests on the:

1. Presentation of excerpts of verbatim accounts.
2. Utilization of multiple observers.
3. Attainment of the data by mechanical recording.

Procedures appropriate for this investigation were selected from the above list and have been incorporated throughout this study.

Grounded Theory

The goal of grounded theory is to allow substantive theory to emerge, more or less naturally, out of what is observed in daily situations as related to categories and properties which are elements of theory. Grounded theory has some guidelines for the selection of these elements of the theory. When the researcher begins seeing patterns of similar instances repeated, then categories are regarded as saturated. Categorical saturation provides an adequate sample, comparable to a statistical sample (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Therefore, as grounded theory assumes that part of the method itself is the writing of theory, data collection, observation, coding and categorizing the data and developing theories all tend to go on simultaneously and mutually support one another.

In this research process, Glaser and Strauss (1967) outline two main ideas behind the details of grounded theory. First, there is the idea of a constant feedback process together with the methods of constant comparisons in order to verify the descriptive scheme. If one looks for particular individuals whose cases are different from those of others within the same social situation, it may offer better access to structural differences and similarities.

Second, there is the idea of obtaining a high level of abstraction in one's final theory. Operant concepts and themes emerge throughout the process as the researcher moves back and forth between the field and reflective analysis of the data as they accumulate. Lower level concepts tend to emerge early and higher level concepts and properties usually emerge later until such time as the data are jointly collected, coded and analyzed.

In this way, several levels of analysis are constantly feeding back into one another to obtain a high level of abstraction in the final theory. Indeed, the grounded theory method accepts the need to gain access to the life-world of individuals as well as accept the view of scientists that study should be directed toward abstract theories which explain actions and interactions of individuals in a social context.

Data Gathering Procedure

In the past, most studies of adolescent decision making in marketing and in the family area have been based only on the adolescents' answers. However, it has been implied that a substantial portion of decision making regarding adolescent clothing is done jointly by the adolescents and their mothers in Korea (Khang, 1983; Kwon, 1983). It was essential to gather the perspectives of mothers who are budget allocators in the families, just as it was equally important to have the daughters' perspective as actual users

of the clothing. In this study, a combination of conjoint and individual interviews with a mother and daughter was employed to elicit more complete data about selection of school clothing for daughters.

Selection of the School and the Participant Families

As Lofland and Lofland (1984) recommended, wherever possible the researcher should try to use preexisting trust to remove barriers for entrance. This suggests that outside researchers may gain access to settings or persons through contacts they have already established. These contacts should have good working relationships with the people to be studied.

The participant adolescents and their families were drawn from a girls' middle and high school in Seoul, Korea, from which the researcher graduated in 1976. In 1985 the school population consisted of 720 students in middle school which includes 3 years of study in Korea and 1400 in high school which also includes 3 years of study in Korea. This school was known as a relatively conservative private school. While no particular socio-economic level was sought as a criteria for selection, the majority of the school population probably represented middle class. Two criteria were discussed with the principal to be used for selection of the participants from the selected school:

1. The participant adolescents were attending either the middle school or the high school.

2. The participant adolescents were living with their natural or adopted parents.

The researcher met the principal of the school during the summer of 1985 to solicit help. The principal facilitated contact with one middle school student, and one high school girl and her mother to verify the potential possibility of this research. These two students and one mother were not included in the cases for this study.

In an effort to identify the participant families, the researcher again visited the principal of the same school selected for the study at the end of August 1986. The researcher then explained the research purpose and methodology in detail and discussed the plan for seeking the participant families for the research.

Also, the researcher emphasized that it was vitally important to the success of the study that informants who were selected (a) expressed willingness and an interest to be involved, (b) were willing to invest the time and energy necessary to see the research through, and, (c) would be able to express feelings and experiences about the topic under investigation.

A predetermined number of participants was not fixed. However, the researcher explained to the principal that a group of 8 to 10 adolescent and mother sets would serve the purpose for achieving an in-depth study of the participants' experiences. The principal and one teacher spoke first with mothers who had considerable contacts with them. Then, they

selected the five middle and five high school students whose families who fulfilled the two criteria and the three additional ideas for success of the study. Introductory letters were sent to the 10 families through the students.

Procedures for Obtaining Consent

1. Five middle school girls initially met the researcher and the teacher during a lunch time. The five high school girls met only with the teacher because of time constraints between the researcher and students.
2. Each adolescent took a letter to her mother. The letter described the project and requested a signature from both mother and daughter on the attached sheet if they were interested in participating in this project (See Appendix A).
3. One week later, via the principal, the 10 mother and daughter sets had returned the signed consent letter.
4. Another week later, the researcher and the principal invited the 10 mothers to the office of the school principal to discuss the project in more detail and to determine if they still thought this study would be something in which they would like to be involved.
5. Two weeks later the researcher called the mothers and set up the first interview.
6. Also, the researcher asked teachers who take charge of each participant student to give brief information on the family's background (See Appendix B) because this information is available to teachers and the principal's

general permission to do the study in the school permitted this.

At the initial meeting with the 10 mothers of adolescents in the school principal's room, the researcher explained what she was investigating and how the interview(s) would be conducted. The researcher explained that the objective of this study was to understand more about adolescent clothing behavior. At the preliminary meeting, the conversation was not audio-taped, however, signatures on additional consent forms were sought to allow future interviews to be taped and to agree to the following choices:

1. The actual day, time and place for the first interview with the adolescent and her mother. The researcher emphasized that the mother and daughter pair represented the minimum number of individuals, thus, if other family member were willing to attend the interview, they would be welcomed.
2. Whether or not the family would read the researcher's description of their family and make comments or add reflections to check the accuracy before the completion of the final report.
3. Whether or not the family would consent to additional interviews through phone or face to face meeting after the first interviews, if the researcher felt this necessary for the project.

Because of time constraints, the principal offered the researcher the use of the school conference room any time the participant mother and daughter wanted to conduct the interview outside their home. Thus, the interviews were conducted in either their home or the school conference room during the research period from September 2, 1986 to December 10, 1986.

Since all participants consented, the actual interviews were recorded by audio-tape. During the interviews, the researcher jotted brief notes of names and topics that she wanted to follow-up when appropriate.

Techniques for Collecting Data

Open-ended interviews, that is, ethnographic interviews, with participant families were used to collect the data. Additionally, participant observations were conducted at school during lunch time, after school, at Student Assembly, and at Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meeting. Participant observations revealed general information about student appearance, but the open-ended interviews gave the in-depth understanding of family decision making related to adolescent daughter's school clothing selection.

Observational techniques. With the school authorities' permission, the researcher visited the school several times to observe the appearance of the students in general and to conduct the interviews with the participant families. Such observations took place during lunch time and after school.

In addition, the researcher attended the Student Assembly two times. Student Assembly usually was held every Monday morning in the school auditorium for the school authorities (usually the principal) to give spiritual discipline and advice. The researcher was allowed to attend the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) which holds meetings twice a year in all secondary schools in Korea. She attended once in October 1986. The researcher visited a large shopping mall with many specialty stores for adolescent clothing to observe the purchase behavior in the shopping mall whenever she had time during the research period.

The primary objective of the above observations was to have a general idea of student appearance in a natural settings. The observation of the PTA meeting which was held without students showed the interaction between school authorities and the parent representatives. The observations in the shopping mall provided some insights on the purchasing process and who accompanied adolescents while shopping. The researcher watched, listened, and wrote down everything related to clothing. These notes were valuable sources of information about student appearance in school or in the shopping mall. Later this general information about student clothing was helpful in conducting ethnographic interviews with the participant families.

Open-ended ethnographic interviews. As stated earlier, the researcher did not begin the study with a specified number of participants requested for the interviews. A

group of 10 was anticipated as suitable to fulfill the purpose of achieving in-depth understanding of family decision making about adolescent daughters' school clothing selection. Ten female adolescents and their mothers who met the criteria for selection were identified by the recommendations of the school principal.

Interviews were conducted at least one time with the mother and daughter pair and with each mother and daughter separately. Follow-up interviews with both family members or separately continued until no new themes or information relevant to the research topic were forthcoming.

Three to four individual interviews with each pair, ranging from 1 hour and 30 minutes to 2 hours, depending on the schedules and interest of the participants were conducted. As expected, interviews held in participants' houses tended to be less formal and longer than those held in the school's conference room. The number of interviews and specific participants in each interview are indicated for each family (Table 1). As mentioned before, the interview date and place were arranged at the convenience of informant families.

Korean adolescents have a very tight school schedule during the week. The middle school students who participated in this study were in the last year of middle school and were busy preparing for the high school entrance examination which took place in early December 1986. High

Table 1. Frequency and Location of Interviews with Participant Families

Student Identification ^a	Conjoint Interview		Individual Interview	
	Mother and daughter ^b		Mother	Daughter
	Frequency	(Location)	Frequency	(Location)
M-1	1	(S)	1 (S)	1 (S)
M-2	1	(S)	1 (H)	1 (S)
M-3	1	(S)	1 (S)	1 (S)
M-4	1	(S)	1 (H)	1 (S)
M-5	1	(S)	1 (H)	1 (S)
H-1	1	(H)	2 (H)	1 (S)
H-2	1	(H)	1 (H)	1 (S)
H-3	1	(H)	1 (H)	1 (S)
H-4	1	(H)	1 (H)	1 (S)
H-5	1	(H)	2 (H)	1 (S)

^aM: Middle school

H: High school

1-5: Student code

^bLocation

(S): School conference room

(H): Home of the participant family

school students were also busy preparing for the college entrance examination which is very competitive and exerts great pressure on them. Most of them usually went to school at 7:30 A.M. and were back home at 10:00 P.M.

Thus, it was not easy to schedule the joint interview at their home. The joint interviews conducted at home occurred either Saturday afternoon, when school was over earlier than weekdays, or on Sunday.

At the first conjoint interview, the participants were asked to read and sign a consent form indicating that they had the right: (a) not to answer questions if they did not wish to, (b) to turn off the tape recorder and discontinue participation without penalty, and (c) to remain anonymous in written reports (See Appendix C). Participants were told that the researcher would retain the tapes for future analyses and the tapes could be given to them after the analysis if they wanted to receive them.

In keeping with common qualitative practice, the researcher began with similar beginning statements and posed two common questions to all informant families at the first interview. The opening, translated from Korean, was:

When I was in high school, I had to wear a school uniform without question. However, I think, with the abolition of the school uniform regulation in 1983, the family including the adolescent has been given a new role in decision making about adolescent school clothing.

Then two questions were asked:

As a parent (or as a student) what do you think of this opportunity and why? If you have a son or daughter who had experienced the school uniform

regulation, it will be helpful to recall that experience, if not remember your school days.

What was your most recent major clothing purchase for school? Would you tell me the story about how you got that clothing? Would you describe the process which usually occurs in your family when you buy new clothing especially for school?

The remainder of the conversation with informants depended on their responses. The researcher developed a flexible interview guide of questions based on the general decision making process (See Appendix D). However, the possible guide questions were not asked in a specific order or structured manner. The intention of these interviews was to carry on a guided conversation and to elicit rich, detailed materials. Therefore, the guide questions were used as a checklist by the researcher to guide the ethnographic interviews. Depending upon the responses, some or all of the following list were asked as appropriate. Questions were asked about: (a) the problem recognition stage, (b) the information search stage, (c) the family interaction stage, (d) the purchase process stage, and (e) the post evaluation stage.

Listing the stages in sequence implies a more orderly process than the one that was actually carried out during the interviews. As expected, the research continued to be modified during the course of the early interviews reflecting the altered sequence of topics, the addition of questions, and the interrelatedness of the different areas.

Techniques for Recording Data

Following is a summary of the techniques used for recording data. A condensed account was written as conversations and observance of behavior occurred or as soon afterward as possible to assure accuracy if taking field notes was disconcerting to either the participants or the researcher. Based on the tape recording and the condensed field notes, the researcher expanded the field notes by adding the evaluative statements and selected appropriate information for the purpose of analysis and/or to pursue in the next interview. A separate journal was kept to record personal reactions and feelings while the researcher was in the field in order to increase reliability of the data.

Data Analysis Procedure

In the ethnographic interview process, data collection and analysis are done concurrently and dialectically rather than in a linear fashion (Agar, 1980; Spradley, 1979). Because of the flexibility and dynamic nature of the qualitative mode of study and the human ecological framework, there were some modifications of the research objectives during the data analysis.

During the in-depth analysis of family decision making, especially on problem solving strategies, it was revealed that the conflicts or disagreements about school clothing selection among adolescents, family members, peers, and school authorities were related to the notion of school

clothing adequacy. This had not been expected to emerge at the beginning of this study. After much consideration, the researcher decided to combine the first two objectives of this study. These included the in-depth understanding of family interaction in family decision making and interaction between the family and other selected systems which were combined into a comprehensive model instead of being analyzed separately. In addition to this comprehensive analysis, it was decided that the emerging concept, "school clothing adequacy" would be further integrated with the concept of adaptation in the human ecological perspective.

If one tried to look at everything, it would be an overwhelming task. In order to stay in control, the researcher set definite bounds: (a) in-depth understanding of family interaction in family decision making and interaction between the family and other selected systems, (b) the clarification of the emerging concept "school clothing adequacy" in a human ecological perspective, and (c) development of propositions and testable hypotheses based on these two analyses.

At the conclusion of the data collection phase, a more detailed process of analysis was undertaken. An eight-step procedure was followed:

1. Each transcript of the audio tapes was written in Korean and was thoroughly read. During a second reading of the transcript, marginal notations were made in English. These outlined family decision making related to the adolescent

daughter's school clothing selection. The data were analyzed to clarify the emerging variables or concepts (See Appendix E).

2. Each transcript was summarized by using a decision making framework.

3. Further summarization followed with a diagram of decision making models which included role specifications in each decision making stage, family interaction within the family, conflict resolution strategies and family interactions with other selected family support systems related to female adolescent clothing selection.

4. A third summary, diagramming family decision making models was done by reorganizing emerging decision making stages through continuously comparing and contrasting the different data from each family.

5. Based on several emerging decision making models from each family, three different models were selected for this dissertation.

6. Abstracting specific elements of family decision making and making continuous comparisons of incidents was done for the characteristics of each selected family decision making model.

7. Then, the researcher further analyzed conflicts and disagreements about school clothing selection among adolescents, family members, peers, and school authorities, and tried to clarify the emerging concept of school

clothing adequacy in relation to the concept of adaptation as viewed from a human ecological perspective.

8. Following the procedure outlined in steps 1 to 7, testable hypotheses and propositions were also developed concurrently.

The researcher attempted to fulfill the four properties that are required to develop grounded theory. These are that the theory: (a) closely fit the substantive area where it will be used, (b) be easily understandable to laymen, (c) be general enough to apply to many related daily situations, and (d) allow the user partial control over the structure and process of daily situations (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Commentary on the Research Experience

Implementation of Ethnographic Interviews

Because the conjoint meeting with mother and daughter was employed as the first interview, there was potential risk that there might be some degree of disagreement between mother and daughter expressed at this meeting about clothing selection for school. Anytime two or more persons are involved in consumer decision making, there is likely to be some degree of conflict in purchasing objectives, attitudes toward alternatives, and the selection of the most desirable alternative (Sprey, 1969).

A family is not an exception to this possibility. Some degree of disagreement in small group decision making will be seen as a normal state of family interaction rather than

a risk. The research topic was not as sensitive an area to explore as alcohol, drug use, or the sexual relations of adolescents. Therefore, it was anticipated that there would be no problem in conducting conjoint interviews with the participant family members in this study.

In most cases, the mother and daughter allowed each other to speak without interruption and mother and daughter interacted with each other as well as with the researcher. However, during the conjoint interviews, some mothers seemed to be unconsciously dominant. As one girl mentioned at a conjoint meeting,

Well, I think my mom talks too much... She already said everything so I don't think there is anything left for my turn. I think it's not a very good idea to say something after my mom... (H-5/D).

But when the researcher had a chance to interview her (H-5) alone in the school's conference room, she was cheerful and free to talk. When she mentioned that school teachers' clothing restrictions were too strict and when she described herself as the best dresser in her class (in her judgment), she stated several times,

you said you won't tell our conversation to teachers or anybody, then I will say frankly...(H-5/D).

Thus, the researcher felt the subconscious hierarchy between mother and daughter might be related to the social value placed on politeness to one's mother, especially in front of others.

Also, several students asked the researcher whether they could bring their clique members who were also

interested in this research to the next interview. One high school girl (H-3) was accompanied by her best friend to the interview. After conducting this group interview, the researcher thought the group interview with peers was less productive than expected because they seemed to be too conscious of each other's comments about school clothing selection to speak frankly.

After this experience, the researcher seldom invited the participant's clique members to the interview. Throughout this conjoint interview with a mother and daughter, or adolescent and a friend, one challenge of the dyadic interview was to draw responses from the individual who was relatively quieter than the other. In several instances, both members of a pair tended to be more guarded during the conjoint interview than they were in their individual sessions. Gentle probes usually elicited greater specificity during the conjoint session.

Interviewing daughter and mother separately also proved to be of benefit. On the whole, separation seemed to be a factor in the disclosure of more sensitive information such as disagreements or dissatisfaction in the decision making process on clothing selection. Daughters, especially, expressed more complaints about the decision making process than the mothers who generally assumed they managed household affairs well, including clothing for their daughters.

As expected, the interviews in the home setting took more time and were in a more informal conversational style. All separate interviews with adolescent girls were held in the school conference room after their regular school class.

Individuals were scheduled on a day based on their convenience. In the school conference room after school, it was very quiet but some teachers and janitors knocked on the door or briefly interrupted several of the interview sessions. In the home setting, there were not as many interruptions as the researcher anticipated except for a few phone calls. Mothers often chose the most quiet time when nobody was home, usually from around 10:00 a.m. to noon.

Spradley (1979) pointed out that a free flow of respondent information parallels the development of rapport and trust between researcher and respondent. He suggested that the rapport process in an ethnographic interview usually proceeds through four stages: apprehension, exploration, cooperation and participation.

Confirming the view, the first meeting with the informant mothers at the principal's office was the most polite and brief. It was also recognized early in this study that both the mother-daughter pair and the researcher needed time to adapt to the interview situation. As the relationship between the researcher and the respondents evolved, the level of participation deepened.

According to records from the journal, as the interviewing process proceeded, the researcher, who had been

frightened by the fact that she could not have an immediate consultation with the advisors of this study because of the physical distance between Korea and the United States, gained confidence in herself and in the process itself. By the time the interviews were near completion, warm relationships had developed between the researcher and several of the participant families. While the researcher relocated in Michigan to write the research report, the researcher still corresponded with three of these students.

Bi-lingual Research

Because of the researcher's unique situation, the researcher wrote the proposal in English, conducted her actual field research in her own country, Korea, and in her native language, Korean. The data were analyzed and interpreted in the United States in English. Through this back and forth movement between two countries with two different languages, the researcher learned something which may not be experienced by the researcher who uses one language through the whole process of a study.

As a part of the process for the dissertation proposal, the researcher needed the approval of the University Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) because of the use of human subjects. To fulfill this criterion for conducting ethnographic interviews, the consent form with signature and agreement processes seemed to be a little bit redundant to members of the Korean culture. Here, informal trust is very important, even in

the process of official affairs. For example, the participant families referred by the principal were already willing to help the researcher, and they did not seem to recognize the need for a signature on the agreement form and consent form until the researcher explained several times and asked them to do that.

These official steps which originally were designed to protect the participants seemed to exert some psychological pressures because the Koreans have not been exposed to these kinds of contracts in their culture. Therefore, the steps for protecting the informants, as well as the school, did not seem to work well in Korea.

After completing the ethnographic interviews, each taped interview was transcribed into Korean. From the beginning stages, data analysis and comments were written in English. The researcher spent hours and hours to insure the accurate wording of English from Korean. When the researcher tried to clarify the emerging concept of clothing adequacy from the ecological perspective, it was hard to find synonyms for "adequacy". In Korea, there is no well known synonym dictionary like a Roget's Thesaurus in America. However, the researcher has a very thick Korean-English Dictionary which identifies some synonyms for each word. For example, adequacy or adequate is listed as: "too...to... ; sufficient; good enough".

Through this process, unlike statistical interpretations of the data, the researcher recognized the

frustrations in translating the data from one language to another. The researcher has been involved in clarifying the subtle concept "adequacy" which has not been investigated by other scholars in Korea.

The weekly meetings for data analysis with the advisors, who do not have much background in Korean culture, and the researcher, who is more able to understand her own country's cultural background, were very productive. These insured that the contamination of the results would be reduced.

According to Spradley (1979), "when ethnographers study unfamiliar cultures, this unfamiliarity keeps them from taking things for granted" (p.50). The advisors whose major interests lie in different areas (i.e., one is in family management and an expert in family field study and another in the clothing and textile area as a human ecologist) were sensitive to ideas which had become commonplace to the researcher who might have taken them for granted. Also, this combination provided an interdisciplinary approach to the study. Therefore, to study with two different languages has advantages and disadvantages.

Limitations

In an ethnographic study, the researcher actually becomes a research instrument. Therefore the research is subject to all the limitations of the researcher. In addition to personal limitations, there are three methodological limitations of this study.

1. Participation was limited to 10 mother and daughter pairs in a school located in Seoul, capital of Korea. Thus, these data cannot be generalized to a larger population. This research did not include the rural area where family structure may well be an extended family. The nuclear family is the dominant pattern in the urban area in current Korean society. Thus, the family decision making process may be influenced by the kind of family structures in each family.

2. All of the field work was completed with the interview dependent on the recollection of mother or daughter about the daughter's major current clothing purchases. Also, there was some evidence of a father's or sibling's involvement in the family decision making process. It is desirable to include all family members and some participant observations of the actual clothing purchases at the market to describe clearly the full picture of family decision making about adolescent clothing selection.

3. All of the field work was completed over a four month period of time. The study might have benefited from a longer period of time for data collection, including different seasons and a greater variety of school clothing such as school picnic day and school group tours in spring time.

In addition to these, other limitations which were not known at the beginning of the research emerged during the data analysis.

1. All high school students who participated in this study were leaders of the class (e.g., president or vice president). Thus, it was not possible to know the differences between non-leaders and leaders.

2. At the beginning of the research, the researcher assumed that there would be a transition period in family decision making models between middle and high school. However, it was revealed that the transition period in the change of family decision making model may come at another school time between the first and second year of high school.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF FAMILY DECISION MAKING IN THE SELECTION OF FEMALE ADOLESCENT SCHOOL CLOTHING

The first two objectives of this study were to (a) gain an in-depth understanding of the nature of family participation and interaction in the decision making involved in the selection of school clothing for female adolescents in Korea, and (b) describe the interrelationships between the family and other selected systems in regard to adolescent daughters' school clothing selection using the human ecological framework.

The use of the human ecological perspective can provide an integrated and holistic approach to exploring the family decision making in the selection of school clothing. The flexibility of both the theoretical framework (i.e., human ecological framework) and the methodology (i.e., ethnographic interviews) employed in this study made it possible to combine the first two objectives in a comprehensive model.

This chapter will be divided into five parts:

1. Selection of three family decision making models.
2. Characteristics of emerging predominant Korean family decision making model.

3. Middle school: daughter dominant decision making model.
4. High school: mother dominant decision making model.
5. Emerging variables and concepts from the selected models.

Selection of Three Family Decision Making Models

There were a wide variety of decision making models used by the 10 participant families. All families used more than one of the decision making models and some families used multiple decision making models based on their situations (see Figure 3).

The Korean family decision making models can be divided into individual decision making and joint decision making. Individual decision making means that only one person (either mother or daughter) was involved in selecting the adolescent's school clothing from the need arousal stage to purchasing stage. Joint decision making means that family members played a variety of roles in family decision making from the need arousal stage to purchasing stage.

In this study, individual decision making was classified as home sewing by mother or impulse purchase at market either by daughter or mother. The following examples from the interviews illustrate two variations of individual decision making.

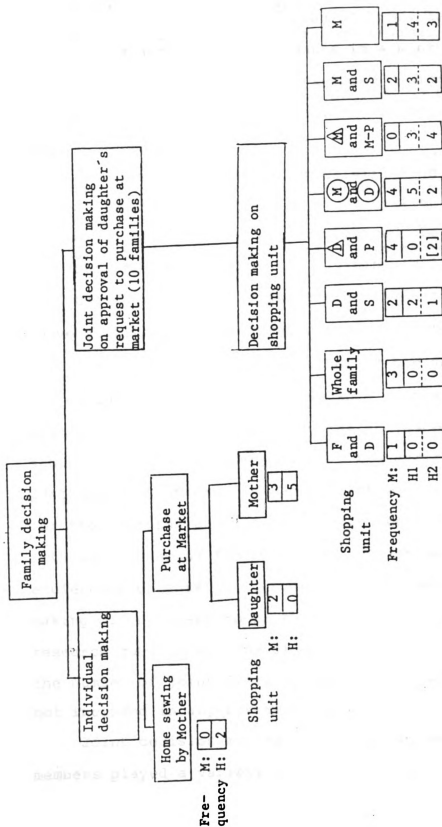


Figure 3. Overview of emerging Korean family decision making model for adolescent daughter's school clothing selection

Legend

○ Predominant model for both middle and high school

△ Distinguishing models based on each school level

[] Tried but could not buy herself. Finally delegated shopping to mother

M: Middle school, H1: First year of high school, H2: Second year of high school

F: Father

D: Daughter

M: Mother

P: Peer

S: Sibling

Home sewing:

Whenever I find a good design from a pattern book, I usually make H-2's clothing at home. Especially, when I attended the workshop for home sewing, I made two skirts and one pair of pants in a month (H-2/M).

Sometimes mother and I discussed design before cutting the fabric but usually mom decided by herself because she knows my favorite color and so on...(H-2/D).

Impulse shopping:

Last week, I bought a jumper with hood at a down town street because it was so attractive to me, and fortunately enough I had my money with me (M-4/D).

Whenever I find the big clearance sale ads on the street, I buy H-3's clothing even though I do not go out intending to buy her clothing.(H-3/M)

Based on the interview data as illustrated in the above quotations, individual decision making was done by only one person, either the mother or the daughter. There was no family interaction in advance of the decision about what to buy and who was to buy the adolescent daughter's school clothing. It implies that the decision maker and purchasing agent are the same person with money available for the clothing purchase. Because there were few interactions among family members on the selection of the adolescent daughter's school clothing, individual decision making did not seem to be relevant to the nature of the research questions. The examples were so few, compared with the number of joint decision making examples, that it was not included in any further analysis.

Joint decision making in this study meant that family members played a variety of roles in the decision making.

In Figure 3, in joint decision making, parents (especially the mother) and daughters of all the participant families were involved in the decision making at the time of approval of the daughter's request to buy new clothing. However, there were variations in the decision making about who was going to form the shopping unit.

Figure 3 shows that father and daughter, whole family, and daughter and her peers frequently appeared as the shopping unit for the middle school students. However, three of the models which always included daughter as a member of the shopping unit seldom appeared among the high school students. Mother and mother's peer, mother and same gender sibling, and mother alone as a shopping unit appeared frequently for high school students. However, three of the models which always included mother as a member of the shopping unit seldom appeared for the middle school students.

Frequency in the qualitative mode of study is not as significant as in the quantitative mode of study. However, as a criteria for model selection, the frequency with which a particular shopping unit appeared was considered helpful in organizing the emerging models.

Based on the frequency of the emerging family decision making model shown in Figure 3, mother and daughter as a joint decision making and shopping unit was the most frequent model for both middle and high school students. This pairing was named the "predominant model". This

predominant model will be used in the description of characteristics of the whole process of Korean family decision making in the next section.

For comparative analysis of family decision making models based on school level, the researcher selected the second most frequent model for each of the two school levels. The researcher initially assumed there might be a difference in the family decision making model between middle and high school students. This was one of the reasons for choosing participant families from both middle and high school levels.

However, the ethnographic interviews with participant families revealed that the actual transition period, during which the family decision making model changed, occurred between the first and the second year of high school rather than between middle school and high school. All the interviewed high school students and their mothers mentioned that mother and daughter used to go shopping in the middle school days or in the first year of high school. However, from the second year of high school, they could no longer go shopping together because of the intensive time pressure to study in preparation for the college entrance examination.

This transition period was identified by dividing the frequency of shopping units of high school students' families into two different school years, that is, the first year and second year of high school. The frequency of the shopping unit of the first year of high school represented

the previous experiences of the second year high school students. That of second year of high school represented the shopping unit which occurred while this research was conducted.

In sum, the researcher selected three different models for description in this chapter. The predominant model for both middle and high school will be used to describe the general characteristics of Korean family decision making, while the daughter-dominant model for middle school students (daughter and her peer as a shopping unit) and the mother-dominant model for high school students (mother and mother's peer as a shopping unit) will be used to compare the family decision making models based on school level.

Characteristics of Emerging Predominant Korean Family Decision Making Model

The basic approach to understanding family decision making in the selection of adolescent daughters' school clothing in the human ecological framework was to view the family as a decision making unit. The family is characterized as a unit which interacts with its environments, processing this information and then making a selection from among some alternatives based on family values and interaction patterns.

The interactions within the family and interactions with their environments may be minimal in some families and extensive in others. The human enviroined unit in this study was defined as family or mother and daughter who act as the

decision making unit. Data analysis revealed that the decision making unit was not always the whole family or mother and daughter defined for this study. This illustrates that the unit of analysis in the human ecological framework may be a variable.

The predominant decision making model (Figure 4) shows the ecological model for the Korean family related to adolescent daughters' school clothing selection including the interactions within the family and with major reference groups such as the school, peers, mass media and clothing market place. Findings about the predominant decision making model support the evidence of the review of literature from the marketing area and family study area which showed that family decision making may be a more complex process than individual decision making. There is a need to delegate decision roles to two or more people and to solve disagreements or conflicts (Assael, 1984; Melson, 1980; Moschis & Moore, 1978; Paolucci et al., 1979 ; Ward, 1974).

However, the stages of the predominant family decision making model in this study show that variations are related to the Korean culture. The diagram (Figure 4) illustrates the overview of the family decision making stages which was revealed through the family ecological analysis of the in-depth interviews.

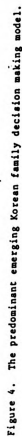


Figure 4. The predominant emerging Korean family decision making model.

A brief summary of the main stages of the predominant Korean family decision making model related to adolescent daughter's clothing selection includes:

Stage 1: Need arousal

Stage 2: 1st decision making phase: approval of daughter's request

Stage 3: 2nd decision making phase: shopping unit

Stage 4: Information seeking

Stage 5: Purchasing stage

Stage 6: 3rd decision making phase: post evaluation at home and post evaluation at school by peers and teachers

Stage 7: Post evaluation by mother after laundry.

As shown in Figure 4, the Korean family decision making model is characterized by several features. First, it was found that the Korean family decision making model differed from the typical decision making model reported in consumer behavior literature which has been frequently adopted for research about decision making in the clothing and textile areas. The typical decision making model in consumer behavior studies has one phase of decision making. In this study, three decision phases were used by the participant families. These decision making phases in the stages of the model in Figure 4 are delineated by the diamond shape, while stage are shown as rectangular shapes. The first decision making phase occurred at the time when approval was given for the daughter's request. The second decision making phase was related to the shopping unit, that is, who was

going to be a purchasing agent. The third decision making phase occurred at the post evaluation at home by all family members after the purchase of the daughter's school clothing. In these three decision making phases, two or more family members were involved.

It was clear from the interview data that the family decision making in these phases was not just a simple process of arriving at a joint decision through consensus. It frequently required the resolution of conflicting goals and attitudes of family members. Conflict or disagreement between or among family members is an important consideration that does not arise in individual decision making.

The existence of such conflicts or disagreements in family decision making raises the important question of how such conflicts or disagreements are resolved. In order to indicate problem solving strategies in the three phases of decision making, three criteria or strategies were derived. Two came from Turner's classification (1970): (a) consensus, that is, agreement is achieved by equal assent without private reservation or personal resentment, and (b) accommodation, that is, agreement is achieved by the adjustment of some or all of the members to the irreconcilability of their views. The solution may be achieved amiably or with bitterness. In addition, the researcher added resignation, that is, agreement is achieved by abdication rather than by active acceptance.

In addition to the above three phases of decision making, there is probably another decision making phase about what to buy at the store. This study was conducted using ethnographic interviews that recalled the most recent clothing purchase. However, there was no participant observation at the actual shopping stage by accompanying the participant family members, therefore, this potential fourth decision making phase could not be determined from the data.

The Korean family decision making described in the ethnographic interviews was essentially sequential in the time dimension. A few overlaps among the decision making stages were identified. These occurred between stage 1, (need arousal) and stage 2, (the first decision making phase), as well as between stage 4, (information seeking) and stage 5 (purchasing stage).

There were two modes in the post-evaluation stage. The first evaluation was conducted at home by family members and at school by teachers and peers. Regardless of whether the shopping unit composition was a daughter or a mother, the whole family evaluated the purchase at home. Peers and authorities at school also evaluated the purchase.

The second evaluation is done by mother as the manager of the daughter's clothing after laundry. This gave some feedback to the purchasing agent regarding satisfaction with the chosen clothing and the effectiveness of the family decision making model.

Middle School: Daughter-dominant
Decision Making Model

Variations in the second decision making phase related to the shopping unit led to development of this model. In the middle school, the daughter and her peer emerged as the shopping unit; thus this model was named daughter-dominant decision making model (Figure 5). The only exception to this grouping was M-3 whose shopping unit is more similar to that of the high school students in this analysis.

As shown in Figure 5, there were overlaps between stage 1 (need arousal) and 2 (first decision making on shopping trip about what to buy and about who will buy in advance of mother's approval) as well as between stage 4 (information seeking) and stage 5 (purchasing stage).

Stage 1 and 2: Need Arousal and First Decision Making about Shopping Trip

In following analysis, these stages consist of (a) source of need arousal and (b) First decision making about shopping trip.

Source of need arousal. Three major aspects of source of need arousal emerged and examples are given in this order: physical growth, peer influence when window shopping with peers, and magazines.

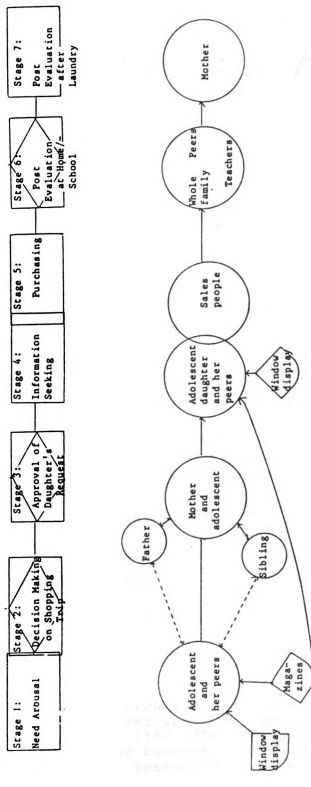


Figure 5. Middle school: Daughter-dominant decision making model

Legend:



Recently, I bought these pants because old ones were too small...(M-1/D; M-2, M-5)^a [physical growth].

I am concerned about M-2's clothing a lot, because she is growing so fast. (M-2/M) [physical growth].

Usually, I go window shopping with friends, and there I almost decide what to buy later, and we decide when to come back again with money (M-4/D; M-5).
[peer influence when window shopping].

I wish to buy similar clothing as worn by the student models in the magazines (M-4/D; M-1, M-4). [magazine].

Formation of the first decision making about shopping trip. The following statement described the potential decision making process in terms of who did what and why. It also indicated that need arousal and decision making about when and with whom to go shopping occurred simultaneously.

When M-5 asked for the money for purchasing something, she described the potential purchasing item in terms of style and price... She seemed to have some specific design in her mind because she already might have visited several stores with her friends before telling me (M-5/M; M-2, M-4).

Stage 3: Second Decision Making Phase: Approval of Daughter's Shopping trip

This stage is analyzed in terms of (a) mother's role as a decision maker, and (b) decision making process with a problem solving strategy. There is possible disagreement or

^aWhen the researcher found similar ideas from several participant families, the identification code for each family was written after the direct quotation selected to illustrate the concept. In this case, if the same members of the family responded, D or M after the slash was not repeated.

conflict between mother (as a decider) and daughter (as an initiator) in this stage.

Role of mother as a decision maker. Two aspects of role of mother emerged and examples are given in this order: budget allocator and mediator between daughter and father.

My husband gives his whole salary to me. Then I make a budget for monthly living. He seldom pays attention to the budget plan in detail. Especially to buy clothing is my area...(M-5/M; M-1,M-4,M-5).[budget allocator]

Mom is a sort of middle person between myself and father (M-1/D,M-2,M-5). [mediator]

Decision making and problem solving strategy.

When the initiator(daughter) and the decider(mother) were not the same person, there was a possible disagreement or conflict between the parties in this decision making process. Consensus, accommodation (such as bargaining, procrastination and role shift to father), and resignation emerged as the kinds of decision making and problem solving strategies engaged in by middle school students' families.

Especially, when M-1 asked me to buy new blue jeans then I usually approve her request. Even though M-1 can wear her older sister's upper garments such as sweaters, lower garments such as pants cannot be easily exchanged with her sister. That's why.... (M-1/M: M-2, M-5). [consensus]

I bought this sweater last week. At first mom refused to agree to buy this sweater. However I asked several times and and told her "if you give me money for shopping, I will share it with younger sister..." Finally she agreed (M-2/D). [accommodation; bargaining]

When I asked mom to buy more clothing, she said, "why do come you need more clothing...."If I talk back and grumble, she usually says, "well, I will try to make a budget for you next month..." (M-1/D). [accommodation: procrastination]

If mom does not agree to buy my clothing, I ask my daddy if I desperately want to have that clothing. But that is on very few occasions. Then father suggests to mom, "why don't you allow her to have that clothing..." Then mom used to give me money... (M-1/D)
[accommodation; role shift to father]

I think whenever my mom does not want to allow me to buy new clothing, she tells me, "ask your father" (M-2/D, M-4). [accommodation: role shift to father]

Recently I don't care very much about M-4's clothing purchases, because my husband and I have a different opinion on her clothing purchase. He seldom refuses M-4's request while I sometimes scold her because she does not need to buy clothing so often, because she grows so fast and she does not have any younger sister who can wear her clothing later. I don't care about whether she buys her clothing or not, because my husband gives her money without even telling me.... (M-4/M) [resignation]

Stage 4 and 5: Information Seeking and Purchasing Stage

As mentioned before and shown in Figure 5, there was an overlap between stages 4 and 5, information seeking and purchasing stage. These two stages are analyzed in terms of (a) source of information and (b) purchasing criteria.

Source of information. Five different source of information emerged and examples are given in this order: sibling, peer, mother, magazines and store visits.

I talk a lot about clothing with my younger sister who shares a room with me. However, I seldom go shopping with her. I go shopping with my friends (M-2/D; M-1). [sibling]

Yes, I and my close friends talk a lot about clothing such as who wears what and where they buy clothing... (M-4/D; M-1, M-2, M-5). [peer]

When I allow M-4's shopping trip without me, I give hints or common sense in advance such as color is important but practicality is more important.. or be sure to try the clothing before paying the money (M-4/M). [mother]

I catch the current fashion trends from the junior magazine or window display on the street. I regularly buy "Non-no" every month (M-4/D, M-1, M-2, M-5). [magazine]

After receiving the money from mom, I went to Ehwa college store street with six friends of mine. We visited several stores before making an actual purchase (M-2/D, M-1, M-4, M-5). [visit a store at actual purchasing stage]

Purchasing criteria. Five factors such as school regulation, design, current fashion, peers' influence, and influence of sales person served as purchasing criteria in this stage.

Well, first of all I should consider whether I can wear that clothing at school or not especially in terms of color and design (M-1/D: M-2, M-4, M-5). [school regulation]

I bought this sweater because it was such an attractive design at the first glance (M-2/D; M-4, M-5). [design]

I never read the label of the clothing. I am concerned about fashionable color or design. But mom is concerned about the care of clothing (M-2/D; M-1, M-4, M-5). [current fashion]

When I shop without mom, I choose the more faddish item and regret it more later (M-2/D; M-4, M-5). [current fashion]

Among several alternatives, I listen to my friends' comments on the clothing, then I buy if they agree. Their recommendation gives me safety also (M-4/D; M-2, M-5). [peer's influence]

Especially, in small store, if a sales person recommends certain clothing, I can't help buying it because she is so "sticky"... Many times, I regret it a lot later...(M-4/D). [sales person]

Stage 6: Post Evaluation at Home and at School

First post evaluation happens at home and can be a possible conflict or disagreement area because purchaser (daughter) and the source of money (usually mother) is

different. Therefore, evaluation by the whole family at home was analyzed for criteria for judgments and problem solving strategies in case of disagreement or conflict between the purchaser and the other family members.

Criteria for judgments. Design, size and price emerged as criteria for judgments.

One time I bought shorts with my friends to participate in the school camp. When I tried those pants on in front of mom and sister after coming back home, they said they were strange so I changed them later (M-1/D). [design]

The only thing I (mother) can do is to check the size, not design or fashionability. Because she seldom listens to my suggestions on her selection. (M-4/M; M-1, M-5). [size]

Whenever I purchased clothing, I showed it to father and mother in order to check the size and price (M-2/D; M-1, M-5). [size and price]

Decision making and problem solving strategy.

Resignation, accommodation (such as procrastination and coercion) emerged as problem solving strategies.

Sometimes I was not quite satisfied with M-2's selection. However, I did not insist on the exchange. Just let her wear it, otherwise what shall I do? (M-2/M; M-1, M-4, M-5). [resignation]

Even if M-4 makes wrong a selection, I seldom scold her. Because she may learn something through those experiences... Well, she is not very good at shopping. Sometimes she buys my clothing (laugh). (M-4/M). [resignation]

When I bought a jumper with hood, I did not report to mom at first, because I was afraid of being scolded. Later she found that in my closet and asked me why I bought it. But she did not scold me. (M-4/D). [accommodation; procrastination]

Even though my mom and sister disliked my choice, I talked back to them and told them it's my clothing not yours... Then they didn't talk to me any more... (M-1/D, M-2, M-4, M-5). [accommodation; coercion]

All participant students mentioned that there was another evaluation of the selected clothing at school by peers and school authority with their own judgments.

Criteria for judgments by peers. Gestalt effects and design emerged as a criteria for judgments by peers.

Whenever I purchase my clothing, I cannot help being aware of the eyes of the friends, because I spend most of time at school with them. (M-1/D, M-2)
[gestalt effects]

One time, I went to school with a cullotte skirt. But some of my friends told me that it looked so strange that I never wore that one again at school. (M-4/D).
[design]

Criteria for judgment by school authority. Fit, color, forms of dress emerged as criteria for judgment by school authority.

I heard that students cannot wear too tight pants at school (M-2/M). [fit]

In school, we cannot wear strong colors of clothing such as red, strong yellow (M-4/D, M-1, M-2, M-5).
[color]

Every Monday for student assembly meeting at auditorium, we should wear a skirt, not pants. (M-5/D, M-1, M-2, M-4). [form of dress]

Stage 7: Post Evaluation after Laundry

As clothing is a semi-durable item, it was revealed that the evaluation of the selected clothing was continued after the laundry by the mother as a manager of the daughter's clothing. Thus, in this stage, the role of mother emerged as a manager of the daughter's clothing.

Role of mother. Evaluator of overall quality of clothing as a manager, passive attitude consumer such as

conservation of personal resources and alteration by mother, and active attitude consumer such as an exchanger at market emerged as role of mother in this stage.

Compared to clothing purchased by M-2 and that by myself and M-2 together, there is a difference especially after laundry. I mean clothing purchased by M-2 is easily distorted and shrinks a lot. That may be related to price. When we go shopping together, we go to the department store and I usually read label of the clothing (M-2/M, M-2, M-4, M-5). [evaluator of over all quality of clothing as a manager]

If there is something wrong on M-2's clothing after laundry, I seldom visit the store to exchange. Because it takes too much time and energy. Actually I don't blame the merchants only. That's not anybody's fault. Maybe fault of the whole society...(M-2/M; M-1, M-4, M-5) [passive attitude of consumer: conservation of personal resources]

If there is some problem with M-5's clothing, I try to alter the clothing by myself instead of visiting the store again.(M-5/M; M-1, M-4). [passive attitude of consumer: alteration by mother]

When I washed M-4's green skirt with white stripe pattern, the color bled. So I went to the store which I learned was the place from M-4 who hesitated to tell the store location. Anyway I received white jeans as a compensation.(M-4/M). [active attitude of consumer: exchanger]

This Daughter Dominant model revealed that based on the shopping unit, the sequence of stages may be different at the beginning stage compared with the predominant family decision making model.

High School: Mother-dominant Decision Making Model

As shown in Figures 3 and 6, for the student's second year of high school, the mother and/or mother's peer as an accompanist emerged as a shopping unit because of the time

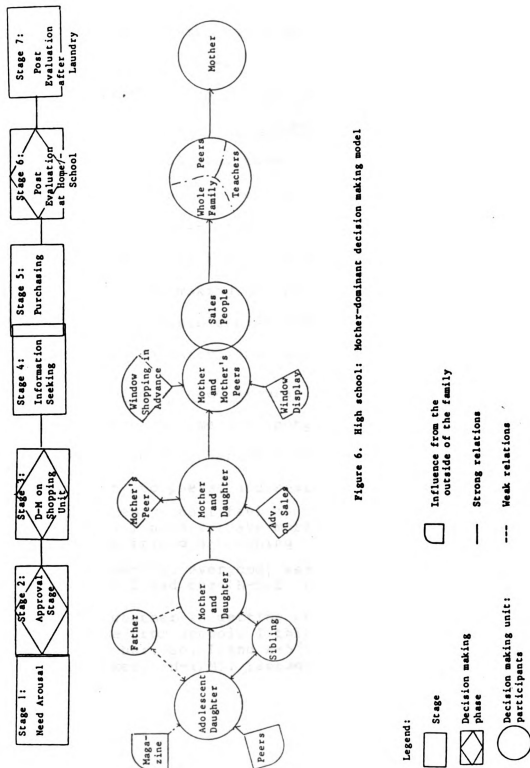


Figure 6. High school: Mother-dominant decision making model

pressure on the adolescent. Thus, this model was named the mother dominant decision making model.

In this model, there were overlaps between stage 1 and 2, need arousal and first decision making about approval of daughter's request, and stage 4 and 5, information seeking and purchasing stage.

Stage 1 and 2: Need Arousal and First Decision Phase:

Approval of Daughter's Request

In the analysis, these stages consist of (a) source of need arousal and (b) decision making for approval of daughter's request by mother. Thus, the role of mother as a decision maker will be discussed. Especially in stage 2, the first decision making of approval of daughter's request, there was a possible disagreement or conflict between the initiator (daughter) and decider (mother).

Source of need arousal. Three major aspects of source of need arousal emerged among high school students and examples are given in this order: psychological needs, conformity to peers, and seasonal change.

Suddenly, as I feel my clothing seems too monotonous, I feel I need to have more clothing. And I get stimulus from friend's clothing (H-3/D). [psychological needs]

Currently, everybody wears a sailored collar coat, so I wish I had one (H-5/D, H-1). [conformity to peers]

As weather is getting cold and H-1 always comes back home from school, I think I have to buy a down jacket for her. So, I and H-5's mom are going to Nam Gate market. (H-1/M). [seasonal change]

Role of mother as a decision maker. Two aspects of the role of mother emerged, and examples are given in this order; budget allocator and mediator.

I seldom talk to my daddy on my clothing purchase... Mom has the the financial power, and to buy our clothing is mother's task. (H-1/D; H-2, H-3). [budget allocator]

It's more comfortable to ask mom than daddy about new clothing. To buy clothing is mom's area but to buy a house or car is daddy's area (H-5/D; H-4). [mediator]

Decision making process and problem solving strategy.

There was a possible disagreement between mother (as a decider) and daughter (as a initiator) in the first decision making stage. Similar to the previous model, consensus, accommodation (such as bargaining, procrastination, and coercion) emerged in this first decision making process of high school students' families and one middle school family, M-3.

If H-1 asks me to buy something, I usually don't have any objection, since she does not ask me so often compared to others. Last month, H-1 told me she wanted to have pants so I asked her "what kind of pants do you want" and she said black corduroy pants. So, I can buy them for her without her ...(H-1/M). [consensus]

My younger sister and I saw the catalogue delivered to my house. From there we chose one design and showed it to mom. "If you buy this sweater, we will share this one with each other. So, finally she agreed. (H-4/D) [accommodation; bargaining]

My mom always delays the purchase of my orally approved clothing request (H-3/D). [accommodation: procrastination]

I ask mom to buy a skirt. Instead of buying one, she altered my cousin's skirt which looks awful to me. So, I said, "nobody wears this style anymore..." Then she was mad at me and said, "I will not buy any clothing for you. Don't ask me if you do not follow me..." (H-3/D). [accommodation: coercion]

When she refuses my request, I feel vetoed. But I seldom ask several times. Because there is no way to change her mind... Well, payer is mother anyway, not me...(H-5/D). [resignation]

Stage 3: Second Decision Making Phase: Shopping Unit

As the decider (mother) and the user (daughter) were not the same person, this stage had possible conflicts and disagreements between the participants of the decision making unit.

Decision making and problem solving strategy.

Consensus, (such as role delegation to mother), and accommodation, (such as coercion), emerged as problem solving strategy.

Most of the time, my mom bought my clothing; she even bought for my older sister in college because we do not have enough time to go shopping with her especially from the this year. Sometimes I tell mom what I want; then she buys it. (H-1/D; H-2, H-3, H-4, H-5). [consensus: role delegation to mother]

I really wish I could go shopping with my friends like others do. Actually to buy clothing may not take as long time as my mom expects. She never ever allows me to go shopping with my friends (H-3/D). [accommodation: coercion]

It will not be too late waiting until they are college students to purchase their clothing by themselves. I think students during middle or high school days are too young to be competent consumers in a market (H-2/M; H-1,H-3,H-4,H-5,M-3). [accommodation: coercion]

Stage 4 and 5: Information Seeking and Purchasing Stage

These overlapping two stages are analyzed by (a) source of information, (b) role of shopping accompanist, and (c) purchasing criteria.

Source of information. Window shopping in advance, mother's peer, newspaper or observation on the street, and

visiting a store at actual purchasing stage emerged as major sources of information.

Even though I buy clothing at open market, I always stop by department stores first for general window shopping. It's very helpful to compare the price, quality and fashion trends with those in the open market (H-2/M, H-5). [window shopping in advance]

Sometimes, some of my friends call me for department store sale or discount stores or my sister calls me to go shopping together... (H-3/M; H-1, H-2, H-3, H-5) [mother's peer]

I got some fashion trends from ads, in newspapers or from other's appearance on the street (H-1/M; H-2, H-3, H-4, H-5). [newspaper or observation on the street]

In the open market, I look around several stores and visit there before making an actual purchase (H-1/M; H-2, H-3, H-4, H-5). [visit a store at purchasing stage]

Shopping accompanist at purchasing stage. The shopping accompanist is viewed as one who has a sense of taste and knowledge which reduces the shopping risks in terms of economic and social aspects. This person is necessary because the daughter was not involved in the shopping trip. Thus, this individual can act as mediator for disagreements with daughters after the purchase. Relatives, church members and neighbors emerged as shopping accompanists in this stage.

Compared to my mom, my aunt has taste and is much more sensitive to current fashion trends. I like the clothing better than that purchased by mom alone (H-3/D). [relative]

I usually go shopping with one church member who has sense of taste. That's the most effective shopping. If you go there with more than one person, it gets harder to make a decision and takes more time. (H-2/M). [church member]

As H-5's mother is an expert in open market shopping, she is one of my favorite shopping partners. Especially she has much more personal relations with merchants so that there is less risk to be cheated by merchants and especially H-1 likes H-5's mother's selection more than mine. To go with her may be more satisfying for my daughter and makes me more comfortable in many ways... (H-1/M). [neighbor]

Purchasing criteria. Five factors which included school regulation in terms of color and fit, price, size, label information, and potential for exchange emerged as purchasing criteria.

From the high school days, mom began to be concerned about our school regulation in terms of color and fit. Because this school is very conservative compared to other schools... (H-2/D; H-1, H-3, H-4, H-5). [school regulation in terms of color and fit]

First of all, student clothing should not give too much economic pressure to me, so I usually shop at store sales. Then it should be easy to move in school and not be too fashionable...(H-3/M; H-1, H-2, H-4, H-5). [price]

First, I check the size for my daughter who grows so fast. Also consider price, too. (H-5/M). [size]

I read the label very carefully to see the fabric and size and laundry method... instead of asking sales person. (H-3/M; H-1, H-2, H-5). [label information]

As I buy H-3's clothing without her, I always confirm the possibility of exchange later. Otherwise I do not buy clothing in the store (H-3/M; H-2, H-4). [potential for exchange]

Stage 6: Post Evaluation at Home and at School

Like middle school students, all high school students mentioned that there were evaluations of the selected clothing at home by parents. There might be a possible conflict or disagreement because the purchaser (mother) and the user (daughter) were different.

Criteria for judgment. Color, design and fit emerged as criteria for judgments by family members.

When I saw mother's selection for me, I found that Mom and I have similar taste except color. For example, she likes the bright color but not me. She always tells me to wear the brighter color which makes me more feminine. However, I am uncomfortable wearing vivid or bright colors in school...(H-2/D; H-1)
[color]

After purchasing H-3's clothing by myself, she sometimes complains that my choice for her looks too much adult oriented. She may want cuter design...(H-3/M). [design]

As my daddy hates the big shirts which are worn by everybody, I can't wear them. He says they look ugly and I should wear semi-fit clothing, not so loose and not so fit to the body. I wish to wear the big shirts with drop shoulder, however it's very uncomfortable to disobey his comments (H-2/D, H-5). [fit]

Decision making and problem solving strategy.

Accommodation, (such as persuasion, alteration by mother and exchange at the store), and resignation emerged as a problem solving strategies.

Even though H-3 does not like the new clothing hand-picked by myself, I try to persuade her by repeatedly saying that it looks good then, she wears it...(H-3/M; H-5). [accommodation: persuasion]

Sometimes, mom altered new clothing to fit me instead of giving it back to the store or giving it to my sister (H-1/D: H-2, H-3). [accommodation: alteration by mother]

If H-4 doesn't like the design, color or size, sometimes I go back to the store to exchange. As I know the sales person, there is no problem to exchange for different design, color, or size. (H-4/M; H-2, H-3). [accommodation: exchange at the store]

Well, as you know, I cannot afford to buy my clothing, I had better follow my parents' opinion rather than insisting on my opinion (H-5/D). [resignation]

All high school students mentioned that there was another evaluation of the selected clothing at school by peers and school authorities with their judgments.

Criteria for judgments by peers. Design, fashionability, and price emerged as criteria for judgments by peers.

One time I wore a white skirt which was recommended by mom. But as soon as I entered the class room, everybody looked at me and some of them told me, " It looks strange... and kind of old fashioned... "I was so embarrassed and could not concentrate on study during the whole day. After that I never wore that again... (H-3/D). [design and fashionability]

Because of the eyes of other students, H-5 could not wear too expensive or fancy clothing at school which only can be worn going out with family for dinner or other special occasions. She said that it's too distinguished and makes her uncomfortable (psychologically) (H-5/M). [price]

Criteria for judgment by school authorities. Color, femininity, and design emerged as criteria for judgment by school authorities.

H-1 refused to wear a red sweater which I bought last week because her school does not allow her to wear red color. But I chose the more feminine color for her because I wished her to look more like a girl student...(H-1/M; H-2, H-3). [color and femininity]

In school, slit skirts cannot be worn. I wear the green slit skirt when I go out with family for dinner, not for school. (H-5/D; H-4). [design]

Stage 7: Post Evaluation after Laundry

In this stage, the role of mother as a manager of the daughter's clothing will be discussed.

Role of mother. Manager of daughter's clothing and evaluator of overall quality of clothing emerged as mother's role in this stage.

Most of the time, mom washes and manages my clothing (H-1/D, H-2, H-3, H-4, H-5). [manager of daughter's clothing]

I usually purchase H-3's clothing at department store, because the clothing at open market seems to be good clothing the first time. But after laundry, it has pilling on the surface.... (H-3/M, H-1, H-4). [evaluator of overall quality of daughter's clothing]

While I buy jeans, sweaters or T-shirts at open market focusing on quantity for variation, I buy a relatively good quality winter coat with a brand name at the department store. In the long run, that's much more economical...(H-/M, H-2, H-3, H-4, H-5). [evaluator of overall quality of daughter's clothing]

Emerging Variables and Concepts from the Three Selected Models

The variations among the predominant decision making model, daughter dominant model and mother dominant model of Korean families about adolescent daughter's school clothing selection are explored in the following section. Based on the analysis in this chapter, the major variation in family decision making models, especially in joint decision making, was related to conflict management of school clothing selection between mother and adolescent.

In this section, the variation of Korean decision making models especially with respect to decision making in the approval stage will be explained with the variable of adolescent age which is related to the extent of disagreements or conflicts between mother and daughter about daughter's clothing selection. Following this, the variations of the family decision making model in the second decision making phase about the shopping unit will be

explained with emerging variables such as time pressure of adolescent, interaction pattern of family, clothing characteristics including price and formality of clothing, and birth order.

Variations in the Family Decision Making Model at the Approval Stage

A major reason for the variation in the decision making model is the daughter's age. The older the daughter, the more likely there would be disagreements and conflicts about the daughter's school clothing selection. All mothers and high school daughters had disagreements while only one pair of those in middle school did not express disagreements. Age emerged as a crucial factor related to mother and daughter disagreements about school clothing selection.

Currently, H-1 does not like my selection, as she gets older. More and more her eyes and mine are different. (H-1/M, H-2, H-3, H-4, H-5). [age and disagreement]

When she was in elementary school, M-2 just loved to wear new clothing regardless of what that was. However, around the second year of her middle school, she became not satisfied with my choice at all. M-2 even told me, "mom please don't buy my clothing without my request even though you find very nice one because that's your opinion". Therefore, currently, I seldom buy her clothing without asking her and we usually decide together and go shopping together. Otherwise I let her go shopping with her friends if the clothing is not so expensive. You may not know how hard it is to raise daughters. They are getting to have their own opinions (M-2/M; M-1, M-4, M-5). [age and disagreement]

Previously (maybe the first year of middle school), my mom used to buy my clothing by herself. However, recently, even though she buys my clothing, I do not wear it if I don't like it. Most of time, we talk and shop together (M-1/D, M-2, M-4, M-5,). [age and disagreement]

These responses imply that current family decision making models are influenced by the past experiences about disagreement on clothing selection. During elementary school, mother decided what her daughter would wear. The daughter rarely disagreed. Disagreement increased with an increase of the daughter's age. In order to resolve these conflicts, mother (as a budget allocator) and daughter (as a user) decide together what school clothing to buy and/or go shopping together.

All middle school mothers, except M-3, allowed their daughters to go shopping without the presence of mother as a coping strategy to minimize conflict or disagreement between the adolescents and their families. All high school mothers and daughters had disagreements about daughters' school clothing selection. It seems to be clear that past experience of disagreement or conflict on clothing selection affects the current family decision making effort to adapt to each other by reducing the degree of disagreement.

Variations in Family Decision Making on Shopping Unit

Time pressure, interaction pattern of the family, characteristics of clothing such as price and formality of clothing, and birth order emerged as variables which related to the variations of family decision making on formation of the shopping unit.

Time pressure on adolescents. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, time pressure on the adolescent is closely related to the daughter's school level. From the second

year of high school, the adolescent and mother seldom go shopping together as they had before because of the intensive time pressure to study in preparation for the college entrance examination.

Currently, there are more likely to be disagreements between H-1 and myself on her clothing. Last week I bought a white blouse for her but she refused to wear it for school, because she doesn't like the puff sleeve and color of button. So, I gave the blouse to H-1's younger sister who just likes any clothing. I wish I could go shopping with her, but she is too busy to go shopping with me. Then usually I go shopping with H-5's mother who has excellent taste (H-1/M).
[time pressure on adolescents]

The statement of H-1's mother implies there may be a relationship between the adolescent time pressure and the change in the members of the shopping unit. In order for the mother to achieve more satisfaction in the school clothing selection, she goes shopping with another mother who has excellent taste.

Interaction pattern of family. One of the most distinguishing differences between daughter dominant and mother dominant models based on school level was the interaction displayed in the family. After examining the shopping unit composition, these variations emerged as a strong variable.

All of the middle school parents except M-3 allowed their daughters to go shopping without their mothers. The researcher tried to find some commonality between M-3 and high school students who had never been shopping without their mothers.

Adolescents who have never been shopping with their peer groups, demonstrated by all high school students and one middle school student in this particular study, showed no strong interactions with their peers and the clothing market. All the mothers of high school students and one mother of a middle school student (M-3) believed that it was not desirable to become an independent purchaser during middle or high school days.

Frankly speaking, I am kind of afraid of the current youth. I think they seem too much concerned about their clothing especially after the abolition of school uniforms, I heard that some of my daughter's classmates buy their clothing by themselves. However, I don't think a student could buy clothes. Especially before college, students had better concentrate on study rather than going shopping with peers during the free time. It won't be late to begin after being a college student... (M-3/M; H-1, H-2, H-3, H-4, H-5).

Other examples from high school girls or mothers:

I don't think H-3 is grown enough to be competent as a purchaser. Even, I always accompany H-3's sister who is a college student (H-3/M).

So far I have never bought something without mother not even a pair of socks. Even in the middle school days, mother did not allow me to go shopping with my friends, even though she and I went shopping together (H-5/D; H-2, H-4).

All my daughters including the college girl like to delegate the purchasing role to me. One time, I gave the money to H-1 because she had to buy a black skirt for a presentation for her group of School Newspaper editors. But she came back home without purchasing a black skirt with her friends. Then she asked me to select her skirt, because she could not make a final decision at the store. She also told me she recognized that to ask mom was much more comfortable...(H-1/M).

These families also controlled their daughters' use of free time.

As H-5's father is very conservative and wants to control the female daughter's behavior, H-5 seldom goes to see a movie with her friends during weekends or free time. Thus, to go shopping with her peers can't be imagined in my family (H-5/M).

Well, if I have free time I watch T.V. or borrow the cartoon to read. Shopping? Never I do! (H-5/D).

If I have free time, I go swimming with friends or sometimes go to bookstore or sleep at home listening to pop music. However, I've never been window shopping with friends. I usually go window shopping with mother and/or sister, not with friends. To buy clothing by myself (I mean without mother) seems to me very strange. I don't know why, but sounds strange... (H-4/D)

I wish I could go shopping with my friends instead of going with mom. Actually it won't take more time to buy clothing as my mom expected... Mom seems to think that to be a good student, I should study all the time. But that's not true. I need a break from concentrating on the study. However, I have never asked mom to go shopping with peers because I know there is no way to persuade her to allow me to go shopping with my friends (H-3/D; M-3).

Based on the above statements, their interaction pattern, named the authoritative family, will be as shown in Figure 7.

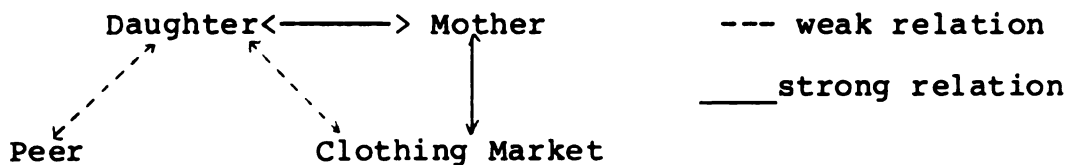


Figure 7. Interaction pattern of the authoritative family.

Some of the high school students' mothers (e.g., H-2, H-4, H-5) did not allow their daughters to go shopping with their peers even during middle school days when they had less time pressure for preparing for college entrance examination. Mothers of H-1 and H-3 allowed their daughters

to go shopping with peers one time, but neither of them could make decisions and came back home without purchasing. In the case of adolescents whose family allowed them to go shopping with peers, demonstrated by four middle school students in this study, there was direct interaction with peers and the clothing market.

At the second year of the middle school days, M-4 began to ask to buy her clothing by herself so that I gave her some money. After one or two experiences, she is getting good at selection of her clothing... Sometimes, I even think that she does not need me any more to choose her clothing....Even though she regrets a lot later, I do not blame her very much. Because, through such trial and error she must learn something to be a competent purchaser....(M-4/M).

From the middle school days, M-2 asked permission to go shopping with her friends especially after the exam. So I began to allow it. Because even though I go with her, she chooses her clothing by herself based on her taste instead of listening or following my opinion. I am a kind of payer (laugh)...(M-2/M: M-5).

These middle school mothers believed that it was relatively desirable to become an independent purchaser during middle school days. Based on the above statements, their interaction has been named the permissive family, which can be depicted in Figure 8.



Figure 8. Interaction pattern of the permissive family

Adolescents whose families allowed them to go shopping with their peers had less parental control over the use of

free time and a closer relationship with peers as a source of information. Adolescents whose families never allowed them to go shopping with their peers demonstrated little concern for being independent consumers. One middle school mother (M-3) went so far as to say she will not allow her daughter to go shopping with her daughter's friends even after high school days.

These findings indicated that this type of family interaction pattern is related to their decision making about the formation of the shopping unit. The interaction pattern emerged as an independent variable in family decision making about shopping units among Korean families.

Clothing characteristics: price and formality of clothing. Clothing characteristics such as formality of clothing which is related to the social risk of the clothing, and the price of clothing which is related to the economic risk of the clothing were related to the formation of the shopping unit and the shopping place. When the economic and social risk of the clothing selection was high, mother (as a budget allocator) and the daughter (as a user) participated in the shopping trip together. When the economic and the social risk of the clothing selection was relatively low, they could shop separately. Therefore, generally speaking, the higher the economic risk and/or social risk are, the more people are involved in the decision making about the formation of the shopping unit.

As the school authority asked us to wear the formal suit and skirt for the graduation ceremony, all of my family including my daddy went to Lotte Department store and bought a two piece suit (M-2/D; M-1, M-3, M-4, M-5). [formality of clothing and shopping unit]

Even though we allow M-4 to go shopping with her friends for less expensive clothing such as T-shirts, when we buy such a big item as a formal suit for special events for school or family reunion, my husband and/or I always accompany her (M-4/M). [price of clothing and shopping unit]

At last summer's bargain sale at a department store, H-4 and I bought her formal suits for special occasions for school or for family dining out...(H-4/M) [formality of clothing and shopping place and unit]

Based on the above statements, the price of clothing and the formality of clothing related to economic risk and social risk were related to family decision making about the shopping unit. The higher the price, the higher the formality of clothing, the more joint shopping was indicated.

Also, it was revealed that there is a relationship between shopping unit and shopping place. In the case of the daughter dominant decision making model, shopping is done at Downtown or at Ehwa College Street where there are more fashion oriented items.

If I go shopping with my friends, we usually go to Downtown or to Ehwa College street where there are many fashionable and cute clothing items with a relatively cheap price....In the long run, I regret more compared to the clothing I bought with mom... (M-2/D; M-1, M-4, M-5). [shopping unit and shopping place]

In the case of the mother dominant decision making model, shopping is done at the open market.

Although for big items such as winter coats or formal suits, I and my daughter go to department store. For other relatively casual clothing such as T-shirts or

other relatively casual clothing such as T-shirts or pants, I buy at open market in which the merchandise is perfectly alright to wear one or two years (H-1/M, H-2, H-3, H-4, H-5).

Birth order. In the case of the first daughter, there is more chance to have better quality clothing compared to the rest of her younger sisters.

As M-2 is the first daughter, I am most concerned about her clothing in terms of quality and quantity... Especially, she doesn't have any older sister who can give her clothing so that I have to buy her clothing more frequently because she grows so fast... And I have to buy more expensive clothing for her compared to other daughters, because she can give her clothing to younger sisters later (M-2/M; M-5).

As shown through the chapter, the variations found in the models depend on the composition of the shopping unit. In the first decision making phase of the approval stage, age of adolescent is related to the degree of disagreement between mother (decider) and daughter (initiator) about daughter's clothing selection. The source of money for clothing purchase also emerged as an independent variable. In the second decision making phase on the composition of shopping unit, time pressure which is related to daughter's school year, the interaction pattern of the family, clothing characteristics such as formality of clothing and price of clothing, and birth order emerged as variables in the models.

Chapter V

EXPLORATION OF THE CONCEPT OF SCHOOL CLOTHING ADEQUACY FROM A HUMAN ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

Qualitative research is oriented toward the context of discovery. The concept of clothing adequacy emerged during the data analysis. This had not been planned at the beginning of this research. During the analysis of family decision making which was described in Chapter IV, several conflict or disagreement situations about school clothing were found involving adolescent, family, peers, and school authorities.

When the researcher tried to determine the underlying reason for the conflicts in more detail, it became apparent that many of the disagreements and conflicts about school clothing were closely related to the different expectations about what was the appropriate school clothing for a girl student. Analysis further revealed that almost all of the conflict situations on appropriate school clothing among adolescents and their near behavioral environments which included family, peers, and school authorities were resolved by altering their expectations of appropriate school clothing rather than disregarding them. This process of

conflict management among adolescents and their near environments might be regarded as an adaptive process. This implies that conflict or disagreement represented inadequate clothing in a certain environment. Therefore, the researcher began to clarify the emerging concept, "school clothing adequacy", using the concept of adaptation within a human ecological framework through an inductive process.

Historically, in the field of clothing and textiles, clothing adequacy has been recognized as one of the important concepts (Eicher, 1981; Sontag, 1978). Very few researchers have been involved in defining this concept. Clothing adequacy is regarded as an elusive concept to measure because it has been described as having objective elements as well as subjective elements (Eicher, 1981). Objective elements are related to cost or quantity of the clothing inventory, while subjective elements are related to a person's perception or judgments about appropriate clothing or suitability of clothing.

Although Winakor and her colleagues did not use the term "clothing adequacy" in their research, they used a "minimum decency" clothing budget to develop a standard budget for alleviation of poverty for the low income family (Winakor, MacDdonald, Kunz & Saladino, 1971) and for rural and urban families (Winakor, 1975). Through the use of these economic aspects of clothing adequacy, that is, the individual or family clothing budget, it may be possible to

assess the objective elements of clothing adequacy.

Distinct, value free indicators of clothing used to measure the subjective elements of clothing adequacy were not found in the existing literature.

Eicher (1981) described the difficulty of measuring clothing adequacy because of its subjective and objective elements. She believed that clothing adequacy has at least more than one component and may have multiple aspects.

The researcher attempted to clarify the concept of clothing adequacy by using the concept of adaptation which is a fundamental abstraction in the human ecological perspective. The principal assumption is that human social systems are all adaptive, and some are more dynamic than others. Individuals or the family viewed as an adaptive system may use clothing as an adaptive tool in their changing environments.

Over the years, the issue of adaptation of family systems has been a central one for family theory (Speer, 1970). However, relatively few scholars have seen the potential contribution of the human ecological perspective in the clothing and textiles area of investigation. Butler (1977) and Sontag (1978) were among the first to use this approach. Recently, other clothing and textile professionals have advocated the use of an ecological perspective (Pederson, 1984).

This will be a first attempt to clarify the relationship of the concept of clothing adequacy with the

concept of adaptation within the ecological context. The investigation of school clothing adequacy within the ecological perspective led to the identification of some components of clothing adequacy, the proposal of a definition of the concept, and formation of some initial propositions which may contribute to grounded theory in this field within the ecological perspective. This attempt demonstrates one of the strengths of the human ecological framework combined with qualitative methods.

In this chapter, the concept of adaptation in selected disciplines and clothing use as a means of adaptation will be examined. Following this theoretical introduction of the relationship of clothing adequacy to the concept of adaptation, that is, clothing use as a means of adaptation, the components of school clothing adequacy based on ethnographic interviews with participant families in this study will be presented. Finally, a definition of clothing adequacy in the human ecological perspective will be proposed.

Adaptation as an Ecological Concept in Several Disciplines

Adaptation is a key concept in general systems theory which provided the foundation of the human ecological perspective. In the general systems context, Kuhn(1974) defined adaptation as "behavior that in some way changes the relation of the system to its environment, whether by altering itself, the environment, or both. Successful

adaptation is an adaptation that increases the likelihood of achieving some goals" (p.38).

The definition of the concept will be discussed as interpreted by three disciplines: biology, sociology, and anthropology. Attention will be focused on clear statements reflecting each discipline's attempt to define adaptation to fit its substantive concerns.

Biology

The concept of adaptation came originally from biology or more specifically from evolutionary theory. Most of the time, adaptation in biology has been used to describe the evolutionary process whereby an organism becomes modified for survival and reproduction in specific environments (Ricklefs, 1980). Stansfield (1977) referred to adaptation as "any morphological, physiological, developmental, or behavioral characteristic of an organism that enhances its probability for survival and leaving descendants" (p. 361).

The definitions of adaptation offered by Goodman (1963), a modern biological evolutionalist, can be considered in terms of two adaptive modes: inward-directed and outward-directed adaptation. Inward-directed adaptation is a process related to the development of consistency within the structures of self-regulating systems. Outward-directed adaptation is the outcome of selective encounters between the organism and the environments. Goodman saw the genotype outcomes of these two types of adaptation as sometimes contradictory but they were taken as a part of the

same process, that is, the development of better self-regulating systems in the context of specific environments.

According to Wallace and Adrian (1964), for biologists focusing on genetics (physiologists), adaptation "means a change, within a population, of the proportions of individuals exhibiting some advantageous trait under a given environment" (p. 93). Most biologists agree with the view that adaptation includes both long term and short term processes. The evolutionalist views adaptation as a long range, transgenerational process in which living organisms develop homeostatic capacities in relation to specific environments. Physiologists, on the other hand, view adaptation as a short-term process of homeostatic adjustment in which individual organisms meet fluctuation in environmental conditions during their life spans (Mayor, 1970).

The concept of adaptation in biology is concerned with the process that enables every living organism to maintain both internal and external environmental homeostasis. Thus, the definition of adaptation is applicable to all levels of biological organization from unicellular organisms to individuals and populations.

Sociology

According to Hawley (1986) whose influence is evident in the ecological approach in sociology, "adaptation refers to a collective behavior process" (p.43). He also stated that "adaptation proceeds through the formation of

interdependence among the members of a population" (p.7). This view holds that adaptation is realized through the interaction between environment and population. To explain adaptation at the population level, Hawley (1973) adopted two assumptions, both of which are implicit in the concept of the ecosystem. First, adaptation to environment is an imperative and omnipresent concern for every class of living things. Second, adaptation in all but a few physiological respects, is a collective phenomenon. In other words, it is achieved not by individuals acting independently, but by combining their special abilities in an organization that operates as a unit of higher order. He argued that just as the individual is more than the total sum of cells composing the human body, so is the social system qualitatively different from the collection of individuals in which it is observed (1986). He also contended that there is no direct relation between population and environment. Every population confronts its external world as some form of organization. The critical relation, thus, is between organization and environment. Hawley views adaptation as based mainly on an organizational level rather than at an individual level.

Human ecology in sociology is viewed as a macro level approach to the study of organization. The macro sociological approach has guided human ecological inquiry in sociology over the past quarter century (Micklin, 1984). However, as Micklin has already suggested, in order to

establish a more comprehensive conceptualization in ecological sociology, the subjective factors at the micro level such as family values or motives should be incorporated into the current dominant macro level approach in this field.

Anthropology

The concept of adaptation has played a central role in anthropology. The most comprehensive treatment of the ecological approach in anthropology is seen in Bennett's work (1976) which can be compared with that of Hawley's in sociology. Adaptation, as defined by Bennett (1976),

" . . . refers to the patterns and rules of social adjustment and change in behavior by individuals and groups in the course of realizing goals or simply maintaining the status quo" (p. 269).

The unit of analysis in Bennett's paradigm may be a particular subsystem or the larger ecosystem. Regardless of the unit of analysis employed, Bennett's ecological paradigm reflects a complex system from which a variety of partial relationships can be isolated.

To explain the adaptive mechanism in his paradigm, Bennett defines adaptive dynamics as " . . . behavior designed to attain goals and satisfy needs and wants, and the consequences of this behavior for the individual, the society, and the environment" (p. 270). Bennett proposed two major analytic modes of adaptive dynamics. One included actions by individuals designed to accomplish ends or effect

change in the instrumental context of life. The other consisted of interactive behavior of individuals with other individuals in groups, usually governed by rules of reciprocity and by various normative value components.

Alland (1972), an anthropologist who utilized a medical approach, stated that adaptive strategies designed to cope with different systems can be contradicting in effect or outcome or process. Thus, the meaning of adaptation differs depending on whether the individual or the group is the unit of analysis. According to Alland, tension reduction, the alleviation of anxiety and the sense of accomplishment are indicators of outcomes of adaptation at the individual level. The stability of the group or continuity of their generations as evolutionary systems can also be some indicators of group level adaptation. Moreover, the assessment of the consequences of adaptive behavior requires that a distinction be made between what is adaptive for the individual and what is for the group. The two may not coincide.

Compared to the other disciplines of biology and sociology, culture has been a critical concept in understanding the study of adaptive behavior in anthropology. By using cultural ecology, anthropologists such as Bennett (1976) and Alland (1972) gave considerable attention to culture. Bennett defined culture as "the superior human capacities for symbolic meaning, the storage of precedents, and the accumulation of adaptive solution"

(p. 40). Culture is viewed as a mediating factor in all human transactions with Nature.

As a result of focusing on cultural adaptation, traditionally, anthropologists study adaptation at micro social system levels. Such micro social systems can be the kinship system (e.g., family), communities, institutions, organizations or any detachable or discernible sector of a larger social unit (Bennett, 1976).

Comparison of Definitions in Selected Disciplines

There is general agreement across the disciplines that human ecology is fundamentally concerned with the process of adaptation. This is usually understood to mean change in response to changing external conditions. To survive requires that individuals behave in ways that result in their adaptation to their environments.

The concept of adaptation in biology is concerned with the process that enables every living organism to maintain both internal and external environmental homeostasis. In this context, this definition is applicable to all levels of biological organizations. While the study of microsocial phenomenon is an anthropological specialty, the study of macrosocial phenomena is the current domain of the social sciences such as sociology and political science. In summary, based on the various disciplines' approaches to defining the concept, it appears to encompass genetic, behavioral, social and cultural adaptation from a short term

to a long term basis that enables all levels of living organisms to adjust to the environment in which they live.

As Miller (1978) has pointed out, adjustment processes refer to "those processes of subsystems which maintain steady states in systems, keeping variables within their ranges of stability despite stress" (p.35). The existence of a subsystem in a system implies hierarchy of the system. General systems theorists such as Buckley (1968) and Miller (1978) contended that one of the most important qualities of an organism (system) is hierarchy.

Because every complex system consists of a number of subsystems, the system is a series of levels of increasing complexity. This means that the suprasystem contains a number of parts, each of which is more or less complete in itself, but each is also necessary to the functioning of the whole suprasystem. They also argued that complex systems of a cybernetic nature use positive and negative feedback to adjust and adapt during the action itself in a changing environment.

Obviously, adaptive behavior should be viewed as occurring on multiple levels of systems based on a hierarchy of living systems; what may be adaptive for one individual may be maladaptive for another or for the group; what may be adaptive for populations may not be so for nature. As Miller (1978) pointed out, the conflict among systems in the system hierarchy is a special sort of strain which arises

when a system must carry out two or more actions which are incompatible.

In the system hierarchy, this conflict may arise from two or more systems at the same level or at different levels, and this conflict may be resolved by many sorts of adjustment processes of the involved systems. In the case of such conflict, an effective system ordinarily resolves such conflicts by giving greater compliance to the command with higher priority in terms of its value (Miller, 1978).

Clothing Use as a Means of Adaptation

To conceptualize the concept of clothing adequacy using the concept of adaptation in the human ecological perspective, the following discussion will present the rationale for clothing use as a means of adaptation by viewing use of clothing as a purposeful human behavior to accomplish the anticipated goals or ends.

Rationale

In order to clarify the concept of clothing adequacy from the human ecological perspective, one must adopt a conceptual scheme adequate to the task. This would focus on the concept of adaptation which can provide such a conceptual scheme.

Classical theorists from the social psychological fields such as James (1890), Cooley (1902), Hurlock (1929), and Stone (1962) proposed the idea that clothing is an external manifestation of self as well as the nearest

material environment for individuals. Clothing as a portable environment for the self as compared to other near environments such as housing, cars, or organizations to which one belongs can be considered to serve an instrumental function between self and the natural environment. It can also be an expressive interface between the personal system and the interpersonal, familial, and larger social systems (Sontag, 1978).

This means that clothing as the most proximal environment of the self can meet the biophysical, psychological, social, and aesthetic needs of individuals. If one accepts the concept of adaptation with reference to the beneficial adjustment of individuals to the environments in which they live, there is reason to believe that clothing may be used as a means of adaptation (or coping mechanism) from the micro level to the macro level in a changing environment at a given time through the human life cycle.

In order to support the conceptualization of clothing use as a means of adaptation in the human ecological framework, the researcher tried to combine some existing research findings by several researchers (Creekmore, 1963, 1980; Roach & Eicher, 1973; Sontag, 1978) in the field of clothing and human behavior and the notion of adaptation from several disciplines. This effort of combination is shown in Table 2. As illustrated in Table 2 the adaptive functions of clothing are shown from the micro level to the macro level. More specifically, clothing, as the only

Table 2. Clothing Use as a Means of Adaptation

Adaptation	Clothing as a means of adaptation
From Micro Level: Internal Adaptation	Physiological self and clothing: provide thermal comfort and protective function to maintain homeostasis at tolerance level and physical health Psychological self and clothing: selection of clothing consistent with and expressive of self; evoke the validation of self or enhancement of self-esteem
To Macro level: External adaptation	Clothing, self and major reference group: conform to group norms and facilitate role accomplishments. Clothing, self and society in general: provide clothing symbols with cues for adaptation activity; select appropriate clothing for self and society based on the aesthetic standards of a given culture; evoke social acceptance in a culture.

mediator between an individual and other environments in the ecological context, may help to accomplish certain goals and needs such as those at the physiological, psychological, sociological, and cultural levels. Based on Table 2, whereas the biologist's concern is internal adaptation at only the physiological level, clothing use for internal adaptation can be expanded to the psychological level.

The underlying rationale for considering clothing use as a means of adaptation is that the use of clothing can be an action. According to Williams (1975), when the use of clothing is considered as an action, it refers to " . . . purpose-ful human behavior in a pattern of interrelations, in contrast to its conceptualization as an isolated overt behavior Several components, identifiable as minimal and indispensable characteristics of an action must be taken into account" (p.14).

To support her conceptualization of the use of clothing as an action, Williams quoted the following statement of Creekmore (1963): "Behavior is believed to be purposeful and functional. This is evidence that the individual in attempting to adapt to his environment reflects his thought processes, his needs and his values directly and indirectly in his conscious and unconscious behavior" (p.1).

The agent of action (either individuals or groups of individuals) is guided by the attainment of goals or ends. This idea is similar to Bennett's concept of adaptive dynamics. If use of clothing as an action can be viewed as

purposeful human behavior to accomplish the anticipated goals or ends, use of clothing can be considered as a coping mechanism or an adaptive tool in a changing environment.

Similarly, Williams (1975) quoted the following statement of Morrow (1968) who used "coping clothing behavior" and defined it as: " . . . the selection and use of clothing to accomplish a purpose, reduce tension, satisfy a need, a conscious effort to cause change and motivate to some end" (p.29).

The above statement is similar to the definition of adaptation in selected disciplines especially in biology (e.g., Goodman's definition). As adaptation of a living organism (including human beings) is accomplished in the context of its immediate environment, the use of clothing through decision making can be an adaptive tool in accordance with certain culturally prescribed norms or standards. In this instance, use of clothing is clearly an action reflecting "appropriate" attitudes and behavior patterns to adapt to an environment by, at least, maintaining the status quo or by achieving better adjustment to environments.

In summary, by recognizing the conceptual focus of clothing as the only mediator between an individual and other environments in the human ecological framework, the use of clothing through decision making (as a purposeful behavior) may help to accomplish human needs or goals such as those at the physiological, psychological, sociological,

and cultural levels. Therefore, there is reason to believe that use of clothing as a purposeful behavior may be regarded as a means of adaptation to a changing environment in order to accomplish certain goals or anticipated outcomes. In this context, an individual's use of clothing in an environment may be related to the concept of clothing adequacy which implies the perceived evaluation of individual's adaptive use of clothing in a certain environmental context.

The Components of School Clothing Adequacy

To clarify the components of school clothing adequacy with the concept of adaptation, the inductive approach by using ethnographic interviews with participant families was used. In this section, sequential inductive inspection of data used to identify the components of school clothing adequacy will be discussed. How the criteria to select statements to be examined for the components of school clothing adequacy were set and how five components of school clothing adequacy emerged will be included. Following the sequential procedures to identify components of school clothing adequacy, coding categories and illustrative statements for each component are presented and a multicomponent model of school clothing adequacy is proposed.

Background of Sequential Data Analysis Procedure:

An Inductive Approach

1. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, when the researcher examined the conflict or disagreement situations about school clothing selection among adolescents, family, peers, and school, it was revealed that such conflicts and disagreements were related to the concept of school clothing adequacy.

2. This conflict management process could be seen as an indicator of some type of struggling for adaptation by adolescents and their major reference groups through the use of clothing.

3. To support this idea, the researcher examined the concept of adaptation in several disciplines and found theoretical evidence to combine the concept of adaptation with the concept of clothing adequacy.

4. Based on the review of literature related to adaptation, it was revealed that adaptation is achieved in conflict situations as well as in the existing environment, through the changing of the structures of the organism or changing of the environment or both. Thus, the researcher expanded the scope of selection of statements relating to adaptation through clothing from the conflict or disagreement situations to situations involving adjustment to the existing school environments and adjustment to the changing school environment.

5. It was also believed that there might be a range of adequacy. That is, there may be a lower limit (inadequate) and an upper limit (supra-adequate) for an individual or a group in a situational context.

6. Based on the notion of range of adequate school clothing, the specific words which imply adequate clothing were also included as criteria to determine the components of school clothing adequacy. Because some statements did not include the word "adequate" explicitly, the researcher used the Korean-English Dictionary (1979) to find similar words that connoted the meaning of adequate.

In summary, the following four criteria were established by the researcher to select statements in order for the components of clothing adequacy in this study to be identified.

1. Text which indicated adjustment to existing school environment.

2. Text which indicated adjustment to changing school environment.

3. Text which contained conflict or disagreement between adolescent daughter, parent, peer, or school authority.

4. Specific words which imply adequate, such as too. . . to . . . (e.g., this color was too bright to wear at school), good enough, very much, too much, appropriate or proper.

Sequential Procedures to Identify the Components of School Clothing Adequacy

Using four criteria established for selection of the statements from the interviews, the researcher began to look at the content of the in-depth interviews and selected statements that met one or more criteria. The following five components of judgments about school clothing adequacy emerged.

1. The researcher found that many of the conflicts and disagreements were related to color, design, form of dress, thermal comfort, fashionability, fit and femininity.

Underlying factors in conflict situations such as color, design, form of dress are the attributes of clothing which refer to characteristics perceived as belonging to the garment itself (Ryan, Ayres, Densmore, Swanson, & Shitlock, 1963). Therefore, the first component of clothing adequacy, attributes of clothing emerged.

2. The remainder of the factors such as thermal comfort, fashionability, fit and femininity which were not included in the attributes of clothing seemed to imply a judgment based on the wearer's perception of some clothing attributes for a given situation. The researcher named these factors the relational characteristics of clothing.

3. Since one of the objectives of this study was to compare middle and high school girls, it became clearer from the data that judgments about appropriate school clothing were closely related to a student's personal

characteristics such as age, number of siblings and physical body type. This difference helped to focus on self as the third component of clothing adequacy.

4. Originally, this study was limited to school clothing and did not include other situational contexts such as leisure time dress. However, even in the school setting there were some varieties such as special occasion day (e.g., skirt day, graduation ceremony, picnic day), leadership role, peer relations, and family relations. Therefore, the fourth component of clothing adequacy, situational context of environments emerged.

5. After identifying these four components of school clothing adequacy, the researcher returned to the component of relational characteristics of clothing in order to clarify this component further. Implicit in statements with these references was the concept of benefit. Another category emerged that included a goal, anticipated outcome, or benefits through having adequate school clothing. For example, achieving an appearance of femininity (relational characteristic of clothing) can lead to acceptance by the school authority (anticipated outcome) or satisfaction for the parent because she is showing herself to be a good daughter (anticipated outcome). Achieving an appearance of fashionability (relational characteristics of clothing) can lead to peer acceptance (anticipated outcome). If a student receives benefits from wearing appropriate clothing as a girl student for school, they can be an outcome of

adaptation achieved through the use of clothing. Therefore, a fifth component of clothing adequacy, anticipated outcomes emerged from the data.

In summary, through the sequential procedure used to define the components of school clothing adequacy, a multi-component model emerged. It includes five components that interact in judgments about clothing adequacy: self, attributes of clothing, the situational context of the environment, relational characteristics, and anticipated outcomes.

6. After identifying the above five components that interact in judgments about school clothing adequacy, it was found that students may also select their clothing in accordance with their interpretation of other's expectations in order to achieve approval from others. Also, the researcher began to recognize that the acceptable range of adequate clothing which is expected by others may vary with clothing expectations (norms) associated with a given role in a certain environment. That is, the fulfillment of expectations related to school clothing adequacy may be more demanding than that of leisure activity clothing. This seems to be similar to the concept of "good enough" proposed by Carter and MacGoldrick (1980) in human development and family therapy area.

Conflict often occurred at the point below the limit of expectations on school clothing adequacy (inadequate) and above the upper limit (supra-adequate) so that there is a

middle range (tolerable range) that allows students freedom to interpret expectations of appropriate school clothing while still having some guidelines established as to what to expect. The clearness of the limits of adequate school clothing is closely related to the degree of conflicts or disagreements which occur between adolescents and their near environments about adequate school clothing. The limit of the expectations about appropriate color and form of dress as subsets of clothing attributes are relatively clearer than the expectations related to fashionability, femininity and fit as appropriate for girl students in Korea.

Even though adolescents, their major reference group, and society have some expectations of student clothing, nobody knows where the limit of the appropriateness occurs. To support this interpretation, the researcher interviewed one high school teacher after the first data analysis. She was from the same high school as the participant students and was in charge of student appearance at a monthly inspection.

She said,

To check the student appearance, every Monday morning I and another selected teacher stand in front of the school gate. Also, monthly, all female teachers are involved in the examination of students' appearance based on the check list sheet established by school authorities. For example, it includes hair length and overall neatness. Color and skirt or pants or hair perm are relatively straightforward so that they are not difficult to control.

Generally speaking, we evaluate each student's appearance based on the whole impression so that frequently there are some disagreements between students and us, and even between our teachers. The

older teachers are more conservative than those my age. I admit that there is not always a consistent or straightforward way to evaluate student appearance compared to our school days in uniforms.

The above statement provides confirmation that there is a tolerable range of school clothing adequacy and also provides some practical information on adequate student clothing in this school in Korea. School authorities, family and adolescents need to know these frequent conflict and disagreement areas may be derived from the lack of common expectations of suitability of student clothing (especially, in fashionability, fit, or femininity). Therefore, the limits of the appropriateness of student clothing should be clearly defined to reduce disagreement between adolescents, family, peers, school, and society in general.

Reliability

Problems of internal reliability in qualitative data analysis raise the question whether, within a single study, multiple observers agree. Crucial to internal reliability is the extent to which the sets of meanings held by multiple observers are sufficiently congruent so that they describe and arrive at inferences about phenomena in the same way (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984).

Coding by more than one person not only aids definitional clarity, but is a good reliability check (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Because of the bi-lingual study, the unique characteristic of this research, another coder was selected from the same national language. A Korean

colleague who has studied clothing and textiles in the United States also coded data. The supplementary procedures for this coding are outlined below.

1. The researcher gave the second coder the copy of the whole transcript of Korean interviews with the criteria that were to be used by the researcher to select statements that could then be analyzed to determine the components of school clothing adequacy.

2. The researcher also briefly explained the intention of this work. Two or three examples of conflicts or disagreement situations were chosen from the transcripts in order to train the second coder who was not familiar with this research.

3. The second coder made marginal remarks or notes with a brief comment on the reason for the selection when she found statements which fit one of the four established criteria.

4. One week later, the researcher met the second coder again and received the transcripts back.

5. Comparison of the second coder's selected statements and the researcher's revealed that the other coder took a more conservative approach to selection of the statements than the researcher did. In particular, the other coder concentrated on the conflict situations rather than on the other three criteria. As a result she found fewer statements than the researcher did for examination. However, in the conflict situation, most of the statements

found by the coder and the researcher coincided.

Therefore, there was a consensus on selection of statements based on one of the criteria used to select statements to identify the components of clothing adequacy.

6. In discussing the reason why the other coder was more focused on conflict or disagreement situations than the rest of the criteria, several inferences are possible. Perhaps the researcher did not give the instructions to the second coder as clearly as they should have been. This suggests if other coders are used who are trying to establish reliability, there should be more time to train them if they did not participate in the research from the beginning stages. The second coder tended to select statements of the conflict situations which generally illustrated the limit of adequate clothing for school. The researcher used both the limits and the range of adequate clothing because of the theoretical orientation of the researcher. Usually, the conflict occurred at the point below the limit of adequacy (inadequate) and above the upper limit (supra-adequate) so that the problem of adequacy can be more clearly viewed than in the middle range. When compared to the other coder who took a very conservative view, the researcher took a more flexible view because of her theoretical orientation. However, the second coder's input gave the psychological support to the researcher to confirm that she was on the right track in exploring the

components of school clothing adequacy within the human ecological perspective.

Coding and Illustrative Statements

The final coding categories which are shown in a series of Tables 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, reflect repeated revision, including category merging, elimination, expansion, and redefinition. In developing the content of the initial coding system, it quickly became apparent that most books on qualitative methodology offer more information on general goals than specific techniques. Traditional descriptions of content analysis (e.g., Krippendorff, 1980), although useful, are geared more to quantitative research than to the kind of flexibility required for this analysis.

The process of determining the coding categories was time consuming. A single paragraph, even a single sentence might be placed in two or more categories, depending on its content. The researcher made judgments constantly. Many of these reflected her sense of the context of the statement. Therefore, in the series of Tables, although the researcher tried to select statements which clearly illustrated a particular component, statements naturally may contain more than one component.

Table 3. Self: Personal Characteristics

Self	Theoretical Definition	Illustrative Statements
Age	Individual's chronological stage of life	Sometimes, some of classmates come to school wearing college student like clothing. I think it is not good for our age. We can wear clothing like that after graduation from high school. . . . Well, we as high school students had better wear the clothing which fits to an age rather than too much like college student or adult. . . . (H-3/D) (1, 4) ^a
Gender	Either of two divisions of organisms distinguished respectively as male or female	As M-4 is a daughter, she definitely needs more clothing than her brother. However, she wants to buy her clothing too often compared to her brother. (M-4/M) (4)
Size	Physical magnitude, extent, or bulk in terms of height/weight	One of my favorite styles is blue jeans and sweat shirts which make me sporty. But currently I seldom wear that style at school except for physical exercise day. Because, when I went to school with tight jeans, one of my friends said ". . . why don't you wear a cute skirt which may hide your short and chubby thighs instead of wearing pants." I was so embarrassed but I agreed with her. But sometime on weekends or at home I wear pants though . . . (M-1/D) (3, 4).

^aThe following codes refer to selection criteria for the components of school clothing adequacy:

- 1 = adjustment to existing school environment.
- 2 = adjustment to changing school environment.
- 3 = conflict or disagreement between groups of adolescent, parent, peers and school.
- 4 = specific words which imply adequate

Table 3. Self: Personal Characteristics (continued)

Self	Theoretical Definition	Illustrative Statements
Physical growth, biological change	Progressive development in body's physical growth	One of the most frequent disagreement between M-3 and myself is related to brand name clothing. Last week, M-3 grumbled to me because I refused to buy Jordache jeans for her. You may know during her age, how fast she grows. I think she grows too fast to wear such expensive jeans. However, I may buy more expensive clothing for her when she goes to college because at that time, she is almost grown up. But not now, it's waste of money, ^a I think - Don't you agree (laugh). (M-3/M) (3, 4)
Number of siblings	Numerical quantitative measure of individuals having one set of common parents	Last week, I quarreled with my husband who bought a blue pleated skirt and red jacket without asking me. I don't want to buy M-4's clothing too often, because she is the only daughter and there is no one to wear her clothing later. However, if I do not allow M-4's request, usually M-4 asks her father who never refuses his daughter's request. (M-4/M) (3, 4)

^aThe following codes refer to selection criteria for the components of school clothing adequacy:

- 1 = adjustment to existing school environment.
- 2 = adjustment to changing school environment.
- 3 = conflict or disagreement between groups of adolescent, parent, peers and school.
- 4 = specific words which imply adequate

Table 4. Attributes of Clothing

Attributes	Theoretical Definition	Illustrative Statements
Color	Visual perception that enables one to differentiate otherwise identical objects	Yesterday, I bought a pink color v-neck sweater for H-1. But she refused to wear it. Because if she wears such a strong color, she will be in trouble in school from teachers. (H-1/M) (1, 3) ^a
Form of dress	Three dimensional area enclosed by a surface of the body either hollow or with volume	Every Monday, we should wear a skirt to attend a student assembly meeting at auditorium. That's the regulation. (H-1/D) (1)
Design	Selection and arrangement of parts, ornament, and construction that form an artistic whole	One time, I went to school in culotte skirt which cannot be worn at school according to school authority. Even though teachers could not recognize what I wore, some of my friends looked at me as a kind of deviant; so that I never wear the skirt again in school. (M-5/D) (1, 3)
Price	Amount of money given or set as consideration for the sale of clothing	One time, I asked mom to buy Nike shoes but she said they are too expensive to be student shoes. (M-1/D) (4)

^aThe following codes refer to selection criteria for the components of school clothing adequacy:

- 1 = adjustment to existing school environment.
- 2 = adjustment to changing school environment.
- 3 = conflict or disagreement between groups of adolescent, parent, peers and school.
- 4 = specific words which imply adequate

Table 4. Attributes of Clothing (continued)

Attributes	Theoretical Definition	Illustrative Statements
Fabric	Pliable material made usually by weaving, felting, or knitting natural or synthetic fibers and yarns	If we wear too sheer fabric or too deep neckline design clothing, we have to go to teacher's room and have some penalty. . . . (H-5/D) (1, 3, 4) ^a
Size	One of a series of graduated measures of clothing articles conventionally identified by numbers or letters	We [mom and I] are always in trouble on my clothing in terms of size. I mean, mom always buys bigger size pants than my body, because I grow so fast before wearing out the clothing. (M-3/D) (3, 4)
Quantity	Determinate or estimated amount of clothing item	Whenever I ask mom to buy new clothing, she scold me with saying that ". . . look at your closet, you already have enough clothing as a student. . ." (M-4/D) (3, 4)

^aThe following codes refer to selection criteria for the components of school clothing adequacy:

- 1 = adjustment to existing school environment.
- 2 = adjustment to changing school environment.
- 3 = conflict or disagreement between groups of adolescent, parent, peers and school.
- 4 = specific words which imply adequate

Table 5. Situational Context of the Environment

Situational Context	Theoretical Definition	Illustrative Statements
-Natural Environment		
Seasonal change/ climate	Suitable clothing for the season, climate, or temperature of day	As H-2's school heating system is very poor, I think H-2 should have down jacket, and insulative clothing is necessary for this winter. (H-2/M) (1) ^a
-School		
Normal day	Ordinary day when students attend school to learn something	On school days, I do not wear slit skirt which cannot be worn at school. (M-5/D) (1)
Special occasion day	Special day when students should wear something relatively different from the habitual way of dressing for school (e.g., picnic day, graduation day)	When we attend a graduation ceremony, teacher said we should wear skirt and blouse, not blue jeans or pants. I and mom bought a two piece suit for such a formal occasion in school. (M-5/D) (2)
Peer relation	Relation with a person who has equal standing with another, as in age	I spend most of my time at school, I can not help being aware of the eyes of friends in terms of fashionability when I wear clothing for school. (M-1/D) (1)
Leadership role	Behaviors associated with the position of a leader in a class or in an organization in school	Because, I am a vice president of my class, every morning, I have to go teacher's room to report the attendance of classmates. Sometimes I should take off the red jumper before going there. (H-4/D) (1)

^aThe following codes refer to selection criteria for the components of school clothing adequacy:

- 1 = adjustment to existing school environment.
- 2 = adjustment to changing school environment.
- 3 = conflict or disagreement between groups of adolescent, parent, peers and school.
- 4 = specific words which imply adequate

Table 6. Relational Characteristics of Clothing

Relational Characteristics	Theoretical Definition	Illustrative Statement
Thermal comfort	That condition of the mind which expresses satisfaction with the thermal environment (ASHRAE, 1981, p. 2)	In the morning, there is a quarrel with H-2 who refuses to wear an insulative garment on cold days. Strangely enough, she feels more uncomfortable instead of warm enough with wearing insulative garment. She says she is too chubby to wear such an insulative garment. (H-2/M) (3, 4) ^a
Fit	Way in which a garment conforms to the figure or part of the body on which it is worn	I used to wear very tight jeans. But a school teacher told me mine are too tight and seemed too uncomfortable to act in school. After that I cannot wear these pants even though I feel more uncomfortable with semi-fitted one (laugh). (H-4/D) (4)
Practicality	Seeking benefits in clothing relates to ease of care, comfort, performance, and durability	Sometimes, I hide my daughter's new clothing from my husband who strongly believes that blue jeans or corduroy pants are just good enough for student's outfit. Basically I agree with him but he doesn't know girl students always seek more than practical one. That's why H-3 seldom asks her daddy to buy her clothing . . . (H-3/M) (3, 4)

^aThe following codes refer to selection criteria for the components of school clothing adequacy:

- 1 = adjustment to existing school environment.
- 2 = adjustment to changing school environment.
- 3 = conflict or disagreement between groups of adolescent, parent, peers and school.
- 4 = specific words which imply adequate

Table 6. Relational Characteristics of Clothing (continued)

Relational Characteristics	Theoretical Definition	Illustrative Statement
Femininity	Societal perception of qualities traditionally ascribed to the female gender	As I wish H-1 looks like a cute girl student, I bought light pink corduroy gathered skirt and pink angora sweater. But she seldom wear that ensemble for school and even said that it's uncomfortable in school. H-1 just likes medium tone color pants and plain shirts. But if she becomes too used to pants or if she seeks only comfortable clothing, how can she grow up as a woman later. I really worry about her but she seldom listens to my suggestion. . . . That's the problem. (H-1/M) (3, 4) ^a
Aesthetic view	Quality in a person or things that gives pleasure to the senses	One time, I insisted on buying my low-waisted one piece. But when my daddy saw, he said "It looks ugly. . . . where is the waist line? It doesn't seem to be suitable for student. . . ." So, I have to wear the belt on the low waisted dress. . . . (H-5/D) (3, 4)
Gestalt effect	Global picture of what a person is like, which is led by appearance	Even though M-3 wants to go shopping with her best friend to E-Tae Won street where American Army Base is, I never allow her and even scold her. M-3 said in E-Tae Won there is a lot of larger size clothing which fits her tall height or exotic unique design. However, I think student, especially girl, should be neat and clean rather than wearing a unique or fashionable clothing. That's enough. . . . (M-3/M) (4)

^aThe following codes refer to selection criteria for the components of school clothing adequacy:

- 1 = adjustment to existing school environment.
- 2 = adjustment to changing school environment.
- 3 = conflict or disagreement between groups of adolescent, parent, peers and school.
- 4 = specific words which imply adequate

Table 7. Anticipated outcomes

Anticipated Outcomes	Theoretical Definition	Illustrative Statements
Self-esteem	Feeling of self-worth	Even though my clothing should be similar to my friends, it should not be the exact same one which hurts my pride. . . . Especially in school, there is a strong possibility to wear exactly same brand name clothing with several classmates, famous brand name clothing is not always appropriate for school(H-1/D) (4) ^a
Multiple role accomplishment	Fulfillment equipping one for the positions individuals occupy in social relations	
Peer acceptance (as a friend)	Anticipated approval from friends	All my best friends have at least one pair of Jordache jeans, but not me. I asked her to buy that brand. But she said "why do you need only that brand" So, I was so mad at her and said, "go to school and if you watch them only for thirty minutes you know what they wear" Then mom said "If you think your friends are so important then just live with them" You know, she never understands me (M-1/D) (3)

^aThe following codes refer to selection criteria for the components of school clothing adequacy:

- 1 = adjustment to existing school environment.
- 2 = adjustment to changing school environment.
- 3 = conflict or disagreement between groups of adolescent, parent, peers and school.
- 4 = specific words which imply adequate

Table 7. Anticipated outcomes (continued)

Anticipated Outcomes	Theoretical Definition	Illustrative Statements
Family acceptance as a member of family	A sense of belonging as a daughter in the family	I could not wear big sweat shirts because my parents (especially father) believed that to wear such a big shirt doesn't look so neat and clean. He likes his daughter whose clothing looks neat. So, I seldom wear loose look outfit which violates my father's expectations for me. (H-2/D) (3, 4) ^a
Teacher's acceptance as a leader of the class	Anticipated approval from school authority	As I am the president of student organization, teachers seem to expect me to wear formal outfit such as skirt and blouse or jacket rather than to wear too tight pants so often. Usually, as teachers evaluate ourselves based on our appearance, I have to follow school's regulation on our appearance. (H-5/D) (1, 4)

^aThe following codes refer to selection criteria for the components of school clothing adequacy:

- 1 = adjustment to existing school environment.
- 2 = adjustment to changing school environment.
- 3 = conflict or disagreement between groups of adolescent, parent, peers and school.
- 4 = specific words which imply adequate

A Multi-component Model of Clothing Adequacy

This multi-component model shown in Figure 9 was identified from the in-depth interviews. The self (personal characteristics), situational context of environments, attributes of clothing, relational characteristics of clothing, and the anticipated outcomes of the above components are important to judgments of clothing adequacy. These judgments in turn affect future decisions about the use of clothing.

The following components of clothing adequacy are proposed.

Self (Personal characteristics) refers to features that make up and distinguish the individual's given traits in terms of structural self (e.g., age, gender, size), process (e.g., physical growth or biological change) and family background (e.g., birth order, number of siblings).

Situational Context of Environment refers to the complex of environments that act upon the self and an ecological community in which social interactions occur in a given time and place. This situational context may assign the anticipated normative clothing use to a participant (self) to fulfill role expectations (define the situations). The environments are natural environment (e.g., climate, seasonal change), human constructed environment (e.g., school) and human behavioral environment (e.g., peer relation, position or leadership in school).

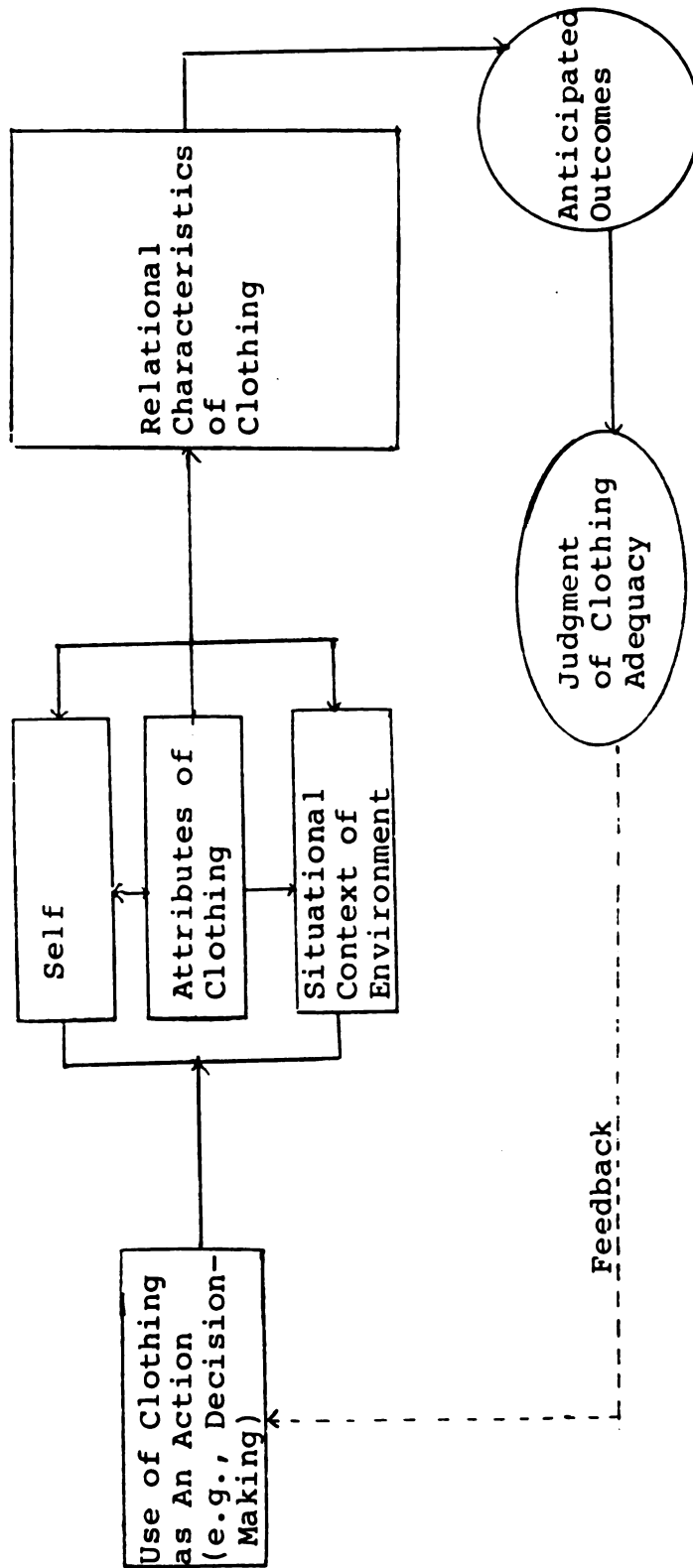


Figure 9. A multi-component model of clothing adequacy in a human ecological framework

Attributes of Clothing refer to those concrete or specific characteristics perceived as belonging to the garment itself and contributing to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with it (Ryan et al. 1963). Examples from this study include color, form of dress, design, price, fabric, size, and quantity.

Relational Characteristics of Clothing refer to the inferences drawn from the interaction among self, attributes of clothing, and the situational context to adjust to the environment (i.e., survive or fit better in the environment through the use of appropriate clothing). Examples from this study include thermal comfort, fashionability, fit, practicality, femininity, aesthetic view, and gestalt effect.

Anticipated Outcomes refer to something that follows as a result or a consequence related to adaptation that is desired to be achieved through having adequate clothing. They are indicated by goals, ends, value judgments, or some evaluation comments of the individual, family, or other major reference group. These outcomes are closely related to the developmental tasks of individuals which are particular learning experiences that tend to occur at a given stage of life and to which individuals must successfully adapt in order to meet cultural requirements of clothing use. Examples in this study include peer acceptance, self-esteem, and multiple role accomplishment (i.e., fulfillment of ascribed and achieved roles through

the use of adequate clothing). Therefore, these anticipated outcomes would be an ultimate dependent variable rather than an independent variable in this adaptive process.

The model in Figure 9 shows the circular relations of multiple components of clothing adequacy with a feedback loop in a human ecological perspective. For example, on Student Assembly Day (i.e., situational context of environment), an adolescent girl (i.e., self) should wear a skirt instead of wearing blue jeans (i.e., attribute of clothing). School authorities believe that a girl student wearing a skirt rather than tight jeans is more feminine (i.e., relational characteristic of clothing). Therefore, this girl wears a skirt. She recognizes that school authorities usually evaluate a student based on her appearance. She wears a skirt especially on the special occasion day in order to be accepted as a good student (i.e., anticipated outcome), although she loves to wear tight jeans on other occasions such as going shopping with her friends. A girl student's perceived evaluation of fulfillment about expectations through her school clothing are based on implicit and/or explicit evaluation of peers, school authorities, and other reference groups (i.e., judgment of school clothing adequacy) and will affect the selection of clothing through decision making the next time (i.e., feedback of information to clothing use as action).

Toward a Definition of Clothing Adequacy
from an Ecological Perspective

Clothing adequacy refers to the acceptable (tolerable) fulfillment of clothing expectations for an individual or a group in a variety of environmental settings in order to achieve a better adaptation with the conditions of the environment or simply to maintain the status quo between humans and their environments. More specifically, there is a tolerable range of adequate clothing which depends on two factors. The first factor is the assessment people make of how well or poorly they are enabled to fulfill expectations for clothing in a given environmental context in a culture within the range of clothing attributes and relational characteristics of clothing. This assessment influences what they decide to select or to wear in the future. Second, expectations of adequate clothing, either manifest or latent, may be derived from precedents, long-term experiences, (e.g., habitual expectations) and learning (training) through the socialization process and are conditioned by dynamic interaction among the self, clothing, and other environments.

CHAPTER VI

EMERGING THEORY: PROPOSITIONS AND HYPOTHESES

One of the objectives of this study was to develop preliminary theoretical propositions and testable hypotheses which are a prerequisite for theory building in clothing decision making. Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggested that the researcher will discover several variables and their elaboration in the process of theory generation.

Based on the analyses of data presented in the previous two chapters, several variables or concepts which are related to family decision making on adolescent daughter's school clothing selection emerged. In the present chapter the researcher will try to integrate the concepts and variables in order to formulate some preliminary propositions and testable hypotheses which may be related to clothing decision making within the family ecological context. To show the relationships between concepts and variables, a summary diagram will be presented as a guideline for formulating propositions and hypotheses.

This chapter will include propositions and hypotheses related to the family decision making model in the family ecological framework, related to the daughter's involvement in family decision making in the approval stage, related to

daughter's involvement in the family decision making about formation of the shopping unit, and related to school clothing adequacy.

Propositions related to Family Decision Making
Model in the Family Ecological Framework

Several assumptions about the family system level were derived from general systems level propositions to apply the systems perspective to these particular family decision making. As human social systems are adaptive, the family as a part of the human ecosystem is viewed as a relatively open and adaptive system in changing environments. Adaptation is a dynamic and on-going process rather than a linear process.

Characteristics of Family Decision Making Model in Korea

Based on the analyses of data reported in Chapters IV and V, it was found that the Korean family decision making models were different from the typical decision making models reported in United States consumer behavior literature. These United States models have been frequently adopted for research on family decision making in Home Economics including clothing and textiles in Korea (Kim, 1982; Kim & Yim, 1983). Through the data analysis, the family is characterized as a decision making unit. It processes information and then makes a selection from among alternatives based on family values and interaction patterns. The emerging characteristics of the Korean family decision making models in this study included three phases of family decision making: the approval of the daughters'

clothing request, the formation of the shopping unit, and post evaluation at home after purchasing daughter's clothing. There were two steps in the post purchase evaluation stage: the first evaluation was conducted at home by the family members and at school by teachers and peers. The second evaluation was done by the mother as a manager of the daughter's clothing after laundry.

Proposition:

Interactions within the family and interactions with their environments in family decision making about their adolescent daughter's clothing selection are present, although not always similar, that is, these interactions are minimal in some families and extensive in others, across the main stages of decision making.

The above process of family decision making about daughter's school clothing selection in this particular study showed the variations related to the family characteristics in a Korean culture. Therefore, the following proposition at family ecological level can be established:

Proposition:

Theoretically, the process of adaptation by the family system through decision making is universal, but culturally the implementation may be different.

Variations of Family Decision Making Models

The Korean family decision making model was essentially sequential along the time dimension, and there were overlaps among the decision making stages. The current Korean family decision making model was influenced by past experiences of disagreement or conflict on clothing selection. To reduce this disagreement or conflict among family members or among

their reference groups, the family members modified their decision making model.

Proposition:

The model of decision making in a given family evolves over time to its present state through some type of adaptive feedback.

**Propositions related to the Daughter's Involvement
in Family Decision Making at the Approval Stage**

The Korean family decision making model (Figure 10) is based on the findings of the analysis chapters and illustrates decision making with emerging variables within an ecological framework. As reported in the discussion of joint and individual decision making in Chapter IV, three major variables which influence the degree of involvement of the adolescent daughter in family decision making at the approval stage emerged. These were age of adolescent, contacts with other adolescent socialization agents, and source of money.

Age of Adolescents

In this study, the age of the offspring was related to the degree of involvement in family decision making at the approval stage. As the daughter entered the middle school (i.e., early adolescent period), there was more disagreement on clothing selection when it was selected by the mother alone. As the daughter's age increased, there was more involvement of the daughter in family decision making,

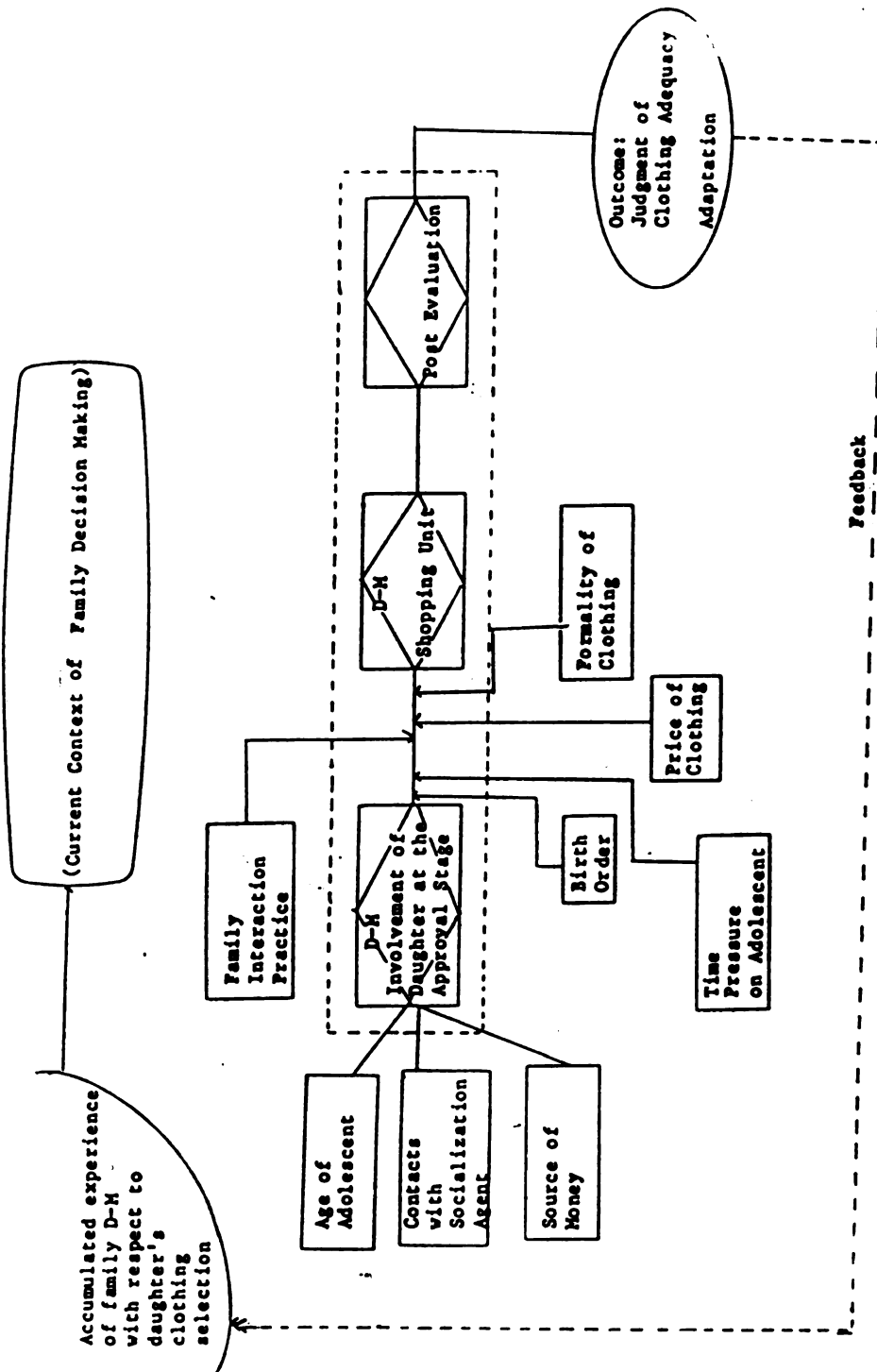


Figure 10. Emerging variables and concepts in Korean family decision making with respect to adolescent daughter's school clothing selection

especially at the approval stage, in order to reduce disagreement between the mother and the adolescent daughter. This may due be in part to the increase of involvement with other major socialization agents such as peers and the mass media during the adolescent period.

Based on the in-depth interviews with the participant families, during elementary school days, few of the participant families experienced disagreements or conflicts between parents and children in the selection of the daughter's clothing which was purchased by mother. However, during the middle school days when the early adolescent period began, disagreements or conflicts increased. A daughter's involvement as a member of the decision making group about her clothing selection at the approval stage is related to the adolescent daughter's age after entering the middle school.

Proposition:

An adolescent daughter's involvement as a member in family decision making group at the approval stage is affected by the age of the adolescent and is related to disagreements or conflicts between the mother and herself on her clothing selection.

Hypothesis:

Older middle or high school students will be more involved in family decision making about their clothing selection especially in the approval stage, than younger elementary or middle school students.

Contact with Adolescents' Socialization Agents

Another factor which may explain the degree of the daughter's involvement in family decision making at the approval stage and the increase in disagreement about

clothing selection by the mother alone is increase in the daughter's contact with other major socialization agents such as peers and mass media. All the participant families indicated that the peer group emerged as a strong influencer in the stage of need arousal, information seeking, purchasing and post evaluation. The mass media, especially junior magazines which were read by all participant students (either by purchasing or by borrowing from friends at school), emerged as one of the major information sources. This was especially true in the middle school days. Based on this, the following proposition has been formulated.

Proposition:

A change in the degree of the daughter's involvement as a participant in family decision making at the approval stage is influenced by a change in contact with major socialization agents (based on shared time with other socialization agents).

Hypothesis:

The more contacts with major non-family socialization agents, the more frequent will be the disagreement about mother's independent selection of the daughter's school clothing.

Source of Money

As shown in Chapter IV, analysis of family decision making in the selection of female adolescent school clothing, source of money was one of the important indicators in determining whether individual or joint decision making would be used. A mother usually had the power to approve her daughter's clothing purchase because of her budgetary control. However, when a daughter (e.g., M-4) had her own money, she had more freedom to choose her

clothing than if she received money from her mother or father.

Proposition:

Authority (power) of resource use is related to the degree of the daughter's involvement in family decision making at the approval stage.

Hypothesis:

The more the monetary power, the more authority one has to decide what to buy.

Propositions related to the Daughter's Involvement
in Family Decision Making in Formation of the
Shopping Unit

It was found through the data analysis that the variations of joint family decision making about the shopping unit formation were related to the following variables: time pressure on the adolescent which is related to the adolescent's school level, interaction pattern of the family, clothing characteristics such as price and formality, and the birth order of adolescents.

Time Pressure on Adolescents

It has been stated that for middle school students there is an increased involvement in clothing decision making as their age increases. However, this involvement began to diminish in the second year of high school because students began to prepare for the college entrance examination. As shown in Figure 1, the transition period for change in the family decision making model was related to the school level of the adolescent rather than age itself.

In the case of decision making about shopping unit composition, the decision may be made to delegate all authority to the mother because of her expertise or a high level of involvement with the decision. In the case of high school students, joint shopping is more likely when there is little time pressure. During middle school days when all the girls in this study had relatively more free time compared to high school days, all of them used to go shopping with their mothers.

Proposition:

Time pressures of the adolescent will encourage role delegation to one of the family members who is highly involved in family decision making about the daughter's school clothing selection when the formation of the shopping unit takes place.

Proposition:

The adolescent daughter's involvement as a member in family decision making about shopping unit composition is affected by the school level which is related to time pressures for preparation of the college entrance examination.

Hypotheses:

The less time pressure the adolescent has, the more involved she will be in the shopping trip for selection of her clothing.

The middle student will be more involved in family decision making about shopping unit than high school students who have the time pressure of preparation for the college entrance examination.

Among high school students, the lower the level in school, the more involved they will be in family decision making about shopping unit composition.

Interaction Patterns of Family

Evidence in this study has suggested that family interaction patterns are related to family decision making

about shopping unit composition. As discussed in Chapter IV, it was revealed that those who have seldom been shopping with their peers (without mother), that is, authoritative family, had relatively less direct interactions on clothing selection with peers or mass market than those who had been shopping with their peers, that is, permissive family.

Mothers in the authoritative family believed that it was not desirable for the daughter to become an independent purchaser during the middle or high school days. Family interaction patterns emerged as a potential variable in determining family decision making about shopping unit composition.

Proposition:

The family interaction patterns with their environments for adolescent clothing selection may be related to degree of the daughter's involvement in family decision making about shopping unit composition.

Hypothesis:

The more a daughter in a family interacts with other socialization agents such as peers about her clothing selection, the greater the extent of daughter's involvement in family decision making about shopping unit composition.

Clothing Characteristics such as Price and Formality of the Clothing

Data indicated that role specification in the shopping trip (purchasing role structure) varied significantly across clothing characteristics such as price and formality of clothing. Joint shopping was more likely when the perceived risk level in buying was high. In this context, price indicates degree of economic risk of the clothing and the

formality of clothing indicates the degree of social risk of the clothing.

Proposition:

Past experience of disagreement or conflict on clothing selection affects the current family decision making effort to adapt to each other by reducing the degree of disagreement.

The extent of parental influences on family decision making about shopping unit composition for the adolescent daughter's school clothing selection is related to clothing characteristics such as price and formality.

Hypotheses:

The higher the price of clothing (economic risk), the more parental involvement in family decision making about shopping unit composition.

The greater the formality of clothing (social risk), the more parental involvement in family decision making about shopping unit composition.

Birth order

Mothers in participant families who had more than one daughter in the family were more concerned with the first daughter's clothing (in terms of price and overall quality of clothing) than that of the other daughters. This may be an economic reason (e.g., the first daughter's clothing can be handed down to her younger sister), therefore, the price of clothing may be affected by the birth order of the child.

Hypothesis:

The older the child in a family, the more expensive clothing she will have.

Propositions related to School Clothing Adequacy
in a Human Ecological Framework

In order to conceptualize clothing adequacy within the concept of adaptation in an human ecological framework, the following assumptions were derived from several areas including clothing and human behavior and several disciplines in human ecology. Clothing as a most proximal environment to the self can be one of the most important means for internal and external adaptation. Adaptation in a situational context is established through a dynamic process of interactions between self and its environments, wherein adaptation is achieved by having adequate clothing. The way people dress through decision making about clothing is an adaptive process to a changing environment or to maintaining homeostasis in an existing environment.

The function of clothing as an adaptation to environments is universal, however, culturally, adaptive processes using appropriate clothing may vary and thus outcomes may be different. Theoretically, use of clothing as an adaptive process to environments is cross-cultural.

Proposition:

Adaptive functions of clothing are multidimensional from internal adaptation at the micro level (e.g., physiological and psychological level) to external adaptation at the macro level (e.g., social and cultural level).

In each culture the expectation of appropriate clothing is closely related to relational characteristics of clothing which refer to the inferences drawn from the interaction among self, attributes of clothing and situational context of environment.

The judgment of clothing adequacy is based on anticipated outcomes that may be somewhat different in any given culture.

Clothing adequacy may vary from culture to culture over time.

Perceived Clarity of Appropriate Range of School Clothing

There was less disagreement on the appropriate range of attributes of clothing (e.g., color and form of dress) than on relational characteristics of clothing (e.g., femininity, fashionability). This may be partly because the appropriate range of color or form of dress is more manifest and prescribed by the media and fashion than the range (limit) of fashionability or femininity which include the person's perception and evaluation.

Proposition:

The degree of perceived clarity on appropriate range of school clothing with respect to attributes of clothing and relational characteristics of clothing among school authority, family, and adolescent is related to the level of conflict or disagreement among them about adequate clothing for school.

Hypothesis:

If there is a lesser degree of perceived clarity of range of appropriate clothing particularly in terms of attributes of clothing and relational characteristics, disagreements or conflicts among them will more likely ensue.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter presents the summary and implications of the findings for future research and practice as well as closing statements.

Summary

The purposes of this study were to (a) gain an in-depth understanding of family interactions in decision making about adolescent daughter's school clothing selection, (b) describe the interrelationships between the family as a decision making unit and other selected systems in regard to decision making using the human ecological framework, and (c) to develop some propositions and hypotheses toward theory development in clothing decision making area. In this study, qualitative methods and the human ecological framework were used for pursuing the purposes of this study.

A substantial portion of family decision making in Korea has been done jointly by adolescents and their mothers. It was essential in this study to learn about the perspectives of mothers who are budget allocators in the family and equally as important to learn about the daughters' perspectives as actual users of the clothing. Therefore, a combination of conjoint and individual

interviews with 10 mother and daughter pairs was employed. Five middle school and five high school students from one school in Seoul, Korea, and their mothers were selected for study. From September 1986 to December 1986, both ethnographic interviews and participant observations were used to explore family decision making in regard to adolescent daughter's school clothing selection.

The flexibility of both the theoretical framework and the methodology employed in this study made it possible to combine the first two objectives in a comprehensive model. As qualitative research is oriented toward the context of discovery, the concept of clothing adequacy emerged during the data analysis even though it was not planned at the beginning of this study. As a result the summary will be drawn from the findings of the following areas:

(a) characteristics identified in the Korean family decision making model about the adolescent daughter's school clothing selection in a human ecological framework, (b) emerging variables and concepts which are important constituents of the family decision making model, and (c) school clothing adequacy as an outcome of adaptation.

Characteristics of Korean Family Decision Making Model

1. The predominant Korean family decision making model for the adolescent daughter's clothing selection included: the need arousal stage, the first decision making phase in which approval of the daughter's request for clothing occurs, the second decision making phase during which the

shopping unit was formed, the information seeking and purchasing stage and the third decision making phase during which post purchase evaluation took place. This included evaluation at home by family members and at school by peers and school authority, and the post evaluation by mother after laundry.

2. The processes of Korean family decision making were essentially sequential in the time dimension with a few overlaps among decision making stages. This occurred with the need arousal and the first decision making phase, and information seeking and purchasing stage.

3. All participant families acting as a decision making unit included three phases of decision making. The first decision making phase involved the approval of the daughter's clothing purchase request. The second decision making phase included decisions related to the formation of the shopping unit. The third decision making phase occurred as post purchase evaluation at home.

4. There were two modes in the post purchase evaluation stage. The first evaluation was conducted at home by family members and at school by teachers and peers, and the second post evaluation was done by mother as the manager of the daughter's clothing after laundry. These evaluations provided some feedback to the decision making unit regarding satisfaction with the chosen clothing and the desirability of keeping the family decision making model the same or modifying it. It is very likely that the

process of decision making in a given family has evolved over time to its present state through some type of adaptive feedback process.

Emerging Variables related to Family Decision Making
in the Approval Stage

Three major variables emerged which are important in determining the degree of the adolescent daughter's involvement as a member in family decision making in the approval stage. These included age of adolescent, contact with the adolescent's socialization agents, and the source of money.

1. The adolescent daughter's involvement as a member in family decision making about her clothing selection at the approval stage was influenced by the adolescent's age. Age was related to disagreements or conflicts between the mother as a budget allocator and the daughter as a user of daughter's school clothing selection. As age of the adolescent increased, there were more disagreements between mother and daughter.

2. Another variable explaining the degree of the daughter's involvement in family decision making about her clothing selection was the increase in the daughter's contacts with other major socialization agents such as peers and the mass media.

3. The authority who controlled the resource use was related to the adolescent daughter's involvement in family

decision making in the approval stage of her clothing selection.

Emerging Variables related to Family Decision Making about the Formation of the Shopping Unit

Four major variables which were important in determining the degree of the daughter's involvement in family decision making about the formation of shopping unit emerged in this study. These included time pressure, interaction patterns of the family, clothing characteristics such as price and formality of the clothing, and birth order.

1. Time pressure on adolescents encouraged role delegation to one of the family members who was highly involved in family decision making about the formation of the shopping unit for selection of her school clothing. In the case of high school students, during their middle school days they went shopping with their mothers. However, this involvement diminished from the second year of high school as students began to prepare for college entrance examinations. Along with age of the adolescents, time pressure on the adolescent, which was closely related to a specific school year, can be considered as a variable in the study of adolescent clothing decision making in Korea.

2. Interaction patterns of the family with their environments emerged as a potential variable in determining the daughter's involvement in family decision making about the formation of the shopping unit.

3. The extent of parental involvement in the shopping trip was increased by the perceived economic risk of clothing as related to price (monetary value) and perceived social risk of clothing as related to formality of clothing.

4. Mothers in participant families who had more than one daughter in the family were more concerned with the first daughter's clothing in terms of price and overall quality of clothing than with the younger daughter's clothing.

Emerging Concept: Clothing Adequacy

To clarify the concept of school clothing adequacy which emerged through the data analysis, the researcher tried to combine the clothing adequacy concept with the concept of adaptation which is one of the core concepts in the human ecological framework. To conceptualize the concept of clothing adequacy, the researcher reviewed the concept of adaptation in the disciplines of biology, sociology, and anthropology. She found theoretical evidence to combine the concept of adaptation with the concept of adequacy in the human ecological framework.

1. The components of school clothing adequacy within an ecological framework were multidimensional. There were five components that interact in judgments about clothing adequacy: self, attributes of clothing, the situational context of the environment, relational characteristics, and anticipated outcomes.

2. Based on a multi-component model of clothing adequacy in the human ecological framework, clothing adequacy was defined as acceptable fulfillment of clothing expectations for an individual or group in a variety of environmental settings in order to achieve better adaptation with the conditions of environments or simply to maintain the status quo between humans and their environments.

3. It was revealed that there was an adequate clothing range which is important in defining the concept of clothing adequacy through the use of the concept of adaptation. There may be a tolerable range of adequate clothing between a lower limit (inadequate) and an upper limit (supra-adequate).

4. There was less disagreement or conflict on the appropriate range of attributes of clothing, such as color or design, than on the relational characteristics of clothing, such as fashionability or femininity of the clothing, where expectations about adequate clothing were more latent than those of attributes of clothing.

Implications for Future Research

The human ecological framework, using qualitative methodology, was useful in developing an in-depth understanding of the nature of family decision making involved in the selection of school clothing for female adolescents and the interrelationships between family as a decision making unit and other selected systems. This study

has shown that the human ecological framework and qualitative methodology, which are relatively new to Korean home economists, are very promising approaches to contributing to the development of preliminary theoretical propositions and testable hypotheses which are unique to Korean society.

The variables and concepts related to Korean family decision making in this study have led to theory building in the clothing decision making area. This is an idea where little is known about who is actually influenced in clothing selection or how these processes occur, both in America and in Korea. The findings of this research, based on ethnographic interviews with 10 pairs of adolescent daughters and their mothers, can be viewed as an initial attempt toward development of theory in the clothing decision making area. Subsequent research may use various age groups, different genders, various locations of family residence, students' leadership roles in school, various types of schools such as a vocational school, clothing other than school clothing, and various combinations of family members as a decision making unit.

Use of the family instead of an individual in clothing decision making as a unit of analysis in the human ecological framework may stimulate the employment of this framework. Through the data analysis, the unit of analysis in this study was not always mother and daughter or the whole family. This may imply that the unit of analysis

should be treated as a variable in future research which employs this framework.

As discussed in Chapter V, the concept of clothing adequacy emerged. To clarify the clothing adequacy concept, the concept of adaptation which is one of the core concepts in the human ecological framework was reviewed. Although this study was focused on school clothing adequacy in Korea, the researcher proposed a multi-component model of clothing adequacy in a human ecological model at a more abstract level. Therefore, this model can be applied to different situations, different age groups or even in different cultures.

If research is conducted with a broader range of participants including those of different genders, various age groups, and different situations combined with other approaches, such as group interview and observations in the field or longitudinal study, researchers will be able to refine the five components of clothing adequacy which were identified in this study. Such exploration to clarify the concept "clothing adequacy" can stimulate further development of indicators of clothing adequacy. This initial attempt to clarify the concept of clothing adequacy using the concept of adaptation in the human ecological framework is a preliminary study. This attempt may stimulate scholars in the clothing and textile field who advocate conceptual clarity as a prerequisite for theory building.

An interdisciplinary approach to research in clothing and human behavior does not exclude specialized and focused investigation, but allows a more comprehensive framework than the linear and unifocal approach which has been predominant in the study of clothing and human behavior. Basically, the human ecological approach as used in this study allows a researcher to collect data in an ecologically valid setting with qualitative methodology and build inductive theory which is the alternative to deductive theory which is dominant in this field. Daly (1984) presented qualitative research methods such as the ethnographic interviews used in this study as a possible alternative methodological approach to the methods of quantitative methodology which have dominated the research in the field of home economics including clothing and textiles.

Therefore, this study using the ecological approach should help clothing and human behavior scientists develop various research designs including qualitative methodology. Perhaps, more importantly, interdisciplinary approaches based on the human ecological framework will expand the visibility of the field. By thinking ecologically, new insights can be added to theoretical models. Researchers in clothing and textiles may also discover new applications for existing theories by analyzing the interrelationships among individuals, families, and their environments.

Implications for Practitioners

Home economics as an applied science must continually adapt to evolving socio-cultural-technological conditions in changing societies. At the same time, it should maintain a fundamental philosophy and reason for being a field of science.

This research found that the most frequent conflict or disagreement on school clothing among student, family and school authorities resulted from the lack of common expectations of suitability of student clothing. Currently in Korea, the question of whether to reinstate school uniforms or keep the current policy as it relates to school clothing has again become a major social issue after the abolition of the school uniform in 1983.

When considering the change of educational policy related to the school dress code, the policy maker, school authorities, families, adolescents, and clothing manufacturers should understand why this controversy is occurring again in the society only three years after the abolition of school uniforms. If people can recognize the interdependent relationship among adolescents, family and their environments, the inconsistency of public policy or blind adoption of policies from other advanced countries can be minimized. School teachers or education policy makers involved in curriculum development of middle or high school can also consider how to balance independence or autonomy as a developmental task during adolescence with the cultural

value of harmony among adolescents, their families and other socialization agents in decision making.

Professionals in parent education may help to resolve conflicts or disagreements between adolescents and their parents in the selection of adolescents' clothing if they understand the components of clothing adequacy which emerged from this study. Professionals involved in consumer education programs also need to consider how to develop effective consumer education programs which approach the family as a decision making unit and a primary consumption group.

Closing Statements

This type of exploratory study, using qualitative methodology with a human ecological framework, has not been frequently used in the study of clothing and human behavior. It demonstrates the possibility of interdisciplinary approaches in this area. Further, this information and knowledge can be applied at a practical level to public decision making about adolescent school uniform regulations, development of advertising strategies for the youth clothing market or consumer education programs in Korea. Therefore, this study demonstrated that the role of the human ecologist is one which should consider the establishment of theory building in this area as a field of science, as well as the dissemination of knowledge which can continuously adapt to

evolving socio-cultural-technological conditions in the changing society.

It is hoped that this effort to employ the interdisciplinary ecological approach can provide an incentive for a broader range of investigation through the use of a variety of research methods which are appropriate for the particular problem at hand. In the future, it is hoped that this initial attempt to combine the human ecological framework with qualitative methodology for the study of clothing decision making can be compared with others who use different methodologies or frameworks in the same culture as well as in different cultures.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Letter to Participant Family

Appendix A
Letter to Participant Family^a

Dear parents:

I am a doctoral student in the Department of Family and Child Ecology, College of Human Ecology, Michigan State University, in East Lansing, Michigan, in America.

I am doing my dissertation research on adolescent clothing selection for school. I am interested in learning more about female adolescent clothing selection after the abolition of school uniform, in 1983. Your cooperation in this research will be helpful and very valuable to understanding of adolescent clothing behavior which leads to mutual understanding among adolescent, parents and school.

To locate participants, you were recommended by principal of your daughter's school, Jin Myung Middle and High School. I would like to include you and your daughter in the study of adolescent clothing selection. If you permit your family to be included in this study, I will need to meet with you for at least one interview which will be approximately one and one-half hours long.

^aOriginal in Korean, translation by the researcher.

The interview will be scheduled at a time that is convenient to you and would take place in your home if you so choose. All information obtained from the interview(s) will be treated with strict confidentiality. I will give you a call in a few days to tell you more about the study, and to answer any questions you may have. I am looking forward to talking with you.

Sincerely

Sun-Jin Hwang

Appendix B

Information about Participant Families' Backgrounds

Appendix B
Information about Participant Families' Backgrounds

Student	Age of Father (occupation)	Age of Mother ^a	Birth Order	# of Siblings
M-1	48 (Merchant)	43	2nd	1 older S ^b 1 younger S
M-2	46 (Business)	43	1st	2 younger S
M-3	52 (Government officer)	47	2nd	1 older B ^c
M-4	48 (Government officer)	47	2nd	1 older B
M-5	49 (Business)	45	1st	3 younger S
H-1	62 (Retired)	53	4th	3 older S & 1 younger S
H-2	49 (Teacher)	46	1st	1 younger S
H-3	54 (Business)	52	2nd	1 older B
H-4	52 (Business)	50	2nd	1 older B
H-5	50 (Attorney)	48	2nd	1 older B

^aAll mothers are full time house wives.

^bS: Sister

^cB: Brother

Appendix C

Consent Form

Appendix C
Consent Form^a

We _____ and _____ the undersigned mother and daughter freely consent to participate in a research interview being conducted by Sun-Jin hwang under the supervision of Dr. Linda Nelson, Professor, Department of Family and Child Ecology and Dr. Suzanne Sontag, Professor, Department of Human Environment and Design, College of Human Ecology, Michigan State University.

It has been explained to us and we understand that the purpose of the research is to gather information on adolescent clothing selection. We understand that the results of the study will be made available to us at our request. We understand that we are free to discontinue participation in the study at anytime without recrimination.

Mother's signature

Daughter's Signature

^aOriginal in Korean, translation by the researcher.

Appendix D

Possible Interview Guide Questions

Appendix D
Possible Research Guide Questions

The remainder of the conversation with participants depended on their responses. The follow up questions were not asked in a specific order and structured manner. The intention of these interviews was to carry on a guided conversation and to elicit rich, detailed materials, therefore, the questions were used as a checklist by the researcher to guide the ethnographic interviews. Depending upon the responses, some or all of the following probes were asked as appropriate.

Possible Questions related to:

Problem Recognition Stage

1. Would you tell me why you wanted to buy that clothing?
2. Generally when do you feel you need new clothing?

Information Searching Stage

3. Usually how do you get an idea of contemporary fashion trends and clothing information?
4. When I was a high school girl, there were very few sources of fashion information for adolescents. However, recently I found that there are lots of magazines for your generation. Sometimes do you buy the magazine by yourself

or borrow from your friends? If you have chances to read those kind of magazines, to what do you pay attention to?

5. Do you have a group of friends? What do they wear?

6. Would you tell me what are the most common topics of talk with your friends?

7. If you have free time to search for information about clothing, what do you do?

8. Do you sometimes go to the shopping mall with your friends? If so, what kinds of things do you and your friends look for?

(to mother)

9. How do you know about the current fashion related to the young generation and how much are you interested in this? Do you try to influence your daughter about what she should wear?

Family Interaction Stage

(to adolescent)

11. When you want new clothes, what do you do first?

12. In case of a request for new clothing, did you approach mother or father or both to get their agreement? If so, how did you do this and how you did your parents respond?

(to mother)

13. Whenever your daughter requests that she needs new clothing, how do you respond?

14. To what extent do you let your daughter buy her clothing by herself?

(to adolescent)

15. Tell me about types of clothing or occasions for use of your clothing about which your parents are most concerned and if they are concerned, do you know why? (similar question was also asked to mother).

Purchasing Stage

(to mother)

16. Usually do you go shopping alone or together with your daughter for her clothing? If so, where do you go most often and is there any special reason to go to such a place?

(to adolescent)

17. Who are the people who most often go shopping with you and why?

18. Where do you often go for the shopping trip and would you tell me why?

19. When you select your clothing, would you tell me your consideration of factors to buy new clothing for school? or What influences your decisions to buy certain clothing?

Post Evaluation Stage

20. After purchase of new clothing, do you usually present your clothing to your family? If so, how do you present your clothing to them? and how do they react?

21. Could you remember any experience when you changed your mind about the clothing after purchase and returned them to the store for refund? If so, can you tell me why you did that at that time?

22. Have you ever experienced your parents not liking your clothing choice? If so, could you tell me the incident (story)? or tell me what happened.

23. If you do not mind, could you select three of your most favorite clothing items for school and show these major clothing purchases to me? Would you tell me why you particularly like these?

24. If there is a forum for conversation between the government, teachers and parents, what would you suggest for your daughter's clothing (e.g., more information and knowledge concerning school clothing selection or purchase).

25. Do you think that more information or knowledge about school clothing selection will be helpful for your clothing selection? If so, what do you suggest as an effective method for getting information?

26. Any other comments or suggestions for this kind of research?

If you were a government officer who is in charge of school clothing regulations, what would you do and why? If you were a school principal who has authority to make decisions whether to choose a school uniform policy, a modified school uniform or freedom of school clothing selection policy for students, which would you choose and why?

In closing the interview, the researcher thanked them for their participation politely and explained that the researcher may ask a few questions through phone or in

another face to face interview in a few days if she felt it was necessary.

Appendix E

Format of Notes for Data Analysis

Appendix E

Format of Notes for Data Analysis

Original complete Korean Text	Analysis: Levels of Abstraction		
	English translation summary	Key concept	Possible emerging concepts

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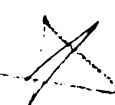
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