

Environment and identity formation
Referring to the theories of *Frame Analysis* by Erving Goffman
with photo research of changes in clothes

Mai Tsujioka
Doshisha University
19051089

January 8th, 2009

Dr. Shigeo Tatsuki

ABSTRACT

This study was aimed at investigating the mechanism and relationship between identity formation and environment by looking at the changes in one's clothes. The subject of the research is the author itself, and in order to pursue the analysis, I used about 870 pictures taken during my stay in Canada, from August in 2007 to next April. I paid attention to the information about clothes, especially about the colors, the level of revealing clothes and the patterns contained in the clothes. Then I made some figures to observe the changes objectively. For making the figures, I arranged photos in the time sequence, and divided them into three situations: in everyday life, in party scenes and in travelling. In each informational section, I found some turning points that caused changes in the clothes. The results showed some facts, for example, I started to new type of clothes that I had never had before from the middle of the October.

Based on the facts, I analyzed the mechanism of identity formation applying the theories from *Frame Analysis*, which was suggested by Erving Goffman. Frame Analysis is the method to understand how people should act referring to the idea of *framework* that rules people's act. In his theory, Goffman insisted that people behave in accordance with the situations which people are placed at, and the pile of behavior creates one's identity. The advantage of consulting the theories from *Frame Analysis* is that I could regard the situations as the environment or atmosphere, and therefore, it would be a great help to discover the relation between the environment and my behavior to chose and to wear clothes.

Some people might have question why I focused on the data of the clothes to estimate the identity formation. That's because clothes bring us very visible data. In everyday life, it is necessary for us to socialize with many people. We meet them, talk to them, and work with them, and sometimes we just look at them randomly. We are living in the world which is full of interactions with many people. In this world, what is the important point to make the first impression? Human beings process all information mostly by getting the visible information, so that we often recognize or judge people by observing what they wear. In other words, clothes can decide the owner's image for others. Clothes are the one of the simplest ways to show people's identity and also the ways to understand what kind of people they are.

Contents

1. Introduction, Prologue “The argument with my mother”
2. Frame Analysis by Erving Goffman
 - 2.1. What is Goffman’s general idea about identity formation?
 - 2.2. What is Frame Analysis?
 - 2.3. Why do I use Frame Analysis?
3. Research Method
4. Photo Reserches
 - 4.1. Photo research-The colors
 - 4.2. Photo research-The level of exposure
 - 4.3. Photo research-The pattern of clothes
 - 4.4. Critical Points
5. Conclusion
6. Notes
7. Reference

Chapter 1 .Introduction, Prologue

One morning in April, I was preparing for school. I had the breakfast, washed my face, brushed my teeth, and chose my clothes. I was ready to go and trying to say bye to my mother. When she saw me, then, she shouted to me. “What a stupid clothes you wear! Change your clothes, otherwise you look like an idiot.” I totally didn’t understand what she said. I didn’t think that there is something stupid part in my clothes, and it was quite natural that I argue against her. “I don’t think so. I choose these clothes because I like this style. It’s my style.” It was clear that my mother wouldn’t agree with me for this simple explanation. “But in those clothes, you look chabby. That kind of outfits are for skinny girls, they don’t suit you.” Suddenly, I felt so angry and said to her, “I don’t care if they suit me or not!” I flung the door open, left my home, without saying bye to her. Shortly after the quarrel, while taking the trains, I was wondering why I got so angry. Before this time, I had many quarrels about my clothes with my mother before, but I didn’t upset so much like this time.

* * * * *

From the August in 2007 to the April in 2008, I had been stayed in Victoria, the city placed at the very western part of Canada, for studying sociology at University of Victoria as an exchange student from Doshisha

University. It can be easy to imagine that ‘studying abroad’ requires students not only study but also learn the local lifestyle. Studying abroad means ‘living abroad’, which is necessary to communicate with local people and to learn the local culture. The reason I choose Victoria as the destination is for its national characteristic; the multiculturalism and the diversity of races.ⁱ

Here, I propose one question in order to approach the purpose of this thesis. It’s “why did I decide to study abroad? ” The answer is “because I wanted to experience the other culture to broaden my sense of value”. In the Journal written by Nadine Dolby, she mentioned Universities in Unites States which encourage students to take part in study abroad program (2004). One American university attracts participants by claiming that

“Studying abroad promotes cross-cultural understanding,”¹ broadens your worldview, and prepares you for your future. Another university promises that “overseas study is the ¥most effective and dramatic experience you can have to broaden your international and intercultural awareness. (Dolby, 2004, p1)”

From her description, Universities in U.S. tend to think that studying abroad will help students to think globally, and as the consequence, the experience would be a great advantage for the future and for them. I am not U.S. student, nor the educational organization in U.S., but I had exactly the same idea that studying abroad absolutely would work me to trigger positive change for myself until I go back to Japan. I believed that.

What brought to me after finishing the study program was confusion

in my mind. There was gap of ideas or sense of value between myself and people around me. As suggested before, my mother often complained about my outfit and I had more quarrels with my mother than before I went to Canada. In addition, when I met my friends, I hugged them as a sign of greeting, but most of them got embarrassed and refused to do so. They laughed at me, saying 'You became so Canadian!'

Since shortly after I went to back to Japan, I have asked a question to myself; "did my experience as an exchange student bring positive result for me? Am I wrong?" This question is the first approach for me to write this thesis. In this thesis, I am going to analyze how did I changed and what changes brought to me to recreate myself during the stay in Canada. In developing the thesis, I am going to apply the theories of Erving Goffman, related to "Frame analysis". Especially, I announce that I will use the theory of "The Vulnerability of Experience", "Primary Framework" and "Keys and Keyings".

For further understanding, I should make clear the difference of the atmosphere or environment of the two backgrounds I have been because the environment would be a great help to understand the background of my changes. I provide one statement of Goffman to support my idea.

"Social frameworks provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, controlling effort of an intelligence, a live agency, the chief one being the human beings. (Goffman, pp.22)"

From here, I mainly describe myself as third person, using 'she' or 'her'

to analyze myself objectively. First, I will introduce her background in Japan. She goes to Doshisha University, which is placed at the center of Kyoto city. In Doshisha University, there are about 551 international students out of 24034 whole students; it means that the percentage of accepting the international students is about 2.2% of the whole population of students. She lives with her family which consists of five members and two pets: her parents, her sister herself, brother, a cat and a dog. Her parents are relatively strict so she rarely goes out at night. She speaks Japanese in her daily life.

Second, I will introduce the rough background of her stay in Canada. She had been to University of Victoria in Canada, which is surrounded by great natural environment. University of Victoria holds 1260 international students out of 19193 whole students; the percentage is about 6.6% of the population of the whole students. During the first term, from September till the beginning of January, she was living in on-campus residence. Most of her neighbors are native English speaker so she rarely took part in the circle of neighborhood because she couldn't make herself understood in English well and felt fear of meeting them. There were no kitchen facilities in residence, and all the meals are provided at cafeterias. From the second term, she moved to the on-campus apartment and started to live with three roommates, one Canadian girl and two German girls. In Victoria, she made decision about everything by herself so she could go out at night with her friends.

Chapter 2: Frame Analysis by Erving Goffman

2.1. What is Goffman's general idea about Identity formation?

In this thesis, I am going to examine the identity formation of Mai Tsujioka, through gathering and analyzing the pictures of her. It means that I try to find out the changes that were brought to me during the stay in Canada, through creating my narrative, my story. Then, some questions arise as followings: "Why should I refer to the idea of Goffman?" or "what is the advantage to apply Goffman's thesis?"

First, I will introduce the brief idea of Goffman about identity formation. Goffman attempted to define the society by looking at the relationship between individual self and the other people. Social relationship is determined by the social structure and the situation. It means that it is necessary to have interaction between self and other people for making sure how social relationship should be.

In order to understand Goffman's concept of the identity formation, it would be a support to refer the comments of Tomohiko Asano. Asano insisted that 'self' should be established by making self narrative and that when people create their own narratives, they make choices of what episodes should be contained in the narratives and what shouldn't be (2001). The reason people choose the factors for creating narratives is because they will tell their stories to the others. The self narrative is aimed to be displayed to the other people. Asano mentioned in his book *The narrative approach to self*, that

Goffman's idea is similar to his idea in that both Goffman's and Asano's theories are based on the same idea that people live in the world which requires the interactions with others(2001). Asano referred as below:

“For example, as Goffman pointed out clearly, the behavior to maintain the interaction in well-ordered way is to sustain ‘I’ or ‘myself’ or identity, because ‘I’ or ‘myself’ participate to the behavior. (Asano, pp. 25)”

Specifically, Asano mentioned that Goffman's indication is quite similar to his approach because an individual's act which telling his/ her self narrative to others is exactly the process of one's identity formation involving the interaction between self and other people (2001). In this thesis, I collected my photos to analyze my identity formation, but strictly said, I selected the factors of myself in order to tell to other people. The reason I should refer to Goffman's idea is that because I care about the interaction with other in telling my story, and because Goffman focused on the important relationship between identity formation and the interaction.

2.2. What is the *Frame Analysis*?

Frame analysis is the approach to understand the current situation and to see how people are defined their behaviors. Correctly, Goffman defined Frame analysis as below:

“Frame analysis is the method to determine the current situation, in other words, it means that it is the instrument to understand ‘what is

going on here? (1974, pp.8)”

People’s behaviors are determined by applying frames because frame is the principle of how people should act in their world they live, and it provides the order of situations. Goffman noted that the “definition of the situation” is almost always to be found, but those who are in the situation ordinary do not create this definition, even though their society often can be said to do so (1974). He also mentioned that ordinarily, all they do is to access correctly what the situation ought to be for them and then act accordingly (1974).

“My perspective is situational, meaning here a concern for what one individual can be alive to at a particular moment, this often involving a few other particular individuals and not necessarily restricted to the mutually monitored arena of a face-to-face gathering. I assume that when individuals attend to any current gathering, they face the question: “what is going on here. (Goffman,1974, pp.10)”

Frame also works as the principle of organization of experience. In other words, frame is the rule of how one’s experience is interpreted, and also is kind of judgment to decide what activity experienced is acceptable or not in the situation.

“Frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify. That is my definition of frame. My ‘frame analysis’ is a slogan to refer to the examination in these terms of the organization of

experience. (Goffman,1974, pp.11)”

Williams mentioned Goffman’s frameworks in his review of *Frame Analysis* as following;

“By the term ‘frame’, Goffman means the principle of organization which govern events and our subjective involvement in them. (1974, pp.362)”

Also mentioned that Goffman claims that the frameworks which organize our experience are something more than just a matter of mind and implies that they are structures which are somehow prior to events themselves (Williams, 1986).

On basis of the idea that frame determines current situation and organizes our experience, we can say that frame is the instrument which resolves one’s social relationship with others. Toshio Sakamoto explained the function of frame in his essay that frame would help us to understand how social relationship should be, because frame also determines the relationship between ‘self’ and other people (1991). We construct social relationship with others following the principles that frame creates. It means that the concept of *Frame analysis* would be a hint to analyze her from the point of view that she was affected in some way by the environment, and by the interactions between other people.

2.3. Why do I refer to Frame Analysis?

Goffman presented many other theories about identity formation, such as *Presentation in everyday life*, but why do I have to refer to the theories of Frame Analysis? In this section, I will explain the necessity of using frame analysis.

What Goffman tried to make clear in *Frame analysis* was how situations are defined. Situations are the environments which individuals are involved. In every situation, individuals get different “roles”, in other words, situations defines how they should behave or how they should act. For example, in a situation of job interview, an interviewee is required to use polite words and behave respectfully to the interviewer. Asano examined this idea more deliberately. In his book *The approach to self narrative*, he explained that Goffman regarded “social relation” as the process which individuals acts their own roles depending on situations (2001). Also Asano said that individuals create the order of situation and self identity through managing their roles (2001). However, it is questionable that individuals become totally free from all the roles and show ‘pure’ themselves when they escape from some situations (Asano, 2001).

“Goffman’s gave answer to this question. It’s ‘NO’ because, for example, when individuals spends time with their family, they are given the roles as ‘member of one family’, and the roles sustain the structure of one family. Through the corporation of individuals by acting the roles as family member, it makes possible to create and maintain the order of interaction and identity of each individual. (Asano, 2001, pp.136)”

Thus, the definition of situation has strong relationship with identity formation. Frame is the method to figure out “what is going on here” in other words, frame provides what current situation it is, and also the manner to determine individual’s activity. In this way, I will use the theories from *Frame analysis* in this thesis.

Chapter3: Research Method

The materials: The materials for the photo research are extracted from the online personal page of *Facebook*, the worldwide social networking service, specifically excerpt from the album 'photos of me'. The subject has been used *Facebook*ⁱⁱ so often, almost everyday, to communicate with her friends she got in Victoria I collected 887 photos that are taken between from August 30th to April 10th.

Category: The pictures provide information such as what kind of clothes she wore, what colors contained in the clothes and with whom she was at that time. This time, I focused on the information about her clothes. I categorized the information into following 3 wsections; 1) Colors contained in outfits, 2) Exposure, the level of revealing and 3) Patterns of clothes.

Time sequence: In order to observe the changes as time passes, the photos are divided by week. The numbers on the time sequence line of the figures are linked to the week number counted from August 30th in 2007. The Chart 1 below briefly shows the specific date of each week number and the events held during the each week.

On the basis of the figures made by the method, I will analyze how do I changed and what frame works can be applied to explain the changes. In every section, I attached her monologue to introduce her idea about changes in her mind. These monologues would show what point we should pay attention to and help us to find out the difference between her recognition on

her behavior and her actual action.

Chart 1: number of week, date and events

1	August 30 th to September 5 th ,	International Students welcome party
2	September 6 th to 12 th	Sight seeing to Butchard Garden
3	September 13 th to 19 th	
4	September 20 th to 26 th	Salsa/Darma dance, friends' birthday party
5	September 27 th to October 3 rd	Dinner at friends' house, clubbing
6	October 4 th to 10 th	Thanks Giving, Trip to Vancouver
7	October 11 th to 17 th	Salsa party, friends' birthday
8	October 18 th to 24 th	Friends' birthday party, house party
9	October 25 th to 31 st	Halloween Party
10	November 1 st to 7 th	
11	November 8 th to 14 th	Reading Break, trip to Seattle
12	November 15 th to 21 st	BBQ party at Friends' house
13	November 22 nd to 28 th	Karaoke, International Potluck, Hockey game
14	November 29 th to December 5 th	International Farewell party, Friend's birthday
15	December 6 th to 12 th	Farewell party at friends' house
16	December 13 th to 19 th	Drinking before finals
17	December 20 th to 26 th	Christmas break, trip to whistler
18	December 27 th to January 2 nd , 2008	Trip to Vancouver, new year's party
19	January 3 rd to 9 th	Party at friends' house
20	January 10 th to 16 th	2 nd International welcome party
21	January 17 th to 23 rd	Road of the Ring night
22	January 24 th to 30 th	Cowboy party at friends' house
23	January 31 st to February 6 th	Friends' birthday party
24	February 7 th to 13 th	Basketball game
25	February 14 th to 20 th	St. Valentine's party, Reading Break , trip to LA
26	February 21 st to 27 th	Trip to Grand Canyon, LV
27	February 28 th to March 5 th	
28	March 6 th to 12 th	Friends' birthday party
29	March 13 th to 19 th	Party at my house
30	March 20 th to 26 th	Easter break, trip to Tofino
31	March 27 th to April 2 nd	Making copy of "Zukkoke otokomichi (zk) "
32	April 3 rd to 9 th	UVic Grad party, zk

33	April 10 th	Farewell party
----	------------------------	----------------

Chapter 4: Photo Researches

4.1. Photo Research- Colors

First, I am going to conduct research on colors contained in the clothes suggesting some figures. The colors stand for one's preference or taste but also help to show one's identity, confidence or power. The colors do have meanings. Prat and Rafaeli referred to Siegel's idea about the function of color using the example of white color in Nurse's uniform (1997).

"The attire of nurses has been a particularly powerful symbol of their professional identity. The attire traditionally associated with nurses is a white uniform with a white cap, an outfit reminiscent of the "Nightingale era" (Siegel, 1968) The most distinctive part of nurses' uniforms has been their color: white. According to Siegel, this color symbolizes many meanings, including "purity, meticulousness, crispness, glamour, serenity, efficiency, sterility, fear, coldness, comfort, confidence, science, laboratory, health, illness, emergency, surgery, isolation, and so forth" (1968: 315).(Prat and Rafaeli, 1997, pp.6)

The figure 1.a. on the next page shows general changes of colors included in her clothes as the time passes over her whole stay in Victoria. The other figures (Figure 1.b., 1.c. and 1.d.) show the changes of colors in different situations such as in everyday life, in party scenes and in travelling. Chart 2

indicates the frequency of choosing colors by the kinds of colors.

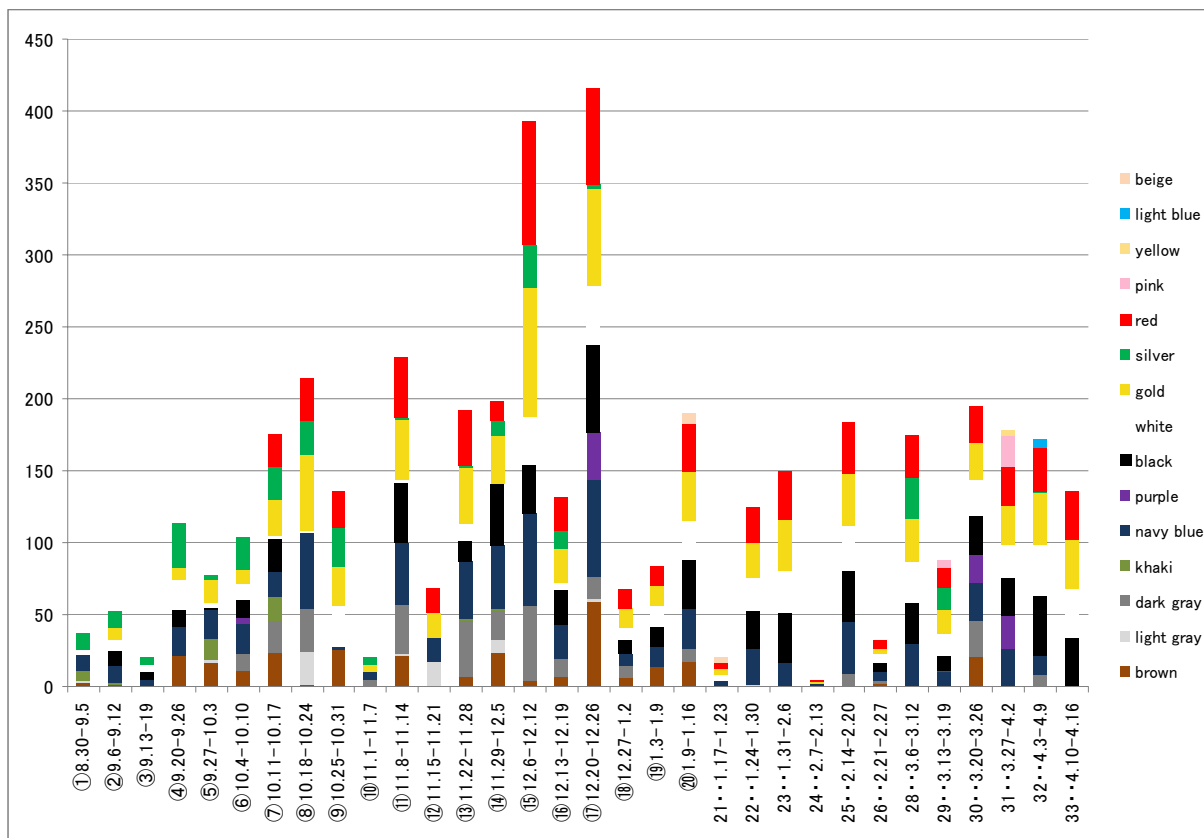


Figure 1.a.- Colors contained in outfit

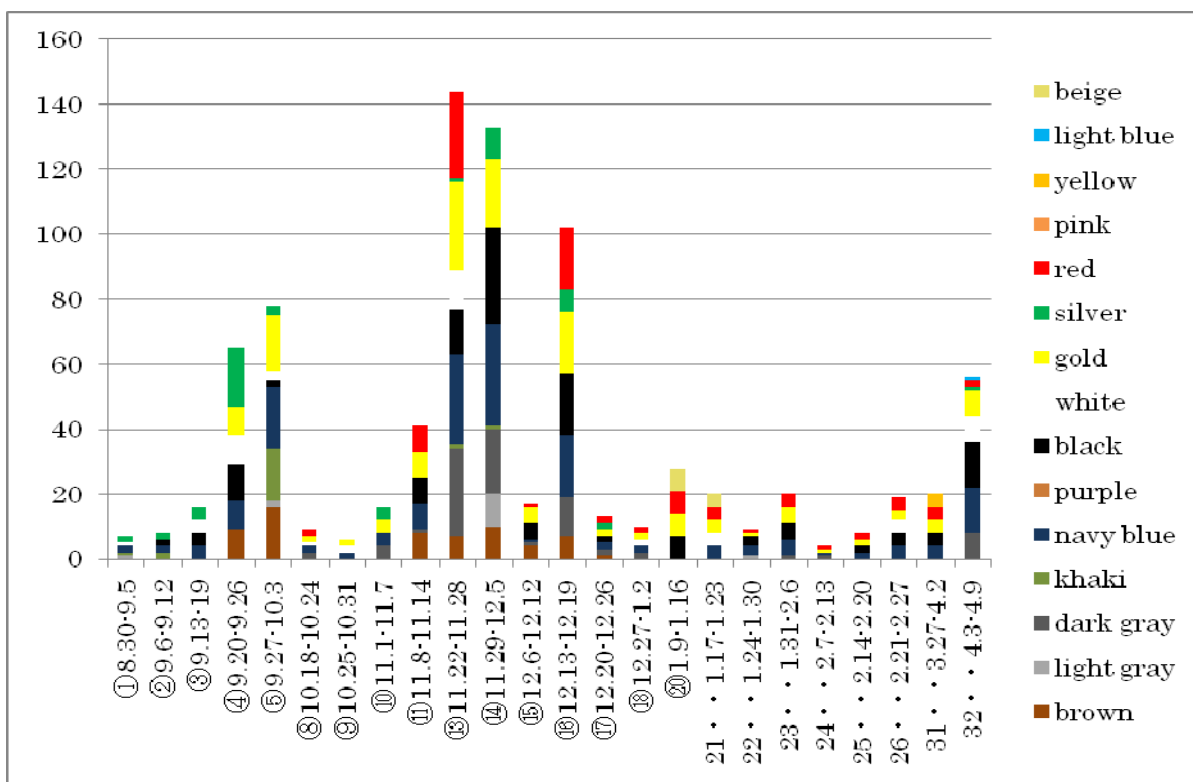


Figure 1.b. -Colors in outfit, in everyday life

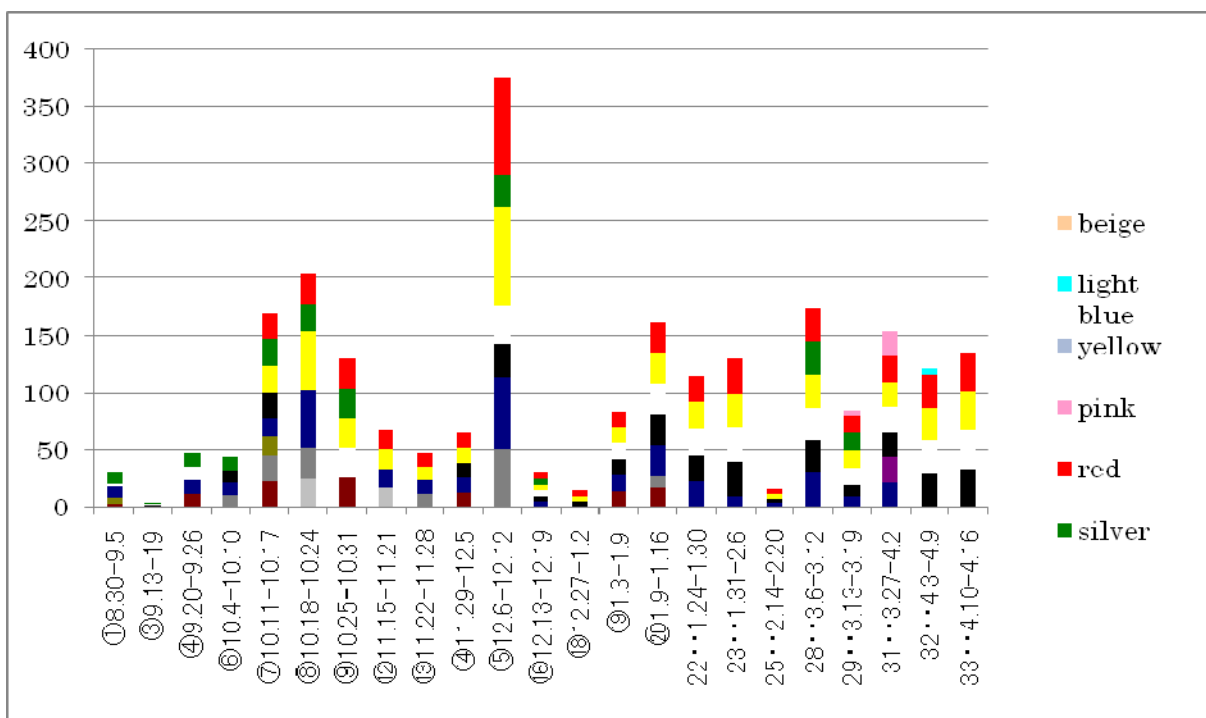


Figure 1.c. Colors in outfit, Party scenes

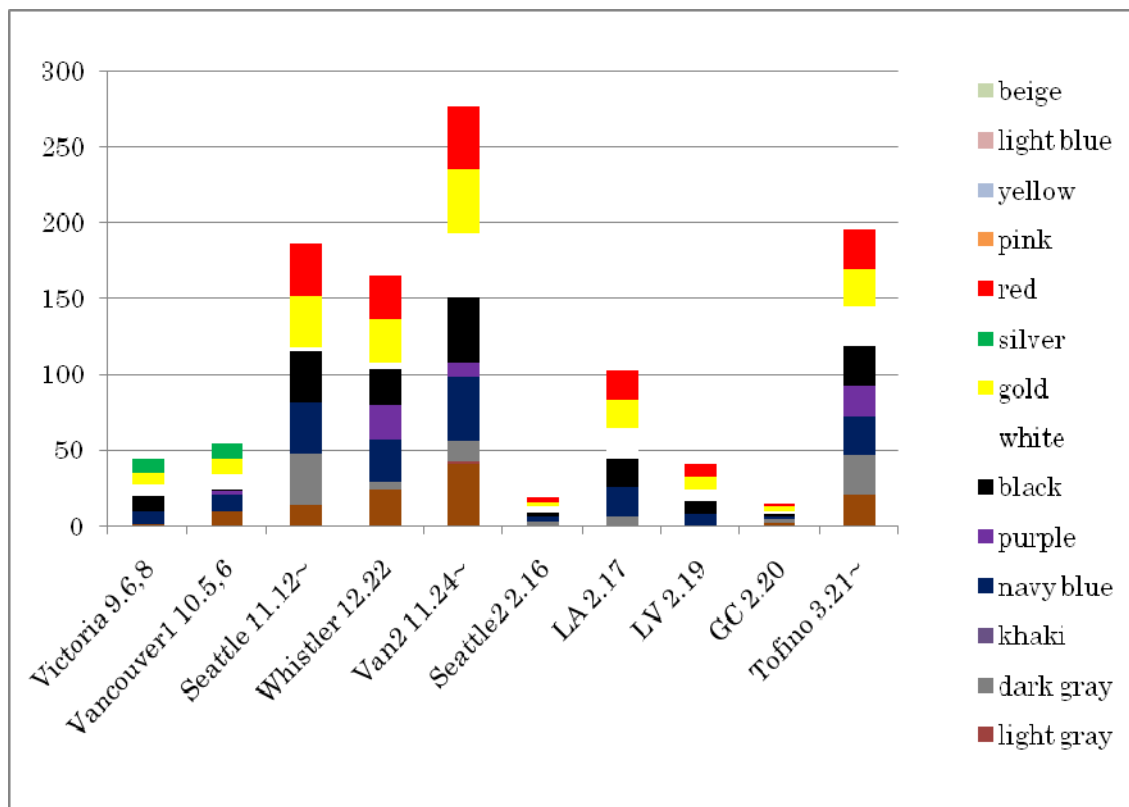


Figure 1.d. Colors in outfit, Sight seeing

Chart 2- The Frequency by colors

Color	Frequency	Week number
Navy	31 weeks	1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21. 22.23.24.25.26.28.29.29.30.31.32
Gold	30	2.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21.22.2 3.24.25.26.28.29.30.31.32.33
White	28	1.2.3.4.5.6.7.9.11.13.14.15.16.18.19.20.21.22.23.25.26 .27.28.29.30.31.32.33
Red	25	7.8.9.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21.22.23.24.25.26 .28.19.30.31.32.33
Black	25	2.3.4.5.6.7.11.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.22.23.25.26.28. 29.30.31.32.33
Brown	19	1.2.4.5.6.7.8.9.11.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.26.30
Dark	16	6.7.8.10.11.13.14.15.16.17.18.20.25.26.30.32

Gray		
Silver	17	1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.13.14.15.16.17.28.29.30
Khaki	16	1.2.5.7.13.14
Light Gray	5	5.8.14.17.11
Purple	4	6.17.30.31
Pink	2	29.31
Beige	2	20.21
Light blue	1	32
Yellow	1	31

Monologue: “I think the taste for my clothes in Canada was totally different from the one before heading to Victoria. In Japan, I wore brown shirts quite a lot of times, about three times a week. Of course I brought it with me when I went to Canada. Shortly after arriving (in Victoria), I noticed that the temperature in Victoria was cooler than I expected, so I wanted to buy some clothes for autumn and winter. I went to my favorite second-hand clothing store to buy some new clothes with my friends. I found many clothes of black, gray, blue and something darker color than the ones of brown or beige or light color. So gradually I tended to select outfits in darker colors, I was in black, not brown. At first, I felt a bit weird because my impression was different, but gradually black become my favorite color because it makes me to look skinny and elegant. But I don’t mean that I didn’t buy clothes other than black. I remember that I bought a brown jacket when I went to Vancouver with one of my friend, probably in the beginning of October. I remember it was really cold in Vancouver at that time. As I got

used to the environment, I think I dress like the local people in Victoria. I could save my time on deciding what clothes I should wear for school. One day, I wanted to get a coral pink colored nail polish but I couldn't find it. Few days later, I noticed that Canadian girls like to wear red nail polish, so I decided to buy the same color. It was the very first time having red nails. I quite liked them, so I had kept having my nails red. I thought red is very attractive color.”

Result: From the Figure 1.a., we can assume that at the beginning, she wore clothes of khaki, brown navy, gold and silver, and about from week 7th, she began to wear red clothes. At the nearly end of her stay, she chose pastel colored clothes such as pink, beige, light blue and yellow. From the monologue, we can assume that she felt some changes in her mind by wearing black, brown and red clothes. Then, I will focus on the changes of the frequency wearing in black, brown and red. From the Chart-2, we can see that she wore black clothes for 25 weeks out of 33 weeks, and chose brown ones for 19 weeks. In her monologue, she thought she chose black clothes much more often, but there is not so big difference in the frequency between choosing black and brown. Focused on red clothes, she wore them 25 weeks out of 33 weeks, especially, she put them on almost all the week after week 7th.

Discussion: As we can see, she recognized some changes in some ways by deciding to wear red clothes. I assume that the change was brought because she felt “the Vulnerabilities of experience.’ ‘The Vulnerability of Experience’ happens when people realize that the common sense or behavior that is quite normal for them are not appropriate for the society they are

enrolled in, and they try to change them in order to adapt the new environment.

“ Assume that the sense of any strip of activity is linked to the frame of the experience and that there are weakness inherent in this very framing process. It follows, then, that whatever the vulnerabilities of framing, so too, will our sense of what is going on be found vulnerable. (Goffman, 1974, pp.439)”

In the monologue, she claimed that she tended to wear black clothes and red nail polish because she thought that it is the right style for young girls in Victoria. According to the Chart 2, she started to wear red from week 7th, and from the Figure 1.c., we can see that it was in a party situation when she wore red for the first time. In party situations, she would meet a lot of people, which means that she would be in a situation where she is evaluated and judged by many people whether she could dress appropriately for different situation. It is presumed that she was careful of not looking like an outsider, as suggested below.

“In everyday life the understanding seems to be that the participant is likely to be spontaneously involved (in various situations) in a scene of activity or, by virtue of having fabricated the scene, outside of it completely. But other possibilities exist. For example, an individual can become misaligned to events in such a fashion that he sees a single, managed scene something that he himself is not managing, not fabricating, , and

that others are spontaneously involved in. In this manner, the individual may establish for himself a place that is psychologically outside the world of the others around him. (Goffman, 1974, pp.489-490)”

From the Chart 1, we notice that she went to travel to Vancouver during the week 6th, and the fact indicates that from around week 6th, she seemed to be settled in the new environment. In order to manage a travel, she had to book an accommodation, searched transportation and asked people to get information in English. I assume that after she established herself in a new environment in Victoria, she began to produce herself to be looked like a local people. It is shown that she consciously changed her taste of color in order to adjust the new environment, and the main purpose of this behavior is to avoid awkward situation that she is regarded to be an outsider.

4.2. Photo Research -The exposure

How much one expose his/her skin has a strong connection to one's personality or characteristics. In this section, I will examine how the environment can affect one choice to expose how much of his/her body. Also, I'll explain how much the level of exposure she showed depending on with whomshe was with. I will observe the change of clothes over the whole stay focusing on the length of neckline. In this part , I categorized the clothes into three levels depending on how did they exposure her body: 1) high-necked , 2)middle-necked and 3)low-necked. Each level is defined as following. 1)High -necked clothes is the ones which cover around the breast the most and the neckline should be above collarbone. 2)Middle-necked

clothes have their necklines around collarbone or about 5 centimeters below.

3) Low-necked clothes are the ones that reveal the body part the most, and the neckline should be 5 or more centimeters below the collarbone. Just as the former analyses, the first figure (Figure 2.a.) shows the general data of the frequency in choosing which level of clothes categorized as above. Other three figures (Figure 2.b., 2.c. and 2.d) describe the frequency depending on three situations, in the ordinary scenes, in party scenes and in travelling. In addition, in this part, I will examine the data analysed by her friends' nationality and sex to analyse deeply the relation between her changes and the new environment. In my opinion, the extent of revealing clothes would be different depending on the sex and the nationality of her friends who was taken picture with her. For example, when a girl goes to the place where boys might be, she tends to wear clothes that deeply-cut-blouse.ⁱⁱⁱ The Figures 2.e. show the data categorized by the sex and the nationality of her friends.

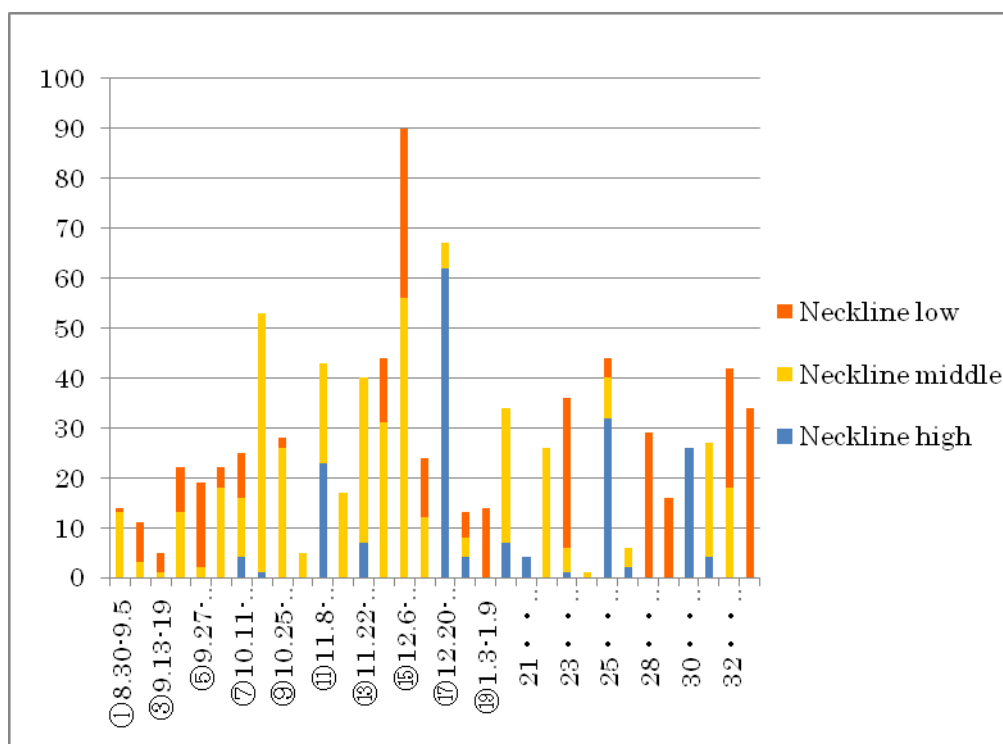


Figure3.a. The change in neckline

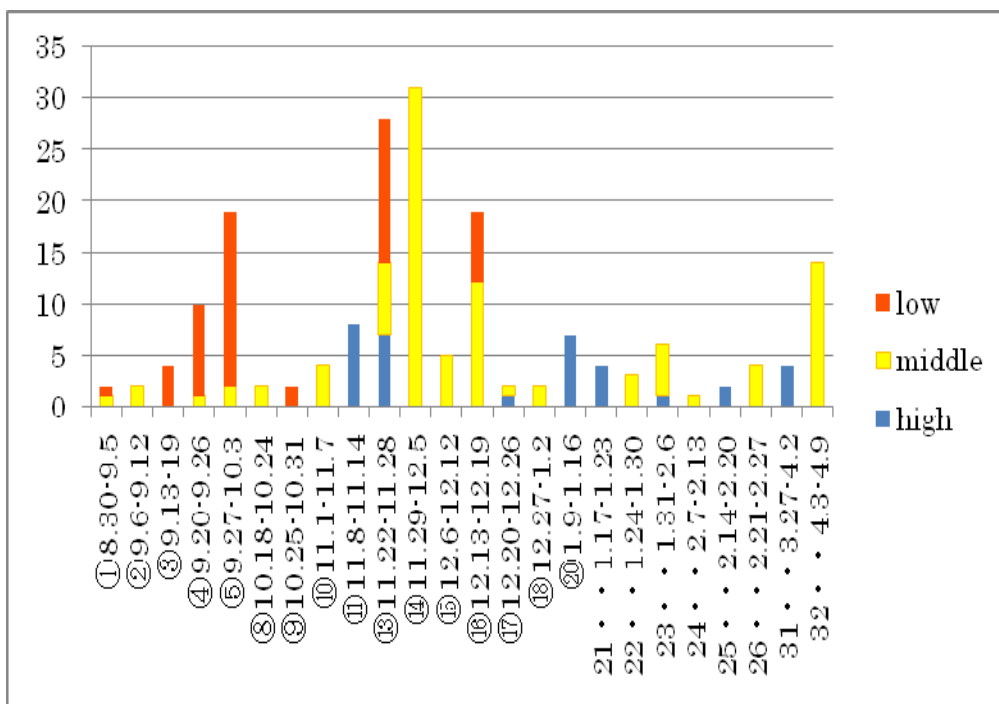


Figure -3.b Ordinary situation

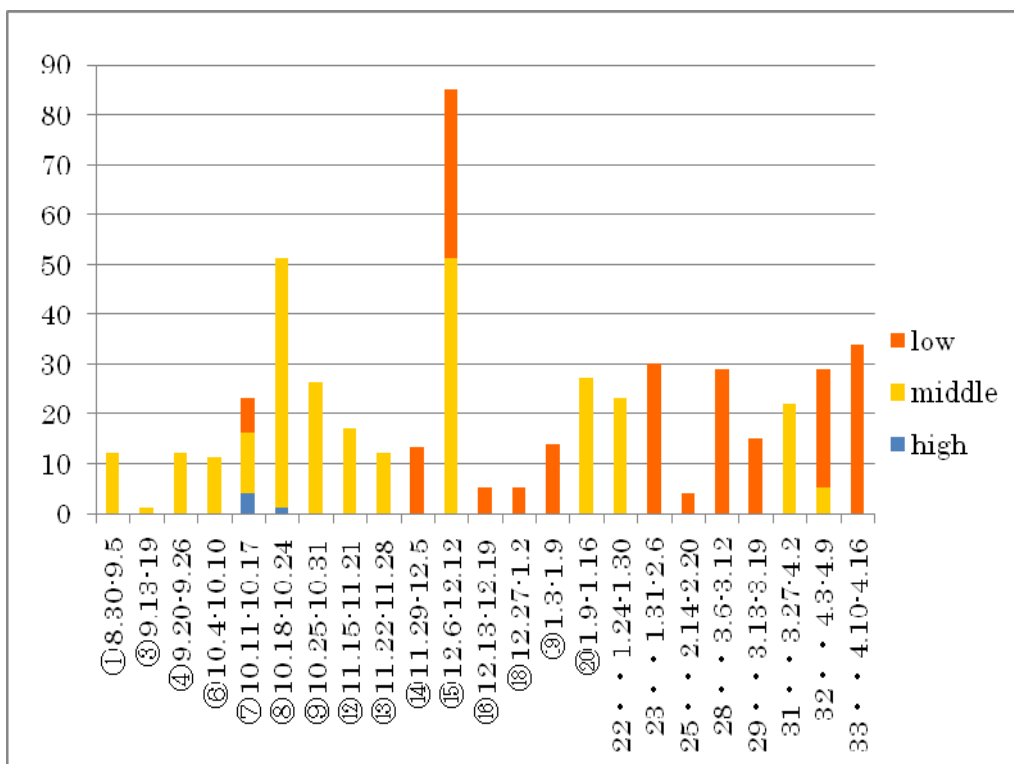


Figure-2.c Party

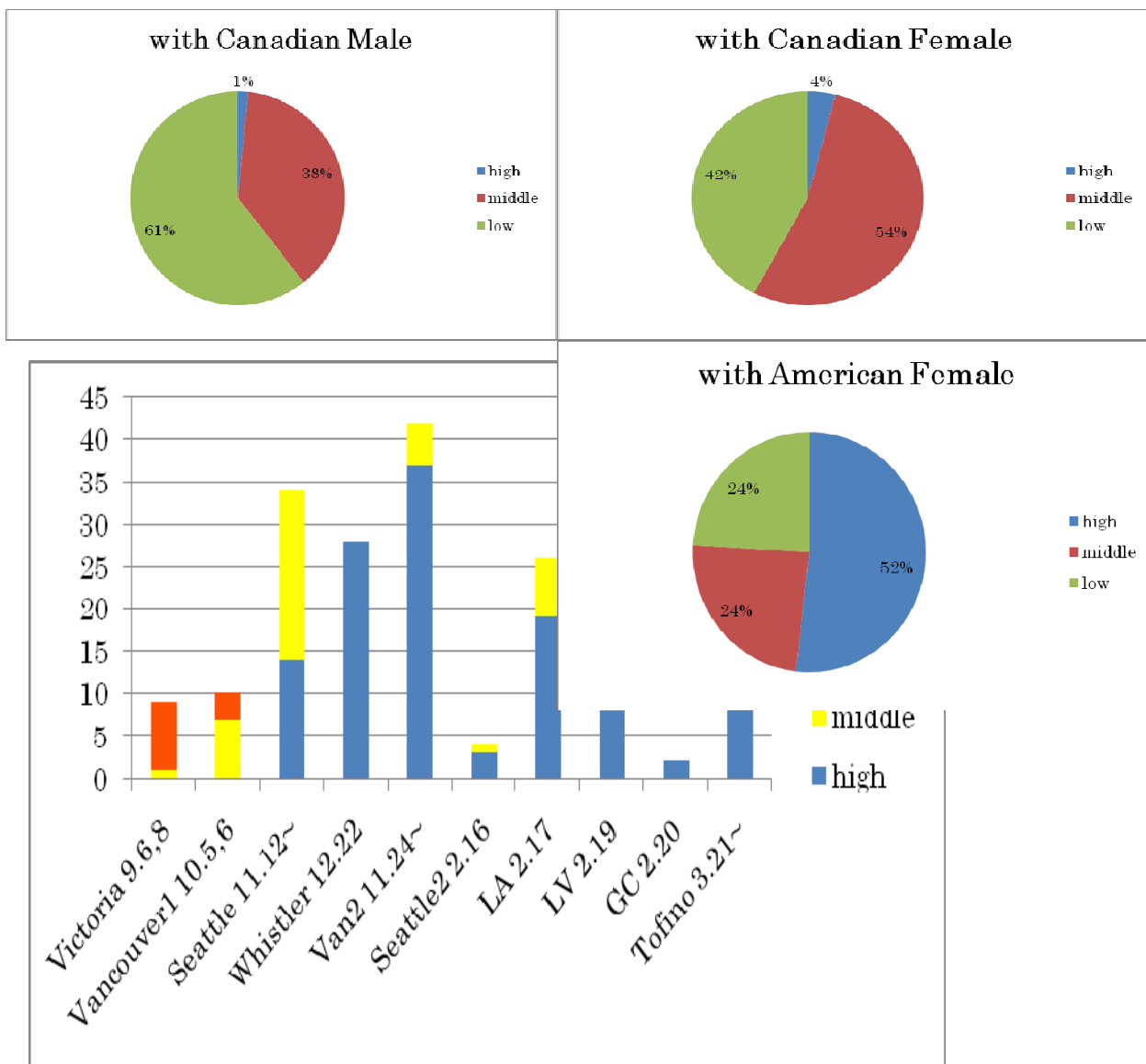
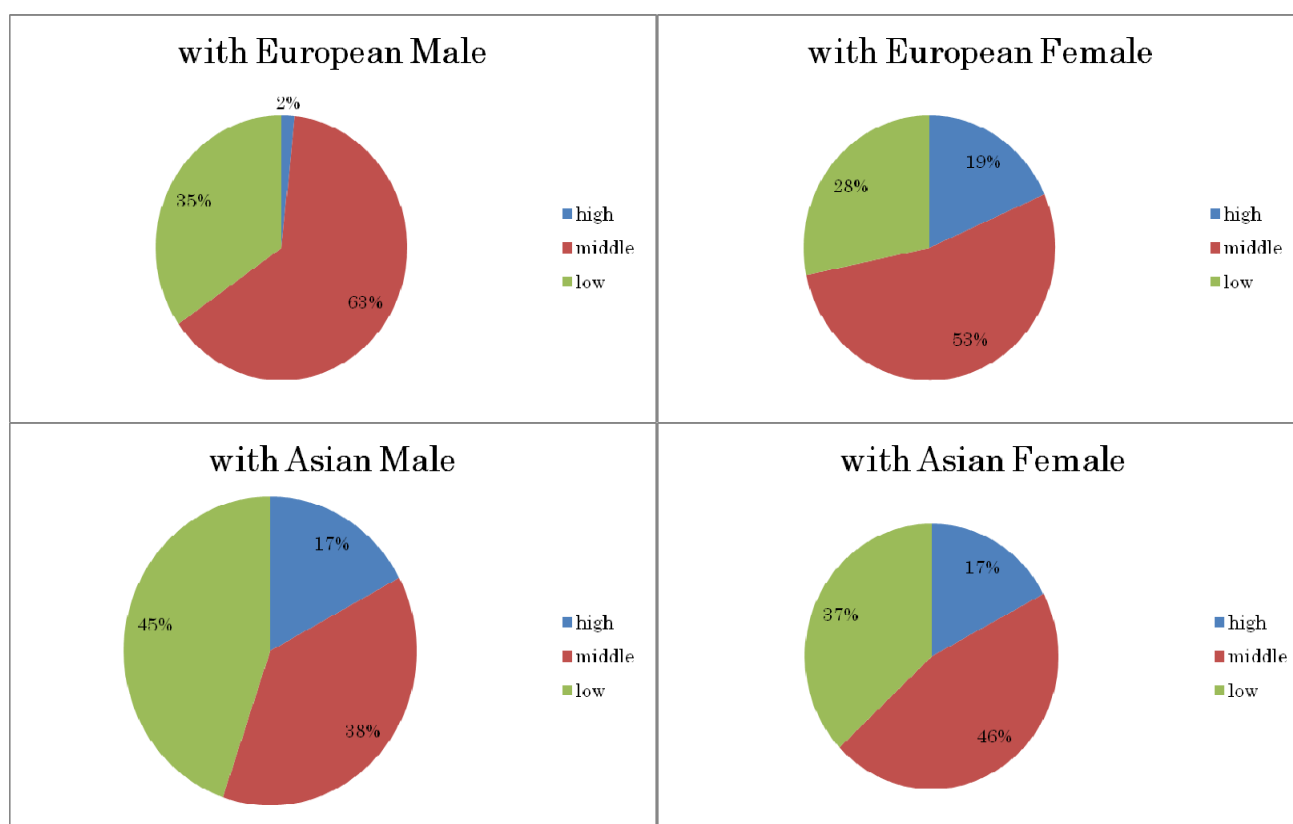


Figure 2.d. - Sight Seeing

Figures-2.e. The level of revealing clothes by sex and nationalities

Monologue: “I remember that I wore clothes that show the body, like, mini-skirts, no sleeved shirts. I felt that in Victoria I can wear something that I can’t in Japan. You know, in western culture, people wear what they want. They wore no sleeve shirts even if their arms are thick. I thought that they are free from worrying about the appearance or evaluation of others. Such environment was quite comfortable for me.”

Result: Pay attention to the change of ‘middle-necked’ level in the Figure 2.. We can see that she frequently chose modddle-necked clothes until



week 16th (December 13th to 19th). However after the week, she selected

them less than before. On the other hand, attentioned to the change on 'low-necked' and 'high-necked', we can see that she started to wear them more often.

In the ordinary scenes, referring Figure 2.b., she wore middle-necked clothes for almost all the time. As the time sequence goes by, while she wore high-necked clothes more frequently, she chose low-necked clothes less often. In the party situations, until week 13th, she chose middle-necked dress regularly, but after that week, it is clear that she dressed in low-necked dresses more often. In the sightseeing situation, the frequency to wear high-necked clothes is increasing rapidly, but the reason can be explained by referring the location where she went. She traveled places in autumn and winter and the temperature of the destination was about 4~10 centigrade degree on average. We notice an interesting point when we compare the Figure 2.b. to Figure 2.c., focusing on the period from the week 11th to 14th. From around week 11th (November 8th to 14th), in ordinary situation, she seemed to prefer the high-necked clothes to the deep one, but in the party scenes, she chose the low-necked clothes much more often than high-necked ones.

Next, we are going to look at the figures by nationalities. When she was with Canadian male and female, she tended to wear middle/deep-necked clothes. In the case of with American female, she preferred to choose high-necked clothes. When with European male and female, she wore the middle-necked clothes the most, but there is a clear difference in the frequency of wearing high-necked clothes between the case with male and the case with female friends. When with Asian male and female friends, she

picked every kind of clothes in well-balanced way, and we can't see big difference between male's figure and female's one.

Lastly, let's consider the facts by looking at the sex of her friends. When she was with Canadian and European male friends, she was much more likely to choose low-necked clothes than with her female Canadian and European female friends. In other words, when she was with her female friends, she had the tendency to wear high-necked or middle-necked clothes.

Discussion: I am going to explain this phenomenon by applying the thesis of '*Primary Framework*', which is one of the main discussions in Frame Analysis. Primary framework is the main principal of an organization or culture.

“Taken all together, the primary framework of a particular social group constitute a central element of its culture, especially in so far as understanding emerge concerning principal classes of schemata, the relation of these classes to one another, and the sun total of forces and agents that these interpretive designs acknowledge to be loose in the world. One must try to form an image of a group's framework of frameworks- its belief system, its 'cosmology'. (Goffman, 1974, pp. 27)”

From the comparison between Figure 2.b. and 2.c., we can see that gradually she made proper decisions about clothes depending on the situation. She realized that when studying she didn't have to dress up so much, however when going to parties, she choose clothes that made her look properly dressed up.

The results from Figures 2.e., graphs provide the assumption that she was inclined to reveal her body in front of Canadian and European male friends and not with the Asian male friends. It shows that she would behave differently in front of the people from the different culture. She might noticed that in western culture, girls are not under pressure of showing their body in front of male friends and that boy don't be embarrassed about the girls' appearance. Goffman's statement can support this assumption.

“In the everyday case, the social front that ‘an individual presents to his various associates during his daily round allow them to make some assumptions about his social worth and moral standards, the latter including, importantly, the practice of candor and openness regarding failures in these matters .(Goffman, 1974, pp.110)”

Since the primary frameworks exist, people are allowed to take actions which can be seen as inappropriate without pertaining primary frame works. It means that on the basis of her real experience in Victoria, she noticed that at party scenes, girls are allowed to reveal their clothes to some extent, and she determined that this behavior was followed by the social primary frame work in the society of Victoria. In the essay of *Primary Framework*, five distinctive matters are introduced as the examples of how various social activities can be explained using by primary frameworks, and I am going pick up one of them, called ‘Tension and joking’.

“As will be argued throughout, individuals can rather fully constitute

what they see in accordance with the framework that officially applies. But there is a limit to this capacity. Certain effects carry over from one perspective in which events could easily be seen to a radically different one, the latter the one which officially applied. The best documented case, perhaps, is the slow development of the easy right of medical people to approach the human naked body with a natural instead of social perspective. (Goffman, 1974, pp. 35)”

This primary frame work regards her action that to wear deep-necked clothes at the parties as the manner of choosing appropriate clothes for socializing place. Without the social primary framework, she can be seen as flirting boys at the parties, however, it is acceptable for to wear such clothes in front of her male friends by applying primary frameworks.

4.3. Photo Research - Patterns of clothes

As well as the colors in the clothes, the patterns contained in clothes also reflect one’s sense of view, the confidence and so on. In this section, I would spot on the patterns of the clothes. There are four figures below, one (Figure 2.a.) shows the general data of the variety of patterns in the clothes and the frequency of choosing patterned clothes as the time passed by. The other ones (Figure 2.b., 2.c, and 2.d.) provide the same the information divided into three situations, in everyday life, in party and in travelling.

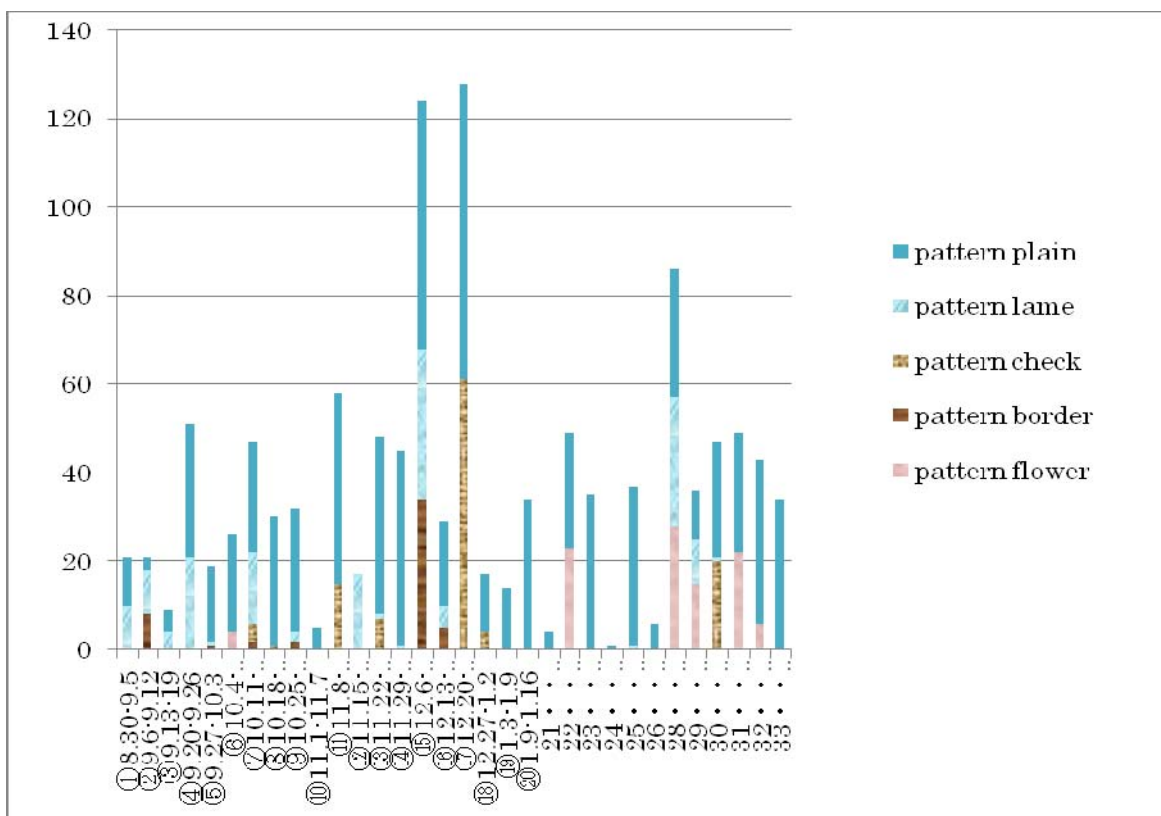


Figure-3 a. Patterns of clothes

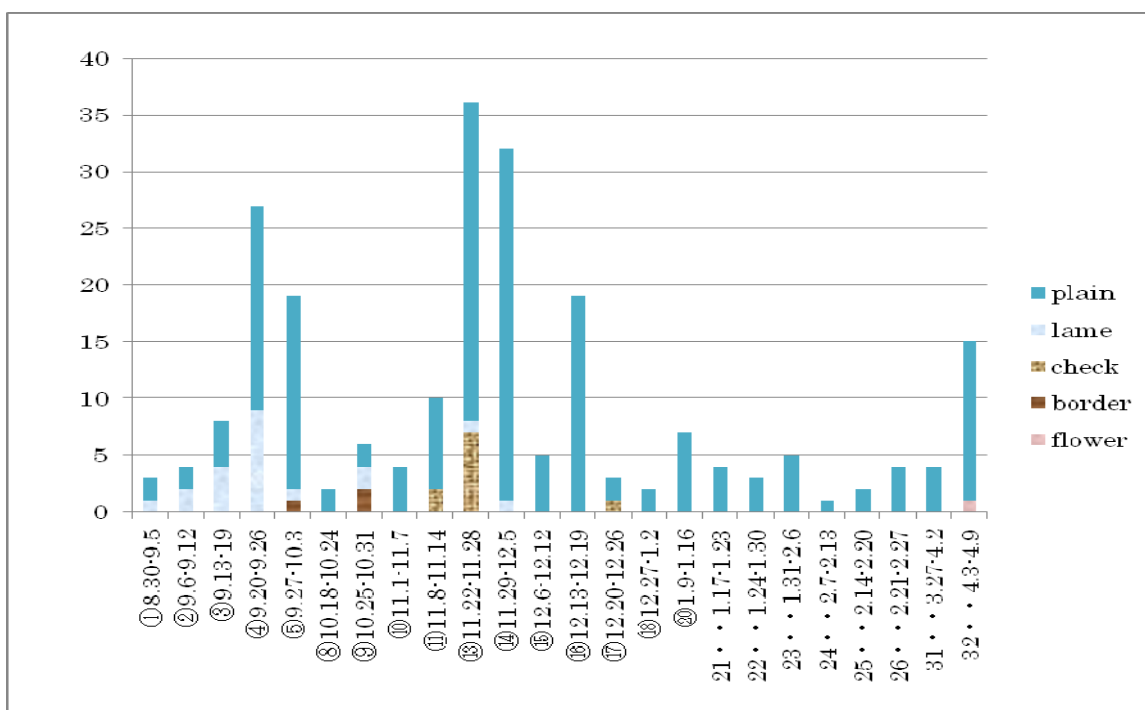


Figure 3.b. Patterns in clothes –in everyday life

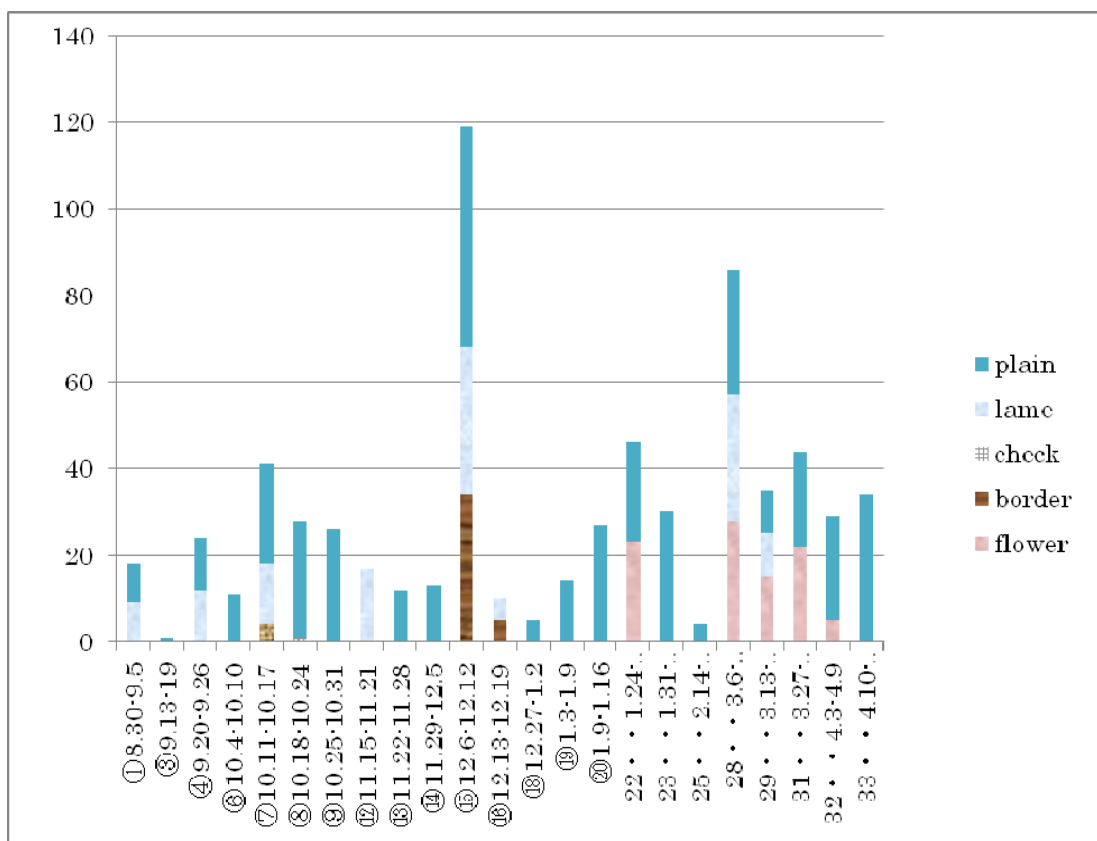


Figure 3.c. Patterns in the clothes –Party scenes

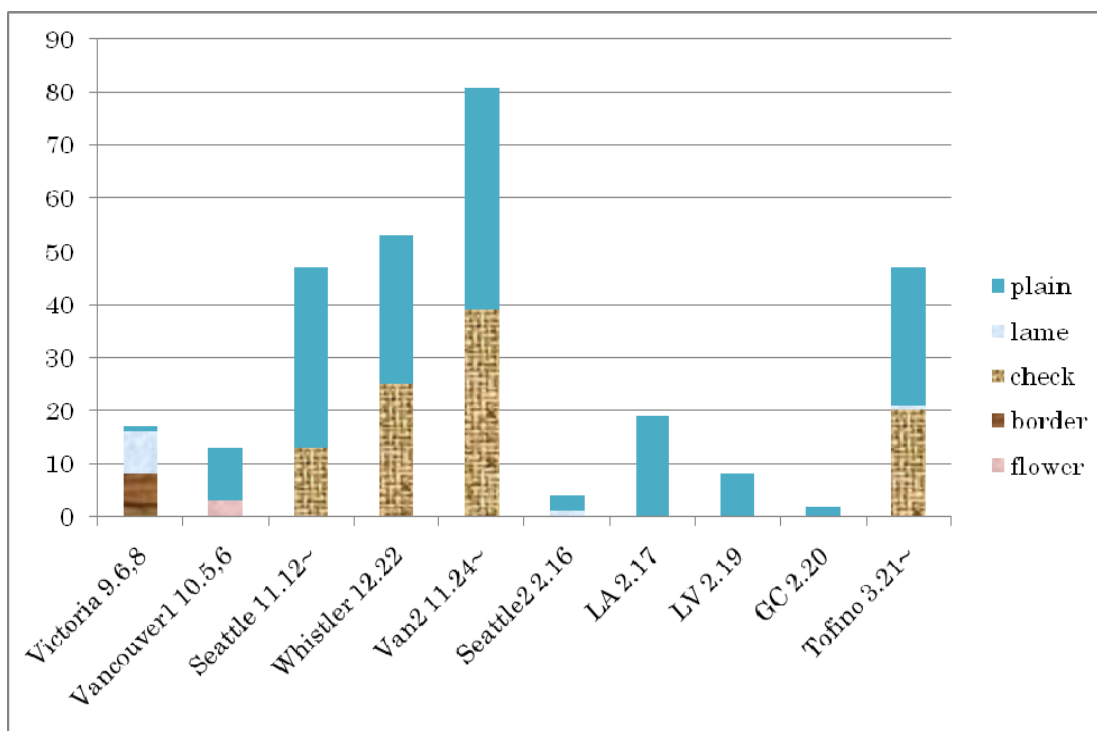


Figure 3.d. Patterns in the clothes –Sight seeing

Monologue: “I was wearing plain clothes most the time. I think, most of my friends also had plain clothes for school. During the period of I stayed in Victoria, I wore clothes with patterns only two times. I bought a flower printed skirt in Victoria and wore it at the farewell party at a school pub. Oh, during the first reading break, I got check printed jacket, I was supposed to get a plain down jacket, but my Japanese friend recommended get the check-printed jacket. I often wore the check jacket, but I don't think I wore the skirt so frequently, only a few times. Oh, but I remember that in winter, it was popular among girls to have clothes with folklore patterns, but I didn't think they suits me, so I always choose plain outfits.”

Result: From the Figure 3.a , it can be said that she wore plain patterned clothes for almost all the time, and the frequency to wear plain patterned clothes was growing so rapidly. Next, let's move on to the focus on lamé patterns. Lamé, according to the definition of Oxford dictionary, is the fabric into which gold or silver thread has been woven. The subject dressed in lamé clothes often during the 1st week to 7th week, however, the frequency in use of wearing lamé clothes is decreasing from the middle of December. On the other hand, she starts to wear check-printed clothes so often, and from middle of January to April, she wore flower-patterned clothes frequently.

Discussion: From the monologue statement, she believed that she often wore plain patterned clothes all the time, but in fact , at nearly end of her stay, she selected the flower patterned clothed, which means, she had been mistaken her taste of clothes. In her mind, she was always wearing plain-patterned clothes that she thought to be a typical Canadian style, but she tended to wear girlish clothes like flower-printed clothes. Why did she

act against her mind? I will explain the differences for awareness of patterns using the theory called *'Keys and keyings'*. Keying is the transformation of behavior or strip of activity. Goffman suggested the example of Otters' playing as followings.

“During visits to the Fleishacker Zoo beginning in 1952, Gredory Batseson observed that otters not only fighting with each other but also play at fighting.”(1974, pp.40)

He also mentioned that

“An obvious point about this play behavior is that the actions of animal are not ones they are , as it were, meaningful in themselves.; framework of these actions does not make meaningless events meaningful, there being a contrast here to primary understanding , which do. Rather, this play of activity is closely patterned after something that already has some meaning in its own terms—in this case fighting, a well-known type of guided doings.”(1974, pp.41)

Keying is the frame that shifts one's behavior which already has some meaning to another behavior which has different meaning, and all participants in the activity are aware of the change. In this case, she recognized that her style was changing by meeting and enrolled in the local life style, and she regarded the shift of her style as imitating local girls. However, unconsciously, she sought different style from her friends and the

local girls.

“By keeping in mind these comments on animal play, one can easily turn to a central concept in frame analysis: the key. I refer to the set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else. The process of the transcription can be called keying.”(1974, pp.44)

Here, I will focus on the change of frequency in flower-pattered clothes. She started to wear flower-printed clothes around week 22nd (from January 24th to 30th), and the week was a little bit after her moving to the new apartment. This event suggest an idea that she began to manage her total lifestyle by preparing her meals and having time to socialize with her roommates. She could pursue her own life style. The move to the apartment can be the reason that made her realize her real favorite style.

On the discussion about colors, we assumed that she was really careful about the appearance not to be looked like an outsider of the society in Victoria, and she always tried to follow the style of her friends. However, in fact, from the end of January, she began to oppose the style which she had been followed until that time. She created her own style without depending others.

4.4. Critical Points

So far, we have seen the changes in colors, exposure level and patterns contained in her clothes, and each section found some important

periods that prompted her to change. In color section, the week 7th was the time when she started to wear something red, and when she got used to the new environment. In the exposure level section, it was during from week 11th to 14th when she noticed that she followed the life style in Victoria. However, in the section of patterns of clothes, we discovered that from around week 22th, she stopped going along with the fashion style of local girls and began to be honest to her favorite style. From these facts, we can presume that until week 21st, she followed only the appearance or the fashion style of the new environment, but after the week, she learned the substantial idea of the new environment. That is to say, week 22th is the crucial point for her that brought internal changes to her.

5. Conclusion

Thus, she had brought some changes in her appearance and these alternations can be explained by using the theories of 'The Vulnerability of Experience', 'Primary Frameworks' and 'Keys and Keying'. These changes occurred because she tried to adjust herself to the new environment, that is, new frame. In this chapter, I will clarify how these changes affected her when she went back to Japan.

As suggested in the introduction, she felt distance between her friends and the family, especially, her mother. Precisely, she behaved in accordance with the new frame she got in Victoria, which is hard to share with her family or friends because they did not have the same experience as hers, either didn't know the frame which is valid in Victoria. Nonetheless, they did

not realize that she was supposed to do right thing. I will explain the misunderstanding using the concept of 'Breaking frame'. 'Breaking frame' occurs when one's behavior can't be understood by the other people. Specifically, if one takes too much exaggerated action, the frame tends to break.

“All frames involve expectations of a normative kind as to how deeply and fully the individual is to be carried into the activity organized by frames” and also “In all cases, however, understood limits will be established, a definition concerning what is insufficient involvement and what is too much.(Goffman, 1974, pp. 345)”

Considered breaking frame, in her case, because she was too much engrossed in the fashion style of Canadian girls, she did not notices that her style is not appropriate for Japanese school and her mother thought her fashion was something wrong.

“Now it is apparent that the human body is one of those things that can disrupt the organization of activity and break the frame, as when an individual appears in clothes that are unbuttoned or unsuitable or a guest slips on a rug or a child knocks over a vase. (Goffman, 1974, pp. 347)”

Breaking frame also explains the case which she was refused to hug in greeting. Because she got too much used to the greeting style to hug anyone

she met, she unconsciously took the same style in Japan. However, her friends do not hug so often, and they got confused at her behavior to hug in public without hesitation.

“It is also plain that when an individual misframes event, his subsequent action will break the frame but can itself be quite calm and self-possessed. (Goffman, 1974, pp.348)”

From this explanation, it can be described that the reason why she got so angry. It was because although she broke the frame which is valid in Japan, she didn't notice her behavior and made her mother confused. She was not wrong either not right on her behaviors. She just got and learned another frame during the stay in Victoria and created her new identity.

It might be easy to imagine that if an individual place itself in different culture or environment, he/she would be affected in many ways, but it is hard to understand the mechanism how the changes occur. Goffman's approach is structural one so it allows many people to understand the process of changes in one's identity which is brought by meeting other cultures and different environment. Also, the interesting point of his approach is that an individual has their own role depending situations, and an individual is created by containing all the roles. Thorough these analyses using theories from *Frame Analysis*, I proved that the changes was brought by experiencing different situations and that it affected my identity formation. My example would be help to recognize how one's identity should be captured in today's global environment.

6. Notes

ⁱ Especially, in the province of British Columbia, which Victoria is placed, visible minorities such as Chinese and South Asian people occupies 24.5% of the whole population of British Columbia.

ⁱⁱ “*Facebook*, a popular college social network. These profiles contain pictures, contact information such as cell phone numbers and residential location, sexual and political preferences, as well as a list of ‘friends.’” (Govani, T., 2007, p1)

ⁱⁱⁱ This tendency is proved by the research at Pennsylvania State University by Abbey, A., Cozzarelli, C., Maclaughlen, K., & Harnish, J., in 1982.

“Abstract: The effects of clothing revealingness and dyad-sex composition on perceptions of male- and female-stimulus persons' sexuality were examined. Based on Abbey's (1982) findings, we hypothesized that men would attribute more sexuality to both male and female targets than women would. Furthermore, we predicted that the difference between men's and women's sexuality ratings would be most divergent when a male-female dyad was presented and when the female stimulus person wore revealing clothing. A laboratory study was conducted in which subjects viewed a photograph of two students in a classroom. As predicted, male subjects rated female targets as more sexy and seductive than did female subjects. Also as predicted, female targets who wore revealing clothing were rated as more sexy and seductive than those wearing nonrevealing clothing. Female targets were rated higher on sexual traits regardless of the gender of their partner. Men did not consistently perceive male stimulus persons more sexually than women did. Finally, both female and male targets were perceived as more kind and warm when they wore nonrevealing clothing. The implications of these findings for person perception and date rape research are described.”

7. Reference

Abbey, A., Cozzarelli, A., Mclaughlin, K., & Harnish. R. (July 31, 2006) The Effects of Clothing and Dyad Sex Composition on Perceptions of Sexual Intent: Do Women and Men Evaluate These Cues Differently. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, Vol.17, Issue 2 Abstract*. Retrieved December 18, 2008, From Blackwell Publishing, Inc. Website:
<http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/journal/119469502/abstract?CRETRY=1&SRETRY=0>

Asano, T. (2001) *The Narrative Approach to Self*, Tokyo: Keiso Syobo

Dolby, N., Encounting an American Self: Study Abroad and National Identity. Retrieved December 19, 2008 from

www.eotu.uiuc.edu/events/dolbyessay.pdf

Goffman, E. (1974) *Frame Analysis An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, Boston: Northern University Press

Govani, T., Student Awareness of the Privacy Implications When Using Facebook. Retrieved December 19, 2008 from:

<http://lorrie.cranor.org/courses/fa05/tubzhlp.pdf>

Pratt, M.G., and Rafaeli, A. (Aug., 1997). Organizational Dress as a Symbol of Mutilayered Social Identities. *The Academy of Management Journal*, Vol.40, No.4(Aug., 1997), 866. Retrieved December 12 2008, from JSTOR database

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/256951>

Sakamoto, T., (1991). Talk and social relationship In H. Yasukawa (Eds.), *The restructuring of Goffman's world* (pp 122), Sekai-shishou-sha

UVic International Admission Preview Handbook. Retrieved December 19, 2008 from

<http://registrar.uvic.ca/recruiting/documents/InternationalAdmissionPreviewHandbook.pdf>

Williams, S. J. (1986 September). Appraising Goffman. *The British Journals of Sociology*, vol.37, No.3 (Sep., 1986), 362. Retrieved December 19, 2008, from JSTOR database

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/590645>