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Abstract

We use the transitional and liminal stage when daughters enter adolescence to investigate how sharing practices within families are employed as a resource in identity work. We show the importance of "sharing in" within some French dyads, as a means for discovering new life projects and for rediscovering past identity projects driven by self-expressive motivations. In contrast, Japanese dyads are often reluctant to share personal possessions (sharing out) in order to maintain hierarchical relationships (affiliation motivations) and remain fashionably up-to-date (self-expressive motivations) in their identity work, and in their drive to maintain and prolong their mothering role. In order to better target adolescent girls' mothers, retailers could develop more clothing appeals based on inter-generational approaches in France and intra-generational approaches in Japan.

Keywords	Identity (re)construction, Liminality, Sharing, Mother-daughter dyads, Identity/ consumption motivations; Cross-cultural consumer behavior, Japan, France.
Corresponding Author	Elodie Gentina
Order of Authors	Elodie Gentina, Margaret Hogg, Mototaka Sakashita
Suggested reviewers	Benedetta Cappellini, Gregory Rose
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**Identity (Re)construction through Sharing: A Study of Mother and Teenage Daughter
Dyads in France and Japan
Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services
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Dear Harry

My co-author and I are very pleased that the reviewer likes our final version of the paper, and
that our pape should become acceptable for publication pending suitable minor
revision and modification of the article in light of the appended reviewer comments.

We added definitions of our key concepts of sharing in the introduction, p. 4 and p. 9.

> *Sharing is defined as "the act and process of distributing what is ours to others for their use
> and/or the act or process of receiving or taking something from others for our use (Belk,
> 2007, p. 126)"*.
>
> "Sharing in" is "*closer to the prototype of sharing within the family in that it involves
> regarding ownership as common, such that the others are included within the aggregate
> extended self* (Belk, 2010, p.725)".
>
> "Sharing out" involves "*giving to others outside the boundaries separating self and other, and
> is closer to gift giving and commodity exchange* (Belk, 2010, p.725)".

Moreover, we have made minor correction in the literature review, the reviewer asked us to
tidy up of the literature review.

Finally, we have changed all the Japanese mothers' and their daughters' names because they
were all their real names (we have to change them into some other names for their privacy
protection).

Thank you very much for your time, effort, and advice in the different versions of the
manuscripts. Comments from the reviewer were very helpful and contribute to improving
significantly the different versions of the manuscript. Thank you.

Hope this interesting article will attract a lot of citations, in the near future.

All the best

Elodie Gentina

Identity (Re)construction through Sharing: A Study of Mother and Teenage Daughter Dyads in France and Japan

Abstract

We use the transitional and liminal stage when daughters enter adolescence to investigate how sharing practices within families are employed as a resource in identity work. We show the importance of "sharing in" within some French dyads, as a means for discovering new life projects and for rediscovering past identity projects driven by self-expressive motivations. In contrast, Japanese dyads are often reluctant to share personal possessions (sharing out) in order to maintain hierarchical relationships (affiliation motivations) and remain fashionably up-to-date (self-expressive motivations) in their identity work, and in their drive to maintain and prolong their mothering role. In order to better target adolescent girls' mothers, retailers could develop more clothing appeals based on inter-generational approaches in France and intra-generational approaches in Japan.

Keywords: Identity (re)construction, Liminality, Sharing, Mother-daughter dyads, Identity/consumption motivations; Cross-cultural consumer behavior, Japan, France.

Identity (Re)construction through Sharing: A Study of Mother and Teenage

Daughter Dyads in France and Japan

1. Introduction

We know that teenage daughters influence their mothers' clothing consumption behavior, telling them which fashion clothes to buy for example – that's not new. But teenage girls don't just socialize their mother, they also affect the fashion products mothers consume for themselves which affect their own identity. (New-York Times 2011[1]).

Mothers and their teenage daughter are the targets of a vast body of information about the nature of their relationship and common consumption activities. Press[2], books[3], and even movies depict the specificities of mother - teenage daughter relationships and their clothes sharing practices. Specifically, some retailers observe that many mothers follow their teenage daughters' clothing styles such that mothers and daughters often share clothes with each other (New-York Times, 2011). Thus, retailers recognize the benefits of targeting both mothers and their teenage daughters. In France, for example, women between 35 and 60 years old spend an average of over 65€ on clothing each month compared with adolescent daughters who spend an average of €72. However, the world's most avid clothing shoppers are probably Asian women shoppers. Japanese women spend

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[1] "You're not going out in *that*... why mums now dress like their daughters" (New-York Times, July 2011); Available on: http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/fashion/news/youre-not-going-out-in-that-why-mums-now-dress-like-their-daughters-2325935.html

[2] "Meet the mums who wear their daughters' clothes" (Mail Online, May 2015); "Sharing clothes with your teenage daughter" (Professor's House, March 2015); "Sharing clothes with your kid: cute or creepy?" (Parents, January 2015)

[3] The 2009 book from Sherrie Mathieson, "*Steal This Style: Moms and Daughters Swap Wardrobe Secrets,*" examines mother and daughter style sharing.

an average of 56€ *per day* on clothing (more than 220€ per month) (IFM, 2015). Mothers and their teenage daughters thus represent some of the most important spenders of discretionary income on clothing items in the world. From a theoretical perspective, why do mothers engage in clothes sharing practices with their teenage daughter(s)? What identity mechanisms underlie mothers and teenage daughters' motivations to adopt such clothes sharing practices?

Sharing is defined as "the act and process of distributing what is ours to others for their use and/or the act or process of receiving or taking something from others for our use (Belk, 2007, p. 126)". Research has identified that the willingness to share is affected by different factors: self-construal (desire to help others and reduce one's own worries) (Smidts et al. 2013), the strong relationship between family members (Belk, 2010), the reported closeness of family members (Belk and Llamas, 2011), and the similarity between the borrower – e.g. the mother - and the sharing target – e.g. the teenage daughter (Gentina et al., 2013a). Although the research documenting different determinants of sharing practices is critical for understanding the scope of the problem, we argue that it is limited in its ability to provide information on the underlying identity mechanisms that influence sharing practices between mothers and their teenage daughters.

First, previous research assumed that the consumer needs to possess the object, and that possession plays a key role in identity construction for individuals who go through identity transitions (Schouten, 1991). However, prior studies fail to consider how the identity (re)construction framework might relate to sharing practices within the family (Gentina et al. 2013a). Second, much if not most research on sharing within the family has focused on either the parent – the mother (Gentina et al., 2013a) - or the teenager (Gentina and Fosse-

Gomez, 2012). Our study examines dyadic relationships, both the mother and her teenage daughter, around sharing in families. Third, most of research on sharing has focused primarily on individual consumers in single national contexts e.g. the United States (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012; Lamberton and Rose, 2012), Canada (Scaraboto, 2015), New Zealand (Ozanne and Ozanne, 2011), France (Gentina et al., 2015), and England (Tinson and Nuttall, 2007). However, few studies have examined sharing practices in families in different cultural contexts (Gentina et al., 2013b). Our data are drawn from two different cultural contexts – Japan, which is a highly collectivistic culture which views the self as embedded in group memberships; and France, which is an individualistic culture, which views the self as a unique entity (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995).

Our research addresses these gaps identified above. Using an interpretive approach, we show that sharing may serve as part of the identity (re)construction practices within families, and more specifically within teenage daughter and mother dyads who are going through periods of change. We examine how different practices of sharing evolve in families as both mothers and teenage daughters (re)construct their sense of self during periods of change. Specifically, the entry of the daughter into adolescence is a significant period of identity transition for both mothers and daughters. For women, for instance, this can be a time of transformation as they move from a status that is the often largely family centred as "mothers" into almost a revived status as "women" with a greater focus on life beyond the family setting. This article considers how the different forms of sharing (sharing in vs. sharing out) relate to different identity motivations (self-expression vs. affiliation) for French and Japanese dyads, during the transitional, liminal stage as the daughters enter adolescence. In some senses, this involves a period of identity renaissance for the mothers.

In essence, these women are now starting to move away from lives dominated by mothering imagery and back towards a more publicly defined feminine role, which they would have experienced before they started their families. We use the identity motivations identified by Schau et al. (2009, self-expression and affiliation) as the basis for a two-dimensional theoretical framework in order to map the identity mechanisms that underlie sharing practices between mothers and their teenage daughters during the liminal processes of identity renaissance for mothers; and of identity transition for daughters.

2. Theoretical background

An identity perspective: becoming an adolescent. The notion of liminality refers to the ambiguity of a transitional life stage that individuals experience. They are in the transition from one role to another (Noble and Walker, 1997). Adolescence is a major liminal period which corresponds to identity construction (Cody, 2012), involving many physical, psychological and emotional changes along with intellectual development. Adolescents, who often go through a liminal period as they transition from childhood to adulthood, need ownership and other consumption practices to help them transition from the state of being a child to their new state as an adult (Piacentini and Mailer, 2004)**.** This period in family life – adolescence - can represent important opportunities (and challenges) in identity work not only for young teenagers (Erickson, 1968) but also for their mothers (e.g. (re)construction of identity (Decoopman et al., 2010)). Like other important events in family life - the transition to motherhood or empty nesting (Banister et al. 2010) - the entry of a child into adolescence is also an important event in mothers' lives, which may generate for mothers a variation on the "empty nesting syndrome" (Decoopman et al., 2010), because adolescent daughters establish their personal identity, separate from mothers,

while seeking a certain level of attachment. The feelings akin to those associated with empty nest transition lead mothers to re-define their relationships with their adolescent daughters. Mothers seek alternative activities in order to feel closer to their adolescent daughters by sharing intimate and privileged moments together (Henwood, 1993). Moreover, because the teenage daughter ultimately will become a woman, her entry into adolescence may provoke a sense of self-loss for her mother (Ruebush, 1994). The adolescent daughter projects a new image of femininity as she becomes a woman. Mothers, in turn, cope with the progressive loss of their maternal identity (reproduction, child care), and redefine themselves by reworking and seeking to reclaim their own femininity (Henwood, 1993; Gentina et al., 2013b). Therefore, as role identity theories predict, a daughter's entry into adolescence should provide a significant opportunity for metamorphosis for her mother.

When identity undergoes strong challenges during transitions, consumption often helps people cope with their adoption of a new or different role (Schouten, 1991). Clothing consumption is a particularly topical issue for mothers and their adolescent daughters because clothes are important symbolic representations of identity both during adolescence (Piacentini, 2010) and also during adult life transitions (Decoopman et al., 2010). Adolescence in family life is the empirical context for this study, with a focus on sharing clothes, more particularly publicly consumed clothes (e.g., tops, pullovers, cardigans, vests, dresses/skirts, trousers and clothing accessories). We examine the interrelationship between sharing practices and mothers' and teenage daughters' identity work.

Sharing practices in Japan and France. Sharing is a social practice which involves some degree of exchange (Habibi et al., 2016; Scarabota, 2015). Unlike economic exchanges which carry obligations of balanced reciprocity (Bagozzi, 1975), sharing is described as unselfish, non-reciprocal, personal and generous, and involves love and caring (Belk, 2010). Parental socialization practices contribute decisively to the formation of different sharing practices.

Socialization is an inherently cultural process in which "children, through insight, training and imitation, acquire the habits and values congruent with adaptation to their culture" (Baumrind, 1980, p. 640). The socialization goal of Western cultures, such as France, is to promote an individual sense of identity, assertiveness, autonomy (Triandis, 1995), and verbal expression and to establish skills (Rose et al., 2002). French parents encourage adolescents to make decisions for themselves on a variety of issues, including consumer choices in shopping, life decisions such as the choice of a boy/girlfriend, marriage, and career. On this basis, French teenagers enjoy more autonomy and are well-prepared to make their own decisions with less reference to family expectations (Gentina, 2008). In contrast, Eastern cultures, such as Japan, emphasize the strongly interdependent nature of mother-teenage daughter relationships. Japanese mothers encourage consideration for others, strong family attachments and the desire to please the family (Hess et al., 1980). "*Doi* (1962, p. 132) *believes "amae" – a highly interdependent and indulgent relationship that encourages dependence on others – is a key to understanding relationships between Japanese parents and their children*" (Rose, 1999, p. 806). Japanese parents foster respect for parental authority and obedience to seniors (Sakashita and Kimura, 2011). Thus, Japanese teenagers are not encouraged to make their own decisions

regarding their life events. For instance, according to Confucian teaching, it is immoral for adolescents to choose a mate or decide a career path without getting prior consent from their parents (Yang and Laroche, 2011, p. 982).

Different parental socialization practices between Western and Eastern cultures contribute decisively to the formation of different sharing practices. French adolescents learn that sharing relies on the assumption that adolescents possess their own personal items and that such personal possessions are not possessions that belong to the whole or wider family (Decoopman et al., 2010). Materialism is a characteristic of western cultural values, such as achievement, control, power, and assertiveness (Burroughs and Rindfleisch, 2002). In this context, Belk (2010, p. 724) explains that "*sharing does not come naturally to children, at least in the West, and they must instead be taught to share*".

In contrast, sharing is viewed as a prescribed norm in Japan (Strand, 2014), which values social links and consideration of others. The sense of a "we identity" governed by the perspective of "*being part of a cohesive whole, whether it be (that of) a family, clan, tribe, or nation*" (Belk, 1984, p. 754) is demonstrated through intense experiences of sharing rituals, such as the communal bath house *(Sentō* and *onsen***)**, the tea ceremony (*Sado* or way of tea), and the spring cherry blossom festival where families and friends share food and drink to celebrate the start of spring (*Hanami*). Moreover, the two major religions in Japan, Buddhism and Shinto, emphasize the maintenance of harmonious relations with others and the promotion of sharing practices between members of a family and a community: Buddhism promotes "*dana*" (meaning generous sharing); and Shinto, emphasizes "kindness, generosity and benevolence", as an antidote to consumerism.

Although the effects of parental socialization on sharing practices between mothers and their teenage daughters in different cultural contexts are expected to differ, they have not been investigated in the previous literature.

Therefore, we show the importance of "sharing in" within some French dyads, as a means for discovering new life projects and for rediscovering past identity projects driven by self-expressive motivations. "Sharing in" is "*closer to the prototype of sharing within the family in that it involves regarding ownership as common, such that the others are included within the aggregate extended self* (Belk, 2010, p.725)". In contrast, Japanese dyads are often reluctant to share personal possessions in order to maintain hierarchical relationships (affiliation motivations) and remain fashionably up-to-date (self-expressive motivations), which is closely related to "sharing out". "Sharing out" involves "*giving to others outside the boundaries separating self and other, and is closer to gift giving and commodity exchange* (Belk, 2010, p.725)".

3. Method

Sample. Our purposive sample consists of 32 mother–adolescent daughter dyads, with sixteen dyads from an urban area in Japan, and sixteen dyads from an urban region in France (see table 1 for demographic details of the participants).

Table 1 here.

We adopted a theoretical sampling approach accompanied by snowball sampling (Miles and Huberman, 2003) for recruiting informants. Dyad recruitment involved referral sampling in which the only criteria for inclusion were that either the mother and/or the daughter had exchanged clothes with each other (borrowed, loaned or shared) at least once. Mothers and their adolescent daughters were drawn from diverse social backgrounds. The

two samples were equivalent with regard to the mothers' and daughters' ages and economic status. Sampling continued until thematic redundancy was reached.

Procedure. We used interviews with both members of the dyad in order to understand the relationships involved in the identity mechanisms underlying the different types of sharing in mother-daughter dyads. Separate individual interviews with mothers and daughters took place privately in the home of our informants within most of the dyads. The mother and the teenage daughter interviews were conducted separately in order to avoid the risk of any bias induced by the presence of the other dyad member. There were no other family members present. The interviews were undertaken by the primary researchers (one French-speaking researcher conducted all of the interviews in France, and one Japanese-speaking researcher conducted all the interviews in Japan). The interviews lasted between 60 and 100 minutes; all the interviews were recorded and immediately transcribed, resulting in a total of 950 typed pages of data. Both sets of interviews were translated into English.

In the two data collection phases (in France and Japan respectively), we first elicited narratives and then posed "grand-tour" questions about (1) their personal and familial lives (2) the kind of relationships that existed between mothers and their teenage daughters; and (3) their clothes sharing activities (including borrowing, lending, giving, pure sharing).

Visual stimuli – three photos showing mother-daughter dyads with different degrees of sameness and similarity – helped deepen what was said in this part of the interview, so as to elicit responses that would produce saturation of the discourse (Dion, 2007).

Coding and Analysis. Two of the authors did the coding (following Strauss and Corbin, 1990) as well as the analysis and interpretation of all the data using a hermeneutical approach (for more details, see Thompson, 1997). The purpose of the analysis was to identify different forms of sharing and the associated consumption motivations in different cultural contexts. First, each interview was read in totality by two of the authors in order to gain a holistic understanding of the phenomena. Second, the transcribed interviews were coded on the basis of a priori conceptual categories as well as unanticipated categories that emerged from a close reading of the text. Third, in order to conduct the *intra*textual analysis, the coded data for each informant was closely read to develop a unique written interpretation for each informant. To conduct the *inter*textual analysis, themes across informants were compared to determine communalities. Iterative tacking back and forth between intra- and intertextual analyses continued until the tentative themes could be written up into a coherent interpretation.

4. Results

The entry of the daughter into adolescence - a process of consumer identity renaissance for the mother

Most of the French mothers expressly addressed the loss of their role as "mothers" or the need to safeguard against the potential loss of this role. For most of the French mothers, the entry of the daughter into adolescence represents a double loss for them: first, the 'symbolic" loss of the teenage daughter; and second, the loss of tasks central to the motherhood role (daily maintenance and the production of sociability): *"I feel insecure when I see my teenage daughter, she grows up, it is difficult to accept that. I lose my motherhood, my role has changed… For instance, now, my daughter cooks, she uses the*

11

washing machine to clean her laundry… She is more independent, and I can't enter into her private life anymore" (Dorian, 46, F). French mothers often admit that they had anticipated the loss of their child beforehand and now emotionally accept the separation from their teenage daughter. French mothers change their relationships with their daughters, and relationships are now similar to those described as adult-adult (in transactional analysis, Berne 1961, 1964/2009) rather than that of parent-child: *"Sophie is 16 now…. I feel closer to her now, and we have woman-to-woman discussions. To see my daughter becoming a young woman makes me actively react. I have to work on my feminine image so that my daughter is proud of me"* (Diane, 43, F).

In contrast, Japanese mothers seem to strongly feel the need to safeguard their mothering role even when their daughter grows up and enters into adolescence: *"I still should take good care of my daughter and protect her. I know that gradually I will have to stop taking too much care of her, but she is still a little girl. She brings her concerns to me and asks for solutions, and I like to respond to her with 100% commitment."* (Kaori, 43, J). These Japanese mothers feel the pressure to conform with society views about what constitutes a good mother, whatever the age of the daughter: *"When Asuka invited her friends to my house, but she had never told me about it. So I was not prepared for those guests, and I felt bad about it. If she had told me about it, I would have cleaned up my house really really hard, and maybe put gorgeous flowers (laughter), or even bought some very nice expensive chocolates to treat them. I feel like this part of myself is pretty vain. It is also the role of a mother."* (Yoko, 46, J). This view that Japanese women should be fully dedicated to their children can be attributed to the influence of an old philosophy – Confucianism. Japanese women are likely to define their well-being and sense of

accomplishment through the family. Japanese mothers tend to evaluate their mothering work in the family and define their sense of accomplishment through the family (Holloway et al., 2006). Beyond being a mother, the Japanese wife's first duty is to be feminine: *"I feel like I should stay really healthy because I have a whole family to take care of so I feel like my body does not even belong to myself. It belongs to my family member instead. […] I think "being a woman" means that you keep thinking about drawing attention from men. This is because I am starting to lose interest in men. And I feel pretty bad about it. So I always try to get involved in men's thinking. Women should not lose interest in men. When a woman loses interest in men, she destroys herself as a woman."* (Yuko, 54, J).

The entry of the daughter into adolescence - a process of consumer identity construction for the teenage daughter

French teenage daughters are evolving into new identities from girls to young women. Parents encourage their teenage daughters to construct their own identity, and access the new status to become a young woman. Thus, most French teenage daughters mention that they are proud of separating themselves from their childhood in order to transition toward womanhood: *"I am proud of becoming a young woman. I like fashion, going shopping, discovering new stores. I am more mature and autonomous at home: I prepare my meal when my mom works, I develop new equalitarian relationships with my mom today"* (Corentine, 16, F).

In Japan, faced with their mothers, Japanese teenage daughters strongly feel the need to safeguard their child position within the family*: "I am like, 90% teenage girl, and 10% young woman. I am very social, talkative, but very shy. I think teenage girls are very fragile. Very sensitive, but somehow, very lonely"* (Ayaka, 16, J). This result is consistent

with the Confucian teaching, mothers are required to protect, govern, teach and discipline their children and have the last say in their children's life decisions.

The shared object is ours *versus* what is mine is mine

The focus of mothers' activities changed over time, and in this liminal period moved away from doing things for their daughters (e.g. cleaning, cooking and laundry) to doing things with their daughters (e.g. shopping). For instance, among French dyads, sharing clothes took on a deeper significance for both mothers and teenage daughters when the daughter became an adolescent. Sharing clothes enabled a closer connection between them and ensured that they still shared a part of each other's lives. French people tend to need more physical proximity, including expressing love and care verbally (e.g., saying I love you...) or physically (e.g., hugging and kissing, "the French bise"). This may explain why French dyads frequently share clothes (even sharing some fairly intimate items) without risking breaking any taboo or rules. They also often share the physical space represented by their wardrobes, which is another instance where boundaries vanish and ties between French mothers and their teenage daughters are strengthened. This experience of sharing among French dyads seems to link to the concept of "sharing in" (Belk, 2010), since this form of sharing involves joint ownership and the shared object is "*ours*" rather than "*mine or yours,*". This is in contrast to ownership transfers where a distinction is made between "*what is mine and yours*"

For many Japanese mothers, as their daughters reach adolescence, production activities (such as cooking) remain central to their identities both as mothers and women, whereas the focus on production-based activities tends to start to decline for French mothers. Food continues to play an important part in family identity work in Japan, and the

responsibilities for Japanese mothers remain connected to household food preparation and their duties of care (Sakashita and Kimura, 2011). The production of family life also includes the creation of "caring and supportive human relationships", such as social activities (Hogg et al., 2004). For instance, many Japanese mothers engage in shopping trips with their teenager, with a "caring consumption dimension": "*We have a shopping trip during a weekend together, and we share the same bedroom at the hotel, the meal at the restaurant… The objective is not to purchase but is to take care of her and share a part of our lives*" (Yumiko, 48, J). Sharing is not so open or common within Japanese families, which is in contrast to the practices of French mothers in the context of their adolescent daughters. Whereas French mothers use both sharing in and sharing out strategies as part of their sharing practices in family life, Japanese sharing practices seem only to be characterized by sharing out. Among Japanese families, there is a reluctance to share personal (i.e., not jointly owned) possessions. In this context, clothes are considered by Japanese dyads as personal property which does not belong to the entire family. Japanese dyads prefer to exchange (i.e. borrow or lend) their clothes, which is linked to the concept of "sharing out" (Belk, 2010). Such sharing practices are closer to commodity exchange and involves strict constraints and rules (e.g., time period, prior permission, reciprocity, and economic interest).

Table 2 contains examples from French and Japanese dyads demonstrating different forms of sharing (sharing in vs sharing out).

Table 2 here

Sharing practices (*sharing in* vs *sharing out*) arise from different identity motivations in different cultural contexts

15

Schau et al. (2009) argue that identity motivations provide a neat theoretical framework for understanding how consumers cope with identity loss. Both French and Japanese women face identity loss as mothers as their daughters move through adolescence, although the sense of loss seems to be greater for French mothers who see a distinct change in the focus of their activities with their daughters. In contrast, faced with the potential loss of their mothering identity, many Japanese women seem to hold their daughters closer to themselves (and within the family unit) and to resist this identity loss for a longer period of time. We use the identity motivations identified by Schau et al. (2009, self-expression and affiliation) as the basis for a two-dimensional theoretical framework in order to map the identity mechanisms that underlie sharing in vs. sharing out within French and Japanese dyads (Figure 1). In effect, we explored how useful identity motivations (such as those identified by Schau et al. (2009) would be in understanding and explaining the experiences of adolescent daughters faced with other types of identity work such as identity construction and evolution. This is in contrast to the type of identity work involved in identity renaissance following identity loss as experienced by mothers in this liminal stage, which was the starting point for Schau et al.'s (2009) theorizing about the role of motivation(s) in identity work. Our findings reveal that different types of sharing practices (sharing in vs sharing out through lending, borrowing, giving) arise from different identity motivations for mothers and teenage daughters in the context of clothing exchanges and as the dyads go through this transitional liminal stage.

From their narratives, we identified two categories of identity motivation that were in evidence among mothers and daughters. *Self-expression* refers to the motivations that are inner-directed, about enhancing or developing the self. *Affiliation* motivations are other

directed, and are about forming, symbolizing and maintaining social connections. Table 3 contains examples from French and Japanese dyads demonstrating consumption motivations in addition to those in the text below.

Table 3 here.

Four profiles of mother-daughter dyads emerged from our data set, based on two dimensions: national culture (France vs. Japan) and consumption identity motivation (self-expression vs. affiliation) (Figure 1).

Figure 1 here.

Profile 1 "…*Feminine, like a woman…*" [sharing in/France].

This is the only one of the four profiles that reveals "pure" sharing practices ("sharing in"): sharing clothes requires no prior permission, no time limit, no debt and no systematic washing before returning clothing items; and sharing clothes involves an "open" space, which enables French mothers and their daughters to often share their changing room. Sharing space makes boundaries vanish and strengthens ties between French mothers and their teenage daughters.

French mothers and daughters engage in self-expression motivation which is inner-directed and about enhancing or developing the self. Self-discovery and self-retrieval emerge as two important aspirational characteristics of self-expressive consumption motivations for these French dyads.

Self-retrieval for these French mothers involves renewing life goals that relate to deferred life projects. Some French mothers, who defined themselves through their maternal dimension, rediscover new life projects, such as the rediscovery of femininity,

when daughters enter adolescence. For instance, Nathalie (50, F, table 2) retrieved her past identity as a feminine woman when she met her husband, before having her children. This example involves "revived" past feminine identities (e.g. identity renaissance), although identity can be expressed in a new way as emergent, as well. Nathalie claims that she was very feminine when she was 20, but when she had children, her clothing style changed. Now Nathalie revitalizes her femininity through sharing clothes with her teenage daughter who is very feminine. Her desire to be feminine is a self-retrieval aspiration, but her enactment is emergent, as she had never shared clothes with her daughter before. Her revival identity promotes the sharing of clothes.

A second self-expressive consumption aspiration we found for both French mothers and daughters was *self-discovery.* French mothers sometimes discover and enact new life projects when their daughters enter adolescence. Nora (44, F, table 2), for example, primarily defined herself through her maternal role, and had never seen herself as particularly feminine. When her daughter became a teenager, Nora started to take more care of her own physical appearance, changing her clothing style and discovering a part of her femininity through sharing clothes with her daughter.

A daughter's entry into adolescence represents a trigger event that leads to the transition towards the new state of the adulthood, and the discovery of a new female identity (Erikson, 1968). Our data highlight that specific items of clothing symbolize daughters' rejected past as children and signal the transition toward adulthood, more precisely the discovery of femininity and the passage toward the future woman. Pauline (17, F), for instance, states: "*I don't like wearing dresses because it reminds me of the time when my mom wanted me to look like a model little girl. I don't consider myself to be a*

child, I feel like a teenage daughter, a young woman" (Pauline, 17). French teenage daughters display self-discovery aspirations which contribute to creating a new identity and enacting new life goals, and sometimes new life projects. French teenage daughters share clothes with their mothers to explore their relationship with the concept of being a woman in an adult world. This is the case of Eugénie (17, F, table 2). French daughters also need their mothers, whom they view as the "depositary" of femininity, to help them transition from the state of being a little child to their new status as a young woman. These French mothers and teenage daughters used sharing in as a tool for co-constituting collective experiences. We show how "sharing in" is synergistic with the identities of these French mothers and daughters, and the extent to which these particular French mothers and daughters have a common vision of sharing as a tool for co-creating their feminine identity.

The other three dyadic profiles prefer to lend, borrow or give (sharing out), rather than to engage in "pure" sharing practices (sharing in). This might be because affiliation consumption aspirations underlie these mother-daughter relationships, or, in the case of Japanese families, there is a higher level of power distance, involving parents' control of their children

Profile 2."…*I tell her what to do...".* [sharing out, Japan] For Japanese dyads in this profile, hierarchical relationships (specific position within the family) and society (importance of social norms and duties imposed by the collective) emerge as the two drivers of the affiliation consumption motivations.

Japanese mothers emphasize authority, rules and compliance in their relationships with their daughters (Sakashita and Kimura, 2011). They consider that maintaining their position within the family, as well as clearly distinguishing between generations, are two

essential conditions for managing family life. In Japanese culture where physical appearance is valued (Luther, 2009), clothing is a relevant indicator of the position occupied by mothers both within the family and within wider society. Yuko (54, J, table 2) admits that she deliberately tries to maintain her authoritative position in relation to her daughter. Most of the Japanese mothers reported that they controlled their daughters in terms of getting a job, pursuing their studies, or even accepting a marriage proposal and deciding to have children. This implies that Japanese mothers view their teenage daughters as little girls. This perception overshadows any sense of egalitarianism between Japanese mothers and daughters. Mayumi (44, J) for instance uses the privileged position that intimacy confers upon her daughter to exert control, by sometimes borrowing clothing outfits without regularly asking for permission in advance from her daughter: *"I occasionally borrow my daughter's clothes. I did not ask her. I borrowed them for a very short time, so I did not ask her. I got it from my daughter's closet in her room. I am always at home, so I can go into my daughter's bedroom and borrow her things if I need them"* (Mayumi, 44, J). In contrast to mothers who sometimes borrow their daughters' clothes, Japanese teenage daughters need to ask prior permission before borrowing from their mothers. Asuka (15, J states: *"If I want to borrow my mom's clothing, my mother would always tell me to ask her beforehand. Therefore, I would go so far as to email or phone her asking if I can borrow her clothes. If I cannot get through to talk to her, I would always give up the idea of borrowing and would switch to other stuff. However, my mother would never ask prior permission to borrow my clothes".* Among Japanese daughters, loyalty to their mothers is so important that even if their mothers are not physically present, their mothers' influence is still there.

Profile 3. "*Keeping up to date*" [sharing out, Japan]. Another self-expression consumption motivation identified for Japanese mothers is linked to *self-synchronization*. Self-synchronization means "to be contemporary with", which refers to mothers' aspirations to align themselves with the current state of society, or "keeping up with the times" (Schau et al., 2009, p. 270). Both mass media and societal values highlight that physical appearance is highly important in Japan (Luther, 2009). Because Japanese mothers report feeling the social pressure to keep up with the newest trends in the field of fashion that reflect age-based group norms, they refuse to share clothes with their daughters; they prefer giving or lending clothes rather than borrowing. Yoko (46, J) states: *"If I wear the exact same fashion as my daughter when we go out together, we will be widely noticed and I will feel so uncomfortable. I want to be unremarkable like air. I prefer to give my clothes rather than share with her"*.

Profile 4. "…*She's my baby, high heels are not for her…*" [sharing out/France]. Among certain French dyads, kinship (dependence) emerges as the main affiliation consumption motivation. In this case, some French mothers value their femininity and consider themselves as the only women in the household. They deliberately regard their daughter as a "little girl" rather than as a "young woman". Louise (38, F), for instance, refuses to lend her high heel shoes to her teenage daughter in order to maintain her own position as the grown woman within the family *"I disagreed with Syriale because she wanted to borrow my high heels and I was against it. She's too young, she is 14. She's my baby, high heels are not for her"*. Thus, these French mothers do not share, but they are prepared to lend their clothes under certain conditions and prior rules. Some French adolescent girls also highlight the importance of their mother in constructing who they

21

were and who they are. Thus, they identify first with their mother, and are happy to borrow her clothes when their mother agrees: *"I would like to be like that, like my mother. At her age, she still looks gorgeous and is very considerate to others. I really adore those kind aspects of my mother, and I hope to become like her. I am very grateful for all the things she does for me. When I borrow her clothes, I smell her perfume, I feel closer to her"* (Romane, 16, F).

5. Discussion

Theoretical contributions

<u>The entry of the daughter into adolescence: a liminal transition</u>

The entry of the daughter into adolescence is a time of extensive identity work with emergent and evolving consumption aspirations (self-expression and affiliation) that are achieved via different forms of sharing practices in relation to clothes. Earlier research on identity projects has studied individual consumers in their early (e.g., Marion and Nairn, 2011), middle (e.g., Belk and Costa, 1998) or end of adulthood (e.g., Price et al., 2000) life stages. However, these earlier studies tend not to take account of times of identity transition (liminality within life stages) that might affect two members of a family at the same time – e.g. the entry of the daughter into adolescence. We see the entry of the daughter into adolescence as an opportunity to explore the self in evolution, i.e. for both the mother and her teenage daughter. There is much less sense of the finality of an inevitable end as suggested by discussions of the empty nest household. We see the transitional stage represented by the entry of the daughter into adolescence as a major motivator for both

mothers and daughters to engage in sharing practices, with a much more positive outlook around the ideas of identity renaissance and rebirth which ameliorate the feelings of grief and loss associated with this time of change within family life, particularly for the mothers.

<u>Liminality and sharing</u>

The paper contributes to the current studies on liminality and consumption in two ways. First, liminality has received scant attention in consumer research (Cappellini and Ai-wan Yen, 2016). Liminality was introduced by Schouten (1991) in the 1990s to show how products play a key role to help consumers as they go through identity transitions, overcome their sense of insecurity and make sense of their new identity. More recent research has shown the relevance of liminality to understanding mothers' (Tonner, 2016, Cappellini and Ai-wan Yen, 2016; Hogg et al., 2004) and teenagers' (Cody and Lawlor, 2011) sense of ambivalence about this new stage of family life. These prior studies have shown that possessions help both mothers and teens in overcoming the anxiety and uncertainties of their in-between status. One limitation is that this previous research assumes that consumers need to own the object. Our research is designed to counter this first limitation by revisiting the question of whether members of the family, who are in periods of identity transition, choose to share consumption objects rather than necessarily own the objects themselves. Our research contributes to the current studies on liminality and consumption by showing how sharing practices with liminal-stage consumers – mothers and teenage daughters – can help them reconstruct their selves during liminal periods.

Second, mothers are the ones who are most closely involved in influencing the identities of their teenage daughters, and the interactions between mothers and teenage

daughters shape the identities of both members of the dyad (Marshall, 1998). As mother-daughters' relationships are embedded in their cultural context, our research contributes to highlighting the differences in mother-daughter relationships in two different national cultures (for instance, the promotion of autonomy in France vs. obedience in Japan) and how these cultures impact differently on mothers and teenage daughters as they go through liminal periods, and how sharing practices may serve to support different types of identity work (e.g. identity renaissance or reconstruction for mothers; identity evolution or construction for daughters). More specifically, we demonstrate how national culture shapes the way mothers and their adolescent daughters construct, re-discover and solidify their identity inspirations through their experiences of sharing clothes. Our data reveal a typology of mother-teenage daughter dyads linked to national culture (France vs. Japan) and consumption identity motivations (self-expression vs. affiliation). Four profiles of mother-daughter dyads emerge, and only dyads in the first profile use "sharing in" as a tool for discovering and enacting new life projects (self-discovery) and for rediscovering past identity, enabling a mother to see herself in that role (self-retrieval), reflecting self-expression consumption motivations. In this first profile ("*…Feminine, like a woman…*" [France]), "sharing in" emerges as a means to co-constitute collective experiences: the (re)construction of their identity. In two other profiles (profiles 2, "*…I tell her what to do..*" [Japan] and 4, "*…She's my baby, high heels are not for her…*" [France]), the consumption motivation of affiliation inspires both mothers and daughters to focus on maintaining social hierarchical relationships, kinship and dependence. In the third profile, "*Keeping up to date*" [Japan], self-synchronization emerges as a self-expression

consumption motivation, which shows the importance for Japanese mothers and daughters of staying up to date with the times via the latest trends in fashion and clothing.

Managerial implications

Fashion retailers tend to consider sharing practices between mothers and teenage daughters as "global practices". For instance, the creative director of Comptoir des Cotonniers, the French precursor clothing brand for mother-teenage daughter inter-generational marketing, suggests: *"When people all around the world look at our ads, they feel a very close identification since the link between mothers and daughters is authentic, human, and universal"*. Comptoir des Cotonniers developed its inter-generational brand in Japan based on standardized communication campaigns. However, our findings shed new light on the various forms of sharing in different cultures.

In France, fashion retailers that target mother-daughter dyads in the first profile ("*…Feminine, like a woman…"*) should strengthen clothing inter-generational practices by providing unique, separate-but-linked offerings, intended for both mothers and their adolescent daughters. Retailers should also expand their changing rooms, so mothers and their daughters can interact, shop together, exchange clothes more easily, and buy the same clothing item. Retailers should also provide a digital mirror inside changing rooms so that teenage daughters can show pictures of the clothes they have tried on to their mothers, when mothers are not physically present, and make their decisions more easily thanks to accessing instantaneously their mothers' opinions. A "mother-daughter shooting area" might also be designed as a means for mothers and their teenage daughters to feel closer through photo shoots. Retailers might develop unique, separate-but-linked offerings, intended for both mothers and their adolescent daughters. Moreover, fashion retailers

should place more emphasis on the social and symbolic dimensions of clothing consumption in their communication strategy. For instance, retailers can position common shopping as an activity that French mothers engage in with their teenage daughters by designing campaigns communicating the idea that clothes sharing and joint purchases may enable mothers (and daughters) to (re)discover and share femininity. More generally, retailers should position their clothing brands from an inter-generational standpoint, which is a source of value for companies and should be viewed as a component of brand capital.

In contrast, in Japan, mothers do not share fashion outfits with their daughters, so it is strongly recommended to draw a clear line between items targeted at mothers compared with those aimed at their daughters. For instance, retailers should provide separate clothing offerings and separate areas in stores specifically set aside for women, separate from the realm of teenage girls. In the profile 2 ("*…I tell her what to do"* [Japan]), the consumption motivation of affiliation inspires both mothers and daughters to focus on maintaining social hierarchical relationships, kinship and dependence. Advertising should focus on the economic dimension of exchanges or co-ownership in their marketing communications (i.e. the smart shopper dimension). In the profile 3 ("*Keeping up to date*" [Japan]), advertising directed towards members of this segment should communicate about the newest trends in the field of fashion that mothers have to buy in order to keep up-to-date with the physical appearance norms imposed by society. These mothers are fashion experts and seek out the latest fashion trends. Retailers should communicate exclusively with these women (i.e. not include their daughters in any of the advertising messages), and put more and more effort into updating their fashion collection regularly in order to encourage Japanese mothers to come back to the store more often.

Limitations and future research

One limitation of our research is our unit of analysis: the mother-teenage daughter dyads. Future research should expand the unit of analysis to include other family dyads (e.g., father–teenage son, siblings) or groups (e.g. mother–daughter–grandmother) to determine if similar forms of sharing practices and consumption motivations are at work in identity (re)construction. As Epp and Price (2008) suggest, taking a broader unit of analysis of consumption, for example from the perspective of the family as a whole, means that the perceptions of family members about consumption motivations and collective identity projects could be captured. Also, our research only focused on Western and Eastern nations. Future research could replicate this study in emerging economies such as Brazil and India. Despite these limitations, this research provides an important first step in examining different types of sharing between mothers and teenage daughters and their consumption motivations in two cultural contexts.

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Table 1 : Informants' demographic characteristics

	FRENCH SAMPLE			
MOTHER'S FIRST NAME AND AGE	TEENAGE DAUGHTER'S FIRST NAME AND AGE	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	FAMILY CONFIGURATION	PROFESSION
Natacha, 42	Romane, 16	1	1 girl 16	Nurse
Laura, 41	Marie, 16	3	1 girl 16; 1 boy 15; 1 girl 9	Sports teacher
Séverine, 43	Lucie, 16	2	1 girl 16 ; 1 girl 9	Junior school teacher
Florence, 46	Annabelle, 16	3	1 girl 16 ;1 boy 15 ; 1 girl 11	Company secretary
Anne-Charlotte, 43	Leona, 14	2	1 girl 14 ; 1 boy 11	Marketing manager
Emilie, 43	Corentine, 16	3	1 boy 18 ; 1 girl 16 ; 1 girl 11	Nursery assistant
Louise, 38	Syriale, 14	2	1 girl 14 ; 1 girl 2 months	Medical secretary, currently on maternity leave
Nadine, 42	Amandine, 15	2	1 boy 20 ; 1 girl 15	Teaching assistant
Marie-Isabelle, 46	Eugénie, 17	3	1 girl 23 ; 1 boy 21 ; 1 girl 17	Housewife
Céline, 39	Morgane, 14	2	1 girl 14 ; 1 girl 10	Secretary
Béatrice, 49	Ophélie, 16	2	1 girl 16 ; 1 boy 15	Housewife
Nora, 44	Marion, 17	3	1 girl 17 ; 1 boy 14 ; 1 boy 3	Engineer
Inès, 50	Isabelle, 18	1	1 girl 18	Management assistant
Diane, 43	Julie, 16	2	1 girl 16 ; 1 boy 18	Doctor
Patricia, 49	Noémie, 17	3	1 girl 24 ; 1 girl 22 ; 1 girl 17	Retired nurse
Doriane, 46	Charlotte, 16	3	1 boy 23 ; 1 boy 21 ; 1 girl 16	Teacher

JAPANESE SAMPLE				
MOTHER'S FIRST NAME AND AGE	TEENAGE DAUGHTER'S FIRST NAME AND AGE	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	FAMILY CONFIGURATION	PROFESSION
Naomi, 42	Sakura, 16	3	1 girl 17 1 boy 14 1 girl 12	Part-timer, helping in her grandfather's company
Yumiko, 48	Misaki, 16	1	1 girl 16	Housewife
Mayumi, 44	Nanami, 16	2	1 girl 16 1 girl 13	Part-timer, web designer
Tomoko, 49	Natsuki, 17	4	1 boy 20 1 boy 18 1 girl 17 1 girl 13	Company secretary
Yuko, 54	Aoi, 17	3	1 girl 22 1 boy 20 1 girl 17	Housewife
Yumi, 46	Moe, 17	2	1 boy 17 1 girl 13	Housewife
Keiko, 47	Mitsuki, 16	2	1 girl 16 1 girl 14	Part-timer, English tutor, former cabin attendant Medical
Yoko, 46	Asuka, 15	2	1 girl 18 1 girl 15	Part-timer, beautician
Kumiko, 50	Shiori, 17	2	1 girl 21 1 girl 17	Housewife
Akemi, 48	Ayaka, 16	1	1 girl 16	Part-timer, teacher
Sachiko, 48	Rena, 17	2	1 girl 17 1 girl 14	Housewife
Mika, 46	Yui, 17	2	1 girl 17 1 girl 15	Part-timer, kindergarten
Kaori, 43	Miyu, 16	2	1 girl 16 1 girl 15	Part-timer, office worker at private school
Miho, 47	Rin, 16	2	1 girl 19 1 girl 16	Full-timer, manufacturer, Cannon
Megumi, 46	Mao, 16	1	1 girl 16	Part-timer, agriculture
Ai, 52	Haruna, 17	2	1 girl 18 1 girl 16	Part-timer, bookstore clerk

Table 2: Illustration of different types of clothes sharing practices – sharing in vs. sharing out

Different forms of sharing	**Sharing in vs. sharing out practices**	Bilateral: sharing in (France)	"We exchange shirts and small jackets, shoes too. We love sharing shoes. We both borrow lots of things." (Florence, 46, mother) "Our clothes are for both of us. We have a large part of our wardrobes in common." (Amandine, 15, daughter)
		Unilateral: Lending, without borrowing (sharing out) (Japan)	"If I wear exact the same fashion as my daughter and go out together with her, people would really stare at us and I would feel so uncomfortable. I want to be unremarkable like air." (Yoko, 46, mother) "I know that I can borrow clothes from my mom but I would feel embarrassed about wearing the same clothes as that of my mom at my age. Wearing the same outfit, walking side by side, that would be odd." (Asuka, 15, daughter)
		Frequent (France)	"We very often exchange sweaters, T-shirts, shoes, coats… Sharing clothes has kept me closer to my daughter. It brings us close to each other." (Diane, 43, mother) "We love the same clothing stores so we often buy clothes for both of us. This happens a lot. We like the same things, so each season, we have clothes that we jointly own." (Ophélie, 16, daughter)
		Infrequent (Japan)	"I don't borrow clothes from my daughter. I think it is better to have suitable clothes for the age. Suitable clothes for the mother's age, and suitable clothes for the daughter's age. Age decides the kind of clothes you wear. Good match with age is an important component in fashion." (Mayumi, 44, mother) "We rarely exchange and I don't really wear my mother's clothes. It's just that I don't feel right about wearing my mom's clothes. I just do not fit in them." (Natsuki, 17, daughter)
	Rules of sharing	Usually without prior permissions (France)	"If I see something I like in my daughters' closets, I'll wear it. I don't ask their permission. So it is equally understandable that they go into my closet too." (Marie-Isabelle, 46, mother) "I know that I don't disrupt my mom when I go to her closet. I can borrow her clothes without asking her." (Corentine, 16, daughter)
		Most often with prior permissions (Japan)	"I would always ask her beforehand, when I borrow her clothes. I would always try asking her like "I am wondering if I could borrow this from you"." (Miho, 47, mother) "When I want to wear her clothes, I would always ask my mother beforehand." (Rin, 16, daughter)
		Any items shared (France)	"We share everything, clothes, shoes, belts, tops, swimming suits, underwear, make-up products…. If I take my daughter's garment for a day or half a day, I don't wash it. I just put it back in the closet." (Nadège, 42, mother) "We share lots of things. Even underwear, that happens too." (Eugénie, 17, daughter)
		Some items not exchanged (Japan)	"When I borrow my daughter's clothes, and she says "That does not fit you", it means I look bad. Like some outfits which are too young for my age." (Miho, 47, mother) "I don't feel right about wearing my mom's clothes. Well, they are not for my age."(Aoi, 17 daughter)
		No time limit in borrowing (France)	"My daughter doesn't always return my clothes. She leaves them in the heap in her closet." (Louise, 38, mother) "I can keep her clothes in my closet as long as I want. My mom knows that if she wants to wear them, she can take them. There is no time limit when we share clothes." (Isabelle, 18, daughter)
		Time limit in borrowing (Japan)	"If possible, I would want all my clothes to be returned immediately after my daughter's wearing them." (Akemi, 48, mother) "I may need my clothes anytime soon, and you never know when. So I would like to have all my clothes in my hands, always." (Ayaka, 16, daughter)

Table 3: Examples of consumption motivations underlying sharing practices in different cultures

Self-expression	**Japan**	**Self-synchronization**	"Women are seen. It is important for me to keep up my image as a woman, to be at the top so that others see me as a noble woman. I follow fashion, and I always try to be in" (Mayumi, 44) "My mother always wears very fashionable clothes whenever she goes out other than to the local supermarkets. I adore my mother's style, she is very trendy and attaches a lot of importance to appearance and norms. I think she never forgets about being youthful. She always watches what she wears, and is always aware of the trends in fashion" (Asuka, 15)
	France	**Self-retrieval**	"When I met my husband, I was very feminine. I did not have children, and I paid attention to my style. It was the period when I was a real woman. When I had children, my role changed, I became a mom and my role was dedicated to protecting my daughter. I wasn't a wife nor a woman during this time period. Now my daughter is becoming a teenager, I think that she is my mirror, and I want to pay more attention to my clothing style. I want to be more feminine, young and attractive. When I share clothes with my daughter, I feel more attractive." (Nathalie, 50). "When I met my husband, I was more feminine than now, everything changed when I became a mother. When my children were young, I was devoted to them. I didn't think of myself nor of my clothing style. I look at myself more often now, I try to change my clothing style and to be more feminine. My femininity evolved when my daughter grew up, in particular, when she entered into adolescence. During adolescence, girls are becoming young women, and at the same time I think that most mothers face a decisive challenge: they seek to keep their social position within the family as mothers and they seek to rework their femininity that they have lost. I am in this situation" (Séverine, 43)
		Self-discovery	"I had never been feminine, when I was a teenage daughter, I looked like a little girl, when I was a student, and when I became a mother, I was too busy raising my kids. Now I have a teenage daughter at home, and I am a new Nora! And the new Nora discovers her femininity, loves spending time going shopping with her daughter and sharing clothes." (Nora, 44). "Adolescence is a period of changes, we grow up. We go through childhood to adulthood, and it is nice. When I was a child, I did not wear high heels and close-fitting garments. Today, I am a teenage girl who is discovering fashion, feminine clothes and this helps me to learn how to become a young woman. I use make up and I am starting to wear high heels. I think of the future with high heels, the future identity of being a woman" (Eugénie, 17)

Affiliation	**Japan**	**Hierarchical relationships**	"I think I am trying to keep my position as a parent. So my daughter does not even have the right to make any decisions, at least until she becomes 20 years old, an adult. She is still a high school girl, so as for her future career or something important, I tell her what to do. This is the parent-and-children matter" (Yuko, 54, mother). "My mom is strict but I think that it is good and normal because parents dominate and children have to respect them. I never question the decisions my mom makes, I think that she is an adult and thus she makes the right decisions for me" (Yui, 17)
		Society (importance of social norms)	"If I wear exactly the same fashion when my daughter and I go out together, we will be widely noticed and I will feel so uncomfortable. I want to be unremarkable like air. It is important to pay attention to our image for others". (Megumi, 46) "In my school, daughters keep their style, and do not look alike their mothers. It is important to keep our place, mothers for mothers, daughters for daughters. I don't know what others would think of me if I wore my mom's clothes" (Ayaka, 16)
	France	**Kinship**	"My daughter still has the body of a little girl. She's still an IKKS [clothing chain] little girl. We don't exchange clothes with each other, because she is still a little girl (Tatiana, 42) "I do not consider myself a young woman, I need my mom. I think that I am still a child. I need her when I go shopping, I prefer when she is present to have her opinion and advice and she can tell me if she likes the clothing items I would like to buy or not. My mom is always there for me. A great remedy for me. So I really really appreciate her" (Caroline, 17)

Figure 1: Sharing in the four profiles, mapping consumption motivations (affiliation vs. self-expression) and national culture (France vs. Japan)

Self-expression	**PROFILE 1** "…*Feminine, like a woman…*" Sharing-in ▪ Frequent bilateral exchanges (sharing) ▪ No prior permission ▪ No time limit on loan ▪ Frequent buying for co-ownership Self-retrieval Self-discovery	**PROFILE 3** "*Keeping up to date*" Sharing-out ▪ Gifts by the mother (due to refusal to share) ▪ Occasional lending to the daughter with strict rules (prior permission required, time limit on loans) Self-synchronisation
Consumption motivations		
Affiliation	**PROFILE 4** "…*She's my baby, high heels are not for her…*" Sharing-out ▪ Occasional and unilateral exchanges for both mothers and daughters (lending and borrowing) ▪ Prior permission required ▪ Time limit on loan Dependence	**PROFILE 2** "…*I tell her what to do…*". Sharing out ▪Occasional and unilateral exchanges for both mothers and daughters (lending and borrowing) ▪ No rules for mothers ▪ Strict rules for daughters (prior permission, time limit) Hierarchical relationships Society (importance of social norms)
	France **Culture context** Japan	

39

Identity (Re)construction through Sharing: A Study of Mother and Teenage Daughter

Dyads in France and Japan

Elodie Gentina, SKEMA Business School, Université de Lille, MERCUR Research Center

Margaret K. Hogg, Lancaster University Management School

Mototaka Sakashita, Keio University

Send correspondence to Elodie Gentina, SKEMA Business School, Université de Lille,

MERCUR Research Center, Avenue Will Brandt, 59 777 Euralille, France, Email:

elodie.gentina@skema.edu, +33 (0)2 20 21 59 62

Margaret K. Hogg, Department of Marketing, Lancaster University Management School, Charles

Carter Building, D42, Lancaster LA1 4YX, UK, Email: m.hogg@lancaster.ac.uk

Mototaka Sakashita, Graduate School of Business Administration, Keio University, 4-1-1

Hiyoshi, Kohoku, Yokohama 2238526 Japan, 81-45-564-2038, Email: m_sakash@kbs.keio.ac.jp