Dressing Down, Looking Up: Unmasking Self-Determination in Student Dress Through the Covid-19 Pandemic

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DRESSING DOWN, LOOKING UP: UNMASKING SELF-DETERMINATION IN

STUDENT DRESS THROUGH THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

A thesis presented by

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Dressing Down, Looking Up: Unmasking Self-Determination in Student Dress Through

the COVID-19 Pandemic

Abstract

The daily act of getting dressed is a universal experience in modern society, a way of expressing one's sense of self. Clothes, in turn, are a key marker of identity, shaping onlookers' perceptions and categorization of passersby into social groups. From these groups (e.g., men and women, professionals and workers), boundaries emerge. Despite the power of dress as a tool of categorization, sociologists have paid surprisingly little attention to what we wear and why. Specifically, it is unclear how much control individuals have over their own attire. Dress codes and mask mandates constrain freedom, of course, but how much agency do individuals have—or feel like they have—to wear what they want outside of these restrictions? And how might identifying these hidden constraints extend our understanding of symbolic boundaries and social categorization processes?

This thesis explores how agency and autonomy in youth sartorial decisions have shifted during an unsettled time, and then leverages those insights to build theory on the role of clothing in boundary work. Through a set of 10 panel interviews with Harvard undergraduates conducted a year apart, 35 additional interviews, and a survey administered to over 200 undergraduates and 150 local high school students, I find that youth sartorial autonomy and agency have temporarily expanded during the pandemic.

Post-pandemic, students anticipate returning to pre-pandemic attire. For both clothes and masks, boundary work and autonomy operate in a cyclical fashion: as individuals feel constrained in their clothing choice, they increasingly draw boundaries that further constrain others; conversely, as individuals perceive a greater level of control over their attire, these boundaries fade, empowering others to dress to their liking. By drawing this conceptual link, findings offer a new vantage point for cultural sociologists to analyze the structural processes undergirding boundary work writ large. With striking shifts in gendered dress during the pandemic, findings also have implications for social change theorists interested in (un)doing gender.

Acknowledgments

Being one who takes social constructivism to heart, I know there are innumerable people who shaped the circumstances around which I was inspired and able to write this thesis. So that this section does not outspan the rest of the paper, I've narrowed it down to a few select people, but if you are reading this, please know that you belong here as well.

When writing this project, thanks are in order first and foremost to Dr. Viterna, my trusted advisor. Thanks as well go to Nicolette, Sean, and Joey, for advising; to Mr. Cruz and Mr. Collins, for helping me gather data in a turbulent time; to Tripp and Jenn, for their close reads, and to the Safra Center for Ethics and URAF, for financial support.

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Chapter One: Introduction

It is 5:34pm, and my interviewee is running late. I gingerly place my cup of tea back on the table I moved into my parents' basement for the study, and start drafting an email to ask if she needs to reschedule—she's a crucial participant. As soon as I hit send, a text on my phone appears from an unfamiliar number, with a cursory apology and a request to delay another five minutes. By 5:38pm, María[1] has joined the Zoom, and is eager to make up for lost time. During pleasantries, she reveals that she's just returned home from a trip to Washington, D.C. The researcher in me can't help but get excited: as the only interviewee who wrote in their survey that they don't wear masks, I wonder to myself whether she might have gone to the Capitol to participate in the attempted insurrection. I bide my time before asking the contentious question, instead opening with a breezier one about how many masks she owns. She answers, then remarks that it's time to "back off a little" from mask-wearing. I take a deep breath: *now or never*.

I shouldn't have worried about scaring María away with any political questions; she says that she is used to speaking against the current of campus discourse, and enjoys sharing her controversial views. Her initial justification for not wearing masks is that they seem to be ineffective at stopping COVID-19—why else are the numbers rising?—but it becomes clear by the end of her first response that something else is at play: "We've been kind of told to follow these rules, and you're perceived as heartless if you don't like it. But I don't know, I like the freedom as we've always had to not cover our face."

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[1] I use pseudonyms for all interviewees and particularized domiciles to protect their confidentiality. I attempt to align the pseudonyms with interviewees' cultural backgrounds, selecting names that are culturally linked and used with a similar level of frequency in the current U.S. population. Alternative pseudonyms for María could be Elena, Lucia, or Sofia.

It turns out that she went to the Capitol a day after the attempted insurrection in an effort to "get the real situation on the ground." On her way back, she bought a red Keep America Great (KAG) hat to wear on her two flights home. While she received no glares or criticisms for the hat, she got in trouble with a flight attendant on the first plane for not wearing a mask, and had to sign a pledge to wear one on the second leg of her return. This kind of overt restriction makes her angry, and she says that back home, she tries to avoid businesses that enforce a mask mandate: "[T]hey almost like the power to tell you to put your mask on. … Like, don't give them the satisfaction of being the ones who told me to put it on."

I am interested in why she waited to buy a KAG hat until the very end of the (now former) administration's time in office. I ask her whether she plans to wear the hat when she returns to campus. She pauses for a few seconds to think, then responds:

> I don't know. Do I want to be, like, blatant about it like that too? Like maybe one day for the heck of it, but it's a good question. Do you think I should, like around Harvard Yard? I'm not usually that big of a hat person anyways, but maybe it's important. We'll see. It looks like Biden's getting in, so it'll just be like I'm a sore loser conspiracy theorist at that point."

She adds that while she knows a few pro-Trump students on campus, and is comfortable expressing her views in conversation, she feels far less secure putting her politics on such obvious display to peers without context. I thank her for her time, ask her to promote the interview to her pro-Trump friends, close the Zoom window, and take a deep breath.

Although none of María's friends reached out for additional interviews, a constant stream of news reports and publicly sourced videos uploaded to social media suggest her anecdotes and perspectives on mask-wearing are commonly held among a large swath of Americans. This may not be surprising: in a country where "don't tread on me" flies on

flagpoles and "live free or die" is tattooed onto biceps, citizens righteously lash out against overt restrictions on their ability to walk through life as they please.

However, despite fighting vigilantly for the right to decide what goes on their face, anti-maskers are far less concerned with the right to decide what covers the rest of their body. Few, if any, actively protest indecent exposure laws. In six states, residents are free to walk topless in public, regardless of gender, but this is a right rarely utilized (Free the Nipple v. City of Fort Collins, 2019). Most wear clothes that broadly conform to styles aligned with their gender identity, socioeconomic status, and culture. Some, like María, are even hesitant to wear political garb in public, despite strong First Amendment decisions protecting their right to do so.

Sociologists are familiar with such apparent inhibitions flying in the face of explicit freedoms. Decisions to not exercise one's freedom may stem from anticipated consequences of offending the status quo, like María's discomfort wearing a pro-Trump hat on a campus saturated with liberal views. Alternatively, decisions to not exercise one's freedom may come from internalized norms, making deviation itself undesirable, like in the case of women taking topless strolls down the street. When articulating these unfreedoms, sociologists use the language of *agency* and *structure* to explain how social norms undergird the actions of individuals. The relationship between these concepts is contentious, possibly the "central problem" of the discipline (Archer 2003).

While agency is a broad concept to describe individuals' actions, I argue that the above two kinds of unfreedoms—anticipated consequences and internalized norms—are meaningfully distinct, and should be analyzed separately. Specifically, I argue that we should distinguish freedom from agency, and agency from autonomy. Briefly, *freedom* is

the capacity to act without external restrictions, *agency* is the capacity to act without external influences, and *autonomy* is an individual's perception of their capacity to act without constraint. I further argue that freedom is limited by *overt restrictions* like laws and threats of violence. Autonomy is limited by *overt influences* like peer pressure and social judgment. Agency is limited by *covert influences* like subliminal messaging and societal norms. When an individual has autonomy, they exhibit *feelings of agency*, but this does not mean they have agency—rather, it means they see themselves as fully in control of their decisions, though they may in fact be captive to covert influences. These dimensions of choice are not mutually exclusive, and often overlap; together, they can be understood as a triad of self-determination.

As the death toll continuously rises in a globally devastating pandemic, it is reasonable to question why research that analyzes this triad matters. From an academic standpoint, as scholars living in a society preoccupied with freedom and working within a field preoccupied with agency, we should be readily prepared to distinguish between the two. I argue that identifying and categorizing autonomy as a separate, third concept helps clarify agency, which itself "remains elusive" despite its import across the discipline as a foundational concept (Jasper 2004:2). To understand structure, its analytical counterpart, we too must understand agency. While material problems certainly demand attention in a time of crisis, an unsettled time is uniquely valuable to generate new, contextualized interpretations of theoretical concepts.

This research is also important from a normative standpoint: if we believe that these dimensions of choice are ones toward which we should strive—separately or together—then we have an obligation to study their operationalization, even when

applied to a topic as seemingly trivial as fashion (which I argue below is not so trivial after all). Through careful analysis of freedom, autonomy, and agency in sartorial decisions, we may better understand how to apply these concepts to other kinds of decisions with more clear and direct social impacts, such as decisions around risk-taking in a pandemic, environmental sustainability, and self-care.

Dress provides an excellent case study for investigating how the everyday decisions we make—small decisions that feel wholly individualized and agentic—may play a key role in such broader social issues. Of course, mask-wearing is closely linked to public health and transmission prevention in a global pandemic (Chu et al. 2020). Even in times of relative health, however, the clothing industry and our fashion consumption have ramifications for the environment, contributing eight to ten percent of global CO_2 emissions and consuming 79 trillion liters of water per year (Niinimäki et al. 2020). On a personal level, clothes have an impact on the wearer, with one's sense of self wrapped up in one's dress, referred to as one's "second skin" (Fleetwood-Smith, Hefferon, and Mair 2019; Horn and Gurel 1981). Feelings of self-worth and body shame are linked to self-objectification, often executed through dress (Tiggemann and Andrew 2012).

In addition to tangible social issues, dress may have a bearing on intangible ones, including the generational reproduction of inequality. Cultural sociologists study *symbolic boundaries* to understand the process of social differentiation and its role in the legitimization of inequality (Lamont and Molnár 2002). Scholarly analysis of fashion across centuries demonstrates that dress has been weaponized as a tool for class and gender differentiation (Crane 2012; Entwistle 2015; Simmel 1957; Veblen 1899). Dress is not the root cause of social inequalities, but it has a clear impact on the hierarchization of

society into distinct and unequal social groups. Its position as a highly visible marker means dress also has distinct potential to shift perceptions: one can change one's clothes far more quickly and effortlessly than one can change one's hair, weight, or height.

The seeds of this research project first germinated in my sophomore spring, after a series of courses on gender, schooling, and identity. At the outset, I was primarily interested in understanding how youth perceive and enact agency in sartorial decisions, and how these decisions affect their self-concept. Given the restrictive power of high school dress codes and parental figures,[2] and the formative stages of socialization that accompany adolescence, high schools seemed like an ideal site to study linkages between agency and identity, alongside a small set of interviews with college students to provide retrospective context.

COVID-19 thrust the world into chaos, and my research with it. Tragic losses of life and livelihood swept across communities, and responsive measures, from stay-at-home orders to mask mandates, dramatically disrupted social relations. As local high schools adjusted to online learning last spring and fall, logistical challenges overwhelmed prior research agreements. The contexts in which youth navigate sartorial decisions also shifted, demanding revisions to both the methodological approach as well as the questions asked of participants. Amidst the calamity, a natural experiment emerged: I was able to compare data collected prior to campus upheaval to data collected during the pandemic, offering a window into the effect of COVID-19 as an exogenous shock on youth sartorial decisions. My revised research seeks to answer two questions: First, in an unsettled time of decreased social interaction, how have agency and autonomy

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[2] While I analyzed and collected data on parent/guardian(s), I refer to this category as parents for ease of flow throughout the thesis; this is not meant to diminish the importance of non-parent guardians.

in youth sartorial decisions shifted? Second, as youth make these sartorial decisions, how does their dress affect identity formation?

With this in mind, I set out to study youth sartorial decisions within three academic clusters in Greater Boston: Harvard College, Abbott Lawrence Academy, and Lexington High School. Through a set of 10 panel interviews conducted a year apart, 35 additional interviews, and 371 surveys, I leverage the pandemic as a quasi-event study to analyze youth agency and autonomy in dress, as well as boundary work before, during, and after social isolation.

I find broad concurrences in data from Harvard undergraduates and high- and low-income high school youth that before the pandemic, external influences undermined agency and autonomy in student dress. Except where dress codes were present, societal norms and peer pressure operated as the primary external influences. The pandemic and its concomitant social isolation have somewhat weakened these influences for most, corresponding to an increase in autonomy. Shifts in attire point toward a parallel increase in agency. Changes, however, are temporary: there is relative consensus among interviewees that post-pandemic, they will return, some excitedly, others resignedly, to pre-pandemic attire. Influences in dress are differentially restrictive across gender, class, and race, but young women[3] appear to shoulder a comparatively heavier burden than their peers pre-pandemic. This is intriguingly contrasted with a decrease in autonomy for some women during the pandemic, as the lack of an audience for their dress leaves them feeling powerless to wear what they want. For these women, agency and autonomy are in conflict, as such internalized values can only be achieved in the presence of others.

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[3] While I collected data on all gender identities, I only had enough data to make claims about women and men. This is further addressed in both Chapter 3 (Methods) and Chapter 7 (Conclusion).

Interviews reveal extensive moral, socioeconomic, and cultural boundary work in college students' perceptions of dress, particularly when reflecting on campus fashion pre-pandemic. Judgment most often takes the form of drawing symbolic boundaries along class and intra-gender lines. Sartorial boundary work is more stringent for young women than young men, and for lower-income students than higher-income students. While Harvard fashion follows a top-down model, with luxury brands a dominant force, students of all socioeconomic strata cast aspersions on high fashion. Young women draw moral boundaries between themselves and other modes of femininity. During the pandemic, masks have become a hot-button issue, with most mask-wearers drawing rigid moral (and to a degree, cultural) boundaries between themselves and anti-maskers. In dress, boundary work and autonomy interact in a cyclical process: as autonomy contracts due to external influences, individuals come to resent their positions, and engage in judgment that puts further pressure on others' sartorial autonomy. As autonomy expands with reduced social interaction, contented individuals refrain from drawing these harsh boundaries, relieving social pressure and allowing others to indulge in self-motivated dress. Thus, autonomy appears to be conceptually linked to the reinforcement and dilution of boundaries, an important note for the field of cultural sociology.

Feelings of agency and boundary work in dress have consequences. Students of color report wearing masks more consistently than their white peers, and women more than men, despite overwhelmingly stating that race and gender do not play a role in their decisions to wear a mask. Women are significantly more likely than men to incorporate environmental sustainability into their clothing consumption. During the pandemic, the clothing and adornments worn by students have almost converged across genders, as

have the relative weight of decision criteria and reported time spent getting ready. This may correspond to a weakening of gender as performativity declines. Gender abolitionists should not get too excited: interview data strongly suggest these shifts in dress and decision criteria will reverse post-pandemic.

Abstracted findings have implications for social change theory. While the intensity of external influences may be contingent on social relations, a temporary gap in social interaction is insufficient to fully disrupt internalized norms: the expectation of future social relations ensures durability in self-concept, constraining agency. However, the association between autonomy and boundary work may offer a glimmer of hope. Given boundary work's role in the reproduction of inequality, developing strategies to expand youth autonomy may give future generations more power over not just their feelings of agency in decision-making, but their relationships to one another, and thus their position within—and the very structure of—the social order itself.

In the chapters to come, I first review relevant literature on autonomy and agency, on symbolic boundaries and identity formation, and on the consequences of dress, building theory through applied interdisciplinary analysis. Next, I describe the data collection strategies and methods I employed, as well as the actual data. Then, I present and contextualize findings in three chapters: developing the triad of self-determination; tracking shifts in the pandemic; and linking self-determination with boundary work. At the end of each chapter, I relate findings to literature and theory. Finally, I synthesize findings across concepts, presenting implications for youth fashion and identity formation in a time of crisis, and drawing inferences for sociological theory more broadly.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

> In closing, let me renew the invitation to sociologists to take fashion seriously and give it the attention and study which it deserves and which are so sorely lacking. Fashion should be recognized as a central mechanism in forming social order in a modern type of world.
>
> —Herbert Blumer (1969:291)

Sociological theory of fashion is, like fashion itself, constantly evolving (Aspers and Godart 2012; Sellerberg and Aspers 2015). There is no disciplinary consensus on how fashion is socially structured, where it originates, or even what counts as fashion. Though a full analysis of fashion should include the market forces and garment centers that produce the clothes we wear (Almila 2016), this paper will focus on the consumer side of fashion. Thus, for the purposes of this paper, I define *fashion* as the practice of dress and adornment, using these terms interchangeably.

Since I am primarily interested in fashion as a mechanism to understand broader sociocultural concepts, I begin with a discussion of the role of symbolic boundaries and boundary work in identity formation. Then, I situate existing theories of fashion and identity within a boundaries framework, which has not formally been done to date. Finally, I demonstrate how integrating interdisciplinary concepts of autonomy and agency within a new triad of self-determination enriches our conceptualization of symbolic boundaries as they pertain to fashion, and improves sociological understandings of the constraints structuring individuals' identities and decisions. Lyrics from pop singer Taylor Swift are threaded throughout the chapter to exemplify concepts which many experience—or at the very least hear—in their daily lives.

2.1 Boundaries

Autonomy and agency are important because they help individuals act—or feel like they act—as their true selves. This begs the question of what the "self" is. Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische (1998) describe the self as "a dialogical structure … relational all the way down" (p. 974). Structural symbolic interactionists agree, noting that one's personal identity is composed of multiple *roles*, positions within social networks; these are then aggregated into one's sense of self through a medley of external interactions and internal processes (Stets and Burke 2014; Stryker 1980; Stryker and Burke 2000). If identity is constructed through relations, then the drawing and erasing of boundaries between oneself and others must be critical to identity formation.

Symbolic boundaries are intersubjective lines of difference used by individuals to define and categorize the world around them, whether into self and other, high- and low-status, or sacred and profane (Durkheim 1965; Epstein 1992; Lamont and Molnár 2002). The process of drawing symbolic boundaries is called *boundary work*, a term repurposed by cultural sociologists from its original use as a marker of difference between scientific and nonscientific studies (Gieryn 1983; Lamont, Pendergrass, and Pachucki 2015). Through the iterative process of boundary work across communities, *social boundaries* of material inequality and exclusion gradually emerge (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990; Lamont 1992). Dominant groups use boundaries to define cultural and social legitimacy, protecting and extending their privileged status at the expense of non-dominant groups. Some scholars forward the *omnivorousness thesis*, which posits that high-status individuals may use symbolic boundaries to engage in cross-consumption that bridges social divisions, as in the case of rap and other widely

enjoyed music genres (Peterson 2005; Peterson and Kern 1996). Others argue that such cross-consumption is simply another tool for distinction and perceived superiority (Friedman et al. 2015; Lizardo and Skiles 2012).

Whether or not the omnivorousness thesis holds in certain circumstances, many boundaries still exacerbate inequality. To foster inclusion and weaken these boundaries, Michèle Lamont (2019) recommends three strategies: *plurality of criteria of worth* (Moen et al. 2013; Stark 2009), *ordinary universalism* (Cherry 2010; Craig and Richeson 2016; Feinberg and Willer 2015), and *destigmatizing the stigmatized* (Clair, Daniel, and Lamont 2016; Skrentny 2009). In effect, the first draws new boundaries around attainable values, the second weakens existing boundaries by focusing on commonalities, and the third delinks the negative stereotypes associated with boundaries. Each has shown promise in different contexts, and may help interpret shifts in boundaries during the pandemic.

Boundaries and Class Identity Formation

Boundary work has been used extensively to study interclass dynamics and the legitimization of inequality. In his research, Pierre Bourdieu (1986) analyzed how the flow and accumulation of three forms of *capital*—social, economic, and cultural—impact one's perception of the world around them, and the treatment one receives in different environmental contexts, or *fields*. In schools, low-income students lack access to cultural capital that high-income students develop at home, leading to self-judgment, attrition, and the reproduction of class inequality (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). Culture is established through exclusionary boundaries dictated by upper strata, which over time subtly shape one's disposition, or *habitus* (Bourdieu 1984; Lamont and Lareau 1988). I elaborate on

habitus and its subconscious construction in the following section, but it is important to note here that one's habitus reinforces class boundaries.

Lamont's (1992) cross-national research on boundary work identified three categories of boundaries differentially drawn in the United States and France: *moral* (character), *socioeconomic* (social position), and *cultural* (refinement). American male participants emphasized socioeconomic and moral boundaries over cultural boundaries, which are far more loosely defined in the United States than in France. Neoliberalism has continued to rigidify American socioeconomic boundaries in the twenty-first century (Lamont 2019; McCall 2013). At elite secondary and undergraduate institutions, students wed cultural and economic capital to draw boundaries between themselves and peers at other institutions (Binder and Abel 2019; Khan 2011). Within universities, low-income students without cultural capital are doubly disadvantaged, and struggle not only to excel academically, but to socially integrate at all (Armstrong and Hamilton 2013; Jack 2019).

Boundaries and Gender Identity Formation

Most leading researchers in sociology, psychology, and biology understand gender as a socially constructed phenomenon that relates to, but is separate from, the biological notion of sex (Fausto-Sterling 2019; Fausto-Sterling, García Coll, and Lamarre 2012, Hird 2000; Hyde et al. 2019). Candace West and Don Zimmerman (1987) further distinguish between *sex categories*, the identificatory displays one uses to present and perceive whether someone is male or female, and *gender*, the conduct one enacts in order to stay accountable to one's masculinity or femininity. Gender is "done," or created, through interactions with others, from smiling at strangers to holding open a door. Social interactions construct and emphasize differences so stark that gender becomes a primary

frame for identity (Epstein 1992; Ridgeway 1997; West and Zimmerman 2009). This categorization process is almost instantaneous for strangers—one of the very first things we do upon meeting a new person is to place them in either the "man/boy" or "woman/girl" category—making gender a towering boundary (Ito and Urland 2003; Ridgeway 2009; Stangor et al. 1992).

More recent research demonstrates that, when people "do" gender, they do not simply aspire to enact "masculinity" or "femininity," but rather "hegemonic masculinity" or "hegemonic femininity." *Hegemonic masculinity* is currently the most honored, most normative way of being a man. By hierarchizing different configurations of masculinity over one another, hegemonic masculinity encourages intra-gender boundaries: men act and think in ways that convince them they are better men than others (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). *Hegemonic femininity* similarly molds intra-gender boundaries to rank femininities; it differs in that it privileges femininities that legitimize subordination to men (Davis 1997; Schippers 2007). Through these hegemonic systems, adolescent girls and women are often caught in an identity double bind: they are subjected to both the Madonna-whore complex *and* the virgin-slut dichotomy, somehow expected to maintain sensuality and chastity simultaneously, all while being punished for performing any permutation (Crawford and Popp 2003; Hamilton and Armstrong 2009; Tolman 2002). Across class lines, slut discourse is linked to "trashiness," making sexual activity particularly stigmatized for low-income women (Armstrong et al. 2014).

High school and college constitute a time of gender intensification, amplified by the increasing salience of peer relationships (Côté and Allahar 1996). Boundary work is crucial to the process of intra-gender identity formation for adolescent girls (Driscoll

2002). In secondary schools, *girlfighting* is a mode of boundary work characterized by relational aggression—indirect jabs through gossip and rumors—and comes from a "struggle to make sense of or to reject [one's] secondary status in the world and to find ways to have power and to experience feeling powerful," particularly in relation to one's peers (Brown 2003:32; Pascoe 2012). Female students navigate the virgin/slut dichotomy by drawing boundaries between themselves and more promiscuous girls, while affirming promiscuity in the abstract (Fjær, Pedersen, and Sandberg 2015; Raby 2010). Such intra-group boundaries fit Paulo Freire's (1970) concept of *horizontal violence*, a product of internalized oppression and proximity (Skeggs 2005).

Can gender boundaries become permeable or fluid? Judith Butler (1988) argues that gender's status as constructed means it can be reconstructed through "the breaking or subversive repetition of … style" (p. 520). Non-binary and transgender individuals break and subvert gender performativity, suggesting gender is not *impossibly* rigid at the individual level (Butler 2004; Rahilly 2015). Of course, many individuals consciously or subconsciously wish to alter their gender performativity, and still find themselves unable to do so; those who do often face discrimination (Lombardi et al. 2002). This indicates that, at a societal level, gender boundaries are quite rigid. For those invested in destabilizing the gender binary, promoting a plurality of criteria of worth by "turning up the volume" on sex categories—creating new permutations of gender expression—might be an easier strategy than eliminating existing gender norms under the guise of ordinary universalism (Bem 1995:333).

2.2 Sartorial Boundaries

Fashion is a particularly salient form of boundary work, as items of dress are highly visible social boundaries that have been stylized to signify conformity within and differentiation across social groups. Clothing can be used as a marker of occupation (e.g., police uniform), of class (e.g., high-end brands), of gender (e.g., skirts), or of religion (e.g., hijabs). While items of dress are social boundaries, sartorial decisions—the mental processes that determine what one can or should wear—constitute symbolic boundaries.

Fashion and Class

Fashion theorists spend a great deal of time interpreting the "direction" of fashion. Some believe that fashion flows in a *top-down* manner, with the wealthy and powerful setting the styles of dress for others to follow. Others contend that fashion flows in the opposite direction: these *bottom-up* theories articulate either that lower-status subgroups (often youth) set counter-cultural norms that are absorbed by the mainstream culture, or that fashion is an individualized choice.

i. Top-Down Model

Two scholars advanced dominant theories at the end of the nineteenth and middle of the twentieth centuries that have shaped the top-down model. Thorstein Veblen (1899) articulated the theory of *conspicuous consumption*, which posits that consumption by wealthier individuals is driven by an impulse to demonstrate their wealth, and not by utility. Closely associated is *conspicuous waste*, in which individuals show off their riches by wasting their money on *un*-useful items, such as luxury goods. In doing so, individuals both create and gain status. Other socioeconomic strata proceed to follow

through *pecuniary emulation*, in which they adopt the new styles and manners of dress introduced by the upper class.

Once middle- and lower-class individuals have collectively appropriated new trends and styles of dress, the upper class is no longer distinguished by dress. Georg Simmel (1957) argued that upper-class individuals are driven not just to show off their wealth, but to protect their status by *excluding* lower strata. Thus, once the "mass" have successfully imitated a fashion trend, the upper class sets a new trend to reify divisions between themselves and others. This trickle-down effect continues in a repetitive cycle. A range of recent studies continue to find support for a top-down model (Galak et al. 2016; Piacentini and Mailer 2004; Souiden, M'Saad, and Pons 2011; Swain 2002; Woodside 2012), but over the last three decades, this theory has somewhat gone out of fashion.

ii. Bottom-Up Models

A dominant group of fashion scholars acknowledge the historicity of Veblen's and Simmel's theories, but contend that cultural contexts have shifted over time such that a trickle-down effect can no longer explain fashion trends (Crane 2012; Rocamora 2002). Herbert Blumer (1969) argued that in the twentieth century, fashion designers began to cater to a greater base of consumers, giving rise to a *collective selection* process wherein tastes converged around new styles, disrupting the class differentiation process of earlier centuries. These tastes may be drawn to the styles of lower strata. Certain subcultures have begun to not only take control of their own dress, but to guide the fashion of higher status individuals. One of these subcultures is youth: fueled by resistance to the dominant culture, "[y]oung people have created their own codes and … have become the decision makers" (Hebdige 1979; Valmont 1994:22). Certain subgroups of youth operate as

counter-cultural "style tribes" that advance innovative modes of dress, intriguing and captivating the mainstream (Crane and Bovone 2002; Field 1970; Polhemus 1994; Thompson and Haytko 1997).

Bottom-up theories do not necessitate that every low-strata individual set fashion and that every high-strata individual follow: rather, they emphasize the possibilities for unique dress across and within groups. In the twenty-first century, with the rise of an online globalized clothing market and cheaper items of dress, a multidirectional flow of fashion has developed (Kawamura 2005; Laurell 2016). Thrifting is a pertinent example of bottom-up fashion in the twenty-first century: high-strata individuals have taken a budgeting approach used by low-strata individuals and co-opted it under aesthetic and moral rationales, drawing symbolic boundaries between themselves and non-thrifting high-strata individuals (Steward 2017; Yan, Bae, and Xu 2015). Taylor Swift, a dominant voice in youth pop culture for the last fifteen years, calls out this cross-consumption in her 2010 song *Better Than Revenge*: "Oh they didn't teach you that in prep school so it's up to me, // But no amount of vintage dresses gives you dignity."

Fashion and Gender

Fashion plays a critical role in gender boundaries and identity formation. Among gender boundaries, dress is vital: with the exception of hair, "clothes are *the* visible social marker of gender difference" (Entwistle 2015:xxii). As mentioned above, gender is a primary frame for identity—and clothes are the mechanism by which we categorize strangers (Lorber 1994). This has evolved beyond physical clothes and permeated our social order: the figures on our restroom doors are demarcated by their dress (Garber 1992). Clothes have become so strictly associated with gender that clothes themselves

hold potential to destabilize the gender binary: when one "cross-dresses," this is quickly perceived as a signal for gender fluidity. In this way, clothing *becomes* gender, or at the very least a "means by which gender is slipped on and off" (Suthrell 2004:3). Still, most stick to their genders' prescribed clothes, rigidifying the binary and making dress a prominent part of gender identity formation, both i) between and ii) within genders.

i. Inter-Gender Formation

From a young age, children are socialized to associate gender with clothing and accessories, even more strongly than with genitalia (Cahill 1989). This is exemplified in a retort from two boys arguing in nursery school whether having a penis was enough to make one of them a boy, despite wanting to clip his hair: "everybody has a penis; only girls wear barrettes" (Bem 1983:612). An ethnographic study in the American Midwest found that by age three, clothing functioned as a determinant of gender, with those in pink clothes assumed to be girls (Martin 1998). Teachers more frequently fussed with girls' clothing, thrusting girls into a system of gendered interaction. A California study found two-year olds had already begun self-socializing through dress (Halim et al. 2018).

By early adolescence, girls face a wide array of clothing options at department stores, but most articles laid out for them are sexualized (Goodin et al. 2011). Sexualized clothes negatively affect how onlookers perceive the wearer, with studies suggesting even by fifth grade, girls in sexualized clothes are viewed as less competent and moral (Graff, Murnen, and Smolak 2012; Gray et al. 2011). Girls who violate dress codes are viewed similarly (Gurung et al. 2018). This has consequences beyond peer judgment: in both the United States and the United Kingdom, a woman's attire has been admissible evidence in court that she was culpable in her own assault (Gregory and Lees 1999; Wolf 1991).

Society draws moral boundaries around those who wear sexualized clothes, subjecting primarily girls to harsh judgment as their gender identity is still developing. Swift reinforces the gendered fashion divide in her 2014 song *Style*, leaning into sexualized dress while reassuring she still has dignity: "You got that long hair, slicked back, white t-shirt // And I got that good girl faith and a tight little skirt."

ii. Intra-Gender Formation

Among girls, fashion operates as a mechanism for gender affiliation in childhood, and moral differentiation in adolescence. In a Finnish ethnographic study, girls at a daycare used clothing as a gendered socializing mechanism, making friends through conversations about and tactile interaction with their clothes (Paju 2018). Once girls begin to face the hurdles of sexualized clothes, however, hegemonic femininity sparks girlfighting. One particularly pernicious form is slut-shaming, in which girls draw moral boundaries between themselves and allegedly promiscuous peers (Ringrose and Renold 2012). In determining one's sluttiness, dress is almost as important as one's actual behavior: "[S]luts … wear tight, provocative clothes, make gross comments, or throw themselves at boys" (Brown 2003:138). In focus group interviews with secondary students in Ontario, girls rattled off complaints that their dress code was sexist, but also judged their peers who broke the code as self-degrading, in so doing drawing boundaries between themselves and bad modes of femininity. When asked what it means when a girl dresses that way, one participant responded: "Basically, 'I have no self-respect, I'm going to flaunt myself in the hope of feeling loved'" (Raby 2010:344). Swift draws sartorial boundaries between herself and the girlfriend of her secret crush in her 2008 song *You Belong With Me*: "But she wears short skirts, I wear t-shirts // She's cheer captain and I'm

on the bleachers." These different models of femininity expressed through dress contrast her with, and pit her against, her romantic rival.

2.3 Autonomy and Agency

The previous sections demonstrate that while boundary work is not inherently problematic, it tends to play a leading role in the legitimization and reproduction of social inequality. Dress has been fashioned as a weapon to augment social boundaries between collective identities, exacerbating classism, hegemonic femininity, and the gender binary. With this in mind, why do individuals, particularly from marginalized groups, continue to dress within these boundaries? Is it done intentionally, or is it done subconsciously? Are individuals truly free to dress as they want, or are they in fact confined by institutional rules, circumstantial limitations, and societal norms? To begin to answer these questions, I argue that we first need to elevate and clarify the role of freedom, autonomy, and agency in studies of boundaries.

To understand sartorial decisions, we must examine the structures undergirding one's decision-making capacity. The purpose of this section is to distinguish between freedom, autonomy, and agency. I first delineate the three through philosophy, the discipline with the cleanest conceptual cleavage; then, I contextualize autonomy within psychological literature, and finally I return to sociological theory to discuss agency in more familiar terms.

Philosophy

Autonomy is polysemic across disciplines. While the term appears unobtrusively in psychological, political, medical, and legal contexts, it is most fiercely debated in philosophy, where varying conceptions of autonomy undergird expression, identity, and

morality itself (Hill 1989). At its core, autonomy is the perceived capacity to make decisions by oneself, achieved when one's decision-making criteria are recognized as one's own (Christman 2020). Autonomy differs from standard philosophical conceptions of freedom: while the latter addresses external constraints on an action one takes, autonomy measures whether one's desires motivating that action are self-realized (Berlin 1969).[4] One can be free but not autonomous (an addict buying a pack of cigarettes); one can be autonomous but not free (a convict seeking a reduced sentence).

To evaluate if one's decision-making criteria are one's own, philosophers recommend individuals take a procedural test: if they are either unable to critically reflect on the source of their motivations or unable to dispel unwanted influences, then they lack autonomy (Dworkin 1988). The first part of this test requires "atomistic" reflection as a pure version of oneself, abstracted from social norms and lived experiences (Mackenzie & Stoljar 2000; Okin 1989). The problem, Butler (2004:77) remarks, is that like our identities, "[a]utonomy is a socially conditioned way of living in the world." In our society, it is impossible to fully isolate oneself from external inputs—even during a pandemic. Critics argue that an individual may *believe* they are able to reflect, but still fail to recognize their lack of control. An addict convinced they don't have a problem would pass the personally executed procedural test, making the test a bad measure of self-control. To address this issue, philosophers promote a revised concept, *relational autonomy*, to critically analyze society as a limiting condition on self-determination (Meyers 1987; Stoljar 2018). I later reinterpret relational autonomy as agency.

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[4] Berlin uses the terms positive freedom and negative freedom to delineate between these concepts; positive freedom aligns closely with mainstream understandings of autonomy.

Relational autonomists are concerned with whether one would *objectively* pass the procedural test. Since atomistic reflection is impossible, the procedural test cannot be used to prove itself. These philosophers include an additional substantive test based on normative values, arguing one cannot act independently if their decision criteria lack certain values like self-worth, or if their criteria result in a freedom-constraining desire, such as to be enslaved (Benson 1990; Charles 2010; McLeod 2002).

In rational choice theory, *adaptive preference formation* refers to the process by which individuals shift preferences to avoid cognitive dissonance associated with unachievable aims (Elster 1983). Habituation within an oppressive society may lead to the internalization of self-destructive preferences, from tolerating spousal abuse to engaging in bodily harm (Frye 1983; Nussbaum 2001). At an interpersonal level, gaslighting is a form of epistemic uncertainty that makes individuals question their self-knowledge and self-worth, increasing the likelihood they absorb external influences and perceive them as their own preferences (Roessler 2015). Such preferences, or "deformed desires," fail the substantive test for relational autonomy (Cudd 2006; Stoljar 2014). These deformed desires are shaped by *covert influences*, which in turn subtly affect one's deliberative process of self-reflection (Colburn 2011). Thus, while someone captivated by covert influences might pass the test of procedural autonomy, deformed desires would reveal an inauthenticity in their decision criteria.

Some may contend that deformed desires are still legitimately held desires, simply conditions of an unfortunate system, and one can autonomously act upon them. Yet even if individuals could autonomously make self-destructive decisions, communitarian bioethicists argue that on a social level their decisions exacerbate nonautonomy by

"reduc[ing] the salience of nonconforming options, while supporting and sustaining related beliefs concerning … subordination" (Wardrope 2015:52). According to these bioethicists, one's actions shape the culture and norms of their community, whether by accident or design, and are thus subject to such critique (Callahan 2003). Some feminist scholars argue women are specifically obligated to resist their oppression, lest they reproduce deleterious norms (Hay 2013). Indeed, studies have shown sexualization in female artists' music videos facilitates self-sexualization among girls (Aubrey, Gamble, and Hahn 2017; Gilbert 2016; Trekels and Eggermont 2021).

Within educational contexts, autonomy is defined as "the opportunity [for youth] to make and act on well-informed and well-thought out judgments about how to live their own lives" (Brighouse 2006:14). This is a relational, not procedural, autonomy. Schools are relational autonomy-facilitating sites not only because they teach critical thinking, but because they provide exposure to people and perspectives distinct from a child's home environment. When exposed to alternative experiences, students can compare and assess their own viewpoints; essentially, they are better prepared to *truly* pass the procedural test above, since a new environment disrupts their embedded beliefs and values.

I believe there are strong arguments to consider both procedural and relational autonomy as legitimate and important concepts: the first asks whether an individual is able to rationalize their decisions and see themselves as an independent agent, while the second asks whether an individual is able to make choices that are truly their own, free of pernicious external forces. I will keep the procedural test as a standard for autonomy, and refigure relational autonomy, utilizing the substantive test as a standard for agency: the

capacity to truly make decisions by oneself. While agency seems to hold moral import, the field of psychology has found extensive evidence linking autonomy with well-being.

Psychology

Self-determination theory is a subdiscipline in psychology that categorizes the motivations underlying everyday decisions, and the impacts these motivations have on individuals' execution of decisions and broader well-being (Ryan, Kuhl, and Deci 1997). There are three base needs for self-motivation and personality development: competence, relatedness, and autonomy (deCharms 1968). Autonomy is classified both by the origin of one's motivations, as well as one's capacity to integrate these motivations into their self-concept (Ryan and Deci 2000).

Autonomy is bracketed into six categories, depicted in Figure 2.1. As one progresses from left to right in the figure, one increasingly perceives the origin of a motivation to be one's own. The particular stages matter less than their composition as a continuum: psychologists interpret autonomy as feelings of agency, measured in degree of awareness that the locus of causality is internal. *Integrated regulation* and *intrinsic regulation* both indicate full autonomy, while only intrinsic regulation constitutes agency.

Figure 2.1. Levels of Autonomy in Self-Determination Theory

(Ryan and Deci 2000)

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Autonomy is linked to a string of benefits, including relationship satisfaction and general well-being (Ryan and Deci 2006). Studies analyzing World Values Survey data consistently find that *feelings* of agency (i.e., autonomy) are positively associated with levels of life satisfaction across 80 countries, more so than health, employment, or marriage (Verme 2009; Welzel and Inglehart 2010). Longitudinal analysis of 52 countries over 26 years and nationally representative data from Chile strongly suggest feelings of agency have a causal effect on reported happiness levels (Hojman and Miranda 2018; Inglehart et al. 2008). *Individualism*, conceptually linked to feelings of agency, is a better predictor of mental and emotional health than wealth (Fischer and Boer 2011). Whether or not agency has intrinsic value, to improve social well-being, a focus should be placed on autonomy-facilitating measures that promote feelings of agency.

Sociology

In sociology, autonomy is conceptually underdeveloped.[5] This is not to say that studies of freedom and individual agency do not exist in sociology: the agency-structure debate is among the most essential in the discipline. Scholars conceptualize agency slightly differently, but "[i]f agency means anything, it would seem to involve choices" (Jasper 2004:2). One's choices "weav[e] together conflicting narratives and allegiances into a unique life history," and thus agency must be a part of any emancipatory politics (Benhabib 2002:16; Benhabib 1994). Emirbayer and Mische (1998) have developed a chordal triad theory of agency, composed of past, present, and future considerations, interacting to either reproduce or transform structural environments. *Iteration* concerns the past, *practical evaluation* the present, and *projectivity* the future. Iteration tends to

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[5] Bourdieu uses the word autonomy to describe an entirely different concept: the individuality of fields, measured by the presence of unique values and markers of achievement.

constrain agency, projectivity tends to expand agency, and practical evaluation is contingent on social circumstances. I will address each of the three temporal orientations, major theorists Emirbayer and Mische cite, and relevant linkages with autonomy.

Iteration is the individualized repetition of traditional actions and the consequent reproduction of past structures across time, best exemplified by structuration theorists such as Anthony Giddens (1979) and Bourdieu. Bourdieu's theories of habitus and capital have redefined subfields of sociology and shaped the trajectory of the discipline in the twenty-first century (Lamont 2012; Sallaz and Zavisca 2007). Bourdieu (1993) identifies different *fields*, social microcosms in which individuals compete for capital. *Habitus* is the internalized set of practices and judgments an individual gradually develops as they reconcile their position within a field (Bourdieu 1984). The creation of one's habitus can be compared to adaptive preference formation, as it "transforms necessities into strategies, constraints into preferences, and … generates the set of 'choices' constituting life-styles" (Bourdieu 1984:175). Crucially, this process is an unconscious one, indicating one retains autonomy over nonagentic choices driven by habitus (Lizardo 2014).

Practical evaluation is very similar to our philosophical concept of relational autonomy, defined as "the capacity of actors to make practical and normative judgments among alternative possible trajectories of action, in response to … presently evolving situations" (Emirbayer and Mische 1998:971). Erving Goffman's impression management, while not cited in Emirbayer and Mische's article, is an excellent example. In this theory, everyday interactions are performances, *fronts* one must maintain to save *face*, social acceptance (Goffman 1959). This front includes both adornments and comportment. One's front depends on the relative formality of their setting, with higher

standards in *tight* settings and lower standards in *loose* settings (Goffman 1963). Settings tend to be tighter for women than men: women are more harshly judged when they fail to conform to standards of presentation. There are also class divides: for white-collar workers, wearing work clothes on their commutes is a "basis for self-possession and dignity"; while for blue-collar workers, the same act can be a burden, making it difficult to fit in when in looser settings (Goffman 1963:205). Because practical evaluation is dependent on environmental conditions, it has potential to be agentic or nonagentic, autonomous or nonautonomous.

Projectivity is the most agentic of the three temporal orientations, with individuals visualizing alternative structures shaping future society, and then acting in manners compatible with or striving toward those structures (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). This is largely grounded in George Herbert Mead's (1932) notion of "distance experience," in which imagined future possibilities help one emotionally distance oneself from the dispositions that define one's self-concept, allowing for critical self-reflection. Blumer (1969) was a student of Mead and further extended his theory, coining the term *symbolic interactionism* to describe the creation of shared meanings through interpersonal actions. Autonomy is likely a precursor for projectivity, as one must feel free (or at least predict freedom in the future) in order to purposefully engage in creative introspection.

Given that Emirbayer and Mische's conceptualization of agency is temporally situated, times of instability and change are particularly interesting opportunities to analyze shifts in agency. Ann Swidler (1986) distinguishes between "settled" and "unsettled" times. During the latter, there is potential for individuals to either reinvest in existing rituals and structures, or to develop new ones as counter-ideologies form.

Emirbayer and Mische (1998) apply Swidler to their chordal triad, and predict that projectivity will prevail, expanding agency. Bourdieu (1984) disagrees, theorizing that when external environments undergo such bursts of change, individuals are more likely to respond with *hysteresis*, entrenching themselves in their habitus. Goffman counters that times of crisis are looser than times of stability, but only temporarily so. Using the example of a hotel fire, he notes guests "are allowed to be so deeply immersed in the crisis … their undress can be taken as a sign of appropriate engrossment, and the undress of others felt as an insufficient stimulus, under the circumstances, to induce inappropriate mutual-involvement" (Goffman 1963:212). However, once the situation is resolved, guests suddenly recognize their dress, and the setting tightens once more. As Figure 2.2 demonstrates, shifting fashion norms during the pandemic have captured public attention. Yet with no published studies tracking the "new normal" or its projected sustainability as society eventually overcomes the pandemic, competing theories on agency and autonomy in unsettled times offer fertile ground for exploration.

Figure 2.2. Dress in Unsettled Times

(Tomine 2020)

2.4 Sartorial Autonomy and Agency

A thorough understanding of autonomy and agency enriches boundary work by underscoring the processes that predetermine an individual's mental mapping. Especially in the realm of dress, critical analysis of autonomy and agency is vital: while fashion is typically framed as a personal choice and expression of individuality, there is a striking lack of variety in attire observed on any given street. Conversely, when institutional rules are directly issued, from dress codes to mask mandates, certain subgroups of society opt not to comply, and escape formal punishment. Thus, in regards to dress, autonomy does not guarantee agency, and a lack of freedom does not preclude the possibility of agency.

The different class-based theories of fashion elucidated in Section 2.2 already address questions of agency: a top-down model (driven by high strata) is less agentic given the cyclical pressures to emulate and differentiate, while a bottom-up model (driven by low or no strata) offers more room for authentic choice. Both models are autonomous, as individuals generally perceive freedom to wear what they want. This perception of freedom occurs through iteration, whereby one's sartorial habitus is shaped by social norms and circumstantial limitations, from gender expectations to budget constraints. The final section will focus first on gender and then on self-objectification, a gendered construct. Lastly, it will examine enforcement of and adherence to two institutional restrictions: dress codes in schools, and mask mandates during the pandemic.

Fashion and Gender

Hegemonic femininity constrains women's sartorial decisions through both covert and overt influences. Advertisements are a heavily studied form of covert influencing. Codes in fashion advertisements transmit ideals of passivity (Goffman 1979) and

sexuality, glorifying the female body as a perfect, unattainable object (Bartky 1990; Lakoff and Scherr 1984). A combination of covert influences as well as overt pressure from friends and family to meet these beauty standards leads to a host of body image concerns, including eating disorders (Wolf 1991). These deformed desires extend to fashion. Paul Benson (1991) provides a prime example of a hypothetical college student:

> Consider the eighteen-year-old college student who … leads an active, challenging life, yet who regularly feels bad about herself because she does not have "the right look" … her body is never just soft or firm enough; she has never been sure what the strong points of her appearance were, so she never has known what styles of clothing would capitalize on them. … So, on top of everything else she does, she expends a great deal of time and money … trying to keep up with all of the latest products, routines, and tricks that might help her finally to attain more success at these tasks. (P. 389)

Young women tend to frame their sartorial decisions as personal choice, indicating they pass the procedural test for autonomy (Bouw et al. 2003; Duits and van Zoonen 2006). However, sexualized and religious discourses structure not only the options available to young women, from bikini to veil, but the values embedded in their own decisions, from self-empowerment to modesty (Benhabib 2002; Gill 2007). These deformed desires undercut the argument that young women have full agency to wear what they want.

Some scholars forward the *sexualization as empowerment* thesis, which posits that sexualization can be retooled as a means of empowerment, not oppression (Lerum and Dworkin 2009; Skeggs 1993). A small subset of theorists argue that women retain agency in a gender-oppressive society, and can leverage the ambivalent expression of articles of dress to repurpose revealing clothing and connote new meanings (see Rabine 1994). Most, however, acknowledge that agency is diminished by hegemonic femininity. Still, they argue that perceiving agency (i.e., having autonomy) over one's sexualization is sufficient for self-empowerment (Lamb and Peterson 2012; Peterson 2010). Autonomy

in self-sexualization may also destigmatize the stigma of promiscuity (Bay-Cheng 2015). By reclaiming one's sexualization, one can feel good about their position within society. Swift's 2017 song *Dress* unabashedly embraces the erotic rationale behind her clothing choice: "Only bought this dress so you could take it off."

Other scholars argue that *feeling* empowered is not enough to *be* empowered (Lamb 2010; Tolman, Anderson, and Belmonte 2015). In their view, the sexualization as empowerment thesis fails to translate to a societal plane, because "empowered" women continue to judge one another (Erchull and Liss 2013; Munford 2004). Specifically, individuals draw inconsistent moral boundaries between their self-sexualization and others' self-sexualization, such that notions of respectable femininity (i.e., the symbolic boundaries) go unchallenged (Coy and Garner 2010). This inculcates nonautonomy and nonagency on a societal level, reifying gender norms. Swift's own inconsistency across songs has led to feminist critique (Keller and Ringrose 2015; McNutt 2020), and has entrenched hegemonic femininity among some of her fans as they hold Swift up as a model of what it means to be a "good girl" (Brown 2012).

Self-Objectification

Regardless of whether self-sexualization is empowering (or perceived as such), there are discrete consequences attached, studied under the umbrella of *objectification theory*. As subjects are repeatedly treated in ways that value them for their appearance rather than their competence, they normalize this behavior, adopting an outsider's view of themselves. This can be understood as an unconscious abnegation of self-determination, limiting agency. Insofar as self-objectification shifts one's cultural tastes and judgments, it can also engender cultural boundaries drawn between oneself and an idealized version.

Fredrickson and Noll (1997) operationalized this concept with the internally consistent Self-Objectification Questionnaire (SOQ). A growing body of evidence backs objectification theory and its consequences, including increased risk for depression, anxiety, and eating disorders (for reviews, see Moradi and Huang 2008; Winn and Cornelius 2020). Men tend to score lower than women (Calogero 2009; Hallsworth, Wade, and Tiggemann 2005; Tiggemann and Kuring 2004). While most of the literature has focused on adults, an extensive review of studies on youth found a similar gender gap among children, with self-objectification increasing for all genders as youth enter adolescence (Daniels, Zurbriggen, and Daniels 2020). It may take root far before this adolescent period, detected in girls as young as six (Starr and Ferguson 2012). Recent research suggests Black girls experience a similar but distinct process of adultification (Epstein, Blake, and Gonzalez 2017). This includes greater assignment of responsibility for decisions at a young age and a comparative reduction in nurture, as well as hypersexualization in line with historically racialized tropes.

Clothing plays an important role in self-objectification and cognitive function: in the first study using the SOQ, female college students waiting in a dressing room while wearing swimsuits performed significantly worse on a math test than those waiting in sweaters (Fredrickson et al. 1998). Later studies have replicated this finding, with tank tops replacing swimsuits (Kozak, Roberts, and Patterson 2014). Most self-objectification studies use clothing as a prime to evoke state objectification (Lennon and Johnson 2020).

Dress Codes

While self-objectification constrains agency, operating through gradual, subtle shifts in the conditions structuring individuals' desires, institutional rules set overt

restrictions on individuals' options, constraining freedom and often autonomy. High school dress codes are infected with gendered and racial assumptions, leading to disparate rules and enforcement. A nationwide compilation of dress codes found that ten times as many articles of clothing marketed to girls were banned as articles marketed to boys, and that banned items of dress marketed to boys were primarily those steeped in racial stereotypes like sagging pants (Thomas 2019). While a comprehensive legal analysis is beyond the scope of this paper, Fourteenth Amendment challenges to discriminatory dress codes have met limited success (e.g., Peltier v. Charter Day School Inc., 2019; see Friedmann 2019).

Though dress codes themselves are overt restrictions, selective enforcement by teachers means that youth have differing levels of freedom, so long as they learn how to keep out of trouble (Whitman 2020). Because enforcement is discretionary, teachers fall prey to sexist and racist stereotypes when determining whether or not to address a violation, over-policing Black bodies and over-protecting[6] femme bodies (Aghasaleh 2018). By enforcing dress codes, teachers participate in moral policing of girls' sexuality (Rahimi and Liston 2009). Black students, particularly girls, endure adultification in this process, with teachers more likely to publicly admonish Black violators of dress codes (Brosky et al. 2018; Evans et al. 2019; Morris 2005). Even in early childhood, racial gaps are dramatic: Black girls represent 20 percent of girls in preschool across the country, but account for 54 percent of suspensions for girls (Patrick and Schulman 2016). Thus, while all students may be freedom-constrained by dress codes, it would be reasonable to infer that girls and Black students feel comparatively less autonomy in their dress. Indeed, school policies are typically perceived as external constraints, with teachers and staff

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[6] Ironically, these teachers perceive punishment as a form of protection.

forming an invidious "administrative corps" akin to officers in a military or guards in a prison (Coleman 1965; Garner et al. 2006). Student protests at schools in the Greater Boston area support the prevailing sentiment that dress codes constrain autonomy (Kashinsky 2018; McKiernan 2016; Tuitt 2017).

Masks

Despite graduating from high school, the newly minted class of 2020 was unable to escape sartorial restrictions: in response to the pandemic, local, state, and eventually federal mask mandates were implemented to decrease the risk of transmission of COVID-19 in public spaces. Mandates clearly constrain freedom; with a perceived external locus of causality, mask mandates particularly constrain autonomy for those who would not otherwise wear a mask (Scheid et al. 2020). Individuals may forego masks for a variety of reasons, including discomfort, disbelief in masks' effectiveness, and distrust in government. Some identity categories are less likely to mask than others; there is a prevailing sense in public discourse that men and conservatives fall into this bucket (see Figure 2.3). Studies have found four predictors of mask-wearing: political affiliation, gender, race, and the presence of a mask mandate.

Figure 2.3. The Gender and Politics of Masking

(Cagle 2020)

35
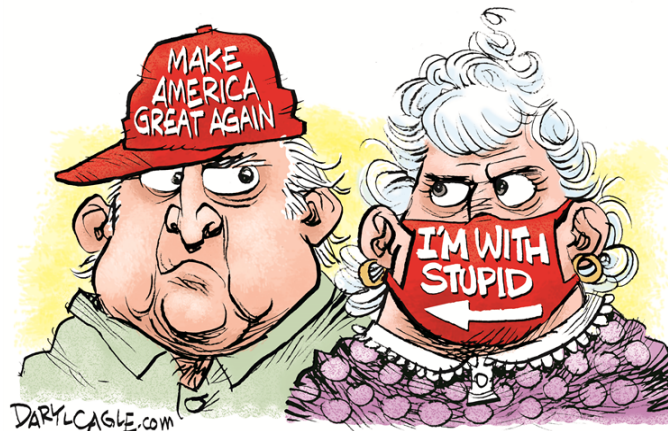
Given divergent approaches in the practice and discourse of mask-wearing from political leaders in the United States, political affiliation intuitively affects the likelihood that an individual wears a mask. Over the course of the pandemic, Democrats have been more likely to report wearing a mask than Republicans. The difference was most stark in the early months of the pandemic: in June 2020, there was a 23-point partisan gap (Kramer 2020), which shrank to 20 points in July (Edwards-Levy 2020a), 16 points in October (Thompson 2020), and 13 points in December (Rau 2020).

Gender holds as a second predictor of mask-wearing, even after controlling for political affiliation, with women more likely than men to report consistently wearing masks. One poll found a 23-point gender gap among Democrats, and a 14-point gender gap among Republicans (Edwards-Levy 2020b). Another poll found more modest differences, with a 9-point gender gap among Democrats and a 2-point gender gap among Republicans (Whang and Elliott 2020). Within political parties, reported masculinity is negatively associated with reported mask-wearing (Cassino and Besen-Cassino 2020; Palmer and Peterson 2020). Observational data from populated streets in the Northeast (Okten, Gollwitzer, and Oettingen 2020) and retail stores in the Midwest (Haischer et al. 2020) support the presence of a gender gap in mask-wearing.

A review of studies conducted before COVID-19 found similar gender disparities in mask-wearing and other preventative measures during prior outbreaks (Lau et al. 2004; Moran and Del Valle 2016). When sick, men are more likely to delay seeking care than women (Banks 2001; Novak et al. 2019). Some believe these pandemic gender gaps are attributable to a masculine drive to appear tough and invulnerable (Palmer and Peterson 2020; Victor 2020). Others believe these gaps stem from an individualist, anti-empathic

strain of masculinity that leaves men numb to the true risks of COVID-19, until it is too late (Gorman 2021; Umamaheswar and Tan 2020). In the pandemic, both "toughness" and individualism are deformed desires, subjecting men to a greater risk of contracting COVID-19. A third theory—that men are more likely to subscribe to conspiracy theories undermining trust in public health measures—better explains the partisan gap (Cassese, Farhart, and Miller 2020; Harsin 2020). Regardless of the explanation for this gender gap, both observational and experimental studies have found that the presence of a mask mandate narrows or eliminates the gender gap in compliance (Capraro and Barcelo 2020; Wrucke et al. 2020).

Gender may interact with race in individuals' decisions whether or not to mask. While there are gender gaps within races, white individuals in the aggregate are less likely to report masking than nonwhite individuals (Key 2021; Whang and Elliott 2020). Across nonwhite individuals, results are mixed: in studies that group Asian respondents in an "other" category among all non-Hispanic, non-Black, non-white respondents, Black individuals report masking at higher rates than any other category (Edwards-Levy 2020a; Key 2021). When Asian respondents are separated into a distinct category, they report masking at an even greater rate than Black respondents (Hearne and Niño 2021; Kramer 2020). Anti-Asian hate crimes have surged in the United States during the pandemic (Chen, Trinh, and Yang 2020; Gover, Harper, and Langton 2020). In these hate crimes, masks often serve as a starting point for conflict. Asian and Asian American individuals have weathered street harassment and physical assault for not wearing a mask—and have faced similar threats *for* wearing one (Ren and Feagin 2021). Asian students report

increased stigmatization from peers and professors when wearing masks on college campuses during the pandemic (Ma and Zhan 2020).

2.5 Research Questions

This chapter applied theories on boundaries and self-determination to fashion in a manner heretofore unpublished in literature. With fresh conceptual tools to understand the processes by which individuals categorize themselves into groups through fashion as well as the ways in which individuals' clothing choices are constrained, I can ask and begin to answer my research questions. First, how does the triad of self-determination improve scholarly understandings of youth sartorial decisions? Second, in an unsettled time of decreased social interaction, how have agency and autonomy in youth sartorial decisions shifted? Third, as youth make sartorial decisions (both before and during the pandemic), how do they engage in boundary work—and how might that boundary work evince and exacerbate socioeconomic and gender disparities? In the next chapter, I outline the data I collected to test and further develop theory.

Chapter Three: Data and Methods

To adequately capture shifting agency and autonomy in youth sartorial decisions, I employed a multi-methods approach, administering surveys to high school and college students in Greater Boston and conducting in-depth interviews of Harvard College students, including a panel subset whom I interviewed at the bookends of a tumultuous year. I detail and describe each method in separate subsections below, dedicating an additional section at the end of the chapter to the interview coding scheme and major statistical models used in survey analysis.

Before discussing the methods, I include a brief background on each participating school, which function as convenience clusters in Greater Boston. Harvard College students comprise the bulk of the data. While this cluster is undoubtedly a nonrandom sample of youth in Greater Boston, access to randomized sampling methods for recruiting participants within the population made Harvard a prime site for methodologically sound research. Further research in area high schools offers additional context for the region. Findings from this thesis should not be interpreted to represent universal experiences of Greater Boston youth; however, concurrences among students from distinct communities that draw a common thread may signal broader youth trends in the metropolitan area.

Why Surveys?

Surveys are an efficient method to gather large volumes of data on individual outcomes (de Leeuw, Hox, and Dillman 2008). Participants may be more comfortable taking a survey than sitting for an interview, as surveys tend to be less time consuming, less interactive, and more anonymous. Often boasting a larger sample size than interview methods, surveys have greater potential to represent a population, allowing for inferential

statistical analysis (Groves et al. 2009). So long as questions can be clearly worded, answers easily expressed, and bias minimized, surveys have great value.

Why Interviews?

While the time it takes to recruit, schedule, engage, and analyze one interviewee is far greater than the time it takes to gather and analyze a survey response, the final data gathered from each interview is far richer and reveals information unattainable in a survey. Surveys are effective for capturing uncontroversial facts and simple opinions, but suffer in two regards: social desirability bias jeopardizes the authenticity of responses to *controversial questions*, and rushed respondents are likely to answer *complex questions* without deeply reflecting first, undermining the reliability of responses (Schwarz 2007). In-depth interviews fill this research gap, cultivating an environment in which participants feel comfortable giving more authentic responses and taking the time they need to fully process and answer a question.

Moreover, in-depth interviews allow researchers to analyze not just the content of a response, but how it is packaged (verbalization) and delivered (vocalization). In this way, interviewers can uncover conflicts between *the honorable*, what participants intend to present, and the underlying reality of how they think and feel (Pugh 2013). Unlike ethnography, which submits to the natural flow of an environment, interviews can *probe* participants to consistently capture data on imagined meanings, particularly important for studies on boundary work (Lamont and Swidler 2014). Given the aims of this study are to 1) uncover differences between perceived and actual decision-making in dress, and 2) study the boundary work of dress, in-depth interviews were invaluable.

As mentioned above, one weakness of interviews is the logistical commitment each one takes. When determining how many interviews is enough, the aim is to reach *saturation* in themes, such that if the researcher conducted additional interviews, no new themes would arise. It is hard to know with certainty when one has reached saturation, as it is contextually dependent on the specificity of the research question and variability between participants, but one study designed to answer this question found rough saturation by the 12th interview, after which their code definitions largely stabilized and few new codes were added (Guest, Bunce, and Johnson 2006). Because my research is studying dress in a new light, I approached saturation more conservatively, conducting 14 interviews in the first wave of the panel. When recruiting additional interviewees during the pandemic, I was particularly conservative in my approach, given the unprecedented environmental context. Though I quickly reached saturation for the main research question of how sartorial autonomy and agency have shifted during the pandemic, I continued to interview all students who scheduled appointments from my initial outreach.

3.1 Study Locations

Harvard College

I gathered higher education data from Harvard College in Cambridge, Massachusetts. At Harvard, there is no official dress code, only a basic expectation that students "behave in a mature and responsible manner," presumably clothed in common spaces (Office of the Dean of Harvard College 2020). Prior to COVID-19, the majority of enrolled students lived on campus in residential halls, with first-year students housed in isolation from upper-level students. There are twelve halls for older students, which faculty and students refer to as "houses." First-year students are randomly sorted into

these houses in early spring for the following year, and generally continue to live in these assigned houses until graduation (Delwiche and Levingston 2015). Each house has an electronic mailing list that administrators and students frequently use to communicate with residents; these mailing lists serve as quasi-randomized subsets of the upper-level student body, due to low mobility between houses.

Harvard is an increasingly selective institution, admitting under 10 percent of applicants over the last decade and just 5 percent of applicants to the Class of 2024 (Harvard Office of Institutional Research 2020). While there is no one Harvard student, self-reports suggest they spent their time in high school differently than their peers. In a campus survey completed by half of the Harvard College Class of 2021, 45 percent of respondents reported spending over 20 hours per week studying in high school (Wang and Yu 2017). The average high school student, in contrast, reports spending approximately 13 hours a week studying (Allard 2008). Harvard students are also less likely to say they were sexually active in high school than their peers: in the same cohort, 38 percent reported engaging in sexual activity prior to college, while 43 percent of youth aged 15-19 in the United States reported sexual activity from 2011-2015 (Abma and Martinez 2017; Damaraju et al. 2017). Although these behavioral patterns are not necessarily linked to certain fashions or attires, it would be reasonable to infer from this reported data that Harvard students on average saw themselves as more academic and less sexually active than their high school peers.

Harvard students also deviate slightly from their peers on politics, skewing more liberal and less moderate. While polls show 57 percent of Millennials[7] identify as mostly

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[7] Though the majority of currently enrolled students at Harvard College belong to Generation Z, current data on Generation Z's political identity are insufficient to include here, so I am including Millennial data

or consistently liberal, 69 percent of the Class of 2021 identify as either somewhat or very liberal (Damaraju et al. 2017; Pew Research Center 2018). Conversely, while 27 percent of Millennials describe their political values as mixed, only 19 percent of Harvard's senior class agree. While Harvard students' political beliefs do not differ drastically from their peers, polls consistently show that political affiliation is linked to mask-wearing, so even these slight distinctions may be relevant to mask-related sartorial decisions (Kramer 2020).

Located in New England, Harvard houses students throughout four distinct seasons. In the Class of 2021, only 39 percent of students are from the Northeast, while 19 percent report growing up in the South, 16 percent in the West, and 12 percent abroad (Wang and Yu 2017). Some students raised in other regions have endured harsher and more unpredictable climates, but a significant segment of the student population—particularly those from the West and the South—adapt their wardrobe for college to accommodate the seasonal shifts in temperature and climate.

Of course, Harvard's climate matters less to students living off campus. In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, Harvard de-densified its campus in March 2020. While a select few upper-level students were invited to return in fall 2020, the majority found housing elsewhere, around half living with their families and half with their friends (Bi and Srinivasan 2020). This spring, most juniors and seniors were invited back to campus, and in a winter survey, 72 percent anticipated living in the Boston area (Sanger and Tran 2020). Given the importance of temperature to dress, fluctuations in climate across the diaspora of Harvard students may destabilize a typically universal variable.

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as a rough substitute. Data show that Millennials and Generation Z hold consistent ideological views across a variety of issues (Parker, Graf, and Igielnik 2019).

As a Harvard undergraduate, I had access to my house electronic mailing list, as well as friends in other houses willing to distribute pre-written recruitment emails over their respective mailing lists. I was mindful of my friendships with many members of the population, and took care not to let any personal connections bias the results. I did not select or remove any survey participants from the data. In the two stages where I purposively selected interviewees, I used the highlighting tool in Google Sheets to black out the corresponding name and email columns prior to reading the data, guarding my selection process from any subconscious bias. In interviews where I happened to know the participants, I stuck to the interview guide, only asking follow-up questions based on information provided in the interview. In the aggregate, participants I knew were more likely to speak on sensitive or personal topics, suggesting that our previous relationships were beneficial to generating trust.

Abbott Lawrence Academy

The first cluster of high school data came from Abbott Lawrence Academy (ALA), an honors public high school in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Lawrence is a city north of Boston, one of the region's historical textile production centers. It is well known for its Bread and Roses strike, a notably successful labor strike in the early twentieth century (Forrant et al. 2016). The city still relies on manufacturing, and 72 percent of households make $75,000 or less per year, below the state median (U.S. Census Bureau 2019). The city of Lawrence is majority-minority: 81 percent Latinx, 9 percent white, 8 percent Black, and 2 percent Asian (U.S. Census Bureau 2019). These two demographics are unquestionably linked: racial and economic segregation in Greater Boston are

notorious. In 2014, Boston was the most income-unequal city in the country, with Greater Boston the sixth most income-unequal metropolitan area (Holmes and Berube 2016).

ALA is housed on Lawrence High School's campus, and offers an accelerated track for the city's "best and brightest" (Abbott Lawrence Academy 2021). It is an exam school, and only offers up to 100 spots per grade. It admitted its first class of 9th graders in fall 2015, and is thus only in its sixth year of instruction (Kashinsky 2015). When the pandemic struck, ALA quickly moved to remote instruction, and while Lawrence Public Schools set out the possibility of a hybrid learning model in 2020-21, ALA has remained virtual this academic year (Paris 2020). Lawrence Public Schools have a uniform policy (Lawrence Public Schools 2019), which ALA has maintained through the pandemic. The policy requires a specifically colored (for ALA, black or maroon) collared shirt and khaki or tan bottoms. Students of all genders may wear skirts that fall no shorter than one inch above the kneecap. Non-religious headgear is not allowed. After three "offenses" of the uniform policy, students receive an after-school detention, and teachers have the power to confiscate any items of dress that violate the dress code (Howell 2019). For 2020-21, the policy allows black or maroon hooded sweatshirts (Lawrence Public Schools 2020).

Through a personal connection, my adviser was able to put me in touch with the Assistant Principal at ALA, who very kindly agreed to promptly distribute the high school survey as a voluntary, uncompensated activity in January 2021—although he noted beforehand that Lawrence is relatively unique among public schools to institute a formal uniform policy. While data from ALA is not generalizable to public schools in the state, it may provide insight into how formal uniform policies affect youth sartorial freedom and autonomy.

Lexington High School

I collected the second cluster of high school data from Lexington High School (LHS), the primary public high school in Lexington, Massachusetts. Lexington is an affluent suburb of Boston, only a stone's throw from Cambridge,[8] and is best known as the first (and, residents will assure you, superior) half of the Battles of Lexington and Concord, sparking the American Revolutionary War. After Lexington's historic past, its second source of pride just might be its schools: state-level rankings often see Lexington public schools near or at the top of most metrics, from standardized test scores to college placement (Bernhard 2013; Doyle 2017). While at LHS, students excel at national-level extracurriculars, and after graduation, up to ten percent matriculate at Ivy League schools (Hsieh 2016; Spencer 2017). In a highly publicized national study looking at middle school performance, Lexington sixth graders were found to score 3.8 years above their grade level—0.3 years higher than any other public school in the country (Reardon et al. 2016). For context, using the same metric, Lawrence sixth graders score 0.7 years below their grade level. Figure 3.1 depicts a visualization of Reardon et al.'s dataset, modified from an article in *The New York Times* (Rich, Cox, and Bloch 2016).

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[8] A stone's throw, here, being 20 minutes on Route 2. Prior to the town's incorporation in 1713, Lexington was known as Cambridge Farms.

Figure 3.1. Educational Attainment in United States Public School Districts

Lexington
+3.8 grades

3 grades
ahead of
average

2 grades
ahead

1 grade
ahead

About
average

Lawrence
-0.7 grades

1 grade
behind

2 grades
behind

3 grades
behind

← Poorer   Parents' socioeconomic status   Richer →

Each circle represents one school district. Larger circles represent districts with more students.
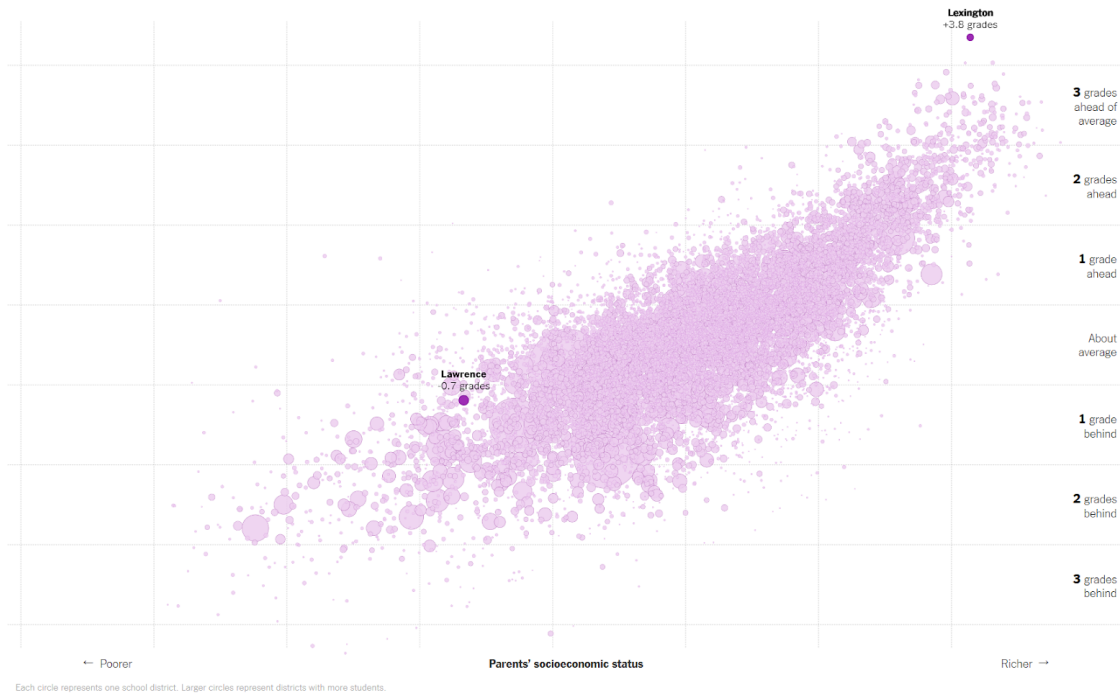
(Rich, Cox, and Bloch 2016)

Lexington's highly-regarded public schools attract an outsized proportion of highly educated parents, driving the housing market upwards (Baskin 2017; Ciurczak, Marinova, and Schuster 2020). As an affluent suburb, the town is composed largely of upper class residents, with 46 percent of households earning over $200,000 each year (U.S. Census Bureau 2019). Only 21 percent of Lexington households earn under $75,000 annually, compared to 72 percent of Lawrence households. Lexington is majority white, with significant Asian and Asian American representation: 64 percent of residents identify as white and 30 percent as Asian (U.S. Census Bureau 2019). Partially in response to area segregation, in 1966, Lexington co-launched METCO, a busing program intended to provide a "suburban education" for low-income minority Boston youth, operating in full force to this day (Angrist and Lang 2002; Semuels 2019).

Lexington High School's dress code follows a model policy set by the Massachusetts Association of School Committees (Seltz 2017). Under this policy, students are free from institutional constraints, save for basic health, safety, and cleanliness standards. The safety standards used to include a ban on accessories that impede facial recognition; in the 2020-21 school year, however, masks have become mandatory for in-person schooling.

In response to COVID-19, Lexington Public Schools moved to a remote instructional model in March 2020 (Hackett 2020a). For the 2020-21 school year, they are offering two learning models for students: hybrid, and fully remote (Hackett 2020b). In anticipation of increased transmission over winter break, administrators shifted all students to remote learning for the first two weeks of January 2021, the same period in which I implemented my survey (Hackett 2020c).

I myself attended Lexington High School, graduating in 2016. After graduation, I took on a part-time job as an assistant coach of the high school's debate team, developing arguments and organizing fundraisers for the program. In this capacity, I worked with the Head of the Social Studies Department at the school, who is charged with overseeing the debate team. The Department Head graciously agreed to support my research, helping administer the survey in January 2021 as a voluntary activity.

3.2 Methods

Panel Interviews

i. Background and Recruitment

In November 2019, I recruited Harvard College students for interviews regarding campus fashion, their sartorial decisions in high school and college, and their clothing

consumption. When designing the study, I narrowed my sampling frame to sophomores, juniors, and seniors living in the Quad, a semi-isolated community at Harvard where approximately a fifth of undergraduates live in one of three houses: Cabot, Currier, and Pforzheimer. While designed to maximize the attendance rate of selected interviewees—I knew I would be conducting interviews in the Hastings Room, a common space in Pforzheimer House—this sampling frame was still representative of upper-level students at the college, as housing assignments are random. The Quad is further from most academic buildings than the rest of the houses along the river, so in early fall and late spring there is a possibility Quad residents will be more inclined to don outerwear than their classmates; by late November, however, most every student wears a jacket outside.

To recruit participants, I distributed a pre-interview survey (Appendix A) over undergraduate house-wide electronic mailing lists, inviting every student within the sampling frame to complete the short survey for a chance to participate in a 30-45 minute interview with compensation of 10 dollars. In addition to offering this stipend for participants, I attempted to minimize any oversampling of fashion-conscious students by deemphasizing the importance of fashion in the recruitment email (Appendix B), instead writing that anyone who wore clothes would be qualified to participate.

The pre-interview survey asked what kind of high school(s) participants attended, with the option to select one or more of the following: district public school; magnet or charter public school; and private school. It also collected a rough measure of these prospective participants' socioeconomic strata by presenting the median annual household income in the United States and asking for the relative position of each participant's household income using this baseline. Finally, the survey asked individuals

about how often they purchased clothing in college. This final question was included to capture preliminary data prior to the interview stage, but was not used to select individuals for interviews.

ii. Participant Response Rate

With the assistance of peers residing in Cabot House and Currier House, the recruitment email was sent to students living in all three Quad houses. After two weeks, I gathered 46 surveys from a sampling frame of approximately 1,100 students, for a response rate of 4 percent—lower than desirable, though it bears mentioning that the survey itself had a 100 percent completion rate. From the 46 respondents, I selected 21 students for interviews in December, removing those who only attended a private, charter, or magnet high school from the sample, as these individuals were more likely to have worn uniforms to school, which would significantly alter their high school fashion experiences and disrupt the data. Among the 28 who reported exclusively attending public district high schools, I chose students with the highest and lowest self-reported family incomes, to maximize the variation of class in my sample.

While I would have liked to analyze gender outside of the binary as well as the binary itself, I was limited by the number of students who responded to the pre-interview survey, and did not want to represent nonbinary identities with one or two participants. My initial strategy was to select 4 groups of 5 students: high-income women, low-income women, high-income men, and low-income men. However, only 6 men responded to the survey, and 5 reported their family income as significantly below the national median family income. I invited all 6 men to interviews, and invited 15 women instead of the anticipated 10.

Of the 21 individuals to whom I extended interviews, 15 signed up, and all but one showed up for their scheduled time slot (see Figure 3.2). This enabled analysis across class and gender, though the low-income women sample size was smaller than desired. Appendix C lists the pseudonyms and relevant identity characteristics of interviewees.

Figure 3.2. Key Characteristics of Panel Interviewees

	Women	Men
High-Income	7	n/a
Low-Income	2	5

iii. Interview Procedure

While I developed an interview guide (Appendix D), I conducted the interviews in a semi-structured format, allowing participants to answer questions at length and me to ask follow-up questions contextualized to their responses. This format facilitates a more open environment in which participants share value judgments they may not otherwise be comfortable communicating to a stranger, making it particularly appropriate for studies on symbolic boundaries (Lamont 1992). Some participants were particularly eager to share their thoughts, while others had to be gently probed to elaborate; interviews ranged from 28 to 51 minutes.

During these and later interviews, I followed a set of guidelines (Appendix E) to encourage honesty and avoid bias, from using active listening techniques to carefully selecting my own clothing. While an interviewer's self-presentation can affect interviewees' perceptions and reactions in any study, given that these interviews would focus on clothing, conveying an unbiased message in my own attire was paramount (Waters 1999). Images of the clothing I wore for interviews are included in Appendix E; I

stuck to muted, solid-colored crew neck t-shirts and sweaters on top, and black or blue slim-straight jeans on bottom. Though these clothes are not silent—indeed, it is quite possible my dress communicated a conformist message—dressing in nondescript clothing draws less attention to one's sartorial decisions than dressing in loud or unusual garb.

iv. Re-Interviews

In December 2020, I contacted the same set of interviewees for a follow-up conversation. During reading period, a stretch between the last day of classes and final exams, I sent an email (Appendix F) bcc-ing all participants from the first wave, inviting them for a 30-minute informal chat to discuss how the pandemic impacted their thoughts on clothing styles and decision-making around attire. Ten of the fourteen participants from the first wave returned for a second interview (see Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3. Key Characteristics of Panel Re-Interviewees

	Women	Men
High-Income	6	n/a
Low-Income	0	4

In these conversations, I asked questions from an interview guide contextualized to student experiences during the pandemic (Appendix G). I followed the same interview guidelines laid out in Appendix E. Given that these interviews were conducted over Zoom, I took extra care to make lively facial expressions. Inevitably, internet connections fluctuated in some interviews. To avoid awkward repetition or a break in the flow of speech, I would stop moving and hope they did not notice that I was frozen. When I missed long patches of dialogue (over five seconds) or short blips of dialogue in highly

important areas, I apologetically told interviewees that my connection had frozen, and asked them to repeat what I had missed.

Additional Pandemic Interviews

i. Background and Response Rate

While I enjoyed my follow-up conversations with the panel participants, I was unsure if I had reached saturation at the end of 10 interviews. Given the unprecedented conditions of COVID-19 in modern times, I wanted to be confident that my interviews would accurately capture the current state of student dress and decision-making. Thus, I expanded my dataset by interviewing additional college students.

I recruited students from a survey distributed over house electronic mailing lists, described extensively in the next section. At the end of this survey, I included an option for students to share their email address if they were interested in a 30-minute interview on a topic similar to the survey, offering compensation of 10 dollars. After removing international students, I invited the first 40 respondents who listed their emails to sign up for an interview slot (Appendix H). I listed 52 time slots over the span of a week, with times ranging throughout the day to accommodate respondents in different time zones. In the event that prospective participants still could not find a workable time slot, I offered to meet with them off-calendar. I contacted the first 28 students in an initial wave, and emailed the next 12 that signed up in the following week.

Among the first 40 students invited, only 5 identified as men. Primarily for this reason, I invited a small, demographically selected third wave of students from additional respondents. This wave included 8 men, 1 Black woman, 2 East Asian women, and 1 woman who identified as both Black and East Asian. I selected these 4 women because I

was particularly interested in having additional conversations with Black and East Asian individuals, who, given the pandemic's ties to anti-Asian rhetoric and a surge in anti-Black violence in 2020, might have unique experiences around mask-wearing linked to their identities. Again, while I would have liked to include non-binary analysis, I did not receive enough responses on the survey to obtain a critical mass appropriate for analysis. I did, however, make an effort to recruit additional conservative students through snowball sampling: I asked the one interviewee who explicitly identified as conservative to let her friends know about the research, and I emailed the Harvard Republican Club asking to distribute the survey over their list. I did not receive any new participants from either of these outreach attempts.

Of the 52 invited respondents, 32 scheduled an interview, and 31 ultimately participated. The eventual interview subsample's survey data was roughly representative of the broader survey data across a multitude of questions, instilling confidence my email communications with prospective participants did not bias their response rates across any meaningful demographic.[9] This group included 23 women and 8 men—not representative of the student body, but enough men to conduct analysis. With re-interviewees from the panel, I could conduct analysis across race. For a full descriptive list, see Appendix C.

Figure 3.4. Key Characteristics of Additional Interviewees*

	Women	Men
White	7	4
Asian	8	4

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[9] One slight concern I had when inviting survey respondents to interview is that some women might feel less comfortable speaking with a male-identifying interviewer about their fashion decisions. Most of the friends I asked to distribute the survey over the mailing lists were women, and survey respondents could have assumed when providing their email at the end of the survey that they would interview with the survey's distributor, not a different student.

Black	9	n/a
Latinx	4	1

*Some participants are double-counted in this table to represent multiracial status.

ii. Interview Procedure

I asked these participants a similar slate of questions (Appendix I) as I did the panel, threading themes from the two panel interview guides to discuss participants' fashion decisions pre- and post-March, memories of their high schools' dress codes, and their mask-wearing tendencies. The semi-structured format worked well for these multi-thematic interviews, as participants often found one subtopic particularly interesting and wanted to discuss it at length. As with the second set of panel interviews, I followed the interview guidelines laid out in Appendix E, in addition to the Zoom guidelines identified in the above section. Because I conducted these interviews in my unheated basement to protect participants' privacy, I wore sweaters for warmth.

Harvard College Survey

i. Background and Survey Construction

The college survey (Appendix J) asked respondents a series of questions on five overarching topics: high school dress, current self-concept, sartorial decision-making prior to and during the pandemic, mask-wearing, and personal demographics.

I designed the survey to last roughly eight minutes; to avoid fatigue in respondents, web-based surveys should last no longer than 15 minutes (Rea and Parker 2014). Experts recommend incorporating direct, engaging questions near the beginning of the survey to encourage continued participation (Rea and Parker 2014). I did not randomize question order, due to a chronological flow between questions, and due to the

undesired possibility of later questions priming responses to earlier ones. Demographic questions were asked at the end of the survey for this reason.

However, within multiple-choice questions, I did randomize the order of answers when appropriate, to minimize an order effect whereby respondents may be more likely to respond with a particular listed option repeatedly, often the first (Lavrakas 2008). To avoid confusion, I italicized important keywords in questions, and bolded a reminder to check all answers that apply for non-mutually-exclusive questions.

Most questions on the survey were self-designed. When asking respondents to describe their reasons for not wearing a mask, I incorporated items from the Face Masks Perceptions Scale (Howard 2020). The self-concept section consisted of a modified Self-Objectification Questionnaire, which itself was adjusted by its authors in its first year (Fredrickson et al. 1998; Noll and Fredrickson 1998). The authors' adjusted version clarified syntax, and pared the scale from 12 to 10 items. While I adopted the clarified language from the 10-item scale, I wanted to reincorporate one of the removed items, "color," which other studies have claimed is particularly important to Black respondents (Buchanan et al. 2008). To better fit contemporary standards, I renamed the item "skin tone." I also changed "sex appeal" to "appeal," since my intention was to distribute the same survey to high school students, and I was skeptical administrators would be comfortable asking their students to reflect on their sex appeal. To balance the scale, I added back the other previously removed item, "stamina."

ii. Recruitment and Response Rate

To recruit participants for the survey, I again relied on house electronic mailing lists. As in the prior recruitment email, I wrote that if the email recipient wore clothes,

they were eligible for the survey (Appendix K). Student surveys with financial incentives tend to offer raffle prizes, but there is often speculation that such raffles are deceptions. Wanting to establish trust among prospective participants, I took a hybrid approach, guaranteeing every participant 3 dollars as well as entry into a raffle for one of five 20-dollar gift cards.

With the help of friends, I was able to distribute the survey to five of the twelve houses: Currier, Dunster, Eliot, Leverett, and Pforzheimer. These recruitment emails were sent over the span of December 19 to January 5, anticipating that some students would be energized to complete the survey during finals week, while others would be more likely to take the survey if they first saw it appear in their inbox after a short break from academic work.

I closed the survey on January 19. Over the span of a month, the survey had 251 partial respondents from a sampling frame of approximately 2,100 students, with a response rate of 12 percent.[10] Of the 251 participants, 218 finished the survey, for an 87 percent completion rate. Unfinished surveys were excluded from analysis. Figure 3.5 compares sample demographics to population demographics. Despite attempts to avoid selection bias, the survey oversampled women and Asian students, undersampling men and white students. The survey might have undersampled students in the top income quintile, but students self-reported their household income relative to the median household income, and students reporting their household income as "above" might fall into the top income quintile. Those opting not to respond at all may be disproportionately likely to be in the top income quintile, and embarrassed to reveal their wealth. All in all,

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[10] While closer to 1,600 students were enrolled across the five houses this academic year due to leaves of absence, students on leave still receive emails over the house-wide electronic mailing lists.

despite using a random sampling method, this sample is not representative of the target population. Thus, all analysis must be conducted in proportions, and inferential analysis should be understood within these limits.

Figure 3.5. Descriptive Statistics of College Survey Sample

Independent Variables	Sample %	Population[11] %
Class		
Significantly Above Median Household Income	33%	67%
Above Median Household Income	26%	13%
Roughly Around Median Household Income	10%	9%
Below Median Household Income	8%	6%
Significantly Below Median Household Income	8%	5%
Not Sure / Rather Not Say	15%	n/a
Gender		
Woman	66%	49%
Man	32%	50%
Other	3%	1%
Race		
Asian	38%	24%
East Asian	32%	
South Asian	6%	
Black	16%	15%
Indigenous	1%	2%
Latinx	11%	13%

[11] Socioeconomic data gathered from Opportunity Insights, a Harvard-based research team (see Leonhart 2017 for write-up). Gender data gathered from the Harvard Common Data Set (2020). Race data gathered from Harvard College Admissions Office (2020).

White	32%	46%
Other	3%	<1%

Abbott Lawrence Academy Survey

i. Background and Survey Construction

As noted above, while the sampling method at Harvard was methodologically sound, the cluster itself is not representative of youth in Greater Boston. The purpose of high school data collection was twofold: first, to supplement Harvard results and analyze whether disjointed communities of youth had similar sartorial experiences during the pandemic; second, to investigate dress codes at the high school level, which—at least, according to many news outlets—were thrust into jeopardy as school districts responded to COVID-19 by shifting to a remote learning model (Hesse 2020; Retta 2020; Tanenbaum 2020; Wright 2020).

The high school survey (Appendix L) asked respondents a series of questions on the same five overarching topics as the college survey. Most questions from the college survey were repeated, but to keep the high school survey a similar length while adding questions, I removed one question asking students to report their current dress. I added three subcategories of questions: three that identified whether students were currently learning remotely or in-person, and what they wore for these occasions; two that asked about consumption habits; and one that clarified the extent to which their parents control their dress. As on the college survey, I randomized answer order when appropriate to minimize an order effect, but kept a structured question order to maintain ease of flow.

ii. Recruitment and Response Rate

With the help of the Assistant Principal, the survey was distributed to all ALA students on January 5. The survey remained open online until February 15. Over the span of a little over a month, the survey had 96 partial responses from a sampling frame of 324 students, with a response rate of 30 percent. Of the 96 respondents, 47 finished the survey, for a 49 percent completion rate, lower than the college survey. Students had less incentive to finish the survey without a financial reward; there may also have been a greater fatigue effect among high school students. Unfinished surveys were excluded from analysis. Figure 3.6 compares sample demographics to population demographics. The survey dramatically oversampled women, likely due to its voluntary nature and lack of incentives. The survey might have undersampled students in the bottom income quintile, but I believe this can be attributed to the converse of the rationale provided for the Harvard sample: students who come from low-income families may be uncomfortable revealing their situation, or may underestimate their household's relative socioeconomic status. Racially and socioeconomically, the sample is representative of the population, but the gender imbalance is stark, and must be accounted for in analysis.

Figure 3.6. Descriptive Statistics of ALA Survey Sample

Independent Variables	Sample %	Population[12] %
Class		
Significantly Above Median Household Income	0%	6%
Above Median Household Income	9%	9%
Roughly Around Median Household Income	36%	30%

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[12] Socioeconomic data gathered from U.S. Census Bureau (2019), using proxy of district-wide household income aggregated into income quintiles. Gender data gathered from Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (2020). Race data gathered from ALA Website (2021).

Below Median Household Income	19%	25%
Significantly Below Median Household Income	17%	30%
Not Sure / Rather Not Say	19%	n/a
Gender		
Woman	79%	47%
Man	15%	52%
Other	6%	<1%
Race		
Asian	8%	8%
East Asian	2%	
South Asian	6%	
Black	2%	1%
Indigenous	0%	<1%
Latinx	81%	84%
White	4%	6%
Other	4%	1%

Lexington High School Survey

i. Background and Survey Construction

The survey administered to Lexington High School students was identical to the survey administered to students at Abbott Lawrence Academy (see Appendix L).

ii. Recruitment and Response Rate

With the help of the Social Studies Department Head, the survey was shared with fellow Social Studies teachers, who distributed the survey to all students in the school (every student takes one of these core courses) as an optional, uncompensated activity

between January 15 and January 29. The survey remained online until February 15. Over the span of a month, the survey had 174 partial responses from a sampling frame of 2261 students, with a response rate of 8 percent. Of the 174 respondents, 106 finished the survey, for a 61 percent completion rate. Unfinished surveys were excluded from analysis. Figure 3.7 compares sample and population demographics. Among surveys, this was the most representative. If the prior hypothesis on reported household income holds, then the sample is representative along class lines. The sample is racially representative. The sample is not quite gender representative, but it is more representative in this regard than either the ALA or Harvard samples.

Figure 3.7. Descriptive Statistics of LHS Survey Sample

Independent Variables	**Sample %**	**Population[13] %**
Class		
Significantly Above Median Household Income	45%	68%
Above Median Household Income	36%	15%
Roughly Around Median Household Income	10%	10%
Below Median Household Income	4%	3%
Significantly Below Median Household Income	1%	3%
Not Sure / Rather Not Say	4%	n/a
Gender		
Woman	58%	50%
Man	38%	49%
Other	4%	<1%

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[13] Socioeconomic data gathered from U.S. Census Bureau (2019), using proxy of district-wide household income aggregated into income quintiles. Gender and race data gathered from Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (2020).

Race		
Asian	36%	41%
East Asian	21%	
South Asian	15%	
Black	7%	4%
Indigenous	0%	<1%
Latinx	6%	5%
White	46%	44%
Other	6%	6%

3.3 Analysis

Coding Scheme

After transcription, I coded all 55 interviews in Atlas.TI's cloud software. Given the inductive nature of the research, I used an open codebook, but focused my coding within a few conceptual categories: a) participants' decision criteria for attire and mask-wearing, b) participants' explicit and implicit references to autonomy constraints, c) the relative time, location, and surrounding company for each discussed experience, and d) judgments, either of or made by the participants. Whenever I modified the codebook, I would recode all previously coded interviews. For the final codebook, see Appendix M.

Statistical Significance and Scales

i. Statistical Significance

While the quantitative data collected from the high school and college surveys were acquired through random sampling, each dataset is not perfectly representative of

the respective populations (see Figures 3.5, 3.6, 3.7). Thus, while I present linear regressions in the results chapters as a means to estimate the relationships between relevant outcome variables and gender, class, and race, effect sizes and statistical significance should be taken with a grain of salt. Whenever I had reason to believe (based on literature and theory) that multiple independent variables could predict an outcome variable, I included them in a multivariable linear regression. All regressions in analysis were linear, and those included in results chapters are tabled in Appendix N. This paper's primary focus is on building theory, but I still thought it valuable to include analysis from an original dataset and test theory. Future research should adopt further strategies to avoid self-selection bias and make sampling better representative of the target population.

For the purposes of this study, I adopted a standard alpha level of 0.05 to determine statistical significance in regression analysis: a p-value between 0.05 and 0.10 would suggest marginal statistical significance, a p-value between 0.001 and 0.05 would suggest statistical significance, and a p-value lower than 0.001 would suggest statistically high significance.

ii. Constructed Scales

I adapted one constructed scale for this study, and developed four new scales. As mentioned in the above section on survey design, I modified the Self-Objectification Questionnaire (SOQ), which operationalizes self-objectification. See Appendix J (under "Self-Concept") for a list of the 12 attributes included on the SOQ. The 12-item score is determined by adding the ranks of the 6 appearance-based attributes and subtracting the ranks of the 6 competence-based attributes. Thus, scores range from -36 to 36, with a positive score indicating high self-objectification and a negative score indicating little to

no self-objectification. The 10-item score is determined by manually removing the two "extraneous" attributes—"skin tone" and "stamina"—and revaluing the remaining 10 attributes from 1 to 10. The final score is determined similarly as the 12-item score, ranging from -25 to 25.

Of the four original scales, the most frequently referenced throughout the thesis is the Composite Autonomy Scale (CAS). This scale operationalizes sartorial autonomy. It asks students to rate the importance of 6 criteria in their daily clothing choice both before and during the pandemic on a scale of 1 to 3 (see Appendix J, under "Decision-Making"). The scale makes an assumption about the autonomy of criteria, with two presumed to be high-autonomy (ease and comfort) and four presumed to be low-autonomy (style, conformity, attractiveness, and gender). To obtain the score, each criterion's rating is rescaled from 0 to 2, high-autonomy criteria are summed and multiplied by 2, and then low-autonomy criteria are subtracted. This balances CAS scores, ranging from -8 to 8. There are three measures of CAS referenced in the thesis: pre-pandemic, present, and the "shift" between these measures, represented by the difference.

This scale is an imperfect operationalization of autonomy. While a number of students perceive some or all of the low-autonomy criteria as internalized values, the scale asserts that these criteria are *relatively* lower in autonomy than both ease and comfort, and thus any increasing importance in these four criteria trades off with fully autonomous criteria, in effect decreasing relative autonomy. The scale satisfactorily captures respondents' stated feelings of agency (i.e., autonomy) as they relate to clothes, and thus it provides a rough measure of sartorial autonomy.

In the chapters to come, sartorial autonomy will often be contrasted with sartorial agency. Most of the time, shifts in agency during the pandemic will be operationalized through students' shifts in dress as they align with higher-autonomy criteria: for instance, the transition from skirts to sweatpants clearly seems to be an emphasis on comfort over attractiveness, and thus indicates an expansion of agency. However, this does not capture the extent of one's present agency. To contrast present autonomy with present agency, I created a Masking Agency Scale (MAS). Respondents were shown pictures of seven different cloth masks with varying aesthetic designs, and asked which of the seven they would feel comfortable wearing (see Appendix J, under "Masks"). The score is calculated by counting the number of masks the respondent reports being comfortable wearing. To scale MAS to the same range as CAS, the number of masks is then multiplied by 16/7 and the product is reduced by 8. The final range is -8 to 8, balanced over 0. A higher score on MAS indicates greater agency, as one accepts the utility of all masks equally, disregarding appearance, which is externally facing and perceived by others in social interactions (one of the few items of dress to meet this criterion during the pandemic).

The third original scale used in quantitative analysis is the Mask-Wearing Scale (MWS). This scale represents the frequency and likelihood that a respondent masks. As seen in Appendix J (under "Masks"), respondents are asked to estimate the frequency that they mask on a scale of 1 to 4, from "never" to "always." There are two subscores, one to measure outdoor masking and another to measure indoor masking. The aggregate score averages these two subscores. Scores range from 1 to 4; a higher score indicates greater frequency and likelihood of masking. There are similar scores obtained for friends' reported mask-wearing and parents' reported mask-wearing.

The final original scale is the Environmental Consideration Scale (ECS). This scale operationalizes environmental awareness and commitment as it relates to clothing consumption by asking respondents if they think about the environmental consequences of the clothes they buy. The four answers range from "no" to "yes, and I buy all my clothes with this in mind." The scale is scored from 0 to 3; a low score indicates low environmental awareness and commitment, a medium score indicates high awareness but low commitment, and a high score indicates both high awareness and commitment. Both awareness and commitment are important to measure, as previous studies have found that positive sentiments toward eco-friendly products do not necessarily translate to actual eco-friendly consumption (Mazar et al. 2020; White, Hardisty, and Habib 2019). With these scales and interview codes, I moved toward a multi-methods analysis. I divide results into three chapters. Chapter Four builds and develops theory on the triad of self-determination, using high school data. Chapter Five explores the pandemic as an exogenous shock, tracking shifts in sartorial decision criteria and student dress. Chapter Six analyzes sartorial boundaries and their relationship with self-determination.

Chapter Four: Sartorial Autonomy, Agency, and Freedom

In this chapter, I demonstrate how a clearer conceptual delineation between freedom, autonomy, and agency improves scholars' abilities to identify and analyze the processes structuring youth sartorial decisions. The first section focuses on sartorial freedom and sartorial autonomy, analyzing how students experience and perceive the impact of restrictions and influences on high school dress. Gender disparities in student dress emerge. The second section distinguishes between sartorial autonomy and sartorial agency, utilizing the pandemic and graduation from high school as disruptions to capture shifts in these constructs. I summarize findings in a third section, analyzing how gender disparities in these developed constructs support and extend existing theory.

4.1 Evaluating Constraints: Freedom vs. Autonomy

In this section, I articulate different restrictions and influences on high school dress, and their impact on sartorial freedom and sartorial autonomy. First, I analyze the reported intensity of various constraints, and interpret how school policies affect student perceptions of constraints on dress. Then, I evaluate how three restrictions—dress codes, parental expectations, and budget limitations—affect both sartorial freedom and autonomy in gendered ways.

Ranking Constraints

Sartorial autonomy is constrained both by overt restrictions and overt influences. Restrictions are firmly set rules, such as dress codes, parent guidelines, and budget limitations. When enforced, restrictions limit sartorial freedom. Because influences are not mandates, they do not affect freedom; still, they have a push and pull effect on what

students consider acceptable to wear, constraining autonomy. Notable influences include peer pressure, gender norms, cultural norms, and religious expectations.[14] Figure 4.1 shows the relative strength of different restrictions and influences on high school dress. Students (n = 371) from ALA (n = 47), LHS (n = 106), and Harvard (n = 218) ranked how these seven constraints affected their dress in high school, with the most constraining factor scored as a one and the least constraining factor scored as a seven.

Figure 4.1. Ranking Overt Constraints on High School Dress by School
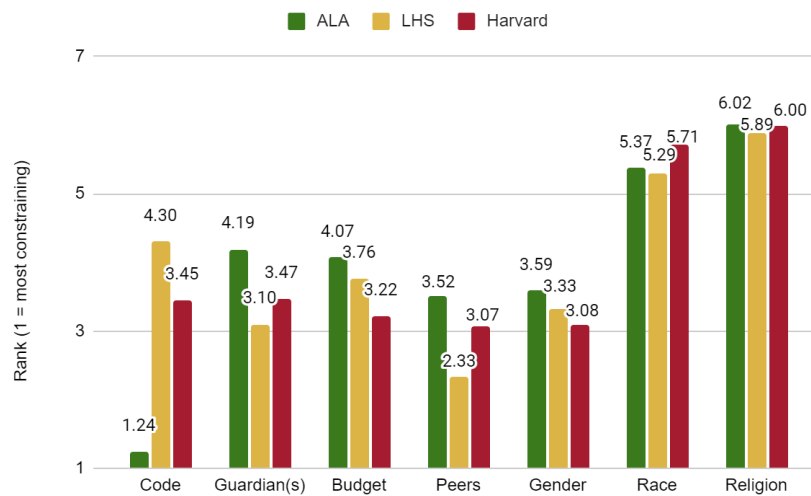
Attending a school with a uniform policy, ALA students predictably found dress codes to be far more restrictive than their LHS (β = 3.06; p < 0.001) and Harvard[15] (β = 2.21; p < 0.001) peers.[16] In a multivariable regression controlling for school, the gender difference in dress codes rank was not statistically significant (p = 0.68).

ALA students reported parents as less restrictive than LHS (β = -1.09; p < 0.001) and Harvard (β = -0.72; p < 0.01) students, perhaps because their uniform policy satisfies parental standards, helping ALA students avoid parental intervention. Controlling for

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[14] While gender and cultural norms do in part operate covertly, these rankings capture the overt elements of these norms, only those which students can detect.

[15] Harvard students were asked to reflect on their high school experiences.

[16] Regression tables are compiled in Appendix N. Descriptive statistics tables are compiled in Appendix O.

school, the gender difference in parental rank was not statistically significant ($p = 0.55$). Interviews with Harvard students (n = 45), featured below, reveal the extent—and limits—of parental restrictions on high school dress.

A third restriction, budget limitations, impacted fashion; Figure 4.2a demonstrates differences were significant across income brackets at LHS ($\beta = -0.62$; $p < 0.01$) and Harvard ($\beta = -0.48$; $p < 0.001$), but not at ALA ($p = 0.76$). This could be mediated by the uniform policy, as it provides a ceiling on how much one can visibly spend on style.

Figure 4.2a. Ranking Budget Constraint by Household Income Figure 4.2b. Ranking Peer Constraint by Household Income
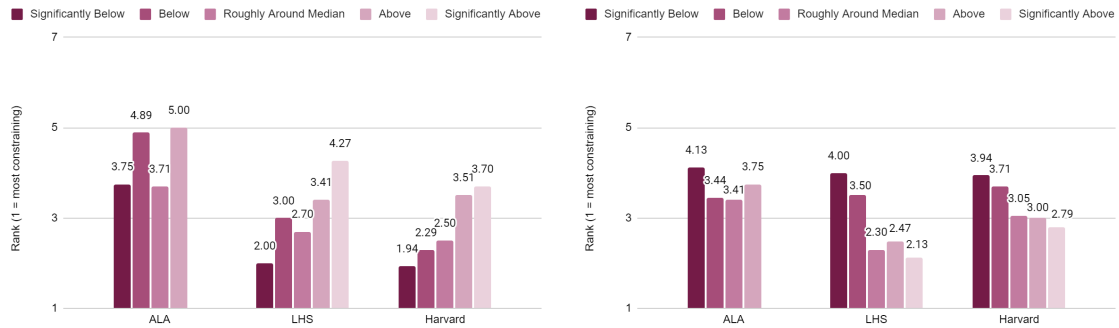
In addition to these restrictions, social influences further constrained high school dress, most notably through peers. Figure 4.2b shows that household income was positively associated with the influence of peers at LHS ($\beta = 0.32$; $p = 0.07$) and Harvard ($\beta = 0.28$; $p < 0.01$), but not at ALA ($p = 0.43$). As household income increases, peer influences appear to replace budget constraints in students' sartorial decisions.

Gender was another pivotal influence for students, ranked in the aggregate as the second most constraining factor. Interestingly, the gender gap in this constraint's rank was not statistically significant ($p = 0.64$). Students ranked two final influences: race and religion. Race was slightly more constraining for nonwhite students than white students ($\beta = 0.31$; $p < 0.05$), but still relatively unrestrictive. For other races, the difference between their identity and the rest of the sample (e.g., Black and non-Black participants)

was not statistically significant. Religion was far more constraining for Muslim students ($\beta = 3.50$; $p < 0.001$) and moderately more constraining for Christian students ($\beta = 0.70$; $p < 0.001$). Intuitively, it was moderately less constraining for nonreligious students ($\beta = -1.06$; $p < 0.001$).

Intuitively, harsher restrictions like strict dress codes curtail sartorial freedom. Less intuitively, school policies seem to affect the relative importance of restrictions and influences in students' sartorial autonomy. ALA students see dress code and parental restrictions as relatively more constraining in the aggregate, while LHS and Harvard students perceive the influences of peers and gender norms as more impactful on their high school dress (see Figure 4.3). The presence of a dress code makes restrictions more salient at ALA, even when influences still constrain autonomy for ALA students.

Figure 4.3. Comparing Restrictions and Influences on High School Dress
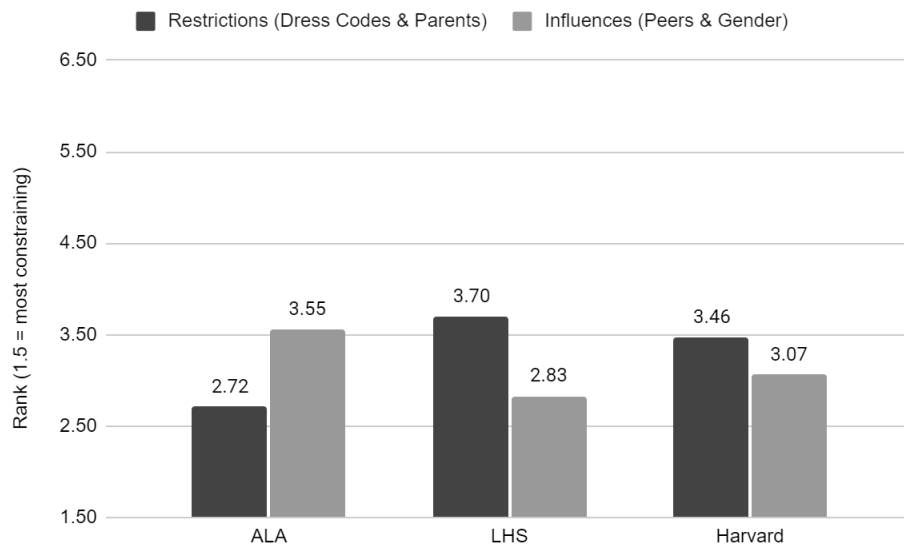
Dress Codes

Gender discrimination in dress codes' language and enforcement mark disparities in sartorial freedom. Dress codes also contribute to a gender gap in high school sartorial autonomy: the language of some dress codes are gender-blind, but specific banned items

and length requirements apply to clothes marketed to girls. This makes participants, both male and female, perceive dress codes as targeted against girls, disproportionately constraining girls' autonomy when deciding what to wear for school. In this subsection, I address i) disparity in rules, ii) disparity in enforcement, and iii) affective responses to getting caught.

i. Disparate Rules

Survey participants were asked to describe the dress codes at their high schools. Of the 223 respondents who completed this question, 22 (9 percent) explicitly referenced gendered dress codes that bifurcated between what boys and girls could wear. Another 103 respondents (46 percent) defined their dress code through women-typed articles of clothing, including bra straps, leggings, skirts, and short shorts. The other 99 (44 percent) listed either gender-neutral restrictions on tank tops, foul language, and shoes, or uniform policies that were not explicitly gendered. The prevalence of descriptions that focused on women-typed articles of clothing—and the lack of descriptions focused on men-typed articles—suggests that the salient aspects of dress codes are those used to target girls.

Interviewees (n = 41) largely concurred that dress codes were written to specifically restrict girls' clothing options. Without a direct probe, 28 participants (68 percent) brought up gender as a key dimension of their schools' dress codes. Eric, a white student from the Midwest, remarked that "it was pretty standard, … largely targeted at girls. Like, I think guys were not really regulated in what they could and couldn't wear." Imani, a Black student from the Southwest, recounted orientation at her high school, where staff presented a slideshow for school rules: "There'd be like, five slides talking about what women couldn't wear, like, 'you can't show too much shoulder,' 'your skirt

can't be too short,' all these other things. And then there was like half a slide for the men that was like, 'wear closed-toed shoes,' and like that was basically it." When I asked Pauline, a Black student from the Northeast, whether boys could wear the clothes girls weren't allowed to wear, she sighed exasperatedly: "All the time, yeah. Like, they can wear whatever they want. I remember one day during like, spirit week, all the guys would wear like tank tops and stuff, or like crop tops, and no one would care."

Others noted that while the language of their dress codes wasn't written out as gendered, it had the effect of constraining clothes that only girls would wear. Suzie, a Latinx student from the South, clarified that "technically, like, the same rules would also apply to boys, but … mostly girls got disciplined … because it's like, all the rules were really targeted toward people who would like, present femininely, like dresses or short shorts." Based on interview data, the language of most high school dress codes have a disparate impact on girls' clothing choices.

ii. Disparate Enforcement

Whether or not the language of dress codes are explicitly gendered, interviews revealed a broad perception that dress codes were enforced more harshly against girls. Survey data paint a murkier picture: while 44 percent of girls reported that they violated dress codes compared to 20 percent of boys, in turn facing more frequent scolding and formal sanctions (see Figure 4.4a), boys who violated a dress code reported being slightly more likely to be scolded or punished than girls who did the same (see Figure 4.4b). This could be because boys are more flagrant in their code violations, making enforcement simpler for teaching staff. I do not believe that this is attributable to gender gaps in awareness of a dress code: when asking students about their high schools' dress codes, I

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did not find a statistically significant difference in awareness of a dress code across gender (p = 0.31). Either way, this vastly contradicts the perceptions that respondents shared in interviews, on which I will elaborate below.

When running multivariable regressions controlling for race and gender, there were no statistically significant differences in violations or consequences in the ALA or LHS samples. Among the college sample, Latinx students were moderately more likely to be scolded ($β$ = 0.18; p < 0.05). East Asian students were moderately less likely to be scolded ($β$ = -0.15; p < 0.05) and slightly less likely to be punished ($β$ = -0.07; p < 0.05).

Figure 4.4a. Percent of High School Students Violating Dress Codes **Figure 4.4b. Percent of Violators Ever Facing Consequences**
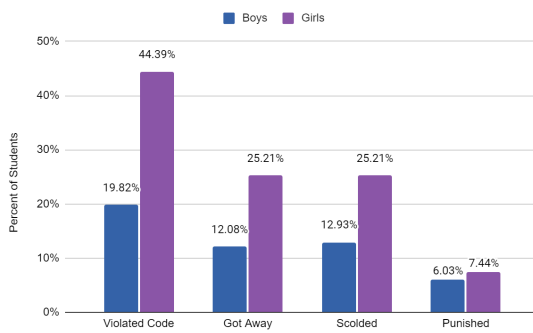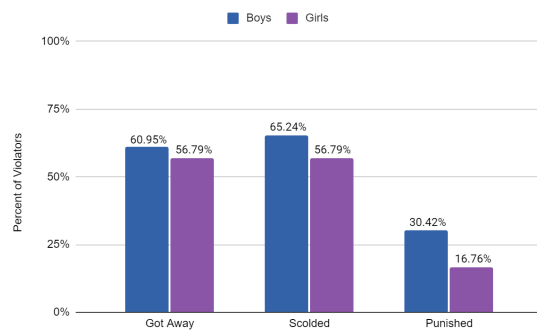
Save for the few interviewees who attended single-gender high schools, respondents agreed unanimously that dress codes were more harshly enforced against girls than boys. Shayan, an Indigenous student from the Southwest, recalled blatant violations from his male peers in high school that girls could never replicate:

> No, I definitely think it's disproportionate because I, I know some boys that have gotten away with like, crazy clothing … it's like, I don't know how many times I've seen people's boxers, and people's, like, underwear. Like, for women, if like a woman were to do that at my school, I'm pretty sure they would like, get suspended or something of the sort. So I definitely think it was disproportionate.

Others mentioned uneven enforcement of policies on shorts length, on tank top necklines, and on going topless at athletic meets.

A few interviewees were quick to note that among girls who violated dress codes, some were more likely than others to be disciplined. Gabrielle, a Black student from the Northeast, recounted the vulnerable position of curvier girls:

> [I]f you were curvier, and stuff like that, you definitely just heard more about the dress code and kind of got, like, chastised by teachers … like when it got around to like summer and people wore, like, short shorts or crop tops, then you know, you'd find a lot of like girls who were curvier, including myself, like would just get comments of like, "oh, like, your top is too revealing." And I'm like, "My friend is literally wearing the same style of top in a different color."

Ryan, an East Asian student from the Midwest, made a similar remark, noting that his female friends who were either curvier or more heavyset were much more likely to be called out for breaking the dress code.

One category of girls seemingly immune from dress code enforcement were cheerleaders. Three interviewees, all women, complained that by wearing cheer uniforms to school, cheerleaders would consistently violate fingertip length policies, yet were never challenged or punished by teachers or staff. To a lesser degree, women on athletic teams acknowledged they were able to get away with wearing their uniforms to school on game days, even when their outfits violated certain dress code policies.

iii. Getting Caught

Inevitably, most of the women interviewees faced some sort of admonishment for what they wore to school. Jane, an East Asian student from the South, quipped it was a rite of passage for girls. This universality didn't make it any more pleasant:

> I think it's, like, pretty embarrassing. Like, the dress code assumes you're like, you're asking for attention … . Also, having an adult figure like *look* at you is frustrating, because when you're dressing, you like, I don't dress up for my *teachers*. It's embarrassing to have like an adult figure, like notice what you wear.

Shame was a common experience for most women, tied both to the assumptions the dress code itself made about their potentially sexual intentions (as with the case of Jane), as

well as self-image concerns. Carrie, a white student from the West, spoke openly about her struggles with body image:

> [J]unior year, I just stopped eating, I lost like 40 pounds in a month. It was really bad. And I felt bad because I knew that like these were clothes that I didn't think I could pull off when I weighed more. And yet, finally, I was proud of myself and was able to, like, wear what I wanted to wear—and people *still* made comments about it. And I was like, I guess I can never escape the patriarchy.

Other interviewees echoed Carrie's body image concerns, albeit usually in softer terms.

For some participants like Suzie, dress code violations were the only admonishment they ever received at school, making it particularly shameful and even nerve-wracking: "That was like the first time I'd ever received any, like, formal kind of punishment. So I was like, really scared and sad about it." Given that all interviewees eventually matriculated at Harvard, it may be reasonably assumed that, as a group, they broke fewer rules in high school than the average student.

In contrast with shame, a few students felt annoyance or righteous indignation. After she was scolded for violating the dress code her senior year, Lucia, a Black Latinx student from the Midwest, was "extremely frustrated" and thought to herself, "well, I'm glad I'm leaving now." Other students accepted the legitimacy of the dress policy, internalizing its values. Cindy, an East Asian student from the Northeast, admitted that at first she "felt a little bit annoyed … [b]ut … understand[s] that, like, it's the dress code at the school, and like, it's been there for like, a long time, and [she] should respect that." María, a white Latinx student from the Southwest, agreed after getting caught that "we are in a place to learn, and you really don't need to have too much skin showing at school."

After facing admonishment for breaking the dress code, some were discouraged from violating it again: Suzie paid close attention to her pants' looseness so they couldn't

be classified as skintight, and Cindy made an effort to respect the spirit of her school's dress code. Others like Carrie continued to violate the code, but were careful to avoid getting caught a second time, often enduring extra stress at school as a result:

> I was constantly paranoid every single passing period and would, like, pull my dress all the way down when I walked past, like, a strict teacher's room or whatever, so it was never, I never felt safe wearing short clothes; not necessarily that I thought someone was gonna hurt me, but I always thought that I was gonna get in trouble. It was always a gamble.

Within the interview group, women were much more likely than men to face criticism for breaking the dress code, restricting sartorial freedom. After punishment, women reported either adhering to the code or experiencing distress in future violations, contributing to a constrained sartorial autonomy. None of the men I interviewed mentioned feeling stress, anxiety, or shame over dress code violations.

Parental Expectations

The second overt restriction on high school students' dress comes from their parents. At the high school level, parents may exert control over their children's dress either by placing restrictions on what clothes their children own, or by exercising a "veto" power over the specific outfits children pick out each morning. In addition to overt restrictions, parents may place expectations on their children by making disparaging remarks about those who wear certain styles or fits of clothing, in effect constraining sartorial autonomy. In this subsection, I address i) consistency in rules, ii) disparity in judgment, and iii) attempts to sneak around parents' rules.

i. Consistent Rules

Survey data reveal there is no statistically significant difference in sartorial control between parents across ALA and LHS ($p = 0.38$), across gender ($p = 0.50$), across household income ($p = 0.96$), or across students' race (e.g., whiteness, $p = 0.37$). Figure

4.5 shows a majority of ALA and LHS students do not report any parental control over their dress, although a substantial percentage of parents do retain veto power.

Figure 4.5. Parental Control over Student Dress
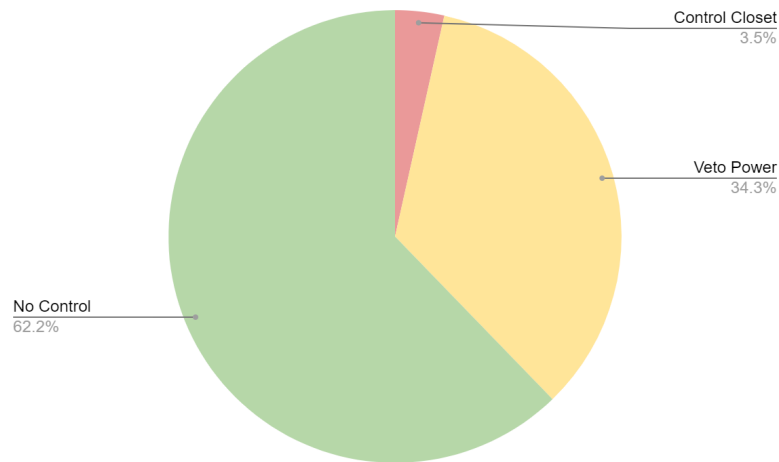
ii. Disparate Judgment

Where survey responses did not identify any statistically significant difference in parental control across gender, interview data revealed that parents were much more likely to enforce vetoes or harshly judge the dress of their daughters, both across subjects and within subjects' families. Judgment often took root in presumptions of promiscuity tethered to clothing tightness or skin exposure. Participants were slightly more likely to recount experiences of a father restricting their dress, but only reported maternal use of slut discourse to discourage certain trends or outfits.

Among female participants who recalled parental interference, their fathers often took a more active role in policing youth dress. When asked about parents and dress, Lily, an East Asian student from the Northeast, immediately thought of her father: "My dad, oh my goodness. He won't even let me wear t-shirts to school! … [I]t'll be like summer and he'll be like, 'Cover that up with a scarf.'" Lucia noted that clothes were a point of

conflict with her father: "My dad, uh, has a lot of opinions I disagree with, and he definitely tried to stop me a lot of times from wearing shorts that he thought should be down to, like, my knees or something." Lily drew a stark line in the sand between her two parents' judgments: "[M]y mom was so much more supportive about what I wore, because she was also usually there when I bought it—but I always had issues with my dad." This echoes a number of women's responses, who remarked that their mothers shopped for clothes with them, decreasing the likelihood that they would disapprove of specific items of dress. Grace, an East Asian student from the Midwest, would show her father the clothes she bought with her mother, and his approval wasn't guaranteed: "My mom and I would go shopping and like, come back and give the fashion show, and he'd be like, 'That's a little too short.'"

While mothers were less frequent critics of their daughters' dress, when they did intervene, a few invoked slut discourse to shame their daughters in a way that was only ever done implicitly by fathers. Layla, a Black student from the Northeast, recounted particularly fraught moments in her relationship with her mother:

> [S]tarting in high school, I started to transition into more, like, skinny jeans. And I think the first day I wore them she literally called me like a slut. And it was kind of shocking for me that she would say something like that to me because she had never said that to me before. And a lot of—every time my dress got [above] like my knees, she'd say, "Oh, this dress is too short, you can't wear it anymore." And a lot of my favorite dresses were like not, I wouldn't consider them too short, but they were … above my knees, so she just like took them away. So I remember that kind of upset me, like the jeans thing, and then the dress, and she would never let me wear leggings. She said that, yeah, that was for like, sluts or like whores: "You're like showing your, like, everything, you know, like, do you want men to like stare at you?" Like she would say things like that to me. So I didn't start really wearing leggings until college actually.

Gabrielle couldn't wear high heels without judgment from her mother: "My mom has like the view of like high heels being you know, perceived as part of a certain fashion … like,

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a derogatory fashion." These sorts of comments from mothers cut further into psyches of women interviewees, who widely dismissed their fathers as overly worried, but their mothers as insinuating bad intent.

Male participants were noticeably less likely to mention any issues of parental involvement in their dress. In the limited instances where parental interference did occur, it was to encourage their sons to dress more warmly in the winter, or to wear color-coordinated clothes. No male interviewee recounted an experience of their parents critiquing their dress for its promiscuity or otherwise sexualizing their appearance. Participants with siblings noticed their parents enforce consistently across gender, but more frequently judge daughters' choices: Eric remembered his younger sister clashing with their father on a routine basis over what she wore for school, which never happened between Eric and either of his parents. Layla's two older brothers were never insulted for their clothing choices, and their clothes were often passed down to her as a unisex option when her mother was upset with Layla's wardrobe.

iii. Sneaking Around

Despite weathering harsh parental judgment in high school, some female interviewees were still determined to wear sanctioned clothing to school and maintain sartorial freedom. Girls developed strategies and techniques to escape judgment, either by skirting past their parents on the way to school or by changing once they got to school. Lucia was particularly proud of her "sneaky tactics" which included strategically waiting until the last minute as they were rushing out the door to show her clothes, so her parents couldn't make her change.

Sharon, a Black student from the Northeast, admitted that she and her sister often feigned adherence to the clothing guidelines her parents set in high school, reasoning "other people were [wearing leggings], and … they weren't getting in trouble, so I was kind of like, 'Why can't I?'" Her technique was to drape acceptable clothes over her questionable clothes, removing the extra layers once she was out of their sight: "If I was gonna wear a crop top, I'd maybe, like, zip my jacket up, and then like slip out of the car to the bus before they could notice." I asked Lily if she ever went against her father's wishes and ventured out in a t-shirt. Her response rang a similar note: "I mean, don't tell him, but usually I would put on a jacket, leave, and then take it off." Though their ability to violate attempted parental restrictions would seem to indicate female interviewees were not, in fact, constrained, female interviewees still *felt* constrained. Importantly, this distinction signals that autonomy was restricted, even if freedom was not.

Budget Limitations

Of the three restrictions, it is hardest to determine whether budget limitations are a restriction on sartorial freedom or autonomy. While it is clear that there are some hard limits to what students can afford to purchase with their or their parents' money, they often spend beyond "soft limits" set by budget goals. Accordingly, students' perceptions of what they can freely purchase are not necessarily accurate depictions of their freedom. Thus, despite budget limitations' effects on freedom, I focused on measuring students' autonomy.

In the high school survey, respondents were asked whether there were any brands they'd like to wear but could not afford. Surprisingly, at both ALA ($p = 0.63$) and LHS ($p = 0.15$), there was no statistically significant difference across income brackets. However,

there was a stark gendered difference across schools, with girls much more likely than boys ($\beta = 0.27$; $p < 0.05$) to report wishing they could afford more expensive brands (see Figure 4.6). This suggests that the effect of budget limitations on brand-based sartorial autonomy, against intuition, is mediated by gender.

Figure 4.6. Brand Aspirations by Gender
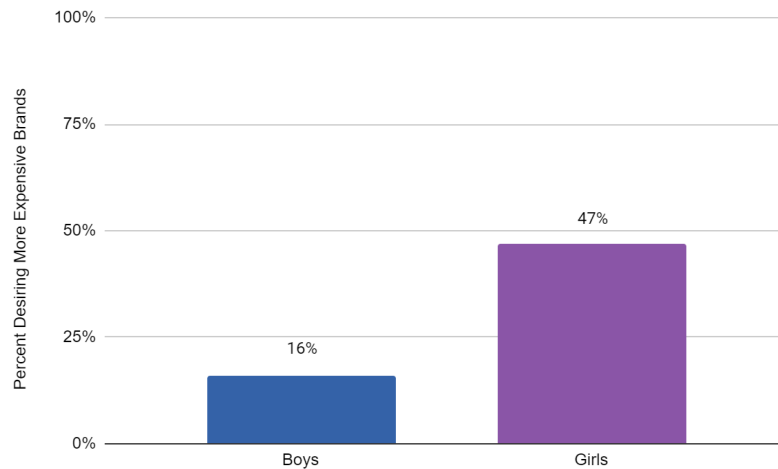
4.2 Evaluating Shifts: Autonomy vs. Agency

Sartorial autonomy is measured by one's feelings of agency when deciding what to wear, while sartorial agency denotes the lack of external influences on one's dress. Both of these concepts, but particularly agency, are hard to measure without conditions that disrupt a student's established environment. The pandemic and high school graduation both serve as useful disruptions for analyzing shifts in autonomy and agency.

Shifts in Pandemic

I captured sartorial autonomy with two methods. First, after asking what decision criteria students use to pick their school clothes, I coded particular criteria as autonomous or nonautonomous. After the pandemic disrupted standard in-person learning, students' decision criteria shifted substantially for remote school. As shown in Figure 4.7a,

students increasingly valued autonomous criteria such as ease and comfort for remote school, while the relevance of nonautonomous criteria declined precipitously. The CAS,[17] balanced on an -8 to 8 scale and based on students' decision criteria, is shown in Figure 4.7b. This indicates autonomy expanded for students at ALA ($\Delta = +2.44$; $SD = 2.97$), but even more sharply for LHS students ($\Delta = +3.87$; $SD = 3.15$). There was a gendered difference as well ($p < 0.01$), which will be interpreted in the following chapter. There was no statistically significant difference across class ($p = 0.10$) or race ($p = 0.27$).

To capture sartorial autonomy more directly, I asked high school students whether they wished they could wear different clothes for school. Ninety-three percent of ALA students and fifteen percent of LHS students responded affirmatively. Controlling for gender, this gap was statistically significant ($\beta = 0.76$; $p < 0.001$), suggesting ALA students have less sartorial autonomy. Controlling for school, girls were also substantially more likely than boys to report wishing they could wear different clothes ($\beta = 0.12$; $p < 0.05$), with 48 percent of girls and 15 percent of boys doing so in the sample.

For sartorial agency, I asked high school students whether the clothes they wear are different for remote and in-person learning. ALA students unanimously responded that they have shifted their dress, relative to 76 percent of LHS students. Controlling for school, girls were slightly more likely than boys to change what they wear for in-person learning, but this had marginal statistical significance ($\beta = 0.10$; $p < 0.1$). In the sample, 88 percent of girls and 74 percent of boys reported changing their dress. Figure 4.8 demonstrates a clear distinction between autonomy and agency: 72 of 152 students (47 percent) report wearing what they want for school, despite shifting their clothes to adjust

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[17] Composite Autonomy Scale; see Chapter 3.3 for an extended description.

to remote learning. These students are autonomous, but lack agency—or at least lacked agency prior to the pandemic.

Figure 4.7a. High School Decision Criteria Remote vs. In-Person
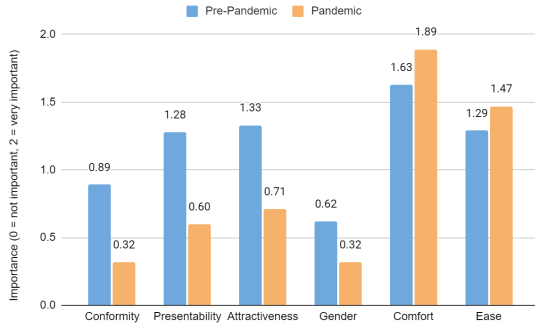
Figure 4.7b. Autonomy Scale Remote vs. In-Person
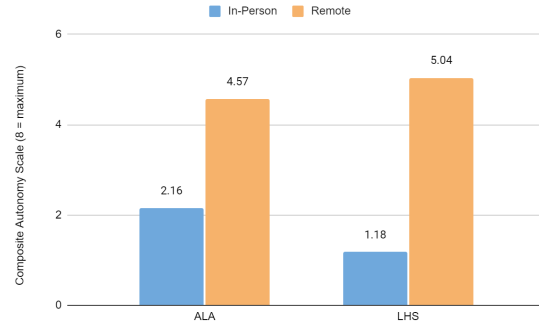
Figure 4.8. Autonomy vs. Agency in High School Dress
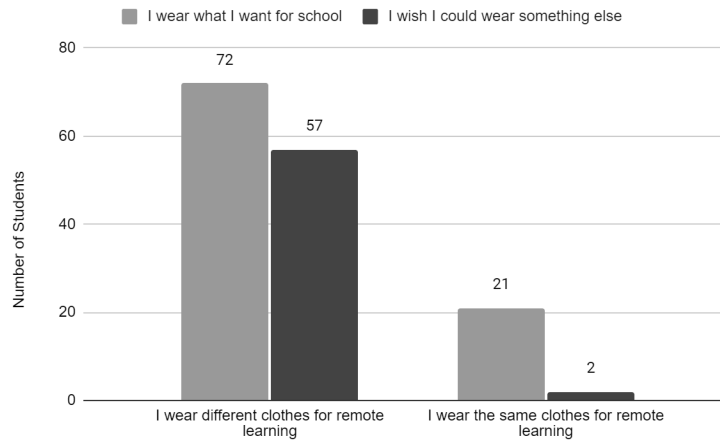
Shifts in Graduation

While the pandemic is a seismic period effect, there is also an assumed aging effect on sartorial autonomy and agency: graduation from high school. In this transitional stage, students are freed from high school dress codes, may leave their parents' homes, and either enter the "real world" or matriculate at college. However, interview and survey data do not reveal conclusive shifts in autonomy and agency for college students. Still, their reflections on high school dress help delineate between the two constructs. This subsection addresses i) general shifts in autonomy and agency, ii) the importance of looking good *in vivo*, and iii) the importance of conformity in retrospect.

i. Shifts in Autonomy and Agency

Survey and interview data on graduate high school students' shifts in autonomy and agency are inconclusive. Figure 4.9 shows the pre-pandemic CAS, aggregating ALA and LHS students' scores and comparing them to Harvard students' scores. Figure 4.10 shows the MAS,[18] on a balanced -8 to 8 scale, measuring students' willingness to wear aesthetically different masks. On both scales, the effect size of graduation is quite small.

Figure 4.9. Composite Autonomy Scale by Age   **Figure 4.10. Masking Agency Scale by Age**
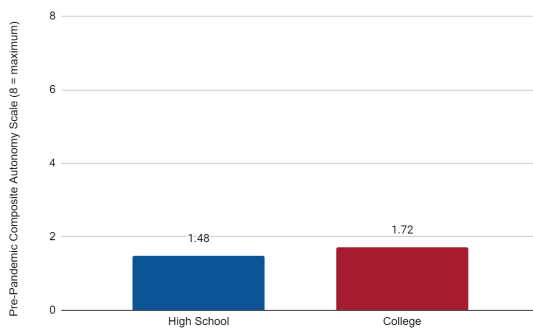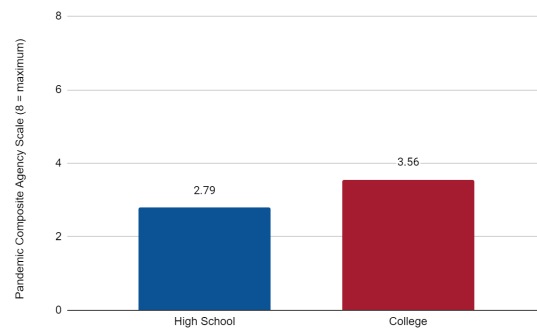
Some interviewees used explicitly autonomous language to describe their shift in dress after high school. Gabrielle spoke to her experience escaping parental judgment:

> [G]etting chastised … definitely discouraged me from wearing clothing that I wanted to wear … but it also in a way made me … more expressive now, because I didn't get the chance to like, wear the clothing I wanted to. … [T]here are times I like to just, like, look different … [and] now I have the freedom to do that, so I appreciate it so much more because I wasn't able to for pretty much most of my schooling experience through high school.

Jake, a white student from the South, recounted graduating from his private school, and articulated greater autonomy in his fashion, but not necessarily agency:

> So all my high school friends and I realized we had no clothing besides formal business attire, so we all had this sense of freedom and went to, we went to go shopping together, which was fun … I had to actually think and text people who didn't go to my high school, like "what are, what are the kids wearing?"

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[18] Masking Agency Scale; see Chapter 3.3 for an extended description.

His sense of freedom indicates greater autonomy, but his instinct was to conform to peer fashion, limiting his agency. Gabrielle, meanwhile, expresses agency through her choice to look "different" from time to time.

Other interviewees did not report any autonomy expansion after graduating, instead stating that they were able to wear what they wanted in high school. Habituation and adaptive preference formation suggest these students had autonomy in high school, precluding any positive shift in autonomy for college. For these students, influences were covert; in other words, despite this autonomy, they lacked agency. When asked if codes affected her decision, Taylor, a Black and East Asian student from the Northeast, replied:

> Probably not. Because I wasn't really—my, my fashion style changed pretty drastically from high school to now. Because once I got to college, like, there's not really a dress code, so, like, I decided to wear like, cooler things. Because in high school, it was just like t-shirts, sweatshirts, sweatpants, I wore what I wore, like, at home to school. So yeah.

Alex, an East Asian student from the South, stated he too felt autonomous in high school:

> Not really. I mean, like, of course, you could say maybe I would *prefer* to be in like, more comfortable clothes. But I didn't necessarily feel such a strong desire that, like, it needed to be during school time. I mean, the dress code was pretty comfortable enough that I never felt, I guess, *restricted* in any way. Yeah.

Both Taylor and Alex show signs of adaptive preference formation: their fashion criteria shifted to match their surrounding environments in high school. Thus, while they were autonomous, they did not have full agency in their high school dress. Taylor's shift to "cool" clothes in college shows further signs of adaptive preference formation, this time to meet a social rather than institutional standard.

ii. Looking Good in Vivo

In high school, peers can influence one's dress in a number of ways, but most fall into two categories: looking good and fitting in. Here, fitting in means dressing in a

manner that conforms to the fashion of one's school or subgroup of friends. Looking good means showing oneself off in front of peers, whether by presenting in a stylish or attractive manner. These are not mutually exclusive drives, and are easily intertwined; individuals often base their sartorial decisions on multiple criteria. Interestingly, surveys and interviews revealed contradictory assessments of the relative importance of these criteria in high school sartorial decisions, which can be attributed to retrospective context.

Current high school students at ALA and LHS rated both "looking good" criteria—presentability and attractiveness—as more important than conformity when deciding what to wear for in-person school (see Figure 4.11). Students were asked to rate criteria on a scale (0 to 2), with 0 being not important and 2 being very important to their dress. ALA students rated conformity moderately lower than LHS students (β = -0.42; p < 0.01). This discrepancy could be explained by the uniform policy, as it sets a standard baseline for student attire, lessening the need or drive for ALA students to think about what others will wear to school.

Figure 4.11. High School Decision Criteria for In-Person Learning
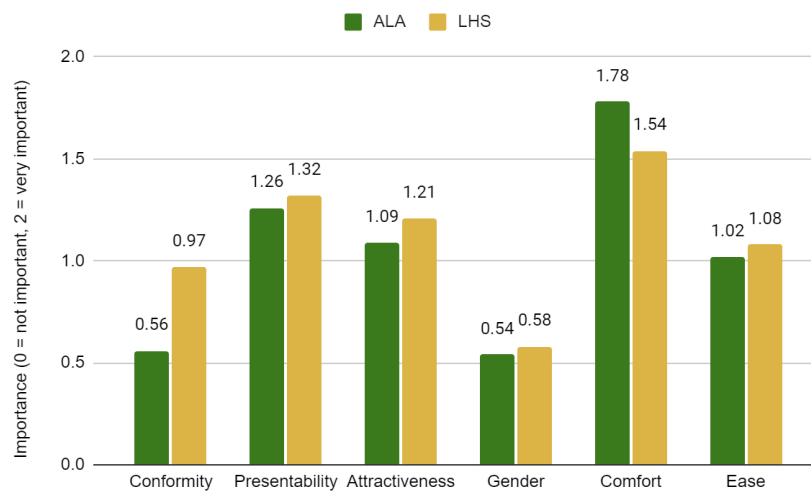
iii. Conformity in Retrospect

While current students reported a deeper commitment to looking good than fitting in, interviews with college students told a different story. When participants reflected back on their high school fashion, most readily admitted to basing their clothing choices on that of their friends or classmates. Some reported feeling nonautonomous in high school, while others did not recognize conformity as a constraint on their autonomy until getting to college.

Maggie, a white student from the Northeast, felt unduly constricted in what she could wear to her high school, lest she expose herself to social critique:

> I guess high school was more judgmental than [Harvard] and like people would be like, "Oh, she's wearing that"—like people would actually talk about it … . Honestly, it was very much like you had to wear these clothes. It's not like, no one would outright call you out and be like, "You're not wearing leggings, you're wearing jeans." But like people would be like, "Oh, she's wearing *jeans*."

Rebecca, a white student from the West, went so far as to call this social pressure a requirement: "I think in high school, there was much more of a, like, pressure to wear skinny jeans everyday, because that's what everyone wore. And I think, just the way my perception of fashion is, like that's less of a requirement now." By identifying fashion as a solely external influence, these participants expressed a lack of sartorial autonomy in high school.

Hannah, a white student from the Northeast, recounted how her high school self justified conforming: "I wore pretty typical clothes, like, skinny jeans is what everyone wore, and like t-shirts and sweaters that were very similar to everyone else." Eric followed brands as well as trends at his high school, to the point of physical discomfort:

> I feel like Hollister was like a big thing. So I would buy Hollister stuff, and like, I don't know, I feel like it was made for someone shorter and more muscle-y than me. And yeah, the clothing was just in general, like not super comfortable. But

like I would still wear it anyway, because like other people in the high school were wearing it. So I'd be like, "Okay, like I want to, I want to fit in."

When reflecting on their high school perspectives, these participants framed their conforming dress as a personal choice. In this manner, their high school selves had sartorial autonomy, although they themselves now realize the constraints they endured.

Neither "looking good" criterion of attractiveness or presentability resonated with most interviewees' reflections on their high school experiences, but a few did briefly reference the importance of confidence: for instance, Eric remarked that once he discovered a brand that better fit his figure, American Eagle, he felt more comfortable and confident in his appearance. This brand was still popular at the school, however, so confidence in this instance was still moderated by conformity.

What explains this stark difference between high school and college students' reports of high school decision criteria? It is theoretically possible that the high schools that Harvard students attended were environments where style and desirability mattered less—or that the subset of students at those high schools eventually admitted to Harvard were disproportionately less likely to care about looking good. The problem with this explanation is that Harvard students, as reported in the next chapter, value presentability and attractiveness in college at similar rates as the high school sample. Instead, I believe this difference can best be explained by retrospective nonagency: as students graduate high school and shift environments, they become more aware of the subtle influences that constrained their former selves. This externalization of previously internalized norms and values recognizes nonagency in the past, but *does not* necessarily imply greater autonomy or agency in the present.

4.3 Summary

In this chapter, I investigated and distinguished between sartorial freedom, autonomy, and agency as they relate to high school students. I found meaningful differences in these constructs, as well as notable gender disparities.

I evaluated sartorial freedom in two dimensions: dress codes and parental expectations. As previous literature has demonstrated, I found that the language of dress codes were gendered, facilitating gendered rates of dress code violations (Thomas 2019). Indeed, a greater proportion of girls in the sample reported violating a dress code, getting caught, and getting scolded. However, I did not find support for the secondary assumption in the literature that dress codes are differentially enforced (Aghasaleh 2018). Instead, I found that boys who violated a dress code were as or slightly more likely to be scolded or punished for their dress than girls who did the same. This could be due to the fact that boys who violate a dress code do so in a more flagrant manner, attracting increased attention from staff; alternatively, it could be that staff are more comfortable disciplining boys more harshly.

Within each high school, I did not find racial disparities in violations or enforcement. Among Harvard students, I found Latinx students were moderately more likely and East Asian students moderately less likely to have faced consequences for violations. This could be an issue of racial targeting, or an artifice of Harvard students from different racial backgrounds having attended differently funded and structured high schools in the aggregate. Regarding parental control, I found no gender or racial disparities based on survey data. These findings should not be generalized to schools writ

large, as the particularities of policies and enforcement strategies vary significantly such that one school may be far more likely to discriminate by gender or race than another.

Despite findings generating mixed support for gender gaps in sartorial freedom, I found strong support for gender gaps in sartorial autonomy. Students perceived the enforcement of dress codes and parental judgment as gendered, affecting their *feelings* of agency (i.e., autonomy). One possible explanation is that women-typed dress is more likely to be in violation of institutional or parental guidelines, such that consistent enforcement has disparate impact. Girls faced harsher judgment from their parents; recent research finds parents with adolescent daughters are more likely to divorce than parents with adolescent sons, hypothesized to be a result of increased conflict over gender norms, which these findings support (Kabátek and Ribar 2020).

While girls were more likely to break dress codes or intentionally violate parental expectations, they *felt* less free when doing so. Surprisingly, girls also felt less free to wear the brands they'd like, with a greater association between brand aspirations and gender than household income. This distinction between freedom and autonomy is meaningful, as freedom describes the restrictions one faces, while autonomy describes the reactions and emotional experiences one has. As mentioned in the psychology section of the literature review, autonomy is a better predictor of life satisfaction and mental health. This chapter exposes a clear gender disparity in this construct as it relates to dress.

By asking students to rank the importance of different constraints, I found that the presence of a strict dress code alters the relative salience of restrictions and influences in students' perceptions of autonomy, even when influences almost certainly have a larger effect on their decisions. Consider this: despite the presence of dress codes, students

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frequently toe the line or altogether ignore school policies on dress. However, students rarely wear clothes that are intentionally unflattering, that disrupt the dominant fashion of their friend groups, or that do not align with their gender identities.

This gap in perception and reality in constraints can be understood by delineating between autonomy and agency. Leveraging the pandemic and high school graduation as disruptions, I found that autonomy and agency are meaningfully distinct. While over half of high school respondents reported acting autonomously in their sartorial decisions before the pandemic, 80 percent of these students changed what they wore for school when the switch to remote learning provided an opportunity to do so. This finding reveals that high school students' dress shifts based on their surroundings, a clear signal of limited agency.

Relative to college students, high school students were less aware of how nonautonomous criteria like conformity impacted their dress. Interviewees exhibited signs of adaptive preference formation, supporting the iteration component of Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) chordal triad theory: as students went through high school, they adjusted their own desires to match their surroundings, whether blending in with their peers or staying within the bounds of the dress code.

While autonomy and agency did not necessarily expand for high school students as they transitioned to college, immersion in a new environment and distance from their old surroundings enabled critical reflection and a recognition for most that they lacked autonomy in high school. This supports Brighouse's (2006) and other educational philosophers' theories that introduction to different environments facilitates agency. This also suggests that, contrary to Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) analysis, Mead's (1932)

theory of distance experience can apply not only to future-oriented projectivity, but to present-day practical evaluation as well—at least in the aftermath of a disruption. In the next chapter, I more closely investigate how the pandemic has shifted sartorial autonomy and agency, whether these shifts are durable, and whether these shifts should be attributed to a generalized time of crisis, or contextualized to the particularities of the pandemic.

By analyzing high school students' sartorial decisions, both among high school students themselves and among college students retrospectively reflecting on their high school experiences, this chapter demonstrates the value of separating out the roles of freedom, autonomy and agency in clothing choices. The importance of these distinctions becomes even clearer in the following chapter, where the exogenous shock of the pandemic brings questions of freedom, and especially autonomy and agency, into focus.

Chapter Five: Shifts in the Pandemic

While the prior chapter began to examine pandemic-driven shifts in sartorial autonomy and agency at the high school level through a quantitative lens, this chapter extensively analyzes the pandemic's toll on dress through an integrated multi-methods approach, leaning heavily on undergraduate interviews conducted before and after the outbreak disrupted campus life and student learning. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section details undergraduate sartorial decisions before COVID-19 struck Cambridge and disrupted campus. The second section both depicts changes in student dress (agency) and decision-making (autonomy) in the midst of the pandemic, and attempts to uncover the reason for these changes. The third section reflects students' anticipated dress post-pandemic. The fourth section addresses both the practice of and reasoning behind mask-wearing for students. Finally, I explain how these findings fit into existing and developing theory.

5.1 Pre-Pandemic

Before COVID-19 infiltrated the United States, a vast majority of Harvard undergraduates lived in close quarters on campus. In this environment, I found three leading constraints on students' agency: an impulse to look presentable, often framed as "put together"; a compulsion to fit in; and a desire to present as attractive. Other criteria such as comfort and ease were also present, but did not constrain agency.

Presentability

When asking interviewees about their dress pre-pandemic, the most common phrase associated with their style other than comfort was "put together." After probing for clarification, I found that while students had varying perspectives on what "put together"

means, definitions nearly all converged around a core concept of presentability. This is distinct from attractiveness, which is looking aesthetically pleasing; instead, presentability is defined by the intentionality in one's appearance, driven by the awareness that one is being looked at.

There are different reasons for wanting to look presentable. Hannah, a white student from the Northeast, explained the self-interested motivations behind her style:

> I think that it makes professors like you more if they think that you've put effort into your appearance. Classes are also opportunities to like, make friends and connect with people. And I think that people generally like you more if you put effort into your appearance.

Alternatively, for Sylvia, a white student from the West, looking presentable is not just for her own benefit, but for the benefit of others, and society writ large:

> I guess generally, I do like there to be a sense of, "Oh, she did actually put a little bit of thought into what her appearance was," just because I think that's kind of a nice, it's a nice societal thing to be like, "Hey, I care that you guys are out here, I recognize that you see me as a human."

A few students articulated rationales similar to Sylvia's, but most echoed a self-interested justification like Hannah.

When it came to the clothes one wore, presentability manifested itself most often in jeans. Students drew distinctions between what would count as acceptably presentable, and what would miss the mark. Hannah said that "there's an expectation when you go to class that you will, like, maybe put some makeup on, or at least be wearing like jeans or something versus pajamas." Patrick, a white student from the Northeast, declared he "would *never* wear sweatpants or athletic shorts out … [instead, he'll] put on a pair of jeans and a sweatshirt or something to go out." Madison, a Black student from the Northeast, drew the line at leggings: "I guess I would want to be like, a little more, not

formally dressed, but like, just like, maybe more put together, I guess than like, a pair of comfortable stretchy leggings would provide."

For a few, presentability went beyond jeans, moving toward formal wear, designer brands, and accessories. I will further elaborate on presentability's ties to class-based dress and fashion in the next chapter.

Conformity

While "conformity" was not the first word to come to mind when describing their style, most interviewees agreed after probing that their dress largely matched that of their friend group, and somewhat matched the campus standard. Eric, a white student from the Midwest, was quicker to bring up conformity than most:

> I definitely put an emphasis on like, what I just feel comfortable in. But it is definitely more, I would say like, it's definitely based on like, people that I see around. Or, like maybe what my friends are suggesting, that I wear in order to like, look fashionable.

Cindy, an East Asian student from the Northeast, also referenced conformity unprompted:

> Not like super like out there. But like, just like, I guess like, what I see other people wearing, nothing too extreme. … My friends and I definitely have pretty similar styles. We're all pretty like, like I'd say, like comfy and like cuteish, or like we try. … One of my friends is … very fashionable, and then we all kind of like to try to imitate her style.

Patrick explicitly identified an external pressure from campus to shift his dress:

> I've started making different clothing purchase choices … based on now feeling these like, I don't want to call them pressures but like, eyes, or like judgment, or like stereotyping eyes, kind of. … I never used to think about when I was buying something like "Oh, if I buy this and wear this, like what are other people gonna think of me." … But yeah, the biggest thing has just been like a change in awareness of what others—maybe like a hyper awareness, I'm sure other people aren't actually looking at me and judging me that much, but like, a hyper awareness of being stereotyped.

Again, most students fell into the same category as Eric and Cindy insofar as they admitted to following their friends' or peers' trends; fewer framed this, like Patrick, as an

explicit pressure. While conformity is a relatively low-autonomy criterion, for Patrick it was far more constraining than it was for the average interviewee.

Attractiveness

Of the three leading criteria, attractiveness was the least salient pre-pandemic. When it was referenced, though—by about a quarter of participants, and almost exclusively by women—it was quite important. Maggie, a white student from the Northeast, framed attractiveness in a self-affirming context: "I dress because I, like, want to look attractive. … It's more just so when I walk by a mirror, I'm like, 'Oh, I look *good* today.' Like it's just like a confidence boost type of thing." For others, the motivation came from external eyes. Such was the case with Grace, an East Asian student from the Midwest: "I think I, you know, there's just a general desire to, like, look nice and give off, like, a good impression and, like, you know, a good image of yourself." Juliana, a Latinx student from the South, recognized that this criterion declined in importance once in a long-distance relationship:

> I was in a long distance relationship when I was on campus, so I wasn't trying to impress anyone … probably problematic, but I think that's a big reason why I wasn't trying to look nice, because … I wasn't trying to, like, *appeal* to anyone. Which I think is definitely like something a lot of other girls do, and like even my roommate or myself if I wasn't in a relationship, that's why I would wear makeup.

Only two men, both of whom identified as LGBTQ+, referenced attractiveness as a core component of their decision-making. Other men's sartorial decisions depended more heavily on conformity and presentability. All three criteria served to constrain students' dress, coming into conflict with otherwise agentic criteria, including comfort and ease.

5.2 Pandemic

After Harvard de-densified its campus in March 2020, students in the aggregate expressed greater agency in their dress, matching a perception of expanded autonomy in

their sartorial decisions. A noteworthy subset of students felt less autonomous during the pandemic. I break this subset into three groups: one uncomfortable around their parents, a second unable to perform through dress, and the last unmotivated to dress to their liking.

Expanded Agency

As mentioned in the previous chapter, sartorial agency cannot be measured by an individual's reported decision criteria, as these stated influences are a product of the social environment in which the individual is situated. Instead, to measure sartorial agency, one must track shifts in an individual's dress as the social environment around them shifts. If dress shifts, this indicates that they lacked agency at one or both points in time. If dress shifts toward articles associated with agentic criteria (e.g., ease, comfort), then this individual is gaining agency; if dress shifts toward articles associated with nonagentic criteria (e.g., conformity, gender), then they are losing agency. In this subsection, I look at i) the quantitative shift, ii) the qualitative shift, and iii) their drivers.

i. Quantitative Shift

Figure 5.1 reveals that during the pandemic, undergraduate students have shifted their bottoms (unseen on most Zoom calls) away from tighter, firmer clothing like jeans (Δ = -0.54; *SD* = 0.53) toward softer, looser clothing like sweatpants (Δ = +0.46; *SD* = 0.53).[19] Students have also prioritized ease: they are much more likely to stay in pajamas for class than they were before the pandemic (Δ = +0.61; *SD* = 0.50). Lastly, students have largely abandoned gendered (specifically women-typed) clothing and adornments like skirts (Δ = -0.37; *SD* = 0.49) and makeup (Δ = -0.25; *SD* = 0.46). These shifts are indicative of a positive gain in agency, as well as evidence that students lacked sartorial agency pre-pandemic.

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[19] Descriptive statistics tables are compiled in Appendix O.

Figure 5.1. Undergraduate Dress for Class, Before and During Pandemic
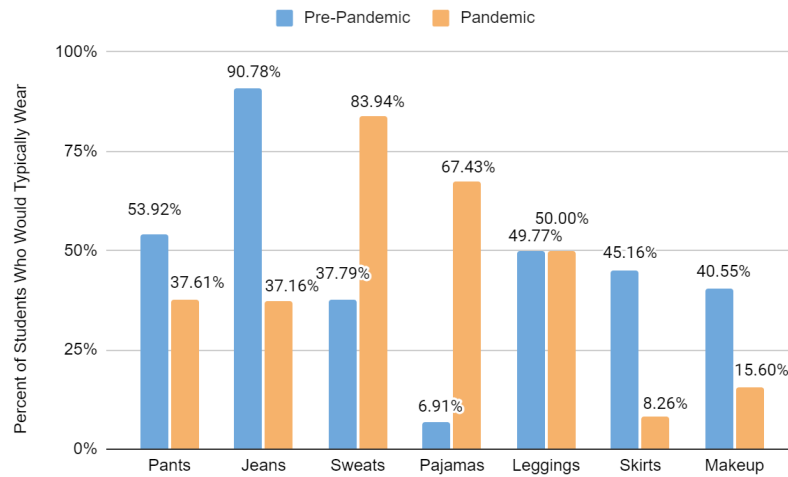
Notably, changes in dress have been far more dramatic for undergraduate women than undergraduate men. Figure 5.2a shows stronger shifts for women in jeans ($\beta = -0.30$; $p < 0.001$), sweats ($\beta = 0.15$; $p < 0.05$), pajamas ($\beta = 0.33$; $p < 0.001$), skirts ($\beta = -0.55$; $p < 0.001$), and makeup ($\beta = -0.33$; $p < 0.001$).[20] This has narrowed gender gaps in leggings, skirts, and makeup, converged the gender gap in pants, and actually *inverted* the gender gap for jeans, sweatpants, and pajamas (see Figure 5.2b). In a multivariable regression controlling for gender, those living with parents shifted from jeans ($\beta = -0.22$; $p < 0.05$) and toward pajamas ($\beta = 0.19$; $p < 0.05$) more sharply than those living with friends.

Figure 5.2a. Shift in Undergraduate Dress by Gender
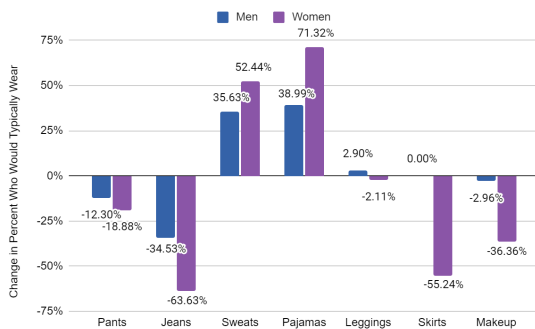
Figure 5.2b. Shift in Undergraduate Dress, Gender Gap

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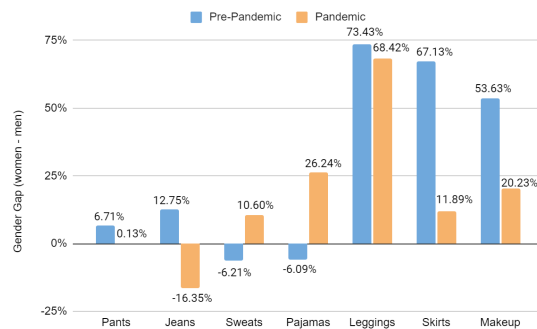
[20] Regression tables are compiled in Appendix N.

ii. Qualitative Shift

These findings are supported by interviews conducted during the pandemic, in which students almost unanimously identified vast shifts in their dress from before and after COVID-19 struck Cambridge. Grace was one of many who upended her wardrobe:

> I almost exclusively wore leggings and a sweatshirt … I would just wear, like a different pair of leggings and a slightly different sweatshirt every day. … I, like, almost never wore jeans, which I would wear almost every day during normal times. A lot of like, my nice shirts and sweaters, like, just did not come out of my suitcase at all.

Katherine, a white and Latinx student from the West, noted a sharp shift not only in her dress, but in her clothing maintenance:

> I was very rarely wearing jeans, if ever, and very rarely wearing, like, any tighter fitting clothes, because it's less comfortable. And also, I wore clothes that were easier to wash. … I think most of my clothes that I'd wear to like classes, I wash a little differently and have to take more care washing them, and my sweats I can just wash pretty easily.

For Pauline, a Black student from the Northeast, this shift also led to a halt in shopping:

> [Before COVID, my clothes were] as far as like, you know, very, like, more girly, more flowery. Definitely, like trendy. I spent more on clothes before COVID hit, like probably on average, like, I spent like 50 dollars on clothes a week before COVID and now that's gone to zero.

These are just a few examples; all but two participants noticed a dramatic shift in their dress, and these shifts correspond to those described in the quantitative analysis above.

iii. Driver: Unsettled Time or Social Distance?

It is not initially clear whether the aggregated shift in dress was exclusively due to the chaotic arrival of the pandemic as an unsettled time, deprioritizing the importance of attentive dress, or whether the shift has to be contextualized to the concomitant decrease in social interaction, which is not a feature of each and every unsettled time. To clarify the cause, I looked at where and in what circumstances students relaxed their dress. If the

generalized time of crisis were the primary driver, then students should be dressing down in front of others, regardless of location. If social interaction were the primary driver, then there would be frequent exceptions to students' new dress, contingent on the company they keep. By looking at instances where students continued to dress well in the presence of others, I found social distance to be a core component shaping student dress during this time of crisis.

The most blatant exception to lowered standards of dress was found over Zoom, in which almost every interviewee acknowledged that no matter the level of effort they put into their top half, their bottom half was relatively less stylish. In support of the times of crisis hypothesis, students' upper articles of clothing trended toward comfort and away from presentability. Yet still, whether attending a class, a work meeting, or a social event, students were more often than not wholly unprepared to shift their camera angle below their torso. Lily, an East Asian student from the Northeast, advocated for staying on top of her tops, at least during Zoom:

> Since coming home, I still care about what people see, I guess, from my head to my waist. But I've definitely maximized for comfort. And when I'm not on camera, I oftentimes will, like, put on a sweatshirt or put on like more baggy clothing that's more comfortable than whatever I was wearing on camera.

Cindy articulated new standards of dress for remote instruction: "I feel like being online has, like, a different, different like stigma around it. We can kind of just like, do whatever. Like, wear whatever, and it'll be fine." While this seemingly supports the generalized time of crisis hypothesis, she followed up by noting she herself still dressed nicer on top.

Aside from the stark difference between interviewees' top and bottom halves, they also changed clothes abruptly before and after their Zoom calls—further supporting that their dress in the virtual presence of others was nonagentic. David, an East Asian and

white student from the Northeast, developed a strategy for efficiently changing his clothes:

> I have a ping pong table, and the ping pong table just has like two or three dress shirts on it. And I like, notoriously, whenever I realize I have a call, just like, go over to the ping pong table, like, throw something new on, and then like, take it off and like put it on the ping pong table.

While wearing less formal clothes for online class, Lucia, a Black Latinx student from the Midwest, took a similar only-for-class approach in the context of her hair:

> I would take it out and then put it back into a ponytail after the class. … Because of this idea I have of what it means to look presentable. And yeah, I guess that I felt like if I wasn't doing much with my clothes then I should, like, try to fake it some other way.

Whether or not students wore clothes for online calls that met their pre-pandemic standards of presentability, their effort to present better on the top than the bottom, and to shift their appearance specifically for calls, is apparent.

In addition to presentability, conformity shaped interviewees' dress, particularly in the context of virtual work. Grace initially made an effort to dress more formally for her work meetings, "obviously still only … from the waist up." Once she realized that others at the workplace were wearing informal clothing, "the effort kinda went down because like the standard was, the bar was set that it doesn't need to be super formal." In David's organization, a new intern disrupted his dress: "[H]e just wore like short sleeve collared shirts … and I started to wear short sleeve collared shirts … I didn't want to be overkill."

Lastly, when venturing into the outdoors, interviewees would change—not just for the weather, but for the increased social interaction. Alyssa, a Black student from the South, went out of her way to go outside, just to dress up: "I would like to plan things on every weekend so that I had the chance to like dress and then go outside of my house,

like at least once a week." Particularly when going out in order to socialize, students still dressed up. If she was planning on seeing people, Taylor, a Black and East Asian student from the Northeast, would "definitely change into jeans," which she "never wear[s] in the house because it's just uncomfortable."

The renewed drive to look presentable and fit in with others when online or outside, even at the expense of comfort, indicates that social distance has been a primary driver of increased sartorial agency during the pandemic—and that social interaction, even online, somewhat weakens sartorial agency.

Expanded Autonomy

Unlike sartorial agency, which is a revealed construct, sartorial autonomy is a stated construct and therefore far easier to measure through both quantitative and qualitative means. To measure sartorial autonomy, I asked survey and interview participants what decision criteria affected their dress, and how these criteria shifted during the pandemic. In this subsection, I look at i) the quantitative shift, ii) the qualitative shift, and iii) their drivers.

i. Quantitative Shift

I found college students had dramatic shifts in sartorial autonomy, with surges in autonomous criteria and drops in nonautonomous criteria (see Figure 5.3). As with sartorial agency, the pandemic's impact on sartorial autonomy was gendered, with women's aggregate shifts comparatively expanding autonomy in all criteria but attractiveness (see Figure 5.4a). The CAS,[21] scaled -8 to 8, reveals this difference was statistically significant between women and men ($\beta = 1.09$; $p < 0.05$). This had the effect of *inverting* the gender gap (see Figure 5.4b) in sartorial autonomy, such that female

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[21] Composite Autonomy Scale; see Chapter 3.3 for an extended description.

students now have slightly greater autonomy in dress than male students (see Figure 5.5). There was no statistically significant difference in autonomy expansion for class ($p = 0.53$), race ($p = 0.41$), or living situation ($p = 0.64$).

Figure 5.3. Shift in Undergraduate Decision Criteria
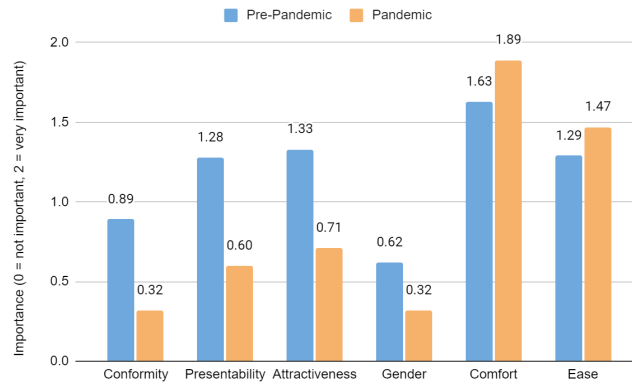
Figure 5.4a. Shift in Decision Criteria by Gender

Figure 5.4b. Shift in Decision Criteria, Gender Gap
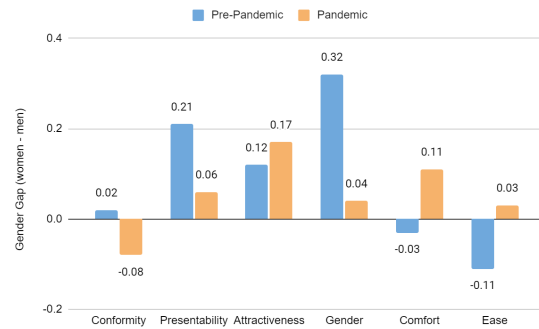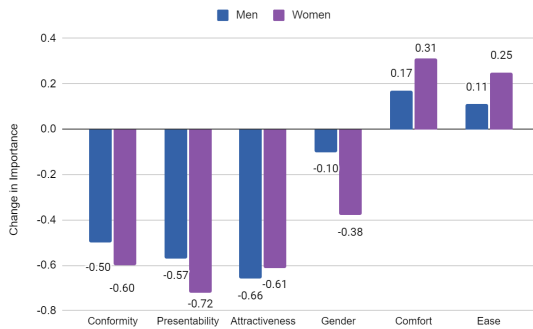
Figure 5.5. Composite Autonomy Scale by Gender
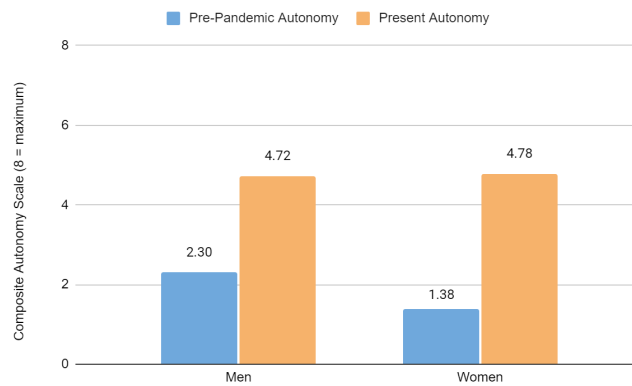
ii. Qualitative Shift

Interviews support and supplement these findings. Participants emphasized ease and comfort as increasingly important criteria in their sartorial decisions during the pandemic, explicitly tying this shift to the unsettled environment and reduced social interaction. In their responses, participants utilized language that evoked a sense of expanded autonomy.

Every single student noted that they spent less time in the aggregate on their dress during the pandemic than they did before the pandemic. On special occasions, they might pay particular attention to their appearance, but at the quotidian level there was a consensus that sartorial effort had declined. For some like Tomas, a Latinx student from the South, enmeshed in this lack of effort was a lack of care: "[A]t home … it's like, logo, no logo, wear a shirt, don't wear a shirt, like it all became the same to me."

Women were more likely to identify a steep drop in the time spent getting ready each morning. For Imani, a Black student from the Southwest, this "getting ready" time decreased by almost an hour:

> [I]f I were on campus, I would wake up an hour early, like probably go grab like coffee or grab a breakfast, and then do makeup, do my hair, like get dressed, and like actually put effort in. And like when I got home, I would just wake up five minutes before class, and then just whatever I looked like, that was what I was going to class in.

No male interviewee referenced such a large absolute change in their morning routine, likely because few had a routine that extensive prior to the pandemic. Still, everyone reported a relative decline in effort, including Carl, a white student from the Northeast: "I don't think I've ever had that much of a level of attention to clothing anyway … I would spend five or ten minutes rather than two minutes. So that's a significant difference. But like, I'm not putting on makeup or anything."

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That students experienced an increased sense of ease does not imply that students had no preferences in what they wore: students committed to comfort with an unparalleled intensity. This is particularly interesting, because while the survey results suggest that comfort was important pre-pandemic, it skyrocketed in importance for interviewees once Harvard underwent campus de-densification. This manifested itself primarily in a shift away from firmer items of dress, particularly jeans. Grace assumed this would be true for everyone:

> I was like, sitting on Zoom all day, and it was more important for me to be comfortable than to like, look nice … like, no one's gonna ever wear jeans, right? … I just would, and kind of still, only really wear like comfortable clothes.

Like Grace and so many others, Katherine stopped wearing jeans on a daily basis in her first living situation. After returning home, she gave them a second chance:

> I came home in late May. So once I was like home … I was like, "Well, I haven't worn jeans in a few months, I should try them on," and I did try them on just for like a minute. … It felt restricting. I didn't like wearing my jeans again.

As shown in the survey data, students shifted toward softer materials for their bottoms, whether form-fitting (i.e., leggings) or loose (i.e., sweatpants). Imani was fine wearing leggings, so long as she didn't have to wear firm material:

> I have cotton leggings that I wear when I'm just running errands, I'm lounging around the house, and it's like better … but it's not like the final step of "I'm putting on jeans or I'm putting on, like, *pants* pants."

While these three quotes happen to all come from women participants, men similarly shifted toward comfort as their leading criterion. Hamid, a white student from the West, is just one example: "I know that when there's classes, I'm gonna be seen by a lot of other people. And I'm gonna want to, just, look good. But now it's a little bit more like, 'Oh, I can just dress for comfort.'"

In addition to reporting autonomous criteria like ease and comfort, the responses participants gave when describing their dress during the pandemic tended to include autonomous language—words and phrases that indicated a greater sense of freedom to do as they please. Radhika, a South Asian student from the West, felt uninhibited when dressing for remote learning: "I don't consciously wear … basketball shorts or shorts in general to class, and so, you know, since no one could see me, I thought it's perfectly fine to wear what I want." Jane, an East Asian student from the South, felt a similar freedom off Zoom: "I think I do try to dress up a little nicer when I see people, but once COVID hit I think that—I mean, I didn't have to start seeing a lot of people. So I just started wearing whatever I wanted." April, a white student from the Northeast, echoed Jane: "I'm at home right now with just my parents, I'm not really seeing a lot of people. So I'm just kind of wearing whatever … I can pretty much wear whatever I want."

Radhika, Jane, and April wearing what they want may not seem that impressive at first, until looking closely at their responses: each of them only began to wear "what [they] want" during the pandemic, with the implication that pre-pandemic, they were not, in fact, wearing what they want. Carrie, a white student from the West, was more explicit in her thought process: "[W]hen the pandemic hit, I realized no one can tell me what I want to wear, and if I want to be comfortable while I'm sitting doing Zoom classes I can be—and now I own like 10 pairs of sweatpants." Suzie, a Latinx student from the South, implicitly suggested she could not wear pajamas to class pre-pandemic: "[H]aving classes online has been kind of nice in that regard, like not having to—I wouldn't call a t-shirt and jeans *un*comfortable, but pajamas are *more* comfortable, like comparatively."

iii. Driver: Unsettled Time or Social Distance?

As with agency, it is important to examine whether the force shaping expanded autonomy is the general presence of a crisis or the specific asocial element of this one. The evidence is more mixed for autonomy than for agency: while social interactions during the pandemic still somewhat constrain students' autonomy, particularly professional ones, there is a prevailing sense that in this time of crisis, dress matters less, regardless of whose presence one is in. Grace captured the moment with both sentiments:

> I think the other thing is that, which is good, I think there's like, I feel less pressure to like, look really nice and wear flattering outfits and like, present like a really … polished appearance. I feel like there's less pressure to [do so] both because like, fewer people who I see, but also because like, oh, like the world is on fire. Like there's like, lower expectations for you to like be really put together. And so I feel like that has been, especially coming from like, not to like, *at* her, but like, my mom is like, "Oh, you always need to look really nice in case there's an attractive boy, like, be polished Grace." And so I feel like pressure from those places to like, be really put together and like always look really nice has gone down, which has made me feel better.

Vivian, an East Asian student from the West, echoed the sky-is-falling motif as a reason why dress matters less in a time of crisis: "Like there's a *pandemic* going on, and I feel like the least important thing is what type of earrings I wore that day." April used more explicit language: "[I]t's a fucking pandemic, who cares?"

At the same time, students acknowledged the paucity of social interaction as a diluting agent that weakened the importance of nonautonomous criteria. Daisy, a white student from the Midwest, felt significantly less attached to her presentation:

> I think I care much less about my appearance than I did when we were on campus in a more urban area. … I think there's some degree of like, more considerations for how your peers judge your appearance, and clothes kind of conveying status … I think the practicality of it's very easy [now] to be comfortable and not care kind of outweighs that.

Alyssa concurred: "[A]t home I feel, like, very little pressure to be in anything that's not comfortable like jeans … if there's not like a reason that I would wear something that is, like, tight or restricting, yeah, I wouldn't."

Katherine's compulsion to conform evaporated without peers surrounding her: "I see what other people are wearing, and that gives me ideas of what I want to wear … in that sense it kind of is fitting in. But now that we're not really seeing people … I can't get that push and pull." Layla, a Black student from the Northeast, agreed, particularly in the context of her friends: "So my friends would wear things that … I guess kind of rub off on me. And yeah, I guess it is kind of more like a subconscious thing … so I guess maybe that's also why I stopped wearing leggings as much."

Without social interactions, many students began to care far less about their level of attractiveness. The shift of classes to online instruction specifically liberated Jane's adornment practices: "Now like not only do I not wear like the clothes I used to wear, I don't like really do makeup, or like I don't really do my hair either. … [I]t feels nice to have, like, some sort of, like, freedom in that sense." New strategies make it easier to spend less time trying to look attractive, either over Zoom or in person, according to Lily:

> The thing is with masks, … you really can't see anything. Like in those cases, I probably won't wear makeup. And then also Zoom is nice in that they, like, have a slight touch up feature. So I guess like in bad lighting, you don't have to care as much about what you look like because the touch up feature just helps everything.

April agreed that masks obviate the need for makeup:

> I can just slap something across half of my face and not have to worry about how that part of me looks at this moment, which confidence-wise can be nice. You know, I see a lot of a lot of women especially like, who are only doing makeup on like the top half of their faces, or are only doing like, eye looks.

Fahad, a South Asian student from the Northeast, said he could go anonymous in a mask:

[N]o matter how nice I look, no one will really know who I am. So it's like I have the luxury of looking less nice. I think … why I look nice is because … people make assumptions based on the way you dress, the way you look. But with the mask on … they really can't identify me when I'm wearing a mask. … So yeah, that's why like I felt less pressure, you know, wearing, or dressing nice.

Whether occluding one's face or identity, masks and Zoom features lowered the bar for students to put effort into their attractiveness. The mechanism that makes such techniques effective is an impediment to transparent social interactions, further supporting the contextualized social distancing effect of the pandemic as a driver of increased sartorial autonomy. Put another way, if the time of crisis were a sufficient spark for sartorial autonomy, then students would be comfortable looking unattractive, unkempt, or nonconformist. Instead, masking strategies and carefully adjusted camera filters made students' appearances come across as less blatantly in violation of established norms.

Limited Autonomy

An aggregate gain in sartorial autonomy among college participants was further supported by their answers to a question that directly asked whether over the course of the pandemic, they have been wearing what they want. However, a sizable portion of interviewees unexpectedly responded that they have *not* been wearing what they want. These participants' explanations fit into three categories: i) those constrained by their parents; ii) those unable to "perform" alone; and iii) those unmotivated to dress to their liking without external forces. All of these participants utilized nonautonomous language, as in this resigned admission from Hamid: "I think I'd probably [like to] wear something a bit nicer. But what can you do?"

i. Parental Expectations

Most intuitively, some participants (exclusively women) felt uncomfortable dressing in the clothes they wore at college once they returned home for the pandemic.

While Gabrielle, a Black student from the Northeast, appreciated the relaxed fashion standards for remote learning, she mourned not being able to dress up at home: "There are still plenty of things I don't think I could ever catch myself dead in around my parents, like … shorts above my knee, I can't wear … going out clothes, like shorter and tighter dresses, I cannot wear that." Growing up in a semi-strict household, Taylor echoed Gabrielle's assessment:

> With my family like, I rarely show my legs, like the skin on my legs. … Yeah, I just don't show, like, any aspect of my figure in my house … I just never felt comfortable wearing things like that in my house and especially like, like none of my family members know my Instagram because like, I don't want them to see like, how I dress versus here and there, so yeah.

Others, like Imani, didn't necessarily feel restricted by their parents, but still avoided wearing certain articles once they returned home: "[I]t's just weird to be around my family in crop tops."

ii. Performativity and Performing Alone

Less intuitively, some interviewees (again, mostly women) felt fairly comfortable wearing what they wanted in front of their parents, but still expressed an inability to wear what they want—or, more precisely, an inability to wear what they want around others. Imani articulated this nuance:

> I suppose like, there's no one telling me to wear something different. So at the end of the day, it is my decision. But when I do buy these new clothing pieces … I do want to wear those out, but there's no really, there's not a place for me to wear them. So in that regard, I'm not really wearing what I want to wear, but no one is also telling me what to wear either.

Angela, an East Asian student from the Northeast, echoed this sentiment:

> I think if I, like, had a say, I would probably wear something like, a little better. Like I feel like I have clothes, like, I want to wear, but I feel no like, like, actual place to wear them if that makes sense. Like for Zoom it feels too dressed up, and then for—I guess there's nothing else besides that.

Olivia, an East Asian and white student from the West, struggled to grapple with where her choices began and the asocial structure of the pandemic left off: "I mean, like, it's all been my, I guess, choice and everything. But I mean, I would like to be wearing other clothes more, I just don't feel like I have the proper justifications to be dressing up."

It was curious that students claimed to miss these clothes, even when they ostensibly could wear them at the time of interview. I was unsure if students missed the act of *dressing up* in these clothes, or the act of *wearing them*. Some preferred the aspect of getting ready. Jane enjoyed the pre-getting ready selection process: "I really like putting together outfits, like I [used to] put a lot of thought into, like what I would wear." Carrie liked the actual act of getting ready: "I love doing makeup, but I never wear it unless I need to." Layla remarked that while she enjoyed getting ready, *getting ready for nothing* wasn't worth it: "[I]f I put in all this effort, it doesn't really seem like there is a reason to do so per se besides just, like, feeling like I was well put together that day. Because, you know, like, I'm not really going out anywhere." Sharon, a Black student from the Northeast, asked herself: "Why would I wear a turtleneck if I'm in my own home? Like, that doesn't really make sense to me. Who am I dressing up for?" It seemed like the company of others was critical to achieve the benefits of performativity.

When asking these interviewees why they didn't wear these clothes at home with (or for) their parents, they scoffed. Juliana rebuffed: "[I]t doesn't count. Just because like, I don't know, I don't really care what they think. Not that I care what other people think, but I feel like they'll appreciate it more." Carl agreed: "[N]obody is seeing me whose opinion I care about for my clothes." David offered a slightly more tactful phrasing: "I don't really care how my family sees me … I think they pretty much know the most

about me. So, like, I don't think my appearance can really change their opinions on me."

Just as interviewees appeared not to wear dressier clothes for themselves, so too did they not wear dressier clothes for their parents.

iii. Productivity and Amotivation

The last category of interviewees who reported being unable to wear what they want stated that while they wanted to wear more presentable clothes to benefit their productivity, they could not bring themselves to do so without external motivation. This group of students included both men and women. Casey, a white student from the Midwest, felt guilty about his lack of sartorial (and academic) productivity:

> I wasn't going out and seeing people on a daily basis, so I didn't need to like, really like feel like I was doing anything. So it'd be like, "Oh, I'm just gonna wear like my pajamas all day, because I don't have to leave my bedroom." … I feel like it's harder to focus, at least for me, if I'm like wearing my pajamas, which is horrible that I would do that even though I was taking classes.

Amy, an East Asian student from the Northeast, also recognized the importance of dress to her productivity, but failed to follow through:

> [B]efore COVID … wearing pajamas all day would make me less productive. And that's why sometimes if I wanted to get stuff done, like my first goal in the morning would be to change. … And near the beginning, the beginning was a long time ago … I think I did try to keep—I tried to bring in that same mindset of let's change and wear clothes so I'm in, like, this work mindset … at some point I think I just got tired of doing that and instead I'd just keep on pajamas.

Jake, a white student from the South, articulated that social pressure was necessary to push him to dress in a fashion compatible with productivity:

> What's behind why I don't wear what I would normally wear in college right now? I guess because I had—there's no outside social pressure … so there's no, like, I guess, accountability for me to like look around and see what other people are doing. Yeah, so at school, I tried to look nice so that people would respect me and take me seriously. Or so I don't know, like Harvard's a big place and it feels like "Oh, you can, you can do big things here." So, so like, dress for success. Whereas now you just have to *dress for success*, like (gestures) *from here up*.

While these students technically had the freedom to dress to their liking during the pandemic, the lack of social interaction inhibited their dress from reaching its ideal state.

5.3 Post-Pandemic

When asking students to envision their dress post-pandemic, they overwhelmingly predicted a return to pre-pandemic attire. I divide these students into four groups: those who will return to avoid social disrepute, those who will return to exploit social norms to their advantage, those who report authentically wanting to wear pre-pandemic attire for performativity, and those who report wanting to wear such attire for productivity. The first group loses autonomy and agency, the second group roughly maintains autonomy while losing agency, and the third and fourth groups gain in autonomy and agency.

Constricted Autonomy: Social Acceptance

The first group of students were the most reluctant to return to pre-pandemic attire, and would rather stay in their current dress if they could. Ironically, they were the most agentic at the time of interview, which is what made them aware of what they stood to lose. When asked if she would maintain her current dress, Radhika answered plainly:

> Post-COVID, [it's] unlikely, I think. You know, it's an unsustainable thing to be wearing something comfortable at the bottom and still fashionable upfront. I do, like I do think that it's just gonna go back to what I was wearing before the spring [because of] societal obligation.

Juliana initially responded that she would try to stick to her wardrobe, then recalibrated:

> I feel like most girls you talk to are probably gonna say this, but I have not worn a bra since March, and I will, like, never wear one again. … I feel like I say this right now, but once I'm, like, in a setting when I'm around more people, and maybe I have to see professors or, like, be a little bit more, like, professional, whatever that means, it's probably something I'm not gonna be able to continue with as much as I'd like to, especially when it's people I don't know.

When asked if she would maintain her current dress, Imani said she would not, since she

missed her old clothes—but when asked what she would do in a hypothetical world

where everyone else kept to their pandemic wardrobe, her answer flipped:

> I think I would start to feel overdressed … I don't think I'd be necessarily
> disappointed by any means. But I do think it would really make me *not* want to
> like put those jeans on or leather leggings on. Because then I would constantly
> feel like "Oh, like *I'm* the odd one out now."

With this answer—and Imani was not the only interviewee to flip their answer when

posed this follow-up question—Imani revealed the resurgent undercurrent of peer

pressure and conformity anticipated in a post-pandemic society.

Mitigated Autonomy: Getting Ahead

A greater number of students tried to justify their reversion to pre-pandemic attire

as a self-interested position. David aggressively leaned into both presentability and

attractiveness as salient criteria post-pandemic:

> If anything, I want to wear *nicer* clothes when I get back to college. Maybe even
> buy a new watch … I don't usually wear, like, super slim clothes, just because I
> don't find them super comfortable. But I do see how they look much nicer. So
> like, I think maybe going forward, I would try to … wear those types of clothes,
> um, just like, maybe less comfortable but a little bit more better looking … [the]
> shirts that I wore at school, like, I would say like, they're nice, but they're not
> particularly fashionable … I don't think anyone's like, "Oh, like, he looks nice
> today." So I think maybe I'll cut down on those.

Lily acknowledged the elasticity of presentability as a criterion: "I've stopped caring as

much about what people think about my physical appearance. But I will say that this will

probably change … because there is an image that you want to maintain, in addition to

your competency." Recognizing this would restrict her comfort, she continued:

> So if I were in person, constantly surrounded by people, I'd feel, like, more okay
> with being slightly more uncomfortable in the clothes that I'm wearing. Because
> in place of that feeling of uncomfort, or in place of the loss of comfort, would be
> this, like, increased sense of, "oh, like, what I'm wearing makes me feel like I
> belong here," or "I feel more powerful, or more professional, or whatever, in these

like heels and these tight pants," or whatever I might be wearing at the time. So there's sort of like this back and forth. And I'll gain something else by being more uncomfortable if I were in person.

In short, while Lily was aware that her post-pandemic attire may be less comfortable, she rationalized that the benefits of desirability were worth it. These sorts of responses from students indicate mitigated autonomy, as they perceived the decision as in part their own.

Expanded Autonomy: Performativity

The third group of participants aligned with the group of students identified in the previous subsection as lacking autonomy to wear what they want without onlookers. Daisy expressed her desire to return to social interactions for which she could dress up:

I think I enjoy dressing up a little more than I have been. And it feels out of place to do so in the current setting. So I think it's been something I've been looking forward to … [with] the impending return to normal, is being able to kind of dress up more frequently and have it work for the situations I'm encountering.

Imani recalled the joy she felt in the few instances she was able to dress up last year:

I mean, like even those few occasions when I was going to the beach with my one friend who I like hadn't seen for so long … oh my goodness, it felt so good to like put jeans on and it felt so good to do all these other things, even though like, the comfortable side of me is like, "*Oh my goodness, jeans?*," like the part of me that misses interaction and misses getting ready and misses taking cute pictures and stuff, like can't wait for things to go back.

I asked Pauline, the student who used to spend 50 dollars a week on clothes, how she would feel if she continued to wear her current wardrobe past the end of the pandemic. Her reply: "I'd feel like a different person. I don't think there would be like, outward consequences, per se. I would just feel less like who I am as a person. Yeah, no, I'd feel less me." These students do not want to go back to pre-pandemic attire to meet social demands, or to get ahead; they want to return to pre-pandemic attire because the act of dressing up has become part of their very identities.

Expanded Autonomy: Productivity

The final group of students are linked to those in the previous subsection that require external motivation to wear clothing they deem important for productivity. Casey saw peer pressure in this capacity as a force for good:

> I need to get better about like, putting in the effort to like get dressed and stuff like that. And being able to go out and see people is definitely like, a pressure, a positive pressure in that regard. I try not to let seeing people like impact what I wear. But also I think like, in this sense, it's a good thing, because it helps me feel better about myself if I'm not slacking around in pajamas all day.

Derrick, a South Asian student from Canada, noted health benefits that would accompany a return to pre-pandemic dress: "I think I would … dress up a little bit more often, and just like, seeing the positives of that … I think it's actually really beneficial to my mental health." The students in this group, like the group before, stand to gain in sartorial autonomy and agency from an end to the pandemic.

5.4 Mask-Wearing

While college students may have thought they escaped restrictions on their sartorial freedom after graduating high school, one item of dress emerged during the pandemic as a social expectation, if not requirement: the mask. Cultural acceptance and the official implementation of mask mandates vary by geographic location, while the perceived identity of a violator affects the social and legal punishment they endure. Given that masks are not mandated or enforced for everyone, masking is still relevant to agency and autonomy, as the *decision* to mask remains a free choice. I first describe which survey respondents and interviewees were most likely to wear a mask, based on i) core fundamentals, ii) their social company, and iii) their location indoors or outdoors. Then, I

delineate between different rationales for wearing a mask, including i) public health, ii) personal safety, iii) conformity, iv) race, and v) gender.

Compliance

i. Fundamentals

In survey data, some identity categories were strongly associated with one's decision to wear a mask, measured by the 3-point MWS.[22] I ran multivariable regressions controlling for race, gender, and awareness of a local mask mandate. Awareness of a full mask mandate, compared to those unsure or living elsewhere, was associated with an increase on the MWS ($\beta = 0.18$; $p < 0.05$). Those reporting awareness of a partial mask mandate where they live were *less* likely to wear a mask ($\beta = -0.21$; $p < 0.05$).

As shown in Figure 5.6, there were also racial disparities in mask-wearing. East Asian students were moderately more likely to wear a mask than other students ($\beta = 0.18$; $p < 0.05$). White students were moderately less likely to wear a mask than nonwhite students ($\beta = -0.17$; $p < 0.05$). There was no statistically significant difference for either Black ($p = 0.74$) or Latinx ($p = 0.91$) students.

Men in the aggregate reported less frequent mask-wearing than women, but this gender difference had marginal significance ($\beta = -0.16$; $p < 0.1$). There was no statistical significance across household income ($p = 0.75$), between religious and nonreligious respondents ($p = 0.27$), or between those living with and without family ($p = 0.70$).

As shown in Figures 5.7a and 5.7b, the frequency of mask-wearing is strongly associated with friends' ($\beta = 0.47$; $p < 0.001$) and parents' mask-wearing ($\beta = 0.47$; $p < 0.001$). Respondents consistently reported themselves ($M = 3.55$) as wearing masks more often than their friends ($M = 3.29$) and less often than their parents ($M = 3.68$). When

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[22] Mask-Wearing Scale; see Chapter 3.3 for an extended description.

running multivariable regressions, friends' and parents' mask-wearing mediated the relationship between mask-wearing and race, awareness of a mandate, and gender.

Figure 5.6. Mask-Wearing by Race
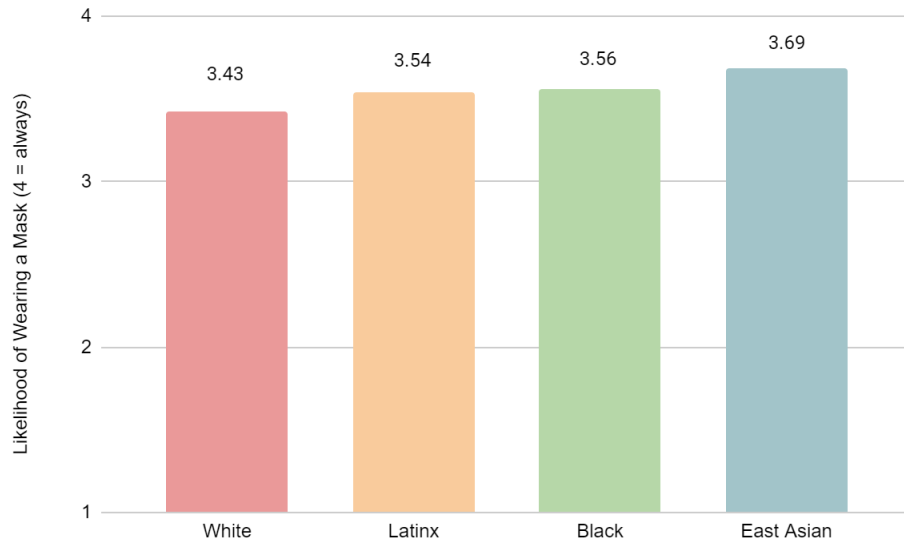
Figure 5.7a. Mask-Wearing and Parents
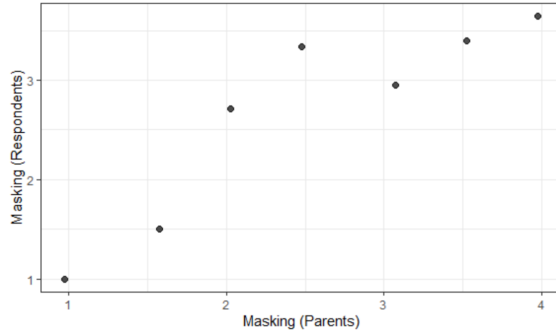
Figure 5.7b. Mask-Wearing and Friends
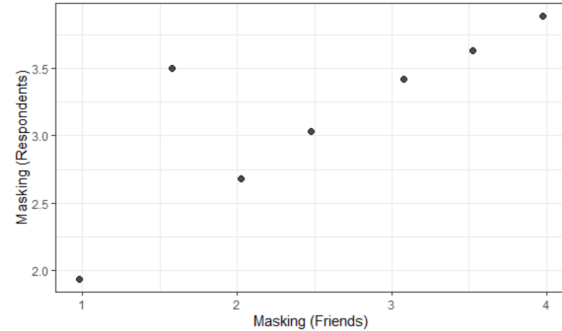
ii. Company

Interview data revealed that students change their mask-wearing practices based on social context. I first asked participants if they would wear a mask in the presence of strangers. If they gave an affirmative response, I then asked if they would still wear a mask if they were solely among the company of friends, or even if they were alone.

93 percent of participants said they wore a mask in the presence of strangers; this percentage was relatively stable across gender. Figure 5.8 depicts the racial disparities in

mask-wearing. All twelve East Asian interviewees responded that they wear masks outside near strangers, while a little under 90 percent of the other interviewees agreed. With friends outside, however, the likelihood of mask-wearing dropped. Ninety-two percent of East Asian students (all but one) still wore a mask, but only seventy-seven percent of other interviewees did the same.

Alone, there was a stark racial divide: 50 percent of East Asian and 56 percent of Black students reported wearing a mask at all times outdoors, while only 33 percent of Latinx students and 18 percent of white students reported doing the same. Carl explained that he felt comfortable going maskless outside, so long as he kept his distance: "On the occasions that I've gone running in my suburban neighborhood, I don't wear a mask. And if there's anybody nearby … I'm more than six feet away from them … it's not a problem for me to go around them." Gabrielle, on the other hand, always donned a mask before going outside: "If I'm out in a public space, even alone, I'm wearing a mask, because I also just don't know when someone is, like, gonna come and pop up."

Figure 5.8. Mask-Wearing by Company
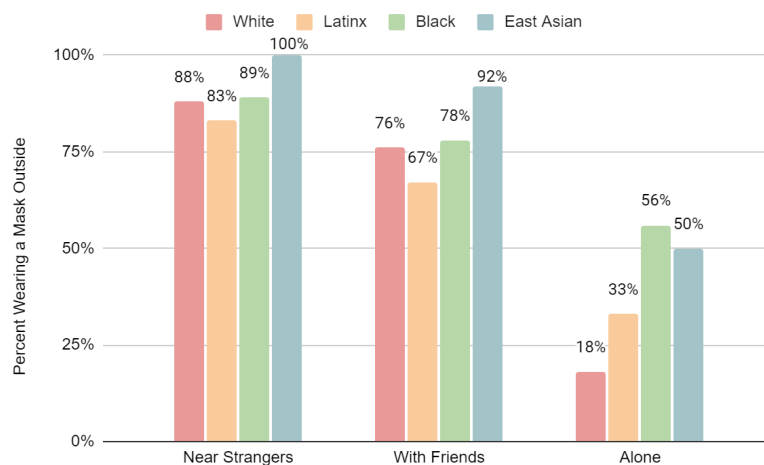
iii. Location

In addition to the company one keeps, one's mask-wearing is conditioned by location. Given COVID-19's airborne transmission, some feel particularly unsafe going maskless indoors. Others feel less safe going maskless outside, where they risk run-ins with strangers. Figure 5.9 shows how location differs in importance across race. East Asian participants were more likely to don a mask outdoors than indoors, while others—particularly white respondents—felt more comfortable going maskless outdoors. Outdoors, the previously reported gap between East Asian and other students held steady ($\beta = 0.29$; $p < 0.01$), but indoors the gap lost statistical significance ($\beta = 0.08$; $p = 0.42$). Synchronously, the gap between white and nonwhite students held in the outdoors ($\beta = -0.37$; $p < 0.001$), but lost statistical significance indoors ($\beta = 0.04$; $p = 0.70$). There was no statistically significant difference between Black and nonblack students either outdoors ($\beta = -0.01$; $p = 0.97$) or indoors ($\beta = -0.07$; $p = 0.55$). These findings run counter to expectations that Black students would feel greater pressure to comply.

Figure 5.9. Shift in Mask-Wearing Outdoors by Race
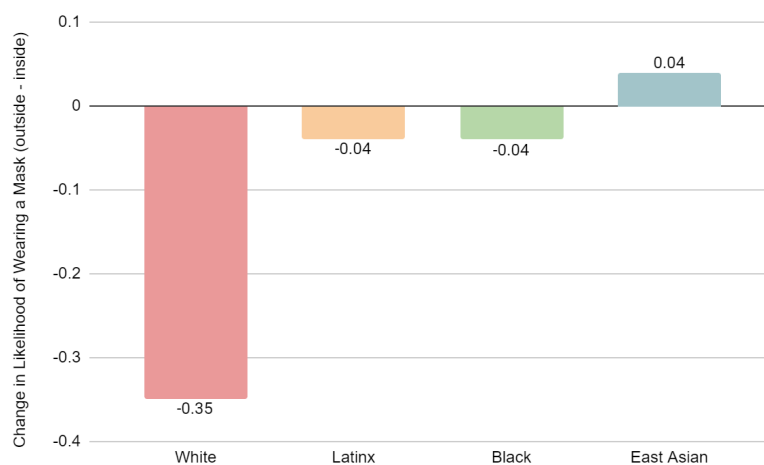
Rationale

Students maintained different justifications for their mask-wearing. Some were focused on public health, while others were focused on personal safety. Still others were primarily motivated by the social ramifications of failing to wear a mask. Lastly, some were motivated by their race or gender, often in ways intertwined with the three primary justifications. I will extract and analyze these identity-based rationales separately.

i. Public Health

Among those who responded that they wear a mask for the safety of others, there was little gender or racial bias; approximately 85 percent of interviewees providing rationales were coded as being in line with public health. Survey data also found no statistically significant difference across gender or race when considering the importance of masks for public safety. Tomas factored both his family and society writ large into his decision:

> My mother is older, so that would be another factor. I try to be careful for them and myself, but I think I also personally try to do it for, like, the good of everyone around me. I mean, I'm not saying necessarily just to like, toot my own horn or whatever. But I think yeah, I try to think of other people.

Sharon recognized the personal benefits of mask-wearing, but focused on the collective:

> I need to protect other people, I need to protect, like, myself. I want to do what I can to stop COVID from killing more people, and if all I have to do is wear a mask like it's not that big of a deal, it's just kind of like, do what you got to do to keep others safe.

These students saw mask-wearing as a public duty for the well-being of others.

ii. Personal Safety

Other participants included reasoning based on their own protection or health. This reasoning reflects a more autonomous mindset, as students could rationalize their

decision to wear a mask as their own. Gabrielle offered an example of a reason rooted in personal safety:

> Yeah. I'm just, like, a little like, even though like our age group is … somewhat, you know, safe from this, I just am very paranoid because I myself have asthma. So to me, just given it's a respiratory illness I really don't want to take any risks.

Here, there was a gender gap among interviewees, with 72 percent of women compared to 55 percent of men noting the importance of mask-wearing for their own safety. When survey respondents were asked to rate their agreement on a scale of 1 to 4 with the statement that wearing a mask is important for their personal safety, women agreed more strongly than men ($\beta = 0.19$; $p < 0.01$). This could be explained by men's tendency to underemphasize personal risk. Men were also more likely than women to report not wearing a mask due to masks being uncomfortable ($\beta = 0.09$; $p < 0.01$), with 15 percent of men and 5 percent of women giving this rationale.

In addition to the gender gap, there was also a racial gap, with 83 percent of Black students, 78 percent of East Asian students, and 50 percent of both Latinx and white interviewees leveraging personal motives to explain their masking. Survey data reveal white students rated masks as less important for their personal safety than nonwhite students did ($\beta = -0.16$; $p < 0.05$). Like men, white students were more likely than nonwhite students to give discomfort as a rationale for not wearing a mask ($\beta = 0.08$; $p < 0.01$). The racial gap will be further elaborated below in the subsection on race and mask-wearing.

iii. Conformity

A third group of students emphasized a commitment to wear masks either to comply with authorities or with social pressure—a less autonomous frame. When asked why he masked, Derrick said: "Um, I mean the main reason is because I'm told to wear a

mask, to be honest. Otherwise, I guess, I don't know." After moving from the Midwest to the Northeast during the pandemic, Eric recounted a significant change in his behavior:

> In [the Midwest], it was very much only when legally mandated are we going to wear masks, just like pretty much everyone I know, felt that way. And then in [the Northeast], I feel like there was a much greater level of like, social responsibility … actively like, pushed, like, for instance, on like the subway, like you would see like all of the ads reminding you to like, wear your masks just out of like, respect for other people … yeah, it was like a pretty dramatic shift to like wearing it literally, like all the time when I was outside. … Like, if you took your mask off, like even on a street where there weren't a lot of people, but then you walked by someone, then I think the likelihood of you getting kind of like a glare … definitely went up. So I think there was a little bit of social pressure in that regard.

While regional differences would be interesting to analyze as another factor in masking, the transitory lifestyles of college students make them a population ill-suited to measure this. Olivia was grateful for her friends' compliance, but recognized her will to conform: "[It] has definitely helped me constantly wear masks … that my friends are also very on board. And so I honestly don't know how I'd react to peer pressure … I think it definitely could lead me to feel more, like, willing to take it off, even though it shouldn't."

iv. Race

For interviewees of color, particularly East Asian and Black students, race was much more likely to play a role in their decision to wear or their experience wearing a mask. This runs slightly against the survey data, in which there was no statistically significant difference across races ($p = 0.34$) when asked if race plays a role in their decision. Sentiments were strongest among East Asian interviewees like Lily:

> I really do feel like as an Asian American … people might think that if I didn't wear a mask, I'm, like, helping spread the disease … or I'm being unsafe, and like I am a reason why there is a pandemic right now. And then especially like, if I were to forget to wear a mask and go into a store, I might feel self-conscious that people think … I'm going to spread it if they get close to me. So I'm super precautious about wearing masks.

Angela worried for her physical safety if she neglected to wear a mask:

[T]here was like a whole thing of like, "well, if you're Asian, you probably have it," stuff like that. And like, people like being afraid of you in a grocery store, when you're just like, reaching for the carrots. So I think in that case, it was just like, it felt safer, both like, I mean, like health wise and like, just like, safety wise … like *physical* safety wise, to just wear a mask in public in case.

Black interviewees like Gabrielle were more worried about the care they and their families would receive if they didn't wear a mask and got sick:

[I]t's just very concerning, because a lot of times, you know, physicians do not believe complaints from Black people, and it leads to a lesser standard of care. And you look at the rates of people dying from COVID … I'm like, you know, if my father gets sick, or my mother gets sick, not even me, like, are they going to get the health care that they need?

These participants wore a mask to protect themselves from harassment and from poor treatment should they contract the virus. Given the threats associated with not masking, the decision to mask, while intentional, was not autonomous.

A few participants noted that masking was strategic, as it helped them mask their racial identity. Olivia is half East Asian, but was able to pass as white in a mask:

[W]hen I wore masks, like I wouldn't really be identified as—like most people didn't know what my race is, but I saw it a lot on my mom's side because she is Chinese, that she would be attacked if she ever went anywhere without a mask … and then definitely I was like, okay, yeah, I'll just put it on.

Lucia, who is both Black and Latina, also found she could pass when masking:

I have very pale skin, but I'm Black and Latina. When I wear my mask, I feel like you can't really see my features. And if you can't see my hair, then I present otherwise. So I've noticed that usually if I—*when* I wear my mask, I usually wear my hair … in a bun, where it's, like, more hidden.

For these particular participants, masking was a slightly more autonomous decision, as they retooled the practice to serve a broader purpose.

v. Gender

Similar to race, survey data found no statistically significant difference across gender ($p = 0.42$) in respondents' agreement with the statement that gender plays a role in

their decision to wear a mask. Among female interviewees, however, gender was moderately more likely to play a role. Like the buffer to harassment noted by East Asian students, a few women noted that masks served as a buffer between themselves and unwanted attention. Lucia made a cautious remark in this vein: "I feel like it probably has, especially to, like, avoid talking to people, which, you know, uncomfortable stuff happens … yeah." Gabrielle was direct:

> I would get catcalled, and like, just there'd be like creepy men saying things. And I found like, I feel like slightly more comfortable wearing a mask, because then they couldn't identify, like, my whole face and stuff like that. And I'm like, hopefully, like, you won't recognize me … the next day.

April was more skeptical that masks would be effective to serve this purpose: "[N]othing decreases your chance of street harassment." Participants who did perceive masking as holding an external benefit to avoid gendered street harassment had greater autonomy in their mask-wearing.

Regardless of masks' capacity to stave off unwanted attention, a few women felt empowered when masked to not smile at strangers, which they acknowledged as a social constraint on their street behavior pre-pandemic. Suzie remarked that masks were positive in this regard: "I personally think I do have a very neutral like, like the bitchface, I do think I have that. So I think wearing the mask, like, I don't have to be like, pleasant all the time. So that's like a benefit." Again, these women experienced greater autonomy.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, I explored how the pandemic affected youth sartorial agency and autonomy. I found that in the aggregate, both agency (measured by choices) and autonomy (measured by criteria) greatly expanded. Shifts in dress were dramatic, with students exercising options that would have been seen not only as unacceptable, but

undesired before the pandemic disrupted social life and learning. These shifts upended the gender gap in sartorial autonomy and agency, with college women abandoning uncomfortable clothes and time-intensive adornments such as jeans and makeup. The marked shifts of women wearing jeans, pajamas, and sweatpants overtook changes among the men, inverting the agency gap for these items of dress. In line with these shifts, college women's increasing valuation of comfort and ease eliminated the gap in sartorial autonomy.

These gendered shifts are meaningful: existing literature and pre-pandemic data suggest that women are disproportionately expected to adjust their presentation to the male gaze, constrained by covert influences like subliminal messaging around gender norms and desirability and overt influences like peer pressure and conformity to the latest fashion trends. My findings complicate the sexualization as empowerment thesis: when separated from social interactions and given the chance, most women deemphasized attractiveness and presentability in their dress and their decision criteria. The popular notion that "you dress for yourself" is thus challenged by these findings; given the shift in dress during isolation, it at least appears clear that *before* the pandemic, students were not making decisions based on solely internal criteria. However, in the pandemic, some women struggled to existentially justify their sartorial decisions without an external audience. These students, harboring a flattened agency in their pre-pandemic lifestyle, felt *less autonomous* when dressing only for themselves. For this group, sexualization very well may be perceived as empowering—given that its absence indirectly deflated their feelings of agency. This marks a tension between autonomy and agency worth

further exploration. Still, the majority of women perceived and benefited from autonomy expansion during the pandemic, eroding a pronounced gender disparity.

A separate group of students felt unmotivated to dress to their liking during the pandemic, remarking that they felt unproductive in comfortable clothing. There is a small but growing body of literature on *enclothed cognition*, which posits that an individual's connotations of the clothes they wear affect their self-perceptions and psychological processes (Adam and Galinsky 2012). Experiments have found wearing formal clothes makes the wearer feel more cultivated and strategic (Hannover and Kühnen 2002). In a work setting, formal wear increases self-perceptions of competence and trustworthiness (Peluchette and Karl 2007). Students' reported lack of productivity in pajamas and sweatpants may further support the theory of enclothed cognition.

Despite the aforementioned subgroups, the pandemic as an unsettled time clearly expanded agency in the aggregate, supporting Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) as well as Goffman's (1963) theories that times of crisis enable greater agency to respond to changing situations and rejecting Bourdieu's (1984) theory of hysteresis. However, Emirbayer and Mische predicted that in an unsettled time, individuals would engage in projectivity—critical imagination of future possibilities. Instead, it appears that students engaged in practical evaluation, a present-based mindset responsive to evolving and uncertain circumstances. Temporally, this tracks more closely to Goffman's analysis. However, his time of crisis theory still assumes a generalized effect that did not hold for the pandemic. In his example of a hotel fire, Goffman argues that guests are so distracted by the emergency that it is socially acceptable to no longer care about one's presentation, at least until the situation is resolved. There was a weak time of crisis effect during the

pandemic, specifically for autonomy: students cared less about their appearance, noting the triviality of their presentation relative to the tragedies of the present. However, when interacting with others—outside or over Zoom—students still put greater effort into the visible clothes they wore, notably resulting in a fashion line drawn at the camera's edge during online class. Thus, social isolation specifically drove unique shifts in autonomy and agency.

Further evidence for practical evaluation over projectivity in students' responses to the pandemic is found in their predictions for post-pandemic dress. Almost all anticipate a return to what they wore before COVID-19 struck, some with a twinge of sadness and others with a glint of excitement. Reluctant students will relinquish their agency to conform to social expectations, losing autonomy in the process, others will compartmentalize their autonomy to dress for success, and still others whose autonomy is predicated on dressing for society will enthusiastically jump at the chance to do so again. Across these groups, the gender gap in autonomy and agency is likely to reemerge.

In addition to shifting expectations around traditional clothing, the pandemic introduced concern over a new item of dress, with strings attached: the mask. Most polls so far have focused on the gendered and political aspects of mask-wearing and compliance with mask mandates. This study found a small gender effect with marginal significance, but a larger race effect—specifically, East Asian students were more likely to wear a mask outside, and white students were less likely to do so, particularly when alone. Students were much more likely to wear a mask with increasing frequency the more often their friends and parents wore a mask. This effect mediates race and gender, but does not negate the race or gender effects: rather, if the gender and race effects hold

for participants' friends and parents, it seems likely that these effects shape friends' and parents' mask-wearing. Friends' and parents' mask-wearing, in turn, influence survey respondents' mask-wearing, a clear signal of conformity.

Students aware of a full mask mandate where they lived were more likely to wear a mask, in line with Wrucke et al.'s (2020) findings in Wisconsin. Interestingly, students aware of a partial mask mandate were less likely to wear a mask than those in a no mandate zone or altogether unaware of any mandate. One potential explanation is that those intending to wear a mask for public health or self-interest have little reason to carefully research the language of a mask mandate, while those seeking an excuse to avoid masking are more likely to research exceptions.

The next chapter addresses the role of fashion in boundary work, and the divisions it creates along class and gender lines. As the pandemic upended autonomy and agency, so too did it upend boundary work. Conceptual linkages between boundary work and these constructs follow.

Chapter Six: Sartorial Boundaries

In the previous two chapters, I focused on youth sartorial autonomy and agency, first identifying disparities and then analyzing the period effect of the pandemic. In this chapter, I interpret the sartorial boundaries youth draw and shifts in boundaries during the pandemic, leaning on interview data with survey analysis occasionally interspersed. Because sartorial boundaries are so closely tethered to identity categories (e.g., gendered conceptions of dress), I divide the discussion of traditional fashion and boundary work into two sections, the first articulating differences between class groups and the second showcasing boundaries between and within gender identities. In each section, I first identify sartorial boundaries that existed pre-pandemic, and then evaluate whether there have been any relevant shifts during the pandemic. A third section addresses the boundaries students draw around masks, a new social phenomenon in the United States inextricable from the pandemic. Lastly, I apply findings to theories of boundary work, and develop a conceptual linkage between boundary work and autonomy.

6.1 Class and Dress

When examining how students of different socioeconomic strata draw sartorial boundaries, I adopt Lamont's categorical breakdown of socioeconomic, moral, and cultural boundaries—alliteratively, money, morals, and manners. Within each category, I identify one to three boundaries drawn along class lines, and then interpret its shift (if there was one) during the pandemic. I then evaluate whether shifts mimic one of Lamont's three identified boundary reduction strategies of plurality of criteria of worth, ordinary universalism, and destigmatizing the stigmatized.

Socioeconomic Boundaries

i. Brand Salience

Based on interviews, the most blatant socioeconomic boundary at Harvard in the realm of fashion is branding. Brands themselves serve as social boundaries, while students' perceptions of brands are a core component of symbolic boundaries. In the first set of interviews with the panel, conducted in 2019, participants revealed high brand recognition, and used brands to sort passersby into different income brackets. When asked to describe campus fashion, every participant either included "preppy," "expensive," or listed a specific brand in their response. Certain brands were particularly dominant on campus: 9 of 14 (64 percent) on the panel listed Canada Goose as a core element of standard Harvard dress. The interviews were conducted in early December, once most students have donned their winter wear—so it is quite possible that had interviews been conducted in the summer, Canada Goose (a seasonal brand) would have appeared less frequently. Mary, a white high-income[23] student from the West, broadened her description of campus fashion:

> Oh, um, definitely like New England, like, you know, probably like upper-class, like, I don't know, think of like, like the Canada Goose and the L.L.Bean and like AirPods and that sort of thing. So like probably, I would say there's like a pressure to buy certain, like, um, certain things that are seen as, like, classy among New England, upper-class people.

Patrick, a white low-income student from the Northeast, categorized the wearers of such brands as wealthier:

> Definitely it's affected my style, like between high school and college … noticing that people were paying more attention … put[ting] people into categories based on that and being like, oh, he's wearing this, he's this type of person … in most of the cases, it's usually associated with a wealth categorization.

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[23] As in prior chapters, I use household income as a proxy for student income.

Eric, a white low-income student from the Midwest, was drawn to brands for this reason:

> I would say I learn to make assumptions about their background based on that. And I think, like, the fact that I do that contributes to like, the reason why, like, *I* would want … to get like more expensive clothes … like, definitely, I mean, I think I definitely just, like, assume that they're from, like, a wealthier background.

Across class lines, students recognized brands as a marker not only of class boundaries, but of mainstream campus culture.

ii. Shift in Pandemic

As students adjusted to the pandemic, brands became a less salient marker of Harvard fashion in participants' minds, both in their current depictions of style and their best recollections of pre-pandemic dress. When asking the second set of 31 interviewees to describe campus fashion before the pandemic hit, only 5 (16 percent) referenced specific brands in their responses: two students listed Canada Goose, and two listed Patagonia. Carrie, a white low-income student from the West, had choice words about the former brand: "I'm sick of seeing Canada Goose. The best part about not having to spend the winter on campus is I don't see a single Canada Goose jacket." Despite this comment, the general lack of brands in this set of interviewees' descriptions marks a drastic drop in brand salience from the previous cohort, where twice as many participants in half as large a sample conceptualized Harvard fashion with specific brands in mind. Notably, not a single interviewee mentioned AirPods or other branded headsets when describing what their peers wore on Zoom, even though this was a salient brand pre-pandemic.

While it is less clear whether the wearing of brands as a social boundary have changed, the use of brands as a symbolic boundary to categorize students has clearly eroded. Among boundary reduction strategies, this is most closely aligned with ordinary universalism, in which commonalities between individuals obviate the drive to draw

boundaries: since interviewees are less brand conscious, their peers are, in effect, not perceived as wearing these labels or brands—creating an unbranded commonality between interviewees and their classmates.

Moral Boundaries

Before the pandemic, students drew moral boundaries between themselves and the prototypical brand-obsessed Harvard student. These boundaries revolved around exclusion, waste, and environmental concerns. While low-income students were more likely to articulate these moral boundaries, a sizable subgroup of high-income students also drew moral boundaries against campus fashion.

i. Exclusion

Low-income students were markedly more likely to detect a note of exclusion in their peers' decision to wear luxury brands. When asked why students elected to wear such brands, Fahad, a low-income South Asian student from the Northeast, responded:

> Um, implicit wealth. … [P]eople won't say how much they're worth, but they'll show how much they're worth. And so it's very much this show and tell of like who has the most money, but in the most implicit ways. And you can tell that by what they wear.

Eric echoed Fahad's sentiment: "Um, status? Like, no, I definitely think it's about broadcasting like certain things about yourself … people do it because they want to show that they can afford a Canada Goose jacket." Hannah, a high-income white student from the Northeast, noted that strangers' dress affects her perceptions of them:

> I might have some like preconceived notions about who they are … their background or like their values, I guess … like, people who dress for example, if you're wearing something really expensive … it shows that you care a lot about appearing wealthy, and that you care about investing a lot of money in your clothing to give off a certain appearance.

Casey, a low-income student from the Midwest, remarked that such dress is antithetical to a mission of inclusion, and has the effect of excluding low-income students.

> I think overall, it harms the image that Harvard is trying to portray as being like, welcoming to everybody, because like all of these people that have, like, absurd amounts of money where others don't, they're just like flashing their wealth on a thousand dollar coat. … So it perpetuates these stereotypes that everyone at Harvard is like, rich and has absurd amounts of money when obviously they don't.

Lily, a high-income East Asian student from the Northeast, slightly disagreed, instead attributing luxury fashion on campus as a symptom of conformity:

> Um, I think some people just see it as the thing that every other Harvard student does, and if they have the means to pay for it, they just think that they should just get one because other people seem to be warm. And it seems to be what a lot of Harvard students get, so they'll just get that brand. I don't think it's because, oh, I want to show everyone that I can afford a Canada Goose.

Whatever the wearers of Canada Goose and other brands intend to demonstrate from their sartorial decisions, onlookers, especially low-income onlookers, perceive such clothing as ostracizing. These onlookers, in contrast, perceive themselves to be wearing clothes that do not connote exclusivity, and thus their clothes (and presumably, they themselves) are morally superior.

ii. Waste

Low-income and high-income students were comparably likely to deride luxury brands as wasteful. Eric stated buying a Canada Goose jacket was irrational: "There's, there's no real, like, practical reason to like, pay a thousand dollars for a jacket, right? Like, you can get something, like, just as efficient for half the price or like a quarter of the price." Fahad agreed: "A regular two hundred dollar jacket from L.L.Bean or Patagonia will suffice." Mary gave a little background on Canada Goose's origins: "[I]f they can afford it, like, sure, whatever. But like those coats were originally made for like

researchers in Antarctica or something, right? So like, we don't, we're not in Antarctica. We don't need that." Rebecca, a high-income white student from the West, extended the irrationality of Canada Goose to other brands like Vineyard Vines:

> I feel like most people don't really need that to show off their status, so it truly baffles me what people are trying to show … maybe people just aren't thinking about it that hard, and they're like, "Oh, this is a nice colored shirt" … but also then why would you spend that much money on a shirt if you just like the pastel color?

Still others saw not only the purchase but the constant wearing of expensive brands as ill-conceived. Maggie, a low-income white student from the Northeast, grew frustrated at her peers' use of expensive items of dress in inclement weather: "[I]f I see someone wearing, like, Gucci slides, I don't really care, but if I see someone wearing Gucci slides in the rain, I'm like, you're an idiot." Interviewees across class lines were similarly likely to mark luxury brands as illogical investments.

iii. Environment

Lastly, interviewees—particularly those who were low-income—utilized the environmental ramifications of luxury brands as a moral boundary between themselves and their peers who consumed such brands. Again, students focused on Canada Goose. Sylvia, a low-income white student from the West, said: "I mean, the stereotype there is … they don't think that the ethical concerns of Canada Goose are particularly necessary to consider." Shayan, a low-income Indigenous student from the Southwest, elaborated:

> I've seen, like, videos, articles, and all sorts of like, different people talk about how the fur on like Canada Goose jackets comes from, like wolves that are being poached in specifically Canada and Alaska, which takes away from not just the environment, but also the indigenous peoples that occupy those areas. So I think it not only really affects, like, really impacts the environment that they're taking from, but also just the indigenous people … specifically from those areas.

Maggie had read similar articles about Canada Goose in particular:

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I've read so many articles about how they hurt animals and I don't like that. So although it's not like I'm a vegetarian or anything … if I see people wearing Canada Goose … I'm just like, "Really? Like that thousand dollars you spent on that coat could have … gone to something that's much better for the environment."

Despite drawing this moral boundary, Maggie acknowledged that she herself did not emphasize sustainability in her clothing consumption, which she attributed to her income:

I wish I could buy more environmentally conscious clothes than the clothes I wear, but like they're expensive—if they were more accessible, like I totally would, like, there's some like Canadian brands of clothes … but it's like one hundred and fifty dollars for a sweater. And I'm like, eh, I can buy three pairs of jeans with that.

Some low-income students who thrifted for clothes grasped onto thrifting as an environmentally sustainable method of consumption after probing, but few students initiated a conversation about their personal efforts to be environmentally sustainable, despite drawing moral boundaries against the consumption of luxury brands.

iv. Who's Wearing? The Cycle of Boundaries and Constraints

With most low-income and some high-income interviewees drawing moral boundaries between themselves and the wearers of luxury brands, one might wonder who actually owns these clothes. The answer: essentially everyone. Almost every student reported owning at least one item of dress that they considered to be in line with the stereotypes of Harvard fashion. However, while high-income students felt comfortable wearing such items of dress, low-income students rarely wore these clothes outside of special events. Casey bought an expensive "H" sweater to represent Harvard, but reported hardly ever wearing it:

I think it's kind of frowned upon, like, if you wear that you are seen as a part of that community … there's obviously a negative connotation to that kind of group. And I don't want to be seen as part of that, because I don't feel like I fit as a part of that group, and it's like, "Oh, I don't belong as part of that group. I don't want to, you know, act like I am," you know.

Patrick similarly felt constrained from wearing his more expensive clothes, lest he be incorrectly categorized as wealthy with high class privilege.

> I don't like that I don't feel comfortable enough to like, wear, what I want to wear. … [T]hat's been one of the downsides of like, the negative pressures here and like the gossiping, I guess, like finger pointing, stereotyping that goes on on campus. … In high school, I dressed preppy … but then seeing that, like, wearing that here was kind of like people wanting to categorize you into like, oh, like a rich, wealthy, white male privilege, like super, super, super, super privileged person … I didn't like being judged that way.

Low-income students, including Patrick, felt more comfortable wearing fancier brands without externally facing labels: "One thing I really like about J.Crew is that because I think there [are] problems or stereotypes with, like, name brand[s] … there's no label, there's no icon symbol or anything. So it's just the clothes, no associations." Sylvia felt the same way about her Calvin Klein jacket: "[I]t doesn't have a big logo anywhere, it's not particularly clear that it's one brand or another, which I'm honestly grateful for … I always feel a little bit strange sporting a brand that I don't necessarily actually support."

Socioeconomic boundaries around brands and their significance as a class marker constrained the autonomy of low-income students: they did not feel like they were part of the social group that wears such brands, and in reaction, they drew moral boundaries to justify their noncompliance with dressier standards. As an aftereffect of these moral boundaries, despite owning luxury items, low-income students felt uncomfortable wearing the flashier articles, opting to don unlabelled items in public instead. High-income students never experienced this initial autonomy constraint, so while they proactively drew moral boundaries between themselves and the more egregious wearers of luxury brands as a form of self-preservation, they still felt comfortable wearing luxury items on a regular basis. This illustrates the cycle between boundaries and constraints, which I will touch on further in the summary section of this chapter.

v. Shift in Pandemic

During the pandemic, these moral boundaries evaporated. Aside from Carrie (quoted earlier), no interviewees issued critical remarks about brands or their peers' fashion statements during the pandemic. When asked if they noticed any change in what their classmates were wearing over Zoom, 8 of the 24 questioned interviewees (33 percent) responded that they didn't even notice what their classmates were wearing. Angela, a high-income East Asian student from the Northeast, remarked: "I don't really pay too much attention to people's clothes … on Zoom." Alyssa, a high-income Black student from the South, agreed: "I don't think that I focused that much on, like, what others were wearing on Zoom." These students rated slightly higher on the present autonomy scale referenced in the previous chapter, offering a potential rationale for their negligence toward others' dress.

Of those who did take note of their peers' fashion, twelve (50 percent) offered neutral descriptions of their classmates' shifts in dress. The other four (17 percent) had only nice things to say. Jafnah, a high-income South Asian student from the West, recalled when her peers would impress her: "Some of them would wear, like, cute sweaters, and I would comment, and I was like, 'Oh my god, like you put in the extra effort today.'" Aside from Carrie's comment about not missing Canada Goose jackets, there were no recorded acerbic comments about others' dress during the pandemic. Like brand salience, reductions in these moral boundaries fit under the umbrella of ordinary universalism, since interviewees are no longer focused on their peers' dress.

Cultural Boundaries

Societal expectations around dress cultivated dispositions for both low-income and high-income interviewees favoring presentability as a decision criterion. This drive for presentability clashed with the exclusionary connotations of high-end dress for low-income students mentioned in the prior subsection. High-end students were able to further cultivate their disposition through consumption as a social activity with friends, while low-income students perceived shopping primarily as a functional event, more often than not buying clothes either with their families or alone.

i. Presentability

Students across income brackets recognized the social benefits of looking presentable. The previous chapter already addressed how students conceptualized being "put together" and factored this into their sartorial decisions. As part of their mental mapping, students drew boundaries between their style and hypothetical, less presentable versions of themselves—and, by extension, others who dressed in such a way. Lily noted how designing an acceptable self-image was prefigured, before walking back her words:

> I would definitely say I'm *not* the type of person to ever wear sweatpants in public or like to class or anything like that. … I realize that part of being successful in life and maybe having other people respect you is also making sure that you look put together, and that you carry a certain image around, and sort of stick to that image as much as possible. Um, so in college I've, I don't want to say that I've "created an image" for myself because that sounds very artificial and that's not what I'm trying to say, but it's more like I have a certain image that I think expresses who I am and that I would like to, um, like to maintain throughout college. And as a result, I've wanted my clothing choices to reflect that.

Fahad was more blunt about the weight of dress on his relative social prospects:

> [I]n high school it was more of a meritocracy, whereas here it's like everyone here is smart, so like how do you distinguish yourself? How do you say that you're of a certain type, or how do you say that you belong to a certain group? … [P]retty much, by what you wear. Like I've realized that it's very important the impression someone makes of me in like a couple seconds, because that will sort of

determine … how we'll interact going forward. So I am very conscious about what I wear and … the image I am displaying to show the general public.

Lily and Fahad were only two among many participants in the panel group to reflect on the importance of presentability in their fashion style.

ii. Social Consumption

Despite the unified understanding that clothes are important to one's social interactions, students did not purchase clothes with universal frequency or intensity. This may be intuitive, as students with greater disposable income could more easily afford to spend extra money on items of dress. Less intuitively, however, high-income students were substantially more likely to purchase clothing in concert with others, while low-income students often shopped alone.

Thrift stores were a popular arena for students across income, but wealthier students would frequent secondhand shops primarily as a social activity, while less affluent students would go with the intent of purchasing clothes for their everyday wardrobe. Grace, a high-income East Asian student from the Midwest, explained this breakdown: "[W]hen I'm going to, like, a new store, I want something you know, like, that's going to be very external facing. Whereas, like, a lot of the clothes that I get from thrift shopping are things that I wear much more casually." Some high-income students stopped in thrift stores for fun, but never bought anything, like Vivian, an East Asian student from the West: "Um, yeah, I was with my sister in New York City … we just like went to a couple thrift stores, but there was nothing really that like popped out to me, so I didn't buy anything." Katherine, a high-income Latinx student from the West, agreed: "I've gone in with the intention of buying stuff, but I don't think I ever actually have." Low-income students like Sylvia, however, would primarily base their wardrobe off of

secondhand clothes: "[G]enerally, I buy new clothes at thrift stores. … I wish [I bought all my clothes secondhand]. But no, I definitely also supplement with retail." Shayan would purchase his secondhand clothing from online consignment marketplaces, entirely removing the interpersonal aspect of clothes shopping.

iii. Shift in Pandemic

As mentioned in the prior chapter, the salience of presentability among students' sartorial decision criteria dropped precipitously during the pandemic. This had the effect of blurring the boundaries between students' hypothetical unpresentable versions of themselves and their actual everyday dress. Instead of drawing lines of dissatisfaction, however, most students accepted their current dress as socially acceptable—as well as their peers' dress. Carrie explicitly affirmed her classmates' new outfits:

> There were so many sweatpants and so many sweatshirts and I felt so seen, I was like, "Finally other people are realizing that sweatshirts are comfortable." Um, and it was just kind of like normalizing wearing a sports bra every day and putting your hair up … my favorite thing is when people, like, stand up from a Zoom class, I can see their pajama pants and I'm like, "*Yes*, solidarity!"

Lily, who proclaimed a year earlier that she was not the type of person to wear sweatpants, updated her position: "Since coming home, I still care about what people see, I guess from my head to my waist, but I've definitely maximized for comfort … I probably wear sweatpants like almost every single day." She also suspended her judgment of others who dressed in sweatpants, but only temporarily:

> I definitely would not like, judge people for wearing sweatpants in the spring … [because] everyone's sick of being home, stuck being home. And like, it's been months that we've been in this Zoom world. I think that gives a lot of people a pass for wearing sweatpants every single day. But I guess once I start seeing people … then I would probably want to look a little bit nicer.

A few students still drew boundaries: 7 of 41 interviewees (17 percent) invoked the language of "real" clothes to describe items of dress in their pre-pandemic wardrobe that

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they had generally stopped wearing, but still put on in certain circumstances, namely for work and for going outside. By drawing a boundary between their old clothes and their current dress, participants insinuated that their typical pandemic fashion is illegitimate. These seven students in the aggregate scored lower than their peers on the present autonomy subscale.

When joining the interview call, Carrie warned her on-screen clothes weren't representative of her general wardrobe: "I was supposed to have a work meeting this morning, which is why I'm wearing real clothes." Ryan, a mid-income East Asian student from the Midwest, also got into the habit of dressing up for work: "[W]e were commuting a lot, so like then I had to put, like, real person clothes on, and like, be business formal for the job." Sharon, a high-income Black student from the Northeast, struggled to keep to this standard for remote work: "[W]e had weekly Zoom calls … it started off as like, we were kind of all like, 'Oh, let's wear real clothes,' but then it kind of started to devolve over the summer."

Other students categorized their outside dress as more legitimate than their inside dress, like Jake, a high-income white student from the South: "I'd say I put on like real pants, jeans or real pants going out in public." Eric concurred: "[For] the grocery store … I would put on, like, my real people clothes, which I would define as, like, at the very least jeans or something, like just not sweatpants."

Regarding social consumption, only 1 of the 41 interviewees (2 percent) reported purchasing clothing in person during the pandemic, and she did so with her sister. Most students continued to purchase items of dress, but on average they purchased less during

the stretch of the pandemic than they would have otherwise—and their consumption shifted online, without any social interactions attached.

The cultural boundaries of presentability and socializing through consumption mostly dissipated during the pandemic. For those whose boundaries of presentability weakened, this was due to a combination of all three strategies: ordinary universalism, a plurality of criteria of worth, and destigmatizing the stigmatized. Because students perceive themselves as shifting in the direction of less presentable clothing *with* their peers, they draw a commonality around the shared experience of the pandemic and their new fashion. Moreover, students like Carrie share new criteria of worth (comfort and ease) with their peers. Jane, a high-income East Asian student from the South, said: "I feel like [now] everyone would want to wear things that are comfortable." Lastly, appearing unpresentable has been largely destigmatized, such that students like Lily do not judge their peers for their dress.

6.2 Gender and Dress

When sorting the sartorial boundaries students draw in gendered manners, I retain two of the three categories used in the prior section: moral and cultural boundaries. At the end of each subsection, I address how, if at all, the pandemic has shifted relevant boundaries, and what reduction strategy these shifts mimic. For each boundary in the two subsections, I analyze both its between-gender as well as its within-gender distinctions.

Moral Boundaries

i. Slut-Shaming, Victim Blaming

I grouped these two moral boundaries together, because both have the effect of morally sanctioning a student due to assumptions about the intentions behind their dress.

When reviewing interview transcripts, I defined slut-shaming as the use of "slut" or comparable discourse to describe either a student or an item of dress. I defined victim blaming as any statement that presumes a judged student (harassed, dress coded, or otherwise derogated) deserved that judgment.

No male interviewee engaged in any slut-shaming, but a few (3 of 12, 25 percent) did victim blame those who were punished for violating their high schools' dress codes, largely girls. Fahad endorsed his administration's actions without considering context:

> I would say for the most part the dress code was pretty lenient. So like I would think … if they were reported or if they had to like sort of, you know, put something else on or if they were sort of like, I don't know, they were stopped for what they were wearing, then it's probably something that was pretty extreme.

Eric did not support his high school's dress code, but was apathetic to its enforcement:

> [I]t happened to my sister once or twice. And like, she was very upset about it. … I mean, like, I just thought it was silly. … I didn't really take it very seriously. I was just like, "Oh, well, that's too bad," like, "That's an inconvenience for her."

For the most part, however, male participants refrained from victim blaming, and harshly ridiculed high school dress codes. Ryan remarked on disparities in enforcement:

> [I]t was restrictive for young women … when a girl would wear something that was deemed to be, like, distracting, which is hilarious, because, like, we know what that means. … The enforcement was geared towards, like, people that were more developed, you know. … I have negative reactions to dress codes.

Shayan concurred:

> I feel like they always focus on policing women's bodies and like, femme bodies. So like, I think that they make a dress code about something it really shouldn't be about … if it's literally just to police women's bodies, then I think it doesn't really serve a good purpose at all.

Again, a few men did indirectly victim blame students by defending their schools' dress codes. However, 75 percent—a sizable majority—critiqued dress codes as sexist, and rejected probes to identify examples of legitimate dress code violations.

Women participants were similarly likely to critique dress codes, but were more comfortable identifying examples of correctly enforced violations, in the process casting aspersions on female victims. Lily hesitantly defended the distraction rationale:

> I feel like I'm going to have some hot takes again. … I can understand why certain dress codes are put in place because it can sometimes be distracting when you're sitting next to someone and like they have a very low cut shirt. … [T]eachers just had to be like safe rather than sorry … and I was fine with it mostly because I was never one of those people who was punished I guess.

Maggie recounted a specific incident in which she found enforcement reasonable:

> [T]his one girl who I was friends with in high school and not really friends with now was yelled at cause she was wearing a romper. But like honestly … you could see her entire butt and we were just like, "Tessa,[24] please put some pants on. Cause like you're sitting on the chairs that we're sitting on too. It's just unsanitary." … I mean I don't want to side with the administration … but like they had a point.

By drawing distinctions between themselves and these violators, either in clothing choices or friendship status, Lily and Maggie distanced themselves from the victims.

Interviewees were particularly likely to judge others who broke the same dress code as they did, but escaped unscathed. Katherine grew frustrated that cheerleaders were allowed to violate the code:

> I know the cheerleaders when they wore their cheer outfit would completely, like, break the dress code. … Everybody kind of thought it was … you're not supposed to be, because there's a dress code and you're not supposed to be breaking it. But then they got to break it and wear something that is like, like breaking many levels of it. But the school thinks it's fine … they like, let them wear it just because they have the title of cheerleader.

When Carrie was punished for breaking the code, she drew boundaries between herself and other girls: "Oh, I was pissed. I was so mad. All the basketball girls were in, like, *miniskirts*. And I was wearing a fucking Batman comic book dress. And I was the one who got sent to the Principal's. I was so mad."

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[24] Tessa is a pseudonym.

Women interviewees also engaged in indirect slut-shaming by drawing boundaries between what sorts of clothes were acceptable to wear, in so doing implying that the clothes conveyed certain stigmas. Imani, a Black student from the Southwest, would not wear a tight dress to her workplace, an environment frequented mostly by young men:

> I still have a little bit of that underlying like, "I'm okay with wearing it, but I don't think other people would be okay with my wearing it." … I'm always like, kind of scared to wear a bodycon dress to [where I work with men], because I'm like … "They're all going to look at me like some, like, *whatever*." And so like I even though I'm like, personally comfortable, I save it for, like, all my friends that are going out to dinner or going to a party … instead of daytime spaces.

Abigail, a white student from the Northeast, perceived an age cutoff with cutoff shirts:

> So recently, I was going out to shop and I saw … [a] crop top that I really liked. And I was actually about to buy it, but then I decided not to because I knew that, you know, my mom wasn't the biggest fan of them and thinking about you know, like, I am becoming a young adult soon, and … I'm not sure if I can wear it going out as much. And, and that was kind of my mom echoing in my ear saying, you know, like, you can wear that when you're like 18 to 20. But like, you know, once you've become an adult, this is not something you can wear.

Despite wearing bikinis in public, Lily thought it wrong to post them on her social media, as if it betrayed a certain promiscuous context:

> I've never posted a picture of myself in a bikini on my social media, because I don't want people seeing me in *that* context. Um, or like people tangentially related to me in that context. Also, like, my neighbors follow me on my social media, so I just don't want them seeing me in a bikini.

María evoked hegemonic femininity in a quasi-paradoxical statement about acceptable dress: "[Y]ou like girls who are modest and don't show everything, but you've got to be comfortable with your own skin too. There's nothing wrong with wearing a swimsuit and stuff. … Yeah … don't be scared to show skin either. Like, what's the big deal?"

ii. Environment

On both the high school and college surveys, the ECS[25] asked respondents how salient environmental consequences were to their clothing consumption on a scale of zero

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[25] Environmental Consideration Scale; see Chapter 3.3 for an extended description.

to three. A higher score indicates greater environmental awareness and commitment. Despite the tendency of low-income students to draw environmental moral boundaries along class lines, surveys revealed no statistically significant class-based difference in environmental awareness ($p = 0.85$). However, surveys did reveal a gender gap, with women rating their awareness significantly higher than men ($\beta = 0.63$; $p < 0.001$). This aggregated score for women marks general awareness of environmental consequences, but a low commitment to purchase clothes that are sustainable. Figure 6.1 shows students' levels of environmental consideration in their clothing consumption.

Figure 6.1. Environmental Consideration in Clothing Consumption
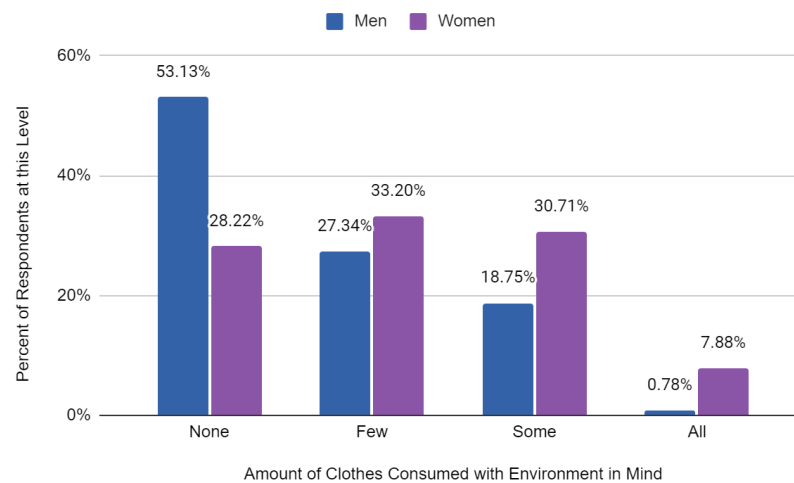
iii. Shift in Pandemic

Because slut-shaming and victim-blaming were mostly derived from questions about students' high school perceptions of dress code violations, I did not have a sufficient volume of quotes from participants about their present judgments to draw any conclusions about their current moral gender boundaries. While interviewees recounted past experiences and judgments, pandemic-era quotes on students' self-perceptions of what is acceptable to wear—such as Abigail's, above—suggest that certain ideological norms have held during the pandemic, at least when applied to oneself. At the same time,

as referenced in the moral subsection of class boundaries, participants generally shifted away from making moral judgments about each other during the pandemic, a trend which quite possibly extends to gender-related moral questions. There is not sufficient evidence to make any directional determination, or to infer what reduction strategy (if any) is applicable. The question about environmental consequences was asked as a present-day question during the pandemic, so again it is not possible to deduce any pandemic-related shifts in environmental consideration.

Cultural Boundaries

i. Items of Dress

For survey respondents and interviewees, gender norms manifested in gendered taste. Men perceived women's clothing as uncomfortably fitted and mostly unwearable. Women were moderately more likely to cross the aisle of a clothing store and shop in another gender's department, particularly at thrift stores, where gender distinctions in dress (for women) disintegrated.

Among high school survey respondents, girls were significantly more likely than boys ($\beta = 0.40$; $p < 0.001$) to wear clothing marketed to the other gender (see Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2. Shopping in Men's and Women's Sections
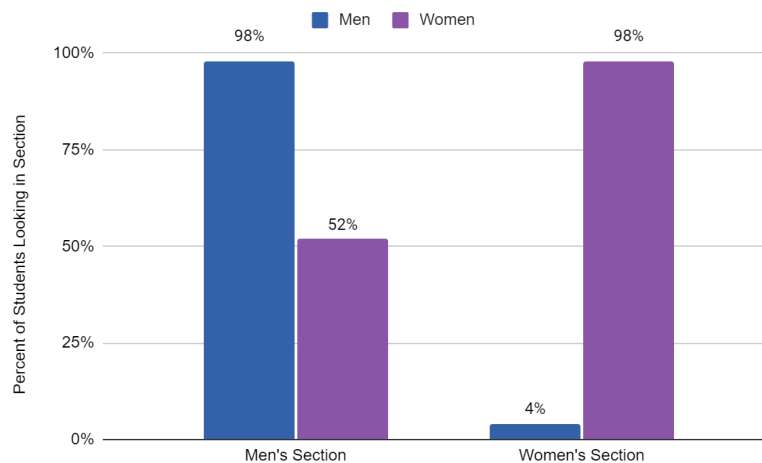
In the first set of panel interviews, none of the male participants regularly shopped for women's tops or bottoms. Shayan referenced his masculinity: "Oh, it'd always be the men's side … because I felt like I was supposed to be a man." Eric agreed:

I still have, like, a very deeply ingrained sense of like, wanting to maintain my masculinity. … I don't necessarily, like, want to draw attention to myself as someone … outside of the box. So I would want to just kind of like wear clothing that makes me, like, fairly innocuous.

Fahad argued women's clothes would not fit him properly:

I wouldn't buy a women's t-shirt, that doesn't make sense … like a women's t-shirt will literally have like a "v" and *I* don't need the "v," and it's like slimmer on the waist and like, I don't have that problem … I'm kind of more wide here [gestures to waist] than I am here [gestures to bust].

However, Fahad did admit to occasionally purchasing women's socks after prompting. The other male participants said that they would not be opposed in the abstract to buying women's socks, but had not done so themselves.

Female participants were relatively more comfortable wearing men's clothes, particularly if bought secondhand. Grace delineated again between thrifting and shopping at department stores: "I'm very tunnel vision on the women's side usually, but when I go thrift shopping … the big oversized t-shirts that I wear, I've gotten from the men's section because, like, they're just like, bigger and boxy and that's … what I want." Sylvia agreed: "[B]ecause they're thrift stores, and you don't really know what you're gonna find, the separation doesn't matter as much, because each side is very diverse."

Women generally seemed comfortable wearing men's tops, at least in moderation. However, bottoms were far less popular. Katherine reasoned this had to do with comfort:

I don't think that they would fit me in the way that I would like. … I *like* tight pants … I think knowing that there's fabric there … and like, it's a little bit more constrictive, like restricting, in a way, makes me feel more present. And, like, more present and more … alert I guess.

Sylvia identified a similar impulse toward constrictive fabric as an internalized norm:

> I think generally, a big part of it is just societal expectations for what my gender is … [and] I subconsciously want to fulfill those expectations. And so I think that, like, like the fact that I think I look more attractive when you can see my waist, for example, I'm sure that that's very much because I identify as a woman and societally that is expected as part of what it is to be a woman.

Gender norms constricted women's clothing choices to constrictive bottoms.

Perceptions of what is appropriate to wear as a woman or a man extended beyond choices about one's own dress and toward judgments of others. Imani bifurcated her stereotypes of Harvard fashion into men and women:

> I think a lot of times, like at least when I imagine Harvard students, I think of like, polos, nice jeans or nice pants, and then like some type of, like, laced shoe. And I think that's like my, like, typical idea of like … Harvard male students. And I think Harvard female students, it kind of varies a little bit more, I think, at least in my experience, they tend to be a little more adventurous, so like, whether that be like a dress and heels on like a regular day out or like some type of like cute skirt, or a nice, like, really good pair or nice, really good pair of trousers, things like that. So I think very, like put together—"I'm not overdressed, but you can tell that I put thought into my outfit."

Gabrielle, a Black student from the Northeast, found herself mentally rewarding women who dressed more nicely, which by her description meant more feminine:

> For me, like if I walk into a class … the type of person that would stand out clothing-wise is someone who's dressed up really nicely … like if a girl is, like, wearing a skirt, and like, you know, like, blouse and makeup and hair down and then I'm like, "Oh, wow, like she looks really nice."

When evaluating sartorial autonomy in regards to the specific items of dress accessible to each gender, men drew more rigid boundaries around what is acceptable to wear, but women also drew boundaries—for themselves and for others.

ii. Self-Objectification

As mentioned in the literature review, self-objectification functions as a cultural boundary between oneself and one's idealized self. To measure self-objectification, I

utilized an adapted version of the 12-item Self-Objectification Questionnaire (SOQ).
While I gathered data on the 12-item SOQ because I believed it might better represent
self-objectification across races, I also generated an adjusted 10-item score to compare
survey data to the bulk of existing literature, which uses the 10-item SOQ. To measure
whether there was any meaningful impact of adding skin tone to the 12-item SOQ, I ran a
linear regression on the difference between these two scales, subtracting the 10-item
score from the 12-item SOQ. Nonwhite individuals had a higher score on this difference
scale than white individuals (β = 2.21; p < 0.001), confirming that skin tone is more
important for students of color, and is thus a meaningful construct when considering
self-objectification across races.

When running multivariable regressions controlling for race and gender, I found
that men had a lower score on this difference scale than women (β = -3.29; p < 0.001),
indicating that skin tone is gendered as well as racialized. For these two reasons, I
determined that the 12-item SOQ is methodologically valuable, and decided to focus my
analysis on it rather than the 10-item score, which I will only briefly compare to existing
literature at the end of the subsection.

On the 12-item SOQ, there were statistically significant differences across gender
and race. In a multiple linear regression, women scored significantly higher than men (β
= 9.68; p < 0.001). The difference across gender spanned the "neutral" score of zero on
the SOQ, suggesting that women tend to experience self-objectification, while men tend
not to. Figure 6.4 shows the gender gap in self-objectification.

The other statistically significant identity-based difference was found across race.
In a multivariable regression controlling for gender, white students scored lower (β =

-4.17; $p < 0.05$) than the sample mean. There was a similarly large effect size for Latinx students after controlling for gender ($\beta = 4.56$; $p < 0.05$). In similar multivariable linear regressions, there was not a statistically significant difference for Black ($p = 0.40$) or East Asian ($p = 0.26$) students. Figure 6.5 shows how self-objectification differs across race. Bivariate regressions found marginal statistical significance in the difference between ALA and Harvard students ($\beta = 5.24$; $p < 0.1$), which evaporated after running a multivariable regression controlling for race and gender ($p = 0.37$). There was no statistically significant difference across class ($p = 0.31$) or religion ($p = 0.90$).

Figure 6.4a. Self-Objectification by Gender   **Figure 6.4b. Self-Objectification by Race**
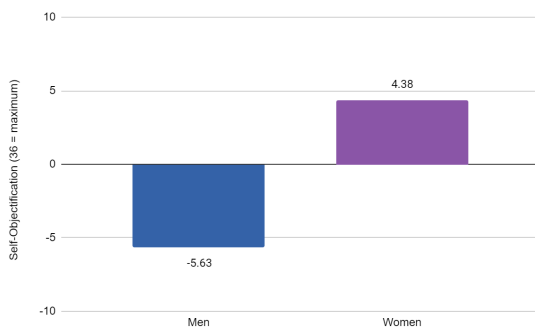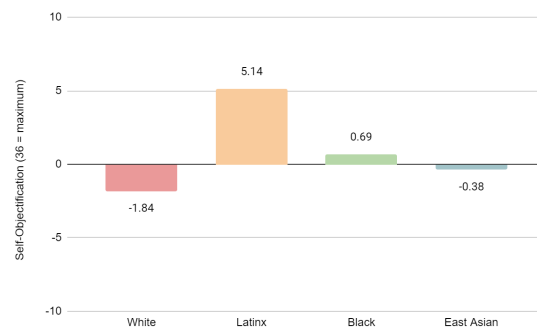
Aside from gender and race, the other significant association was between self-objectification and autonomy. There was a strong negative association between the pre-pandemic autonomy composite scale and the 12-item SOQ ($\beta = -1.52$; $p < 0.001$). Figure 6.5a shows the relationship between these two scales with a binned scatterplot. The association and effect size were both stronger than those between present autonomy and self-objectification ($\beta = -0.84$; $p < 0.05$) depicted in Figure 6.5b. This is intriguing, because the self-objectification questionnaire asked respondents to rate the importance of different factors to their *current* self-concept. The stronger relationship here between pre-pandemic autonomy and present self-objectification may suggest self-objectification is a more durable construct, buffered from the exogenous shock of the pandemic.

Figure 6.5a. Pre-Pandemic Autonomy and Self-Objectification **Figure 6.5b. Present Autonomy and Self-Objectification**
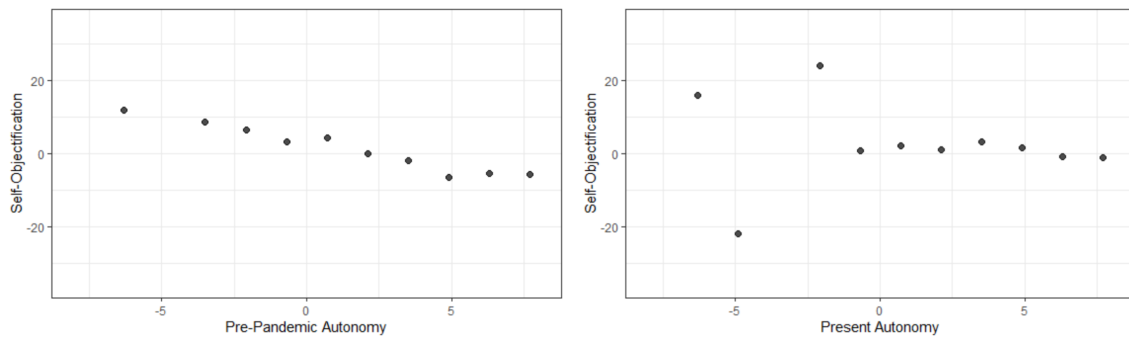
When comparing men's (M = -1.97; SD = 12.05) and women's (M = 2.69; SD = 12.40) mean adjusted 10-item scores to prior studies on college students, I found them to be in line with previous studies, which range between -10.34 and 7.70. In the first study conducted on college students using this scale (Fredrickson et al. 1998), men (M = -3.48; SD = 12.22) and women (M = 1.09; SD = 14.42) in the aggregate both scored slightly lower than this paper's college samples, but on a 50-point scale these scores are still remarkably close, and for each gender, scores fall on the same side of the balanced scale, supporting the presence of self-objectification in women but not in men.

iii. Shift in Pandemic

As covered extensively in Chapter Five's subsection on expanded agency, students dramatically shifted their dress during the pandemic. Women's shifts away from highly gendered apparel (skirts) and adornments (makeup) weakened social boundaries. Anecdotal evidence from students like Juliana on no longer wearing a bra (referenced in Chapter Five) further support the partial degendering effect of the pandemic on fashion. This does not mean that students have abandoned gendered fashion: unisex articles like t-shirts and jeans have gendered fits and cuts, so the absence of gendered articles does not imply the absence of gender altogether. However, students have also shifted away from gender-fitted jeans, and toward looser-fitting unisex articles like sweatpants and pajamas.

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Thus, it appears that ordinary universalism has taken hold, with survey respondents and interviewees alike coalescing around comfortable clothes at the expense of gender differentiation.

6.3 Masks

The introduction of masks and mask mandates to society restricted the autonomy of individuals. In so doing, while clothing receded as a marker of difference and judgment, masks replaced dress as a site for boundary work. Moral judgments of non-wearers and attitudinal approaches to conflict percolated as interesting patterns.

Boundaries

When detailing their thoughts on those who do not wear masks, interviewees (n = 41) engaged in i) moral boundaries, ii) cultural boundaries, and iii) non-boundaries. There were significant gender differences between women (n = 29) and men (n = 12).

i. Moral: Public Duty

One of the most common perceptions of non-maskers was that they were selfish or otherwise incapable of moral reasoning. Over half of women in the group (55 percent) used such a frame to separate themselves from non-maskers. Katherine invoked the language of looking out for your neighbors:

> [I]t seems like a disregard for public health and … the wellbeing of one's neighbors, because I think that a mask isn't necessarily going to protect you as an individual, but it kind of protects everyone else … it says something about, like, watching out for your, like fellow citizens or just fellow like neighbors.

Daisy, a high-income white student from the Midwest, assumed that non-maskers were fully aware of their actions: "I see [it] as being a pretty conscientious like, pretty intentional decision that impacts other people negatively." Juliana, a Latinx student from the South, interpreted malice in their non-masking: "I just think it's so selfish and like,

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borderline, like not to say *evil*, but like … yeah." A lesser proportion of men (25 percent) drew moral boundaries, suggesting a gender gap in how individuals judge others for not doing their public duty. This could be directly linked to men's greater autonomy in their perceived choice whether or not to wear a mask, or could be more broadly linked to a gendered concept of individualism. Women, on the other hand, may be more likely to adhere to an ethic of communitarianism and to expect others to make personal sacrifices for the greater good.

In addition to this gender gap, there was also a stark race gap, with Black participants (n = 9) more likely than other participants to draw moral boundaries, and white participants (n = 17) less likely to do so. Four-fifths of Black participants (77 percent) judged non-wearers as selfish, while only a third of white participants did the same (35 percent). Madison, a high-income Black student from the Northeast, challenged the logic of the "freedom" argument that non-maskers use: "Sure, you can argue that, like, people are taking away your freedom, but like, you're also taking away the freedom and rights and just like the general safety of like, everyone around you, so it's not really, it's not really reasonable."

ii. Cultural: Uninformed

While women were more likely to draw moral boundaries around masking, men were more likely to draw cultural boundaries. A third of men (33 percent) used a cultural frame, while only a fifth of women (21 percent) did the same. There were no perceptible differences across race. Lucia, a Black and Latinx student from the Midwest, assumed non-maskers were severely uninformed: "When I think of those who don't wear masks, I think they are probably uneducated, and have some deeply rooted issues that they need to

face." David, an East Asian and white student from the Northeast, blamed non-maskers for not taking the time to research the effectiveness of masking:

> I think it's uneducated, um, I don't mean to be judgy. But I think like, yeah … if you like, had looked into the data, or looked into like, what the experts were saying, you'd say, like, "Oh, like, I should just wear a mask." And so like, even like, whether you're selfish or not selfish, like, you would just say, like, "Oh, like, this is like, the personally smart thing to do."

These participants drew cultural boundaries between themselves and non-maskers, making assumptions about their intelligence and awareness.

Separate from accusations of ignorance, some men noted a gendered aspect of mask-wearing, and harshly judged other men who opted not to mask for reasons of masculinity. Carl, a white student from the Northeast, challenged the logic of such thinking: "I find it rather ridiculous, the reports that some people think it's not masculine to wear a mask. Yeah, I just think it's very stupid … it's, it's not unmasculine to wear pants or a shirt, so." Casey agreed, tying cis-masculinity to an obsession with freedom:

> I hate to use the term toxic masculinity, but I feel like a lot of men view it as like, *emasculating*, for some stupid reason. And there's this whole, like, "it takes away our rights." And you definitely hear that less often from women, about being up in arms about their rights being stripped away from them. … It's interesting, because I think it's just like, it's, it's *guys*, right? Like, it's not even like, you know, people who identify as like, transgender or non-binary, like they are also going to be on the mask-wearing side, but it's literally just *guys*.

By drawing these boundaries, men protected their status as masculine, while rejecting other men as culturally deficient.

iv. Conflict Avoidance

A few participants avoided drawing boundaries between themselves and those who did not wear masks, instead ignoring such behavior. Here, there was once again a gender gap, with one woman (3 percent) avoiding conflict, and a third of men (33 percent) doing the same. Hamid, a white student from the West, evoked a sense of

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individualism in his response, noting "you have to, like, appreciate that people have, like, rights to do the things that they want to do." Alex, an East Asian student from the South, agreed: "I don't think I would ever ask someone to wear a mask. … I can perfectly understand in given circumstances if people didn't want to wear a mask, especially in outdoor locations." Derrick, a South Asian student from Canada, tried to "reason away" their choices, to avoid having to make a judgment:

> I try to reason away when people aren't wearing masks generally as like, "oh, maybe" … And again, it keeps me from, like, being more upset perhaps than, than, maybe I should [be] … So, so mostly I try to reason it away in terms of thinking maybe they're just not aware of what the latest update has been, like maybe they think it's okay to not wear it when you're outside and socially distanced. Or I think maybe there's some sort of condition that they have that keeps them from wearing a mask, like whether that's a breathing issue [or] masks not being wearable for them for some reason. I'm not really sure what the reasons are, but I think I generally try to reason it away.

Tomas, a Latinx student from the South, just ignored them altogether: "I mean, I try not to think about them too much." Jake *did* judge non-maskers through a cultural boundary, but also affirmed their right to make their own decisions: "I think it's a stupid choice. I mean, I respect their decision, but it's uh, I just think it's kind of reckless." In this manner, male participants showed a much stronger tendency to accept the decisions of non-maskers as legitimate choices.

Attitude

While men were less likely to draw moral boundaries—and more likely to avoid drawing boundaries altogether—when they did draw boundaries, they evoked stronger sentiments of anger than women interviewees. Women, on the other hand, were more likely to find compassion for non-maskers, despite their prevailing tendency to draw moral boundaries between themselves and these strangers.

i. Anger

Almost half of men (42 percent) conveyed anger when judging non-wearers, while less than a third of women (28 percent) did the same. Casey quickly grew furious:

> Oh, it's *infuriating*, because like, like people I know, that were perfectly healthy, got sick and died from this. Like, it's horrible. And like, I'm a college student who just wants to go to school, and like, live a normal life. … So it's like infuriating to like, deal with that. Because like, people I know are getting sick or are severely immunocompromised, like my aunt has stage four cancer, and it's like, these people desperately need to be protected … so it very much upsets me.

Ryan was measured, but forceful in his response: "[I]t makes me angry. It just seems like a lack of respect for other people and … not caring enough to do basic things to keep people around you safe."

ii. Compassion

Meanwhile, a little over a third of the women (34 percent) conveyed some sense of understanding when judging non-wearers, a greater proportion than the few men (14 percent) who did so. Lily acknowledged the discomfort of masking:

> I know that it is uncomfortable. Like for people who say like, "masks aren't uncomfortable," that's just I think objectively false. However, I think that there's like, you just have to make this trade-off, for your own sake, but then also for all these other people's sakes. … I understand the uncomfortable, like, argument, I think you should just continue to wear masks.

Angela empathized with those who felt bound by the obligation to wear a mask: "I understand the arguments of like, personal freedom … but I feel like in this case, it's like public safety that really comes first, especially when it's something so contagious as this." Layla, a Black and white student from the Northeast, recognized that acquiring a mask may be difficult for some: "I understand if you don't have access to a mask … but I think for the most part that if you can wear a mask, like you should make the effort to do so." These attempts to understand those across the boundary are suggestive of a gendered accommodation, whereby women are conditioned to forgive or excuse bad behavior.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, I evaluated how students engaged in sartorial boundary work along class and gender lines, and how boundaries shifted during the pandemic. Before the pandemic, I found that norms around Harvard fashion followed a top-down model, with expensive brands a crucial component of the standard, archetypical outfit. This loosely supports the theories of Veblen (1899) and Simmel (1957) insofar as wealthier strata set norms, but findings diverge on the issue of emulation. While almost every interviewee owned a branded item of dress that they would consider part of the campus norm, low-income students owned far fewer articles than high-income students, opting for one or two statement pieces like the traditional "H" sweater. Further, low-income participants rarely wore their expensive items, due to a perception of inevitable exclusion from the campus archetype. As a result, low-income students (and some high-income students) drew moral boundaries between themselves and the wearers of expensive brands, culminating in social boundaries of dress. While such derogation might be perceived as evidence of a bottom-up model, it bears repeating that despite these moral boundaries, expensive brands were still acknowledged as the dominant campus norm.

I would argue that findings more closely follow Bourdieu's (1984) habitus, in which one's tastes are developed in reaction to one's place within a field. Low-income students' reluctance to wear high-end brands fits with the theory of habitus. It is also worth noting that Harvard is a high-status community, with many students coming from high-income families or expecting to soon make significant amounts of money and exert leadership in society. Thus, in Bourdieusian terms, the field of Harvard is relatively independent from the rest of society, while bottom-up theories may better describe wider

fashion trends. At Harvard, however, an entrenched high-status culture legitimizes expensive brands, reassuring affluent students and stabilizing high-end fashion.

One bottom-up theory did hold at Harvard: not only did low-income students engage in thrifting, but some high-income students adopted this shopping experience. This followed Steward's (2017) findings, wherein a high-income subgroup utilized thrifting as a source for aesthetic and creative wardrobes, drawing symbolic boundaries between themselves and other high-income individuals. By appropriating consumption and presentation habits of low-income individuals, this high-income subgroup facilitated a bottom-up flow of fashion.

During the pandemic, with tastes freed from the shackles of social interaction, sartorial boundaries along class and gender lines dissipated. As students adjusted to the initial shock of the pandemic, their dress loosened, disrupting social boundaries. With this new universalism, students realized isolation meant they were no longer vulnerable to constant social judgment for their dress, and their autonomy expanded. This facilitated the dilution of symbolic boundaries: as others shifted toward comfortable loungewear, students did not report any feelings of judgment or disapproval, sustaining further erosion of social boundaries. Even where social boundaries remained visible, as in the case of AirPods, students seemingly withheld judgment.

This supports my theory that autonomy is conceptually linked with boundary work: when individuals feel a lack of control over their own choices, they externalize this discomfort as resentment for others who have or do what the individual cannot, whether wearing a Canada Goose jacket or breaking a dress code. Latching onto social boundaries one feels unable to cross, they draw symbolic boundaries to justify and rationalize their

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position, harshly judging those experimenting with or settled on the other side. In doing so, they further entrench these boundaries as rigid in others' eyes, contributing to a cycle of boundary work and autonomy deprivation, as illustrated in Figure 6.6. When the pandemic struck, it reversed this cycle, first sparked by the sudden absence of external judgment and then accelerated by a concomitant rise in autonomy.

Figure 6.6. The Cycle of Autonomy and Boundaries[26]
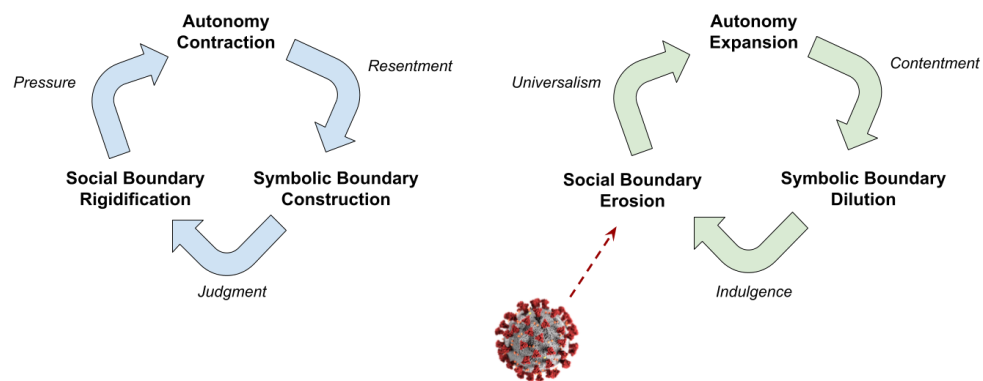
The pandemic's identified cycle of autonomy expansion and diluted boundaries *does not* provide evidence of the theorized cycle in "normal" times—this would presume reverse causality. Fortunately, the introduction of masks as a nonautonomous item of dress offers insight into how constrained sartorial autonomy inculcates boundary work. Mask-wearers consistently judged non-wearers, drawing stringent moral and cultural boundaries between themselves and those who do not wear masks. While the type of boundaries drawn and attitudes expressed by interviewees matched gender expectations, participants who themselves felt particularly pressured to wear a mask judged non-maskers more harshly. In this manner, constrained autonomy generated new symbolic boundaries further dividing society.

Of the three reduction strategies (ordinary universalism, a plurality of criteria of worth, and destigmatizing the stigmatized) categorized by Lamont (2019), ordinary

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[26] Coronavirus illustration sourced from Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2020).

universalism best described shifts in sartorial boundary work, as survey respondents' and interviewees' dress largely converged across gender and class lines. This runs slightly counter to Bem's (1995) theory that "turning up the volume" on gender expression is the best strategy to mitigate the dominance of gender on society; however, evidence from Chapter Five suggests that not only is the pandemic a unique circumstance, but its effects on autonomy and agency are only temporary—so Bem may still be right that ordinary universalism is an unsustainable goal for gender deconstructivists.

If a commonalities approach is to succeed, it must focus on unisex clothes that are masculine: based on the high school survey and college interview data, male youth still avoid "women's clothes." In childhood, boys are often shamed for experimenting with feminine dress, which constrains their autonomy and identity development (Bryan 2012; Foresta 2016; Musolf 1996). Findings on the link between present self-objectification and pre-pandemic autonomy support the notion that some deleterious gender effects for women are also durable, even in a pandemic. Accentuated racial and gender gaps on the 12-item SOQ suggest it is better suited to intersectionally measure self-objectification than the standard 10-item SOQ.

A third worrisome gender effect found in this study, the gender gap in environmental consideration, supports existing literature on *system justification theory*, a psychological inclination to defend or rationalize status quo systems in order to avoid insecurities and uncertainties associated with change. Men consistently engage in greater system justification than women, which has negative ramifications on environmental consideration in consumption (Clements 2012; Goldsmith, Feygina, and Jost 2013). While the pandemic has expanded youth sartorial autonomy and agency and weakened sartorial boundaries, making serious inroads against gender disparities in these meaningful constructs, gender gaps in certain psychological processes remain stable.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Until … social conditions are radically changed, freedom will require unfreedom, and autonomy is implicated in subjection. If the social world … must change for [agency] to become possible, then individual choice will prove to be dependent from the start on conditions that none of us author at will, and no individual will be able to choose outside the context of a radically altered social world.

—Judith Butler (2004:101)[27]

In this thesis, I set out to build theory on how youth dress, and how this everyday choice affects personal and group identity development. By investigating the sartorial decisions of three populations of youth during the pandemic, I make four contributions to sociological research. After addressing these contributions in turn, I suggest avenues for future research.

7.1 Contributions

Clothing Matters

The first contribution of this thesis is the generalized finding that clothing matters: it matters on a quotidian level as youth decide what to wear in the morning, and it matters on a deeply personal level as clothes come not only to reflect, but to define one's identity. Students' gender and socioeconomic status are expressed through their dress, and their understandings of what it means to be attractive, to be stylish, and even to be moral are all shaped by their and their peers' wardrobes.

Sartorial decisions have personal and public consequences. At the individual level, a student's choice to dress "provocatively" leaves them vulnerable to judgment and institutional reprimands. Another student's decision to dress comfortably may diminish

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[27] Butler uses "autonomy" to describe both autonomy and agency as defined in this paper. The brackets replace Butler's use of "autonomy" with "agency" when appropriate.

their energy and feelings of productivity, in line with the enclothed cognition theory. At the group level, a group of students' collective decision to frequent an unsustainable department store instead of a thrift shop has ramifications for environmental pollution. That same friend group's decision later that night to take their masks off when socializing has implications for the transmission of COVID-19, and the duration of the pandemic. At the societal level, youth clothing choices generate symbolic boundaries along class and gender lines that create and recreate social inequality. While this thesis focuses on youth, these decisions hold significance for adults as well, making clothing an important topic of study: despite its frills, fashion is *not* frivolous.

Distinguishing Freedom, Autonomy, and Agency

Given the importance of sartorial decisions, the processes that affect how one decides what to wear merit deeper inspection. A suite of limiting conditions affect one's sartorial decisions, most having the effect of restricting one's option set, influencing one's strategic choices, or influencing one's internal values. By delineating between these three kinds of limitations, a triad of self-determination emerges: freedom is the capacity to act without external intervention; agency is the capacity to act without external influences; and autonomy is an individual's perception of their capacity to act without constraint. Elisions between these concepts befuddle critical analysis, in the realm of fashion and beyond. Agency seems intuitively meaningful from a moral standpoint, particularly given nonagency's propensity to result in self-destructive decisions. Autonomy, or feelings of agency, has repeatedly been shown in studies to be linked to reported happiness and measures of well-being. Freedom is the most developed of the three concepts in public discourse, and has guided the trajectory of both leading political parties in the country.

This paper finds distinctions in these dimensions of self-determination as they relate to youth sartorial decisions. When a dress code imposes limitations on what skirt lengths are acceptable for girls—a restriction on student freedom—some girls may still feel empowered to wear skirts that violate the dress code, maintaining autonomy. Others who anticipate punishment for rulebreaking either alter their behavior or mentally prepare to get caught, wearing anxiety alongside their skirts. For these students, autonomy is constrained. The dress code's gendered language defining *who* cannot wear a short skirt entrenches an assumption of gendered dress that operates as one of the countless covert influences undermining agency.

Even when there are no restrictions limiting freedom, one's decision criteria have varying levels of autonomy and agency, depending on the origin of each criterion and the extent to which (if external) it has been internalized. Before the pandemic, interviewees tended to assert that the desire to look presentable was based on their own deeply held, personal values, even as these values were clearly influenced by external standards of beauty. This suggests autonomy in the face of diminished agency. Indeed, after the pandemic struck and social interactions decreased, these interviewees acknowledged that "looking good" had lost its importance, revealing a shift in their purportedly deeply held, personal values as soon as social conditions changed.

Beyond differences in the dimensions themselves, there are stark differences in how students experience these dimensions, most clearly seen along gender lines. Girls and young women face greater autonomy constraints in almost every regard, from dress codes to parental judgment, from concerns of style to a desire to look attractive. This may seem intuitive, but identifying and labelling these distortionary effects on women as

serious constraints on decisions (despite *de facto* neutral laws and policies) helps emphasize the gravitas of their impact, and legitimizes attempts to address them.

Distinguishing between these three dimensions has utility beyond sartorial decisions, for theory more broadly and even for policy interventions. When signifying the importance of concepts like structuration or habitus, sociologists would benefit from emphasizing their impact on agency—and how their non-effect on freedom (and often autonomy) renders these constraints invisible, making them far more pernicious. Further, tension between these dimensions appears inevitable. For those who have already developed deformed desires, rebuilding agency may come at the expense of autonomy, at least in the short term—shown by the performativity group in Chapter Five. As noted in the epigraph, true freedom (in our language, agency) will require *unfreedom*: if we believe agency is good, or that we should at the very least address gender gaps in agency which exacerbate inequality, then we need to constrain people's option sets via restrictions (e.g., legal constraints) or influences (e.g., tax incentives).

By re-interpreting habituation as an agency-constraining condition akin to addiction, the government may be justified in mitigating gender disparities that arise from socialization. For example, the government could disincentivize mothers from shouldering the burden of childcare by offering extended paternal leave specifically for fathers, an approach taken in Sweden that shifted childcare as well as identification with hegemonic masculinity (Almqvist 2008). In the realm of fashion, the government could make inroads against the "pink tax," extra costs shouldered by women for buying women-typed products (see Brand et al. 2020), by instituting an official "blue tax" for all men-typed products. Alternatively, the government could tax all clothing stores that sell

gendered products, incentivizing both outlets and thrift shops to merge their gendered articles into one amorphous category. The government could even tax the production of gendered goods made in the United States, and the import of gendered goods made elsewhere. Apart from government interventions, schools could mandate gender-neutral uniforms, mitigating the gender binary and financial costs of "free" fashion. None of these reforms are likely to happen in the near future, but mainstreaming understandings of agency deprivation could be a first step in mobilizing public support for interventions.

Enriching Boundary Work

Understanding the three dimensions constraining choices enriches boundary work by articulating the processes undergirding individuals' decisions—decisions which are essential to the creation of social boundaries and the invocation of symbolic boundaries. The pandemic demonstrated a conceptual linkage between autonomy, agency, and sartorial boundaries, which may be extrapolated to linkages between self-determination and boundary work more generally.

Most of the sartorial boundaries students drew pre-pandemic dissipated as students gained autonomy over their sartorial decisions. The initial shock of isolation from peers shifted students' dress toward more comfortable clothes. Free from social judgment, (most) students felt liberated to dress to their liking. As they grew increasingly empowered, the motivations underlying their previously drawn boundaries receded, such that students no longer felt the need or impulse to categorize others based on their dress. In fact, most students could not recall what their peers wear on Zoom for remote learning. It is this positive feedback loop from which the title is derived: as students dress down, they stop looking down on others, and things begin to look up.

Conversely, as masks were introduced as a mechanism to mitigate transmission risk of COVID-19, they became a highly visible social boundary. Pro-mask students began to draw rigid symbolic boundaries between themselves and non-maskers, whom they saw as less moral and less educated. The pandemic offered two opposing directional shifts in autonomy, and in both cases boundaries proceeded to follow the change in autonomy. This finding should be tested in future research on other forms of boundary work to determine whether this relationship holds as an essential conceptual linkage. If so, then this association should be integrated into academic work on boundary reduction.

Social Change in Unsettled Times

Absent government interventions, according to Butler, agency will be out of reach until we find ourselves in a "radically altered social world": cue the pandemic. When COVID-19 struck Greater Boston, high schools and colleges alike ceased in-person gatherings, and students entered into a period of social distance and relative isolation unprecedented in their lifetimes. In the aggregate, the pandemic's upheaval did expand agency and autonomy while reducing boundary work. However, contextual exceptions, individual holdouts, and projected expectations all limit the potential of the pandemic (and future unsettled times) to sustainably shift agency, autonomy, and boundary work in a progressive direction.

First, it is important to note that the pandemic did have a large effect on student dress and sartorial decisions, with notable shifts in what students reported wearing for school and at home. The rhetoric of students revealed that before the pandemic, most were not, in fact, dressing for themselves, and that most felt more empowered to do so

when shielded from social interactions. Further, the pre-pandemic gender gap in sartorial agency narrowed, and the gender gap in sartorial autonomy evaporated.

However, shifts in dress were somewhat contextually dependent on social interactions: while students *did* wear less stylish clothes on their Zoom screens than they had back on campus, shifts in their off-screen clothing below the waist were far more dramatic. This indicates that while social pressures to dress stylishly and attractively did recede during the pandemic, they did not evaporate altogether in the presence of others. Thus, an unsettled time being unsettled is insufficient to expand sartorial agency and autonomy; rather, the particularities of this unsettled time (i.e., decreased social interaction) were primarily responsible for shifts in sartorial self-determination. To the degree that social pressure was reduced in social interactions during the pandemic, ordinary universalism may be to thank: when others are dressing down, it is easier to justify dressing down as well. A pessimistic interpretation is that this universalism is simply conformity repackaged; however, autonomous language from interviews suggests that most participants perceived the pandemic as a time of lessened social pressure.

Two subgroups of students did not feel empowered during the pandemic to wear what they want: the unmotivated and the performers. Pre-pandemic, the unmotivated relied on social pressure to dress "nicely," which they acknowledged is important for productivity—yet in the pandemic, they were unable to bring themselves to dress as such without external eyes. In their responses, performers revealed a deformed desire to dress for others so deeply internalized that without others watching, they felt unable to wear what they want. They deprived themselves of the clothing they enjoy, because without the pleasure of being seen, the clothing was not worth the physical discomfort. Survey

data revealed that students' current self-objectification is more closely linked to pre-pandemic autonomy than current autonomy. This suggests that the pandemic was unable to affect internalized self-objectification. Because self-objectification continued to pervade students' consciousness during the pandemic, the performativity group suffered from lower self-esteem as they shifted away from their pre-pandemic attire.

Finally, while aggregate shifts in autonomy and agency were demonstrable during the pandemic, students anticipate a return to pre-pandemic attire once the pandemic ends. This indicates that changes in self-determination are temporary, short-circuited by the prediction that society will return to "normal" after social isolation ceases. For an unsettled time to expand sartorial agency and autonomy, it must not only decrease social interactions, but do so in a manner that appears permanent. Within that radically altered social world, true agency may finally emerge.

7.2 Future Research

Without diminishing the significance of these findings and the effort that went into this original dataset, there are clear areas of weakness and remaining questions that should be addressed in future research. Most revolve around crafting a statistically stronger study that can better test the theories developed and extended in this paper.

First, while I used random sampling methods in both survey and interview recruitment, the samples I obtained were not representative of the target populations, especially along gender lines. Aware that women may be more likely to have interest in the subject matter than men, I utilized purposefully vague language in recruitment emails and offered a financial stipend for completion. Neither of these efforts were sufficient to prevent a gender gap in self-selection. While additional methods to reduce self-selection

bias may have greater success, to guarantee proportionality, future research on youth sartorial decision-making could either conduct stratified sampling across gender or leverage the institutional power of schools to mandate full participation. The former is preferable to the latter, as the latter might precipitate intentionally false responses (as well as violate research ethics). In order to gather a large enough sample to make inferential claims about individuals who are gender-fluid or identify outside of the binary, future research should adopt snowball sampling to recruit participants, or offer a greater financial incentive for completion.

Second, while the Harvard sample attended a wide range of high schools, they are not representative of the student bodies from those schools. The two high schools where I focused my research have distinct dress codes as well as varied racial and socioeconomic demographics. This allowed for interesting analysis across schools, but the very finding that made this interesting—that each of these influences combine to affect freedom, autonomy, and agency—implies that one cannot generalize from these samples to all American high school youth. Investigating other kinds of schools, whether private, single-gender, or located elsewhere in the United States, would enable richer analysis. Research seeking to test the effect of dress code policies on sartorial freedom, autonomy, and agency should identify two schools with similar demographics to minimize variation in other independent variables. Additionally, investigating students at a younger age, whether in adolescence or childhood, would further understandings of fashion's early impacts on identity development.

Third, while my survey questions were carefully constructed, I sacrificed survey length and controversial content (e.g., information on politics) in order to ensure approval

from high school administrators. On the survey, collection of additional demographic information would facilitate more intricate analysis of potential factors—for instance, students' political leanings, adherence to hegemonic masculinity constructs, and family composition. The scales used to measure autonomy and agency should also be refined. The autonomy scale subtracts the stated importance of gender, style, conformity, and attractiveness from the stated importance of comfort and ease. By measuring the stated importance of these criteria, the scale captures students' awareness of these influences—however, it does not measure whether these influences are perceived as external or internal. Future research should improve this scale by asking a follow-up question of whether these criteria are based primarily on others' values or based on one's own values.

The agency scale was specifically designed for remote learning during the pandemic, in which the camera angle obscures visibility of students' bodies, and thus clothing, below the waist. In a post-pandemic, in-person learning environment, future research should either measure shifts from this sample to their sample, or develop a new operationalization of agency that would capture more fine-grain distinctions in dress. For instance, future research could develop a scale that measures tightness of clothes, amount of skin exposure, and use of adornments, and track how these dimensions have shifted from middle school to high school or from high school to college.

Finally, there are identity characteristics and topics of interest on which I did gather data, but they did not make it into this final thesis. Among them are the use of clothing as a tool to signal sexuality in LGBTQ+ communities, the gendered aspect of homemade mask production, willingness to wear non-aesthetic masks and the rise of

masks as a fashion statement, religion's interaction with dress codes and conformity in a primarily secular fashion environment, and shifts in clothing consumption during the pandemic. All of these may be interesting topics for future research.

7.3 Closing

When starting this project, I did not anticipate a global pandemic would upend schooling, dampen social interactions, and disrupt fashion. At times, this research seemed inconsequential relative to the state of the world. Yet every time my confidence waned, a reminder would appear: a conversation with a friend about their parents' stay-at-home workwear; an article about failed attempts to enforce remote dress code policies; a non-masking passerby on the street. Fashion is an aspect of our everyday interactions, and the choices we make—intentional or not—have consequences for how we see others, how others see us, and how we see ourselves.

I began this research with a deeply embedded belief that agency is an *a priori* concern: if we are unfree from the influences of others, and not aware of this unfreedom, then how are we to know the extent of the limits that hold us back from being our true selves? Through the work that led to this paper, and the tragedies of the pandemic, I came to the realization that agency may not be the right goal if it requires divorcing ourselves from all social interactions. The isolation many experienced during the pandemic was a trial no one should have to endure. A return to "normal" post-pandemic, even if it results in a return to pre-pandemic attire, is still the objective for most participants. At this point, I have come to agree.

Still, I hope that the pandemic has taught us lessons we can utilize in future sartorial decisions; particularly, that our dress affects not only us, but others' perceptions

of us, themselves, and the world around them. Even if we make autonomous choices, they may not be agentic—and they may have the unintended effect of constraining others' choices. The question is no longer whether we will maintain pandemic attire; this thesis has answered that question resoundingly. Rather, the question is whether we can, from this study, begin to recognize the constraints that shape our sartorial decisions, and better rationalize our choices. So I ask of you: why do you wear what you wear—and for whom do you wear it?

Appendices

Appendix A: Panel Pre-Interview Survey (2019)

Default Question Block

Q1. What is your name?

[   ]

Q2. What is your email?

[   ]

Q3. Would you be willing/able to bring a device with images of you from high school to the interview? Social media or stored images are fine.

◯ Yes
◯ No

Q4. How do you identify your gender?

[   ]

Q5. Did you attend a high school in the United States?

☐ Yes - District Public School
☐ Yes - Charter / Magnet School
☐ Yes - Private School
☐ No

Q6. According to U.S. Census Bureau data, the 2018 median annual household income was $61,937. Based on your best estimate, would you say that your family's median annual household income while you were in high school was:

○ Significantly above this median income.

○ Above this median income.

○ Roughly around this median income.

○ Below this median income.

○ Significantly below this median income.

○ Rather Not Say

Q7. About how often do you make a clothes purchase in college?

○ Never / less than once a semester.

○ Once a semester.

○ Two or three times a semester.

○ Once or twice a month.

○ Once a week / more often.

Appendix B: Panel Recruitment Email (2019)

Email subject: **Complete Brief Survey, Get $10 For *Fun* 30m Interview**

Hi [Insert House Name]!

Do you **wear clothes?** Did you **go to high school?** Do you **go to Harvard?**

If so, you're qualified to get **$10 for a 30-minute interview** about your clothing consumption. Just **fill out this brief 1-minute survey.**

Interview is private and de-identified data will go into a thesis.

Thanks!

Appendix C: Interviewee Characteristics

	Interview Group	Grade	Gender	Race	Class	Region
Abigail	Pandemic ('21)	2021	Female	White	High-Income	Northeast
Alex	Pandemic ('21)	2023	Male	East Asian	High-Income	South
Alyssa	Pandemic ('21)	2023	Female	Black	High-Income	South
Amy	Pandemic ('21)	2020	Female	East Asian	High-Income	Northeast
Angela	Pandemic ('21)	2022	Female	East Asian	High-Income	Northeast
April	Pandemic ('21)	2021	Female	White	High-Income	Northeast
Carl	Pandemic ('21)	2022	Male	White	High-Income	Northeast
Carrie	Pandemic ('21)	2022	Female	White	High-Income	West
Casey	Panel ('19, '20)	2022	Male	White	Low-Income	Midwest
Cindy	Pandemic ('21)	2023	Female	East Asian	High-Income	Northeast
Daisy	Pandemic ('21)	2023	Female	White	High-Income	Midwest
David	Pandemic ('21)	2024	Male	E. Asn., Wht.	High-Income	Northeast
Derrick	Pandemic ('21)	2021	Male	South Asian	High-Income	Canada
Eric	Panel ('19, '20)	2021	Male	White	Low-Income	Midwest
Fahad	Panel ('19, '20)	2022	Male	South Asian	Low-Income	Northeast
Gabrielle	Pandemic ('21)	2022	Female	Black	High-Income	Northeast
Grace	Panel ('19, '20)	2021	Female	East Asian	High-Income	Midwest

Hamid	Pandemic ('21)	2022	Male	White	High-Income	West
Hannah	Panel ('19)	2021	Female	White	High-Income	Northeast
Imani	Pandemic ('21)	2023	Female	Black	High-Income	Southwest
Jafnah	Pandemic ('21)	2023	Female	South Asian	High-Income	West
Jake	Pandemic ('21)	2023	Male	White	High-Income	South
Jane	Pandemic ('21)	2022	Female	East Asian	High-Income	South
Juliana	Pandemic ('21)	2023	Female	Latinx	High-Income	South
Katherine	Panel ('19, '20)	2021	Female	Latinx, White	High-Income	West
Layla	Pandemic ('21)	2022	Female	Black, White	High-Income	Northeast
Lily	Panel ('19, '20)	2021	Female	East Asian	High-Income	Northeast
Lucia	Pandemic ('21)	2022	Female	Black, Latinx	Low-Income	Midwest
Madison	Pandemic ('21)	2021	Female	Black	High-Income	Northeast
Maggie	Panel ('19, '20)	2021	Female	White	Low-Income	Northeast
Maria	Pandemic ('21)	2023	Female	Latinx	Low-Income	Southwest
Mary	Panel ('19)	2022	Female	White	High-Income	West
Olivia	Pandemic ('21)	2023	Female	E. Asn., Wht.	High-Income	West
Patrick	Panel ('19, '20)	2021	Male	White	Low-Income	Northeast
Pauline	Pandemic ('21)	2021	Female	Black	High-Income	Northeast

Radhika	Pandemic ('21)	2021	Female	South Asian	High-Income	West
Rebecca	Panel ('19, '20)	2020	Female	White	High-Income	West
Ryan	Pandemic ('21)	2021	Male	East Asian	Low-Income	Midwest
Sharon	Pandemic ('21)	2023	Female	Black	High-Income	Northeast
Shayan	Panel ('19)	2022	Male	Indigenous	Low-Income	Southwest
Suzie	Pandemic ('21)	2021	Female	Latinx	Low-Income	South
Sylvia	Panel ('19)	2021	Female	White	Low-Income	West
Taylor	Pandemic ('21)	2022	Female	Blk., E. Asn.	High-Income	Northeast
Tomas	Pandemic ('21)	2021	Male	Latinx	Low-Income	South
Vivian	Panel ('19, '20)	2021	Female	East Asian	High-Income	West

Appendix D: Panel Interview Guide (2019)

Let's start with your experience at Harvard.
1. What year are you in college?
2. What's your concentration?
3. Can you describe to me what you're wearing now?
    a. How did you decide to wear these clothes today?
4. How would you describe your clothing style?
    a. Are there any particular styles or fashions you follow?
    b. Where do you get inspiration for your fashion?
    c. Where do you usually get new clothes?
5. Do you shop with others or by yourself?
    a. Have your friends shown you any new brands or places to get clothing?
    b. How do you pay for the clothes you buy in college?
    c. Would you say you spend more, less, or about the same money on clothes in college as you did in high school?
6. What are the most common words you'd associate with Harvard students and fashion?
    a. Do you or your friends meet these stereotypes?
    b. Are these stereotypes accurate of the broader Harvard community?
    c. What do you think about people who wear these clothes?
    d. Do you own any of these clothes? Why do you buy but not wear them?
7. Are there any clothes that you would never buy?
    a. Why not? What do you think it says when someone else wears these clothes to class?
8. Would you say your style of fashion has changed since high school?
    a. What do you think led to this change?

Now we're going to scroll through your old social media. I want you to find three photos of you in everyday clothes you might have worn to school, and we can talk about them.
9. Where did you go to high school?
    a. What kind of school was it?
10. Do you remember the dress code in your high school?
    a. Can you tell me which parts you remember?
    b. Did you or any of your friends ever have any run-ins with the dress code?
    c. What did you think about others who violated the dress code?
11. Did you ever clash with your parents about what you wore to school?
12. How would you compare your high school closet to those of your high school friends?
    a. Did you shop together more or less often than in college?
    b. How would you pay for clothes?
13. When shopping, either in high school or now, have you ever bought clothing from the [men/women]'s side of the store? Have you ever bought unisex clothing?

That concludes my questions.
14. Are there any other things you think we didn't cover about dress that we should?

Appendix E: Interview Guidelines

1. **Maintaining Engagement**

    a. Use active listening techniques: nod along, smile slightly (when it is appropriate to do so), and when asking questions, restate what you heard them say prior.

    b. Do not cut off interviewee or interrupt their train of thought. It's more important to have the interviewee answer questions fully and feel valued than to get through every single question.

2. **Avoiding Bias**

    a. While appropriate to nod head and encourage continued responses, do not verbally agree with direct statements the interviewee says or influence their responses by showing any strong reactions.

    b. Dress inconspicuously in clothing that does not suggest any particular commitments to gendered or branded fashion (see below for what I wore).

3. **Zoom Addendum:**

    a. Select a location for the video call that is private, without any auditory distractions. The background itself should be muted, without any loud or disorienting visuals like color-changing lights. It should also be neutral.

    b. Be *extra* active in listening to keep interviewee engaged. Can't use physical body language, so emphasize facial reactions. Raise eyebrows, smile, nod head, etc.

    c. If the screen freezes, be discreet, and hope the internet stabilizes. If there is a gap longer than five seconds, wait until the interviewee finishes their answer. Once they finish their answer, let them know that there was a slight interruption in the internet, and tell them the last phrase / string of words that was audible.

    d. If connection is lost altogether, email the participant and ask them to try rejoin. When they rejoin, acknowledge that Zoom is imperfect and that their patience is appreciated. Restate the last question and their response to return to the conversation's initial flow.

Tops:

Bottoms:

Appendix F: Panel Re-Interview Recruitment Email (2020)

Email Subject: **Follow-up from 2019 clothing interview - $10!**

Hi!

I hope this finds you well :) Reaching out because you participated in a research project I began last year on clothing, which included a 30-minute interview on your style, campus fashion, and purchasing habits.

I'm conducting informal follow-up interviews over the next few weeks via Zoom; if you're available for a 20-30 minute interview, I'd love to hear your evolving thoughts on style during quarantine, purchasing habits, and of course mask-wearing practices. We can't do cash payments, but we can still use Venmo for an additional $10 as thanks.

If you're available let me know! There's a Doodle poll here for anytime in the next two weeks from 12pm to 7pm Eastern. If none of these times work but you still want to meet, send me a quick email and we can schedule in off-hours.

Warmly,

Zack

Appendix G: Panel Re-Interview Guide (2020)

I know we spoke last winter about clothing styles and purchasing habits. I have a few questions for you about your clothing choices over the past year.

I thought we could start with spring:
1. After spring break, did you end up staying on campus or heading somewhere else?
    a. Were you with family, friends, or alone?
2. After spring break, how did the clothes you wear on a normal weekday change?
    a. Why do you think you made these changes?
3. Would you change clothes for Zoom classes in the spring?
    a. [If yes]: What would you wear? Why?
    b. Did you notice any change in your peer's fashion in class?
4. Did you have any other opportunities for visual social interactions outside of classes? For example, Zoom nights with friends, or going out where you lived?
    a. [If yes]: What did you wear for these interactions?
5. Did you ever try on the clothes you stopped wearing in the spring, just for fun?
6. Were there any clothes that fit all your spring criteria (ex. comfortable, simple) that you still found yourself avoiding?
    a. Why do you think that was?

Let's move into the summer:
7. How did you spend your summer?
8. For your internship/job/research, what did you wear?
    a. Why? [Prompt]: Was it based on organizational policy, or personal choice?
    b. How did those clothes make you feel?
    c. Did you continue to wear these clothes after work hours?

Okay, and now moving into the fall:
9. Are you taking classes this semester?
10. Where have you been living?
    a. Is this with family, friends, or alone?
11. Are the clothes you're wearing these days similar to spring, summer, or different?
12. Have you bought any clothes in the last eight months?
13. Would you have bought more, less, or the same amount of clothes in this time period if not for the pandemic?
14. Are any of these changes you made in your <u>attire</u> or your <u>purchasing</u> changes that you'd want to continue post-pandemic?

Great, that concludes the clothing portion of the interview! Now we're going to move onto masks. A reminder that this is anonymous, and a judgment-free space. Nothing we talk about here gets leaked to Harvard's administration or anything like that.
15. Do you own any masks or face coverings?
    a. Where did you get them?
    b. Do you see masks as a fashion statement?

      c.   Are there any mask designs that you'd feel uncomfortable wearing?
      d.   [Prompt]: color, pattern, political statements?
      e.   Would you be less likely to wear a political statement on a mask than a shirt?

16. How often do you wear a mask in public outdoor settings?
17. How often do you wear a mask in indoor settings where you don't live? For example, a friend's house, a grocery store, or a public area like a library?
18. Do you foresee this changing at any time in the future? Like if you end up on campus in the spring and there are social opportunities, would you be a little more lax around masks?
19. Have those in your bubbles over the last eight months had a similar attitude toward mask-wearing?
      a.   [If not]: How does that make you feel?
20. What do you think of those who don't wear masks?
21. Do you feel like your gender plays a role in your decision to wear a mask?
      a.   What about the experience of wearing a mask?
22. Do you feel like your race plays a role in your decision to wear a mask?
      a.   What about the experience of wearing a mask?
23. Do you or anyone who you've been living with have a greater risk factor that makes you more hesitant to take risks around COVID?
24. Do you think that wearing a mask is important for your safety?
25. Do you think that wearing a mask is important for others' safety?
26. Outside of COVID, just in general life, would you consider yourself a risk taker?

That's all of my questions.
27. Is there anything else you think we missed in our conversation about clothing and masks during COVID?

Appendix H: Pandemic Interview Recruitment (2021)

Email Subject: **Clothing interview follow-up, $10 - sign up for timeslot!**

Hi,

I hope this finds you well! I'm reaching out to follow up on a survey you recently took about clothing and mask decisions. You indicated you would be interested in a 30-minute informal interview to discuss your thoughts, with $10 compensation as thanks.

I'll be running quick interviews from today through 1/11, and would love to hear from you -- if you're available during this time, you can pick out a timeslot here. If you're not available during these slots but want to chat, let me know and we can find a time off-calendar.

All interview data will be de-identified before analysis in a senior thesis, and the research has been approved by Harvard's IRB. I'm happy to answer any questions you have about the research and data collection methods.

Thank you so much!

-Zack

Appendix I: Pandemic Interview Guide (2021)

I thought it could be fun to start with what you're currently wearing:
1. Can you describe to me what you're wearing now?
    a. How did you decide to wear these clothes today?
2. Is this similar to the clothing you would wear before COVID?
3. Before COVID, how would you describe your clothing style?
    a. Were there any particular styles or fashions you followed?
4. What are the most common words you'd associate with Harvard students and fashion?
    a. Did you or your friends meet these stereotypes?

Let's go back to the spring:
5. After Harvard's de-densification measures, did you end up staying on campus or heading somewhere else?
    a. Were you with family, friends, or alone?
6. After spring break, how did the clothes you wear on a normal weekday change?
    a. Why do you think you made these changes?
7. Would you change clothes for Zoom classes in the spring?
    a. [If yes]: What would you wear? Why?
    b. Did you notice any change in your peer's fashion in class?
8. Did you have any other opportunities for visual social interactions outside of classes? For example, Zoom nights with friends, or going out where you lived?
    a. [If yes]: What did you wear for these interactions?
9. Did you ever try on the clothes you stopped wearing in the spring, just for fun?
10. Were there any clothes that fit all your spring criteria (ex. comfortable, simple) that you still found yourself avoiding?
    a. Why do you think that was?

Let's move into the summer:
11. How did you spend your summer?
12. For your internship/job/research, what did you wear?
    a. Why? [Prompt]: Was it based on organizational policy, or personal choice?
    b. How did those clothes make you feel?
    c. Did you continue to wear these clothes after work hours?

Okay, and now moving into the fall:
13. Are you taking classes this semester?
14. Where have you been living?
    a. Is this with family, friends, or alone?
15. Are the clothes you're wearing these days similar to spring, summer, or different?
16. Have you bought any clothes in the last eight months?
17. Would you have bought more, less, or the same amount of clothes in this time period if not for the pandemic?
18. Over the past nine months, have you been wearing what you *want* to be wearing?

19. Are any of these changes you made in your <u>attire</u> or your <u>purchasing</u> changes that you'd want to continue post-pandemic?
    a. [If no:] Why do you think that is?
        i. If you did continue to wear the same clothes after COVID, what kinds of consequences would it have?
            1. Are there any consequences it would have for you?
        ii. Do you have any hesitancy about returning to pre-COVID attire?
    b. [If yes:] Why do you think that is?
        i. Are these changes you think others will make?

Okay, now I want to do a big flashback, to high school, if that's okay with you:
20. Where did you go to high school?
21. Did you or any of your friends ever have any run-ins with the dress code?
    a. [If yes:] How did it make you feel?
    b. [If no:] What did you think about others who violated the dress code?
22. Is there anything you would have possibly worn to school if there wasn't a dress code?
23. Did you ever clash with your parents about what you wore to school?

Great, that concludes the clothing portion of the interview! Now we're going to move onto masks. A reminder that this is anonymous, and a judgment-free space. Nothing we talk about here gets leaked to Harvard's administration or anything like that.
24. Do you own any masks or face coverings?
    a. Where did you get them?
    b. Do you see masks as a fashion statement?
    c. Are there any mask designs that you'd feel uncomfortable wearing?
    d. [Prompt]: color, pattern, political statements?
    e. Would you be less likely to wear a political statement on a mask than a shirt?
    f. Out of curiosity, how would you say you identify politically?
25. How often do you wear a mask in public outdoor settings?
26. How often do you wear a mask in indoor settings where you don't live? For example, a friend's house, a grocery store, or a public area like a library?
27. Do you foresee this changing at any time in the future? Like if you end up on campus in the spring and there are social opportunities, would you be a little more lax around masks?
28. Have those in your bubbles over the last eight months had a similar attitude toward mask-wearing?
    a. [If not]: How does that make you feel?
29. What do you think of those who [do/don't] wear masks?
30. Do you feel like your gender plays a role in your decision to wear a mask?
    a. What about the experience of wearing a mask?
31. Do you feel like your race plays a role in your decision to wear a mask?
    a. What about the experience of wearing a mask?
32. Do you or anyone who you've been living with have a greater risk factor that makes you more hesitant to take risks around COVID?

33. Outside of COVID, just in general life, would you consider yourself a risk taker?

That's all of my questions.

34. Is there anything else you think we missed in our conversation about clothing and masks during COVID?

Appendix J: College Survey (2020)

Opening

This 4-6 minute anonymous survey is part of a research study conducted by researchers at Harvard College. We are asking you to take part in this study because we are trying to learn more about how you and other students decide what to wear, in high school and college.

This survey is anonymous; if you would like to receive $3 compensation for participating, you may include your Venmo handle in the final section. You will also be entered in a raffle to receive one of 5 $20 prizes. This will be manually detached from your responses before analyzing data.

Clicking the arrow below means that you agree to be in this study.

Thank you very much for your help!

Constraints

(1/6)

What is your college class?

[dropdown ∨]

What kind of high school did you attend? **Please check all that apply.**

☐ District (traditional) public school.
☐ Charter or magnet school.
☐ Private school.
☐ Attended high school outside of USA.

Please rank the order in which these factors constrained what you wore for **high school**, with the most restrictive at top.

Religion

Race

Gender

Parent/Guardian(s)

Peer Fashion

Dress Codes

Budget Constraints

Dress Codes

(2/6)

Did your **high school** have a dress code policy? If yes, please write out the rules you can remember.

○ No.

○ [   ] Yes:

When you broke the dress code, which of the following happened? **Please check all that apply.**

☐ I avoided being scolded/punished.

☐ I was scolded by a teacher/staffperson.

☐ I was formally punished.

☐ Not applicable.

If you were scolded or punished for violating the dress code, how did it make you feel?

○ Not applicable.

○ [   ] I felt:

Self-Concept

(3/6)

Please rank in order how important these body attributes are to your **current** physical self-concept, with the most important at the top.

> Physical Attractiveness
>
> Physical Coordination
>
> Weight
>
> Appeal
>
> Strength
>
> Measurements
>
> Physical Fitness Level
>
> Energy Level
>
> Muscle Tone
>
> Stamina
>
> Skin Tone
>
> Health

Decision-Making

Before the pandemic, how did you decide what to wear on a normal weekday? Rate the following from 1-3, with 1 being "not important" and 3 being "very important."

	Not important	Somewhat important	Very important
I wanted to look attractive.	O	O	O
I wanted to fit in.	O	O	O
I wanted to express my gender.	O	O	O
I wanted to get dressed as quickly as possible.	O	O	O
I wanted to look well dressed and stylish.	O	O	O
I wanted to be comfortable.	O	O	O

Right now, how do you decide what to wear on a normal weekday? Rate the following from 1-3, with 1 being "not important" and 3 being "very important."

	Not important	Somewhat important	Very important
I want to fit in.	O	O	O
I want to look attractive.	O	O	O
I want to be comfortable.	O	O	O
I want to get dressed as quickly as possible.	O	O	O
I want to express my gender.	O	O	O
I want to look well dressed and stylish.	O	O	O

Which of the following would you wear for class on a normal weekday? **Please check all that apply.**

	Click to write Column 1 Before the Pandemic	Click to write Column 2 Right Now
Pajama Pants.	☐	☐
Sweatpants.	☐	☐
Skirts/Dresses.	☐	☐
Leggings.	☐	☐
Jeans.	☐	☐
Other Pants.	☐	☐
Makeup.	☐	☐

Do you think about the environmental consequences of the clothing you buy?

○ No.
○ Yes, but I buy few clothes with this in mind.
○ Yes, and I buy some clothes with this in mind.
○ Yes, and I buy all my clothes with this in mind.

Masks

(5/6)

How often do the following statements describe you? Rate the following from 1-4, with 1 being "never" and 4 being "always." If not sure or not applicable, please leave the question blank.

	Never	Sometimes	Most of the time	Always
I wear a mask when with others in outdoor settings.	○	○	○	○
I wear a mask when with others in indoor settings where I don't live.	○	○	○	○

	Never	Sometimes	Most of the time	Always
My friends wear a mask when with me in outdoor settings.	O	O	O	O
My friends wear a mask when with me in indoor settings where one of us doesn't live.	O	O	O	O
Parent/guardian A wears a mask outside their bubble.	O	O	O	O
Parent/guardian B, if applicable, wears a mask outside their bubble.	O	O	O	O

If you do not wear a mask when outside your bubble, what are the reasons? **Please check all that apply.**

☐ I don't have enough masks to wear all the time.

☐ My friends don't wear masks.

☐ I don't feel safe wearing a mask.

☐ I don't look good in a mask.

☐ I don't believe they are effective/necessary.

☐ I am not physically comfortable in a mask.

☐ I don't like being forced to wear something.

☐ My parent/guardian doesn't wear masks.

☐ I don't want to look weak.

☐ Not applicable.

Please indicate your views on these statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
My wearing a mask is important for my safety.	O	O	O	O
My wearing a mask is important for others' safety.	O	O	O	O
My race affects my decision to wear a mask.	O	O	O	O
My gender affects my decision to wear a mask.	O	O	O	O

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If your race or gender affects your decision to wear a mask, how so? **Please check all that apply.**

☐ Not applicable.

☐ [_____] Race affects my decision because:

☐ [_____] Gender affects my decision because:

Where are your masks from? **Please check all that apply.**

☐ Medical grade.

☐ [_____] Storebought from clothing/department store:

☐ Homesewn.

☐ Bandana/other makeshift material.

Which of these masks would you be comfortable wearing in public?

	Uncomfortable	Comfortable
	☐	☐
	☐	☐

☐ ☐

☐ ☐

☐ ☐

☐ ☐

□   □

□   □

Background

(6/6)

The remaining questions ask information about your background. You may skip any you do not understand or do not feel comfortable answering.

Are you currently enrolled in school?

◯ Yes.

◯ No.

◯ [   ] Other:

With whom are you currently living?

- ☐ Parent/Guardian(s)
- ☐ Friends
- ☐ Alone
- ☐ [_____] Other:

How do you identify your gender? **Please check all that apply.**

- ☐ Female
- ☐ Male
- ☐ Transgender
- ☐ [_____] Other:

Which of the following best describes you?

- ○ Asexual
- ○ Bisexual
- ○ Gay or Lesbian
- ○ Heterosexual
- ○ Not Sure
- ○ [_____] Other:

How do you identify your race/ethnicity? **Please check all that apply.**

- ☐ American Indian or Alaskan Native
- ☐ Black or African American
- ☐ East Asian
- ☐ Hispanic or Latinx
- ☐ South Asian
- ☐ White
- ☐ [_____] Other:

Are you religious? If so, what do you observe? **Please check all that apply.**

- ☐ Buddhism
- ☐ Christianity
- ☐ Hinduism
- ☐ Islam
- ☐ Judaism
- ☐ Sikhism
- ☐ Not Religious
- ☐ [   ] Other:

According to U.S. Census Bureau data, the 2016 median annual household income was $59,039. Based on your best estimate, would you say that your family's median annual household income while you were in high school was:

- ○ Significantly above this median income.
- ○ Above this median income.
- ○ Roughly around this median income.
- ○ Below this median income.
- ○ Significantly below this median income.
- ○ Not sure/rather not say.

Is wearing a face mask mandatory in the city/town where you are currently residing?

- ○ Yes, at all times.
- ○ Yes, when social distancing isn't possible.
- ○ No.
- ○ Unsure.

Closing

Venmo handle (if you would like to receive $3 compensation for completing and enter the raffle).

[   ]

If you would be interested in participating in a 30-minute interview about the contents of this survey, please include your email below. We will reach out to you and compensate you $10 for your time!

[   ]

Appendix K: College Survey Recruitment Email (2020)

Email Subject: **$3 for 5-minute survey on clothing!**

Hi [Insert House Name]!

Do you **wear clothes?** Fill out this survey and receive **$3 guaranteed**; you'll also be

entered in a raffle to receive one of 5 $20 gift cards!

Happy holidays!

Appendix L: High School Survey (2021)

Opening

This 5-10 minute anonymous survey is part of a research study conducted by researchers at Harvard College. We are asking you to take part in this study because we are trying to learn more about how you and other students decide what to wear for school.

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked a series of questions about what you wear for school and why. You will then be shown a range of masks, and mark which ones you would be comfortable wearing. Finally, we'll ask some questions about your background.

Your name will not be on this survey, so nothing you say here will be tied to you. If you are worried about any questions, you can leave them blank.

Your parents have received information about the research and been notified that you would be invited to participate.

Clicking the arrow below means that you agree to be in this study.

Thank you very much for your help!

Constraints

(1/6)

What school do you attend?

[   ]

Where is the school? Please list city and state.

[   ]

What grade are you currently in?

[   ]

How are you currently attending school?

○ Remote instruction.

○ In-person instruction.

○ Hybrid instruction (sometimes remote, sometimes in-person).

Is what you wear for remote learning different than in-person schooling? If so, how so?

○ No, I wear the same in either situation.

○ [   ] Yes, here are some differences:

Are there any things you wish you could wear for school but don't? If so, why not?

○ No, I can wear whatever I want for school.

○ [   ] Yes, because:

Please rank the order in which these factors restrict what you wear for school, with the most restrictive at top.

Peer Fashion

Dress Codes

Parent/Guardian(s)

Religion

Race

Gender

Budget Constraints

Consumption

(2/6)

What are some brands you like to wear?

[   ]

Are there any brands you'd like to wear, but can't afford?

◯ No, I don't want to wear any such brands.
◯ [   ] Yes:

Do you think about the environmental consequences of the clothing you buy?

◯ No.
◯ Yes, but I buy few clothes with this in mind.
◯ Yes, and I buy some clothes with this in mind.
◯ Yes, and I buy all my clothes with this in mind.

When you shop for clothes, where do you look? **Please check all that apply.**

☐ Men's section.
☐ Women's section.
☐ Kids' section.
☐ [   ] Other:

How much freedom do you have when picking what to wear for school? **Please check all that apply.**

☐ My parent/guardian controls what's in my closet.
☐ My parent/guardian can 'veto' what I wear in the morning.
☐ My parent/guardian is not involved at all.

Self-Concept

(3/6)

Please rank in order how important these body attributes are to your physical self-concept, with the most important at the top.

      Physical Attractiveness

      Stamina

      Physical Coordination

      Health

      Appeal

      Weight

      Physical Fitness Level

      Skin Tone

      Strength

      Measurements

      Muscle Tone

      Energy Level

Dress Codes

(4/6)

Does your school have a dress code policy? If yes, please write out the rules you can remember.

○ No.

○ [_____] Yes:

When you've broken the dress code, which of the following have happened? **Please check all that apply.**

☐ I've avoided being scolded/punished.

☐ I've been scolded by a teacher/staffperson.

☐ I've been formally punished.

☐ Not applicable.

If you have been scolded or punished for violating the dress code, how did it make you feel?

○ Not applicable.
○ [   ] I felt:

When in-person, how do you decide what to wear on a normal school day? Rate the following from 1-3, with 1 being "not important" and 3 being "very important."

	Not important	Somewhat important	Very important
I want to look well dressed and stylish.	○	○	○
I want to fit in.	○	○	○
I want to be comfortable.	○	○	○
I want to look attractive.	○	○	○
I want to get dressed as quickly as possible.	○	○	○
I want to express my gender.	○	○	○

When remote, how do you decide what to wear on a normal school day? Rate the following from 1-3, with 1 being "not important" and 3 being "very important."

	Not important	Somewhat important	Very important
I want to be comfortable.	○	○	○
I want to look attractive.	○	○	○
I want to look well dressed and stylish.	○	○	○
I want to fit in.	○	○	○
I want to express my gender.	○	○	○
I want to get dressed as quickly as possible.	○	○	○

Masks

How often do the following statements describe you? Rate the following from 1-4, with 1 being "never" and 4 being "always." If not sure or not applicable, please leave the question blank.

	Never	Sometimes	Most of the time	Always
I wear a mask when with my friends outside of school.	O	O	O	O
My friends wear a mask when with me outside of school.	O	O	O	O
Parent/guardian A wears a mask outside their bubble.	O	O	O	O
Parent/guardian B wears a mask outside their bubble.	O	O	O	O

If you do not wear a mask when outside your bubble, what are the reasons? **Please check all that apply.**

- ☐ I don't believe they are effective/necessary.
- ☐ I am not physically comfortable in a mask.
- ☐ My parent/guardian doesn't wear masks.
- ☐ I don't want to look weak.
- ☐ I don't feel safe wearing a mask.
- ☐ I don't have enough masks to wear all the time.
- ☐ My friends don't wear masks.
- ☐ I don't look good in a mask.
- ☐ I don't like being forced to wear something.
- ☐ Not applicable.

Please indicate your views on these statements.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
My wearing a mask is important for my safety.	O	O	O	O
My wearing a mask is important for others' safety.	O	O	O	O
My race affects my decision to wear a mask.	O	O	O	O
My gender affects my decision to wear a mask.	O	O	O	O

If your race or gender affects your decision to wear a mask, how so? **Please check all that apply.**

☐ Not applicable.

☐ [_____] Race affects my decision because:

☐ [_____] Gender affects my decision because:

Where are your masks from? **Please check all that apply.**

☐ Medical grade.

☐ [_____] Storebought from clothing/department store:

☐ Homesewn.

☐ Bandana/other makeshift material.

Which of these masks would you be comfortable wearing in public?

	Uncomfortable	Comfortable
	☐	☐

□ □

□ □

□ □

□ □

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□ □

□ □

□ □

Background

(6/6)

The remaining questions ask information about your background. As a reminder, you may skip any question you do not understand or do not feel comfortable answering.

How do you identify your gender? **Please check all that apply.**

- ☐ Female
- ☐ Male
- ☐ Transgender
- ☐ [   ] Other:

Which of the following best describes you?

- ○ Asexual
- ○ Bisexual
- ○ Gay or Lesbian
- ○ Heterosexual
- ○ Not Sure
- ○ [   ] Other:

How do you identify your race/ethnicity? **Please check all that apply.**

- ☐ American Indian or Alaskan Native
- ☐ Black or African American
- ☐ East Asian
- ☐ Hispanic or Latinx
- ☐ South Asian
- ☐ White
- ☐ [   ] Other:

Are you religious? If so, what do you observe? **Please check all that apply.**

- ☐ Buddhism
- ☐ Christianity
- ☐ Hinduism
- ☐ Islam
- ☐ Judaism
- ☐ Sikhism
- ☐ Not Religious
- ☐ [   ] Other:

According to U.S. Census Bureau data, the 2019 median annual household income was $68,703. Based on your best estimate, would you say that your family's median annual household income while you were in high school was:

○ Significantly above this median income.
○ Above this median income.
○ Roughly around this median income.
○ Below this median income.
○ Significantly below this median income.

Is wearing a face mask mandatory in the city/town where you are currently residing?

○ Yes, at all times.
○ Yes, when social distancing isn't possible.
○ No.
○ Unsure.

Appendix M: Codebook

1) Autonomy:
   a) **Autonomy - Explicit:** any noted constraint on what they want to wear
   b) **Autonomy - Implicit:** any implied constraint on what they want to wear
   c) **Autonomy - Language:** language cloaked in autonomy (can't, have to)

2) Company:
   a) **Alone:** if they're alone or by themselves
   b) **Family:** if they're around family
   c) **Friends:** if they're around friends
   d) **Peers/Society:** if they're around peers or strangers (in class, at stores, etc.)
   e) **Partner:** if they're around a significant other
   f) **Workplace:** if they're in professional setting
   g) **Mentor:** if they're around someone they look up to (work or school)

3) Clothing Decisions:
   a) **Adulting:** if they mention looking older, of a certain age
   b) **Attractiveness:** if they mention looking good, cute, etc.
   c) **Budget:** if they mention financial constraints, spending, luxury
   d) **Comfort:** if they mention comfort, softness
   e) **Confidence:** if they mention more comfort in certain clothes
   f) **Conformity:** if they mention fitting in, not standing out, going with others
   g) **Ease:** if they mention laziness, little effort
   h) **Emotion:** if they mention feeling 'up to' dressing, or matching emotions
   i) **Ethics:** if they mention ethical attachments/positions on clothes/attire
   j) **Gender:** if they mention gender, gendered clothing/adornment (makeup)
   k) **Normalcy:** if they mention normalcy, routine
   l) **Performativity:** if they mention dressing up for fun, playfulness
   m) **Put Togetherness:** if they mention looking put together, presentable
   n) **Race/Ethnicity:** if they mention race, ethnicity or like-typed clothing
   o) **Religion:** if they mention religion or like-typed clothing
   p) **Sexuality:** if they mention their sexuality
   q) **Utility:** if they mention function (warmth, durability, material)

4) Location:
   a) **Campus:** if they relay experience on campus
   b) **Home:** if they relay experience at home
   c) **Office:** if they relay experience at workplace
   d) **Others' Homes:** if they relay experience at others' homes
   e) **Outside:** if they relay experience in public spaces/world

5) Time:
   a) **High School:** if they relay experience from high school
   b) **Pre-COVID:** if they relay experience from college pre-COVID
   c) **COVID:** if they relay experience during COVID

d) **Post-COVID:** if they predict experience post-COVID

6) Judgment:
   a) **Judging:** if they judge others
   b) **Judged:** if they're judged by others
   c) **Self-Judgment:** if they're judging themselves

7) Adornments:
   a) **Hair:** if they mention hair
   b) **Jewelry:** if they mention jewelry or other metal accessories (watch, etc.)
   c) **Makeup:** if they mention makeup, face paint, etc.

8) Clothing:
   a) **Bras:** if they mention bras
   b) **Skirts/Dresses:** if they mention skirts or dresses
   c) **Jeans:** if they mention jeans
   d) **Sweatpants:** if they mention sweatpants
   e) **Leggings:** if they mention leggings
   f) **Pajamas:** if they mention pajamas
   g) **Tightness:** if they mention the tightness of clothes

9) Masks:
   a) **Masks:** if they discuss masks as article of clothing
   b) **Masking:** if they discuss mask-wearing
   c) **Compliance - Self:** if they comply for own benefit/safety
   d) **Compliance - Others:** if they comply for others' benefit/safety
   e) **Compliance - Authority:** if they comply for authority's sake
   f) **Callout:** if they mention calling out people for not wearing masks
   g) **Provision:** if they mention how they acquire masks

10) Miscellaneous Constructs:
   a) **Attention:** if they mention significant attention/time spent on clothing
   b) **Brands:** if they mention particular brands, or logo-adorned attire
   c) **Dress Codes:** if they mention dress codes
   d) **Feelings:** if they get particularly emotional
   e) **Legitimacy:** if they use language like 'real clothes', 'actual clothes'
   f) **Productivity:** if they mention productivity, efficiency
   g) **Quality:** if they use language like 'nice clothes', 'better clothes'
   h) **Self-Identity:** if something relates to their personhood
   i) **X - Campus:** if it's related to them forcibly leaving campus

11) Coding Tricks:
   a) **Negative:** if construct is flipped (ex. standing out = conformity, negative)
   b) **Quotable:** if it's quotable
   c) **Tagline:** if it's a quote that seems to encapsulate a bigger trend

Appendix N: Regression Tables

[Sorted by Chapter, Section, Subsection]

4.1 *Ranking Constraints*

Dress Codes Rank [School & Gender]:

	1		2	
Lexington	3.060 ***	[0.000]	3.042 ***	[0.000]
Harvard	2.215 ***	[0.000]	2.198 ***	[0.000]
Man			0.086	[0.681]
N	359		359	
R2	0.203		0.203	
logLik	-719.343		-719.257	
AIC	1446.685		1448.514	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Parental Rank [School & Gender]:

	1		2	
Lexington	-1.093 ***	[0.000]	-1.115 ***	[0.000]
Harvard	-0.723 *	[0.004]	-0.743 *	[0.003]
Man			0.106	[0.553]
N	359		359	
R2	0.043		0.044	
logLik	-661.140		-660.962	
AIC	1330.281		1331.923	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Budget Rank [School & Income]:

	ALA		LHS		Harvard	
Income	0.083	[0.764]	0.621 *	[0.009]	0.477 ***	[0.000]
N	38		94		184	
R2	0.003		0.072		0.129	
logLik	-70.326		-197.363		-347.420	
AIC	146.652		400.726		700.839	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Peer Rank [School & Income]:

	ALA		LHS		Harvard	
Income	-0.188	[0.433]	-0.317 ~	[0.072]	-0.278 *	[0.003]
N	38		94		184	
R2	0.017		0.035		0.049	
logLik	-64.947		-170.252		-346.032	
AIC	135.893		346.505		698.063	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Gender Rank [Gender]:

	Gender	
Man	-0.091	[0.638]
N	359	
R2	0.001	
logLik	-694.231	
AIC	1394.462	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Race Rank [Race]:

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
White	0.308 *	[0.025]						
Latinx			-0.046	[0.784]				
Black					0.057	[0.758]		
East Asian							-0.141	[0.348]
N	359		359		359		359	
R2	0.014		0.000		0.000		0.002	
logLik	-591.374		-593.851		-593.841		-593.445	
AIC	1188.747		1193.702		1193.682		1192.890	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Religion Rank [Religion]:

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
Christianity	-0.705 ***	[0.000]						
Islam			-3.502 ***	[0.000]				
Judaism					-0.101	[0.755]		
Not Religious							1.064 ***	[0.000]
N	359		359		359		359	
R2	0.048		0.128		0.000		0.120	
logLik	-653.310		-637.550		-662.081		-639.086	
AIC	1312.619		1281.099		1330.162		1284.171	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

4.1 *Dress Codes* i. *Disparate Enforcement*

Awareness of Dress Code:

	Gender	
Man	-0.053	[0.314]
N	369	
R2	0.003	
logLik	-239.072	
AIC	484.145	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Scolded [Race & Gender]:

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
Woman	0.117 ~	[0.059]	0.118 ~	[0.053]	0.117 ~	[0.061]	0.122 *	[0.045]
White	0.051	[0.400]						
Latinx			0.180 *	[0.050]				
Black					-0.037	[0.632]		
East Asian							-0.153 *	[0.012]
N	218		218		218		218	
R2	0.019		0.033		0.017		0.044	
logLik	-124.123		-122.525		-124.367		-121.247	
AIC	256.246		253.050		256.734		250.494	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Punished [Race & Gender]:

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
Woman	0.003	[0.916]	0.005	[0.885]	0.000	[0.995]	0.006	[0.843]
White	0.012	[0.711]						
Latinx			0.074	[0.131]				
Black					0.027	[0.515]		
East Asian							-0.066 *	[0.041]
N	218		218		218		218	
R2	0.001		0.011		0.002		0.019	
logLik	12.971		14.060		13.117		15.020	
AIC	-17.942		-20.120		-18.234		-22.039	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

4.1 *Parental Expectations* i. Consistent Rules

Parental Control [School & Gender & Income & Race]:

	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)	
Lexington	0.086	[0.383]						
Man			0.067	[0.495]				
Income					0.002	[0.961]		
White							0.084	[0.369]
N	153		153		140		153	
R2	0.005		0.003		0.000		0.005	
logLik	-127.842		-127.991		-115.271		-127.817	
AIC	261.683		261.982		236.542		261.635	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

4.1 *Budget Limitations*

Brand Aspirations [Income & Gender]:

	ALA		LHS		Gender	
Income	-0.045	[0.625]	-0.080	[0.145]	-0.027	[0.423]
Woman					0.274 *	[0.001]
N	34		102		136	
R2	0.008		0.021		0.086	
logLik	-23.580		-68.325		-87.033	
AIC	53.160		142.651		182.066	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

4.2 *Shifts in Pandemic*

Autonomy and Agency [School & Gender]:

	Autonomy		Agency	
Lexington	-0.758 ***	[0.000]	-0.198 *	[0.002]
Woman	0.121 *	[0.034]	0.101 ~	[0.093]
N	151		152	
R2	0.558		0.097	
logLik	-44.190		-51.927	
AIC	96.381		111.854	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

4.2 *Shifts in Graduation* ii. Looking Good in Vivo

Conformity [School]:

	Conformity
Lexington	0.416 ***
	[0.001]
N	149
R2	0.076
logLik	-150.785
AIC	307.570

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

5.2. *Expanded Agency* i. *Quantitative Shifts*
Shift in Dress [Gender]:

	Pants		Jeans		Sweats		PJs		Leggings		Skirts		Makeup	
(Intercept)	-0.108 ~	[0.072]	-0.338 ***	[0.000]	0.351 ***	[0.000]	0.392 ***	[0.000]	0.054	[0.320]	-0.014	[0.783]	-0.027	[0.595]
Woman	-0.081	[0.275]	-0.299 ***	[0.000]	0.173 *	[0.021]	0.321 ***	[0.000]	-0.075	[0.262]	-0.539 ***	[0.000]	-0.337 ***	[0.000]
N	217		217		217		217		217		217		217	
R2	0.006		0.072		0.024		0.093		0.006		0.270		0.119	
logLik	-162.933		-160.251		-165.734		-146.187		-141.285		-119.844		-127.211	
AIC	331.865		326.503		337.469		298.374		288.571		245.688		260.422	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Shift in Dress [Gender & Location]:

	Pants		Jeans		Sweats		PJs		Leggings		Skirts		Makeup	
(Intercept)	0.074	[0.454]	-0.157	[0.110]	0.261 *	[0.011]	0.234 *	[0.012]	0.105	[0.250]	0.082	[0.320]	0.050	[0.553]
Woman	-0.073	[0.321]	-0.291 ***	[0.000]	0.169 *	[0.025]	0.315 ***	[0.000]	-0.073	[0.278]	-0.535 ***	[0.000]	-0.333 ***	[0.000]
Living_Parents	-0.221 *	[0.023]	-0.219 *	[0.022]	0.109	[0.268]	0.192 *	[0.033]	-0.061	[0.487]	-0.115	[0.149]	-0.094	[0.257]
N	217		217		217		217		217		217		217	
R2	0.029		0.095		0.030		0.113		0.008		0.277		0.124	
logLik	-160.297		-157.604		-165.112		-143.878		-141.040		-118.785		-126.557	
AIC	328.595		323.209		338.224		295.756		290.080		245.570		261.114	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

5.2. *Expanded Autonomy* i. *Quantitative Shifts*

Shift in Composite Autonomy Scale [Gender & Income & Race & Location]:

	1		2		3		4	
Woman	1.087 *	[0.018]	0.896 ~	[0.083]	1.109 *	[0.016]	1.073 *	[0.020]
Income			0.114	[0.533]				
White					0.376	[0.405]		
w/Parents							0.278	[0.640]
N	215		183		215		215	
R2	0.026		0.019		0.029		0.027	
logLik	-551.625		-473.810		-551.273		-551.514	
AIC	1109.250		955.619		1110.546		1111.028	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Masking [Mandate, Race, Gender]:

	(1)		(2)		(3)	
(Intercept)	3.455 ***	[0.000]	3.606 ***	[0.000]	3.727 ***	[0.000]
Mandate_Full	0.177 *	[0.024]				
East_Asian	0.182 *	[0.026]	0.184 *	[0.023]		
Man	-0.148 ~	[0.078]	-0.157 ~	[0.061]	-0.150 ~	[0.073]
Mandate_Partial			-0.215 *	[0.011]	-0.203 *	[0.017]
White					-0.166 *	[0.042]
N	218		218		218	
R2	0.066		0.072		0.068	
logLik	-185.338		-184.613		-185.124	
AIC	380.677		379.226		380.248	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

	(4)		(5)		(6)	
(Intercept)	3.686 ***	[0.000]	3.679 ***	[0.000]	3.606 ***	[0.000]
Mandate_Partial	-0.230 *	[0.007]	-0.228 *	[0.007]	-0.215 *	[0.011]
Black	-0.034	[0.739]				
Man	-0.166 ~	[0.050]	-0.163 ~	[0.053]	-0.157 ~	[0.061]
Latinx			-0.014	[0.907]		
East_Asian					0.184 *	[0.023]
N	218		218		218	
R2	0.050		0.050		0.072	
logLik	-187.177		-187.227		-184.613	
AIC	384.354		384.453		379.226	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

	(7)		(8)		(9)	
(Intercept)	3.515 ***	[0.000]	3.634 ***	[0.000]	3.641 ***	[0.000]
Mandate_Partial	-0.210 *	[0.025]	-0.206 *	[0.015]	-0.216 *	[0.011]
East_Asian	0.190 *	[0.041]	0.220 *	[0.012]	0.185 *	[0.023]
Man	-0.172 ~	[0.072]	-0.163 ~	[0.051]	-0.157 ~	[0.061]
Household_Income	0.011	[0.746]				
Not_Religious			-0.093	[0.270]		
Living_Parents					-0.041	[0.700]
N	186		218		218	
R2	0.069		0.078		0.073	
logLik	-164.349		-183.989		-184.537	
AIC	340.698		379.977		381.073	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

	(10)		(11)	
(Intercept)	2.034 ***	[0.000]	1.888 ***	[0.000]
Mandate_Partial	-0.113	[0.114]	-0.221 *	[0.004]
East_Asian	0.076	[0.269]	0.065	[0.380]
Man	-0.084	[0.232]	-0.071	[0.345]
Masking_Friends	0.469 ***	[0.000]		
Masking_Parents			0.469 ***	[0.000]
N	207		207	
R2	0.380		0.305	
logLik	-133.268		-147.122	
AIC	278.535		306.244	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

5.4. *Compliance* iii. Location

Indoors [Mandate, Race, Gender]:

	1		2		3	
(Intercept)	3.691 ***	[0.000]	3.711 ***	[0.000]	3.738 ***	[0.000]
Man	-0.137	[0.160]	-0.142	[0.145]	-0.146	[0.137]
Mandate_Partial	-0.230 *	[0.019]	-0.241 *	[0.015]	-0.240 *	[0.015]
East_Asian	0.078	[0.412]				
White			0.037	[0.695]		
Black					-0.071	[0.553]
N	217		217		217	
R2	0.039		0.037		0.038	
logLik	-217.239		-217.504		-217.403	
AIC	444.478		445.008		444.806	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Outdoors [Mandate, Race, Gender]:

	1		2		3	
(Intercept)	3.517 ***	[0.000]	3.740 ***	[0.000]	3.632 ***	[0.000]
Man	-0.174	[0.109]	-0.157	[0.147]	-0.185 ~	[0.096]
Mandate_Partial	-0.198 ~	[0.071]	-0.163	[0.135]	-0.219 *	[0.050]
East_Asian	0.293 *	[0.006]				
White			-0.368 ***	[0.001]		
Black					-0.006	[0.968]
N	218		218		218	
R2	0.065		0.083		0.031	
logLik	-242.729		-240.498		-246.603	
AIC	495.458		490.995		503.206	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

5.4. *Rationale* ii. Personal Safety

Personal Safety [Gender, Race]:

	safety		safety		safety	
Woman	0.201 *	[0.003]			0.193 *	[0.005]
White			-0.169 *	[0.012]	-0.159 *	[0.017]
N	367		367		367	
R2	0.023		0.017		0.039	
logLik	-343.403		-344.577		-340.523	
AIC	692.806		695.154		689.045	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

Comfort [Gender, Race]:

	comfort		comfort		comfort	
Woman	-0.086 *	[0.004]			-0.082 *	[0.006]
White			0.084 *	[0.005]	0.080 *	[0.007]
N	371		371		371	
R2	0.022		0.022		0.041	
logLik	-45.698		-45.752		-41.973	
AIC	97.397		97.504		91.946	

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

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6.2 *Moral Boundaries* ii. Environment

Environmental Consciousness [Income, Gender]:

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Man	-0.627 ***	-0.651 ***	
	[0.000]	[0.000]	
Income		0.017	-0.008
		[0.663]	[0.846]
N	369	325	325
R2	0.099	0.107	0.000
logLik	-474.554	-414.344	-432.655
AIC	955.108	836.688	871.310

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

6.2 *Cultural Boundaries* i. Items of Dress

Consumption from "Other Side" of Store [Gender]:

	Other Side
Woman	0.402 ***
	[0.000]
N	153
R2	0.153
logLik	-95.668
AIC	197.336

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

6.2 *Cultural Boundaries* ii. Self-Objectification

Difference Between Scales:

	(1)	(2)
White	-2.207 ***	-1.974 *
	[0.001]	[0.002]
Man		-3.291 ***
		[0.000]
N	362	362
R2	0.031	0.093
logLik	-1160.717	-1148.718
AIC	2327.434	2305.437

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

SOS 12-Item Scale [Gender & Race]:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Woman	9.683 *** [0.000]	9.418 *** [0.000]	9.521 *** [0.000]	9.883 *** [0.000]	9.724 *** [0.000]
White		-4.173 * [0.021]			
Latinx			4.557 * [0.041]		
Black				-2.095 [0.398]	
East Asian					-2.202 [0.263]
N	363	363	363	363	363
R2	0.070	0.084	0.081	0.072	0.073
logLik	-1537.393	-1534.703	-1535.285	-1537.032	-1536.759
AIC	3080.786	3077.406	3078.570	3082.064	3081.519

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

SOS 12-Item Scale [School & Income & Religion]:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Lexington	-4.556 [0.143]	-0.471 [0.881]		
Harvard	-5.236 ~ [0.066]	-2.494 [0.373]		
White		-4.191 * [0.026]		
Woman		9.353 *** [0.000]		
Income			-0.782 [0.308]	
Not Religious				-0.230 [0.900]
N	363	363	321	363
R2	0.009	0.088	0.003	0.000
logLik	-1548.885	-1533.944	-1371.190	-1550.592
AIC	3105.771	3079.889	2748.380	3107.184

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

SOS 12-Item Scale [Pre-Pandemic and Present Autonomy]:

	(1)	(2)
Pre-Pandemic Autonomy	-1.520 *** [0.000]	
Present Autonomy		-0.837 * [0.013]
N	360	358
R2	0.064	0.017
logLik	-1526.551	-1526.746
AIC	3059.102	3059.492

*** p < 0.001; * p < 0.05; ~ p < 0.1. P-value in brackets.

[Sorted by Chapter, Section, Subsection]

4.1 *Ranking Constraints*

	Lawrence (N=47)	Lexington (N=106)	Harvard (N=218)	Total (N=371)
thesis$`Rank: Dress Codes`				
Mean (SD)	1.24 (0.874)	4.30 (1.58)	3.45 (2.02)	3.40 (2.01)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [1.00, 6.00]	4.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.50 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	9 (8.5%)	2 (0.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Parent/Guardian`				
Mean (SD)	4.20 (1.57)	3.10 (1.64)	3.47 (1.48)	3.47 (1.56)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	9 (8.5%)	2 (0.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Budget`				
Mean (SD)	4.07 (1.53)	3.76 (2.06)	3.22 (1.72)	3.48 (1.82)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 7.00]	4.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	9 (8.5%)	2 (0.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Peer Fashion`				
Mean (SD)	3.52 (1.33)	2.33 (1.50)	3.07 (1.59)	2.93 (1.58)
Median [Min, Max]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	2.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	9 (8.5%)	2 (0.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Gender`				
Mean (SD)	3.59 (1.60)	3.33 (1.72)	3.08 (1.66)	3.21 (1.68)
Median [Min, Max]	3.00 [2.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	9 (8.5%)	2 (0.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Race`				
Mean (SD)	5.37 (1.58)	5.29 (1.34)	5.71 (1.13)	5.55 (1.27)
Median [Min, Max]	6.00 [1.00, 7.00]	6.00 [2.00, 7.00]	6.00 [2.00, 7.00]	6.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	9 (8.5%)	2 (0.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Religion`				
Mean (SD)	6.02 (1.37)	5.89 (1.54)	6.00 (1.57)	5.97 (1.53)
Median [Min, Max]	7.00 [1.00, 7.00]	6.00 [1.00, 7.00]	7.00 [1.00, 7.00]	7.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	9 (8.5%)	2 (0.9%)	12 (3.2%)

	Female (N=242)	Male (N=116)	Total (N=371)
thesis$`Rank: Dress Codes`			
Mean (SD)	3.30 (2.01)	3.65 (1.99)	3.40 (2.01)
Median [Min, Max]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	4.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	3 (1.2%)	8 (6.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Parent/Guardian`			
Mean (SD)	3.46 (1.61)	3.47 (1.45)	3.47 (1.56)
Median [Min, Max]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	3 (1.2%)	8 (6.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Budget`			
Mean (SD)	3.46 (1.79)	3.56 (1.93)	3.48 (1.82)
Median [Min, Max]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	4.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	3 (1.2%)	8 (6.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Peer Fashion`			
Mean (SD)	2.95 (1.60)	2.79 (1.52)	2.93 (1.58)
Median [Min, Max]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	3 (1.2%)	8 (6.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Gender`			
Mean (SD)	3.27 (1.61)	3.15 (1.84)	3.21 (1.68)
Median [Min, Max]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]	3.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	3 (1.2%)	8 (6.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Race`			
Mean (SD)	5.64 (1.20)	5.33 (1.40)	5.55 (1.27)
Median [Min, Max]	6.00 [1.00, 7.00]	6.00 [2.00, 7.00]	6.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	3 (1.2%)	8 (6.9%)	12 (3.2%)
thesis$`Rank: Religion`			
Mean (SD)	5.92 (1.60)	6.05 (1.42)	5.97 (1.53)
Median [Min, Max]	7.00 [1.00, 7.00]	7.00 [1.00, 7.00]	7.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	3 (1.2%)	8 (6.9%)	12 (3.2%)

	Not White (N=231)	White (N=140)	Total (N=371)
thesis$`Rank: Race`			
Mean (SD)	5.43 (1.29)	5.74 (1.20)	5.55 (1.27)
Median [Min, Max]	6.00 [1.00, 7.00]	6.00 [2.00, 7.00]	6.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	8 (3.5%)	4 (2.9%)	12 (3.2%)

	Not Muslim (N=362)	Muslim (N=9)	Total (N=371)
thesis$`Rank: Religion`			
Mean (SD)	6.06 (1.42)	2.56 (2.01)	5.97 (1.53)
Median [Min, Max]	7.00 [1.00, 7.00]	2.00 [1.00, 7.00]	7.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	12 (3.3%)	0 (0%)	12 (3.2%)

	Not Christian (N=242)	Christian (N=129)	Total (N=371)
thesis$`Rank: Religion`			
Mean (SD)	6.21 (1.39)	5.51 (1.69)	5.97 (1.53)
Median [Min, Max]	7.00 [1.00, 7.00]	6.00 [1.00, 7.00]	7.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	7 (2.9%)	5 (3.9%)	12 (3.2%)

	Religious (N=199)	Not Religious (N=172)	Total (N=371)
thesis$`Rank: Religion`			
Mean (SD)	5.47 (1.76)	6.53 (0.962)	5.97 (1.53)
Median [Min, Max]	6.00 [1.00, 7.00]	7.00 [2.00, 7.00]	7.00 [1.00, 7.00]
Missing	10 (5.0%)	2 (1.2%)	12 (3.2%)

4.1 *Dress Codes* ii. *Disparate Enforcement*

	Female (N=242)	Male (N=116)	Total (N=371)
thesis$Scolded			
Mean (SD)	0.252 (0.435)	0.129 (0.337)	0.218 (0.414)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]
thesis$Punished			
Mean (SD)	0.0744 (0.263)	0.0603 (0.239)	0.0674 (0.251)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]

	Female (N=105)	Male (N=23)	Total (N=135)
violated$Scolded			
Mean (SD)	0.581 (0.496)	0.609 (0.499)	0.593 (0.493)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [0, 1.00]	1.00 [0, 1.00]	1.00 [0, 1.00]
violated$Punished			
Mean (SD)	0.171 (0.379)	0.261 (0.449)	0.178 (0.384)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]

	East Asian (N=101)	Not East Asian (N=270)	Total (N=371)
thesis$Scolded			
Mean (SD)	0.129 (0.337)	0.252 (0.435)	0.218 (0.414)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]
thesis$Punished			
Mean (SD)	0.00990 (0.0995)	0.0889 (0.285)	0.0674 (0.251)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]

	Latinx (N=70)	Not Latinx (N=301)	Total (N=371)
thesis$Scolded			
Mean (SD)	0.400 (0.493)	0.176 (0.382)	0.218 (0.414)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]
thesis$Punished			
Mean (SD)	0.200 (0.403)	0.0365 (0.188)	0.0674 (0.251)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]

4.1 *Budget Limitations*

	Sig. Below (N=8)	Below (N=9)	Around (N=17)	Above (N=4)	Total (N=47)
lawrence$`Brands Lack`					
Mean (SD)	1.50 (0.535)	1.43 (0.535)	1.25 (0.447)	1.67 (0.577)	1.40 (0.497)
Median [Min, Max]	1.50 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]	2.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	2 (22.2%)	1 (5.9%)	1 (25.0%)	5 (10.6%)

	Sig. Below (N=1)	Below (N=4)	Around (N=11)	Above (N=38)	Sig. Above (N=48)	Total (N=106)
lexington$`Brands Lack`						
Mean (SD)	2.00 (NA)	1.25 (0.500)	1.45 (0.522)	1.42 (0.500)	1.27 (0.449)	1.35 (0.479)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [2.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]

	Female (N=99)	Male (N=47)	Total (N=153)
highschool$`Brands Lack`			
Mean (SD)	1.47 (0.502)	1.16 (0.367)	1.36 (0.483)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]
Missing	3 (3.0%)	2 (4.3%)	5 (3.3%)

4.1 *Shifts in Pandemic*

	Female (N=99)	Male (N=47)	Total (N=153)
CAS Shift			
Mean (SD)	4.10 (3.34)	2.18 (2.29)	3.44 (3.16)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [-4.00, 10.0]	2.00 [-2.00, 8.00]	3.00 [-4.00, 10.0]
Missing	2 (2.0%)	3 (6.4%)	6 (3.9%)
Wish Could Wear			
Mean (SD)	1.48 (0.502)	1.15 (0.360)	1.39 (0.490)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]
Missing	2 (2.0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1.3%)
Shift in Dress			
Mean (SD)	1.90 (0.304)	1.74 (0.441)	1.85 (0.360)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [1.00, 2.00]	2.00 [1.00, 2.00]	2.00 [1.00, 2.00]
Missing	1 (1.0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.7%)

	Lawrence (N=47)	Lexington (N=106)	Total (N=153)
CAS Shift			
Mean (SD)	2.44 (2.97)	3.87 (3.15)	3.44 (3.16)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [-4.00, 10.0]	3.50 [-4.00, 10.0]	3.00 [-4.00, 10.0]
Missing	2 (4.3%)	4 (3.8%)	6 (3.9%)
Wish Could Wear			
Mean (SD)	1.93 (0.250)	1.15 (0.361)	1.39 (0.490)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]	1.00 [1.00, 2.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	1 (0.9%)	2 (1.3%)
Shift in Dress			
Mean (SD)	2.00 (0)	1.78 (0.416)	1.85 (0.360)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [2.00, 2.00]	2.00 [1.00, 2.00]	2.00 [1.00, 2.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (0.9%)	1 (0.7%)

4.1 *Shifts in Graduation* i. *Shifts in Autonomy and Agency*

	High School (N=153)	College (N=218)	Total (N=371)
CAS Pre-Pandemic			
Mean (SD)	1.48 (2.74)	1.72 (3.01)	1.62 (2.90)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [-4.00, 8.00]	2.00 [-6.00, 8.00]	1.00 [-6.00, 8.00]
Missing	5 (3.3%)	0 (0%)	5 (1.3%)
MAS			
Mean (SD)	2.79 (3.41)	3.56 (3.54)	3.24 (3.50)
Median [Min, Max]	3.43 [-5.71, 8.00]	3.43 [-8.00, 8.00]	3.43 [-8.00, 8.00]

4.1 *Shifts in Graduation* ii. *Looking Good in Vivo*

	Lawrence (N=47)	Lexington (N=106)	Total (N=153)
highschool$`Before: Fit In`			
Mean (SD)	1.56 (0.755)	1.97 (0.630)	1.85 (0.695)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [1.00, 3.00]	2.00 [1.00, 3.00]	2.00 [1.00, 3.00]
Missing	2 (4.3%)	2 (1.9%)	4 (2.6%)
highschool$`Before: Stylish`			
Mean (SD)	2.26 (0.648)	2.32 (0.672)	2.30 (0.663)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [1.00, 3.00]	2.00 [1.00, 3.00]	2.00 [1.00, 3.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	1 (0.9%)	2 (1.3%)
highschool$`Before: Attractive`			
Mean (SD)	2.09 (0.725)	2.21 (0.631)	2.17 (0.661)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [1.00, 3.00]	2.00 [1.00, 3.00]	2.00 [1.00, 3.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	1 (0.9%)	2 (1.3%)
highschool$`Before: Gender`			
Mean (SD)	1.54 (0.751)	1.58 (0.649)	1.57 (0.680)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [1.00, 3.00]	1.00 [1.00, 3.00]	1.00 [1.00, 3.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	2 (1.9%)	3 (2.0%)
highschool$`Before: Comfort`			
Mean (SD)	2.78 (0.467)	2.54 (0.538)	2.62 (0.527)
Median [Min, Max]	3.00 [1.00, 3.00]	3.00 [1.00, 3.00]	3.00 [1.00, 3.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	1 (0.9%)	2 (1.3%)
highschool$`Before: Ease`			
Mean (SD)	2.02 (0.802)	2.08 (0.703)	2.06 (0.732)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [1.00, 3.00]	2.00 [1.00, 3.00]	2.00 [1.00, 3.00]
Missing	1 (2.1%)	1 (0.9%)	2 (1.3%)

5.2 *Expanded Agency* i. *Quantitative Shift*

	Female (N=143)	Male (N=69)	Total (N=218)
Shift_Pants			
Mean (SD)	-0.189 (0.543)	-0.118 (0.474)	-0.161 (0.515)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Jeans			
Mean (SD)	-0.636 (0.483)	-0.338 (0.563)	-0.535 (0.527)
Median [Min, Max]	-1.00 [-1.00, 0]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	-1.00 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Sweats			
Mean (SD)	0.524 (0.529)	0.368 (0.516)	0.465 (0.527)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_PJs			
Mean (SD)	0.713 (0.454)	0.382 (0.490)	0.604 (0.500)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	1.00 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Leggings			
Mean (SD)	-0.0210 (0.550)	0.0294 (0.170)	0.00461 (0.466)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Skirt			
Mean (SD)	-0.552 (0.513)	0 (0)	-0.369 (0.493)
Median [Min, Max]	-1.00 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [0, 0]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Makeup			
Mean (SD)	-0.364 (0.525)	-0.0294 (0.170)	-0.249 (0.464)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 0]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (0.5%)

	Without Parents (N=34)	With Parents (N=184)	Total (N=218)
Shift_Pants			
Mean (SD)	0.0303 (0.394)	-0.196 (0.528)	-0.161 (0.515)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Jeans			
Mean (SD)	-0.333 (0.540)	-0.571 (0.518)	-0.535 (0.527)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	-1.00 [-1.00, 1.00]	-1.00 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Sweats			
Mean (SD)	0.364 (0.549)	0.484 (0.522)	0.465 (0.527)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_PJs			
Mean (SD)	0.424 (0.561)	0.636 (0.482)	0.604 (0.500)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	1.00 [0, 1.00]	1.00 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Leggings			
Mean (SD)	0.0606 (0.429)	-0.00543 (0.473)	0.00461 (0.466)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Skirt			
Mean (SD)	-0.242 (0.435)	-0.391 (0.500)	-0.369 (0.493)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-1.00, 0]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Makeup			
Mean (SD)	-0.152 (0.364)	-0.266 (0.479)	-0.249 (0.464)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-1.00, 0]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]
Missing	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)

5.2 *Expanded Autonomy* i. *Quantitative Shift*

	Female (N=143)	Male (N=69)	Total (N=218)
Shift_Conformity			
Mean (SD)	-0.601 (0.704)	-0.500 (0.855)	-0.567 (0.749)
Median [Min, Max]	-1.00 [-2.00, 1.00]	0 [-2.00, 2.00]	-1.00 [-2.00, 2.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Presentability			
Mean (SD)	-0.720 (0.826)	-0.559 (0.678)	-0.673 (0.781)
Median [Min, Max]	-1.00 [-2.00, 2.00]	-1.00 [-2.00, 1.00]	-1.00 [-2.00, 2.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Attractiveness			
Mean (SD)	-0.606 (0.771)	-0.647 (0.664)	-0.616 (0.732)
Median [Min, Max]	-1.00 [-2.00, 1.00]	-1.00 [-2.00, 0]	-1.00 [-2.00, 1.00]
Missing	1 (0.7%)	1 (1.4%)	2 (0.9%)
Shift_Gender			
Mean (SD)	-0.378 (0.554)	-0.103 (0.352)	-0.304 (0.535)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-2.00, 1.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-2.00, 1.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (0.5%)
Shift_Comfort			
Mean (SD)	0.315 (0.549)	0.179 (0.575)	0.264 (0.554)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-2.00, 2.00]	0 [-2.00, 1.00]	0 [-2.00, 2.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	2 (2.9%)	2 (0.9%)
Shift_Ease			
Mean (SD)	0.245 (0.780)	0.118 (0.561)	0.175 (0.737)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-2.00, 2.00]	0 [-1.00, 1.00]	0 [-2.00, 2.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	1 (0.5%)

	Female (N=143)	Male (N=69)	Total (N=218)
Shift_CAS			
Mean (SD)	3.42 (3.42)	2.45 (2.64)	3.05 (3.20)
Median [Min, Max]	3.00 [-8.00, 11.0]	2.00 [-6.00, 9.00]	3.00 [-8.00, 11.0]
Missing	1 (0.7%)	2 (2.9%)	3 (1.4%)
Pre_CAS			
Mean (SD)	1.38 (3.02)	2.30 (2.98)	1.72 (3.01)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [-6.00, 7.00]	2.00 [-4.00, 8.00]	2.00 [-6.00, 8.00]
Now_CAS			
Mean (SD)	4.78 (2.92)	4.72 (2.87)	4.74 (2.88)
Median [Min, Max]	5.00 [-6.00, 8.00]	5.00 [-2.00, 8.00]	5.00 [-6.00, 8.00]
Missing	1 (0.7%)	2 (2.9%)	3 (1.4%)

5.4 *Compliance*

	East Asian (N=78)	Not East Asian (N=140)	Total (N=218)
college$Masking_Aggregate			
Mean (SD)	3.69 (0.449)	3.48 (0.642)	3.55 (0.588)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (0.7%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Indoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.67 (0.658)	3.57 (0.682)	3.60 (0.673)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (0.7%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Outdoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.71 (0.512)	3.39 (0.854)	3.50 (0.763)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
college$Masking_Parents			
Mean (SD)	3.86 (0.415)	3.58 (0.699)	3.68 (0.623)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	2 (2.6%)	9 (6.4%)	11 (5.0%)
college$Masking_Friends			
Mean (SD)	3.47 (0.587)	3.19 (0.769)	3.29 (0.717)
Median [Min, Max]	3.50 [1.50, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (1.3%)	10 (7.1%)	11 (5.0%)

	Not White (N=138)	White (N=80)	Total (N=218)
college$Masking_Aggregate			
Mean (SD)	3.63 (0.518)	3.43 (0.676)	3.55 (0.588)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (0.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Indoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.61 (0.679)	3.60 (0.668)	3.60 (0.673)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (0.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Outdoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.65 (0.635)	3.25 (0.893)	3.50 (0.763)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
college$Masking_Parents			
Mean (SD)	3.80 (0.458)	3.47 (0.813)	3.68 (0.623)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	3 (2.2%)	8 (10.0%)	11 (5.0%)
college$Masking_Friends			
Mean (SD)	3.36 (0.658)	3.18 (0.798)	3.29 (0.717)
Median [Min, Max]	3.50 [1.50, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	9 (6.5%)	2 (2.5%)	11 (5.0%)

	Black (N=39)	Not Black (N=179)	Total (N=218)
college$Masking_Aggregate			
Mean (SD)	3.55 (0.590)	3.55 (0.589)	3.55 (0.588)
Median [Min, Max]	3.75 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (2.6%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Indoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.58 (0.683)	3.61 (0.673)	3.60 (0.673)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (2.6%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Outdoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.54 (0.682)	3.50 (0.782)	3.50 (0.763)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
college$Masking_Parents			
Mean (SD)	3.71 (0.504)	3.68 (0.646)	3.68 (0.623)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	4 (10.3%)	7 (3.9%)	11 (5.0%)
college$Masking_Friends			
Mean (SD)	3.18 (0.769)	3.32 (0.708)	3.29 (0.717)
Median [Min, Max]	3.50 [2.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	6 (15.4%)	5 (2.8%)	11 (5.0%)

	Latinx (N=25)	Not Latinx (N=193)	Total (N=218)
college$Masking_Aggregate			
Mean (SD)	3.54 (0.691)	3.55 (0.575)	3.55 (0.588)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.50, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Indoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.56 (0.821)	3.61 (0.654)	3.60 (0.673)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Outdoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.52 (0.872)	3.50 (0.751)	3.50 (0.763)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
college$Masking_Parents			
Mean (SD)	3.63 (0.726)	3.69 (0.610)	3.68 (0.623)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.50, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (4.0%)	10 (5.2%)	11 (5.0%)
college$Masking_Friends			
Mean (SD)	3.42 (0.602)	3.28 (0.731)	3.29 (0.717)
Median [Min, Max]	3.50 [2.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (4.0%)	10 (5.2%)	11 (5.0%)

	Female (N=143)	Male (N=69)	Total (N=218)
college$Masking_Aggregate			
Mean (SD)	3.60 (0.552)	3.44 (0.662)	3.55 (0.588)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.50, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (0.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Indoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.63 (0.613)	3.51 (0.797)	3.60 (0.673)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (0.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Outdoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.56 (0.718)	3.38 (0.859)	3.50 (0.763)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
college$Masking_Parents			
Mean (SD)	3.73 (0.577)	3.57 (0.712)	3.68 (0.623)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.50, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	9 (6.3%)	1 (1.4%)	11 (5.0%)
college$Masking_Friends			
Mean (SD)	3.31 (0.704)	3.23 (0.760)	3.29 (0.717)
Median [Min, Max]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]	3.25 [1.50, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	8 (5.6%)	3 (4.3%)	11 (5.0%)

	Religious (N=120)	Not Religious (N=98)	Total (N=218)
college$Masking_Aggregate			
Mean (SD)	3.56 (0.628)	3.55 (0.538)	3.55 (0.588)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	3.50 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (0.8%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Indoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.65 (0.659)	3.55 (0.690)	3.60 (0.673)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (0.8%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Outdoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.48 (0.809)	3.54 (0.706)	3.50 (0.763)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
college$Masking_Parents			
Mean (SD)	3.65 (0.664)	3.72 (0.571)	3.68 (0.623)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	7 (5.8%)	4 (4.1%)	11 (5.0%)
college$Masking_Friends			
Mean (SD)	3.26 (0.744)	3.33 (0.687)	3.29 (0.717)
Median [Min, Max]	3.50 [1.50, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	9 (7.5%)	2 (2.0%)	11 (5.0%)

	Without Parents (N=34)	With Parents (N=184)	Total (N=218)
college$Masking_Aggregate			
Mean (SD)	3.57 (0.566)	3.55 (0.593)	3.55 (0.588)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Indoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.71 (0.524)	3.58 (0.697)	3.60 (0.673)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Outdoor_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.44 (0.786)	3.52 (0.761)	3.50 (0.763)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
college$Masking_Parents			
Mean (SD)	3.66 (0.599)	3.69 (0.629)	3.68 (0.623)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	5 (14.7%)	6 (3.3%)	11 (5.0%)
college$Masking_Friends			
Mean (SD)	3.22 (0.751)	3.31 (0.713)	3.29 (0.717)
Median [Min, Max]	3.50 [2.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	2 (5.9%)	9 (4.9%)	11 (5.0%)

	Sig. Below (N=18)	Below (N=17)	Around (N=22)	Above (N=57)	Sig. Above (N=72)	Total (N=218)
college$Masking_Aggregate						
Mean (SD)	3.50 (0.485)	3.50 (0.685)	3.36 (0.834)	3.54 (0.617)	3.51 (0.541)	3.55 (0.588)
Median [Min, Max]	3.50 [2.50, 4.00]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	3.75 [1.00, 4.00]	3.75 [1.50, 4.00]	3.50 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.8%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Indoor_Coded						
Mean (SD)	3.39 (0.698)	3.59 (0.712)	3.50 (0.802)	3.54 (0.738)	3.60 (0.664)	3.60 (0.673)
Median [Min, Max]	3.50 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.8%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.5%)
college$Masking_Outdoor_Coded						
Mean (SD)	3.61 (0.608)	3.41 (0.870)	3.23 (1.02)	3.54 (0.781)	3.42 (0.746)	3.50 (0.763)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
college$Masking_Parents						
Mean (SD)	3.62 (0.650)	3.79 (0.545)	3.23 (0.909)	3.72 (0.607)	3.68 (0.592)	3.68 (0.623)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [2.50, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.50, 4.00]	4.00 [2.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (5.6%)	3 (17.6%)	0 (0%)	2 (3.5%)	4 (5.6%)	11 (5.0%)
college$Masking_Friends						
Mean (SD)	3.36 (0.479)	2.87 (0.812)	3.18 (0.733)	3.38 (0.726)	3.27 (0.719)	3.29 (0.717)
Median [Min, Max]	3.50 [2.50, 4.00]	3.00 [1.00, 4.00]	3.25 [2.00, 4.00]	3.50 [1.50, 4.00]	3.50 [1.50, 4.00]	3.50 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	2 (11.8%)	0 (0%)	3 (5.3%)	5 (6.9%)	11 (5.0%)

5.4 *Rationale*

	Female (N=250)	Male (N=110)	Total (N=371)
thesis$Mask_MySafety_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.75 (0.578)	3.64 (0.687)	3.71 (0.625)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	4 (1.6%)	0 (0%)	4 (1.1%)
thesis$Unmask_Comfort			
Mean (SD)	0.0640 (0.245)	0.118 (0.324)	0.0836 (0.277)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]
thesis$Mask_Race_Coded			
Mean (SD)	1.46 (0.801)	1.46 (0.809)	1.46 (0.794)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	4 (1.6%)	0 (0%)	4 (1.1%)
thesis$Mask_Gender_Coded			
Mean (SD)	1.33 (0.640)	1.34 (0.681)	1.33 (0.647)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	5 (2.0%)	0 (0%)	5 (1.3%)

	Not White (N=268)	White (N=103)	Total (N=371)
thesis$Mask_MySafety_Coded			
Mean (SD)	3.77 (0.534)	3.57 (0.800)	3.71 (0.625)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]	4.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	4 (1.5%)	0 (0%)	4 (1.1%)
thesis$Unmask_Comfort			
Mean (SD)	0.0672 (0.251)	0.126 (0.334)	0.0836 (0.277)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]
thesis$Mask_Race_Coded			
Mean (SD)	1.48 (0.835)	1.40 (0.679)	1.46 (0.794)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	3 (1.1%)	1 (1.0%)	4 (1.1%)
thesis$Mask_Gender_Coded			
Mean (SD)	1.32 (0.639)	1.36 (0.672)	1.33 (0.647)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	4 (1.5%)	1 (1.0%)	5 (1.3%)

6.2 *Moral Boundaries* ii. *Environment*

	Female (N=242)	Male (N=116)	Total (N=371)
thesis$Consequences_Coded			
Mean (SD)	2.18 (0.935)	1.57 (0.762)	2.01 (0.924)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [1.00, 4.00]	1.00 [1.00, 4.00]	2.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	1 (0.4%)	1 (0.9%)	2 (0.5%)

	Sig. Below (N=27)	Below (N=30)	Around (N=50)	Above (N=99)	Sig. Above (N=120)	Total (N=371)
thesis$Consequences_Coded						
Mean (SD)	1.93 (0.874)	1.93 (0.980)	2.18 (0.928)	2.11 (0.913)	1.94 (0.910)	2.01 (0.924)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [1.00, 4.00]	2.00 [1.00, 4.00]	2.00 [1.00, 4.00]	2.00 [1.00, 4.00]	2.00 [1.00, 4.00]	2.00 [1.00, 4.00]
Missing	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (0.5%)

6.2 *Cultural Boundaries* i. *Items of Dress*

	Female (N=99)	Male (N=47)	Total (N=153)
highschool$`Men's Side`			
Mean (SD)	0.515 (0.502)	0.979 (0.146)	0.673 (0.471)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [0, 1.00]	1.00 [0, 1.00]	1.00 [0, 1.00]
highschool$`Women's Side`			
Mean (SD)	0.980 (0.141)	0.0426 (0.204)	0.680 (0.468)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [0, 1.00]	0 [0, 1.00]	1.00 [0, 1.00]

6.2 *Cultural Boundaries* ii. *Self-Objectification*

	Female (N=242)	Male (N=116)	Total (N=371)
SOQ_12item			
Mean (SD)	4.38 (17.0)	-5.63 (15.2)	1.07 (17.4)
Median [Min, Max]	6.00 [-36.0, 36.0]	-8.00 [-34.0, 26.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]
Missing	3 (1.2%)	4 (3.4%)	8 (2.2%)
SOQ_10item			
Mean (SD)	3.83 (12.6)	-2.64 (11.6)	1.72 (12.9)
Median [Min, Max]	5.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	-3.00 [-25.0, 21.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]
Missing	3 (1.2%)	5 (4.3%)	9 (2.4%)
SOQ_diff			
Mean (SD)	0.541 (6.02)	-2.91 (5.17)	-0.631 (6.01)
Median [Min, Max]	-0.500 [-11.0, 11.0]	-3.00 [-11.0, 9.00]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]

	Religious (N=199)	Not Religious (N=172)	Total (N=371)
SOQ_12item			
Mean (SD)	1.18 (16.9)	0.947 (17.9)	1.07 (17.4)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]
Missing	7 (3.5%)	1 (0.6%)	8 (2.2%)
SOQ_10item			
Mean (SD)	1.71 (12.4)	1.73 (13.4)	1.72 (12.9)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]
Missing	8 (4.0%)	1 (0.6%)	9 (2.4%)
SOQ_diff			
Mean (SD)	-0.508 (5.94)	-0.773 (6.10)	-0.631 (6.01)
Median [Min, Max]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]

	Not White (N=231)	White (N=140)	Total (N=371)
SOQ_12item			
Mean (SD)	2.90 (17.6)	-1.84 (16.7)	1.07 (17.4)
Median [Min, Max]	4.00 [-36.0, 36.0]	-2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]
Missing	8 (3.5%)	0 (0%)	8 (2.2%)
SOQ_10item			
Mean (SD)	2.70 (12.7)	0.157 (13.0)	1.72 (12.9)
Median [Min, Max]	3.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]
Missing	9 (3.9%)	0 (0%)	9 (2.4%)
SOQ_diff			
Mean (SD)	0.199 (6.30)	-2.00 (5.21)	-0.631 (6.01)
Median [Min, Max]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-3.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]

	Latinx (N=70)	Not Latinx (N=301)	Total (N=371)
SOQ_12item			
Mean (SD)	5.14 (17.5)	0.0956 (17.2)	1.07 (17.4)
Median [Min, Max]	8.00 [-34.0, 32.0]	0 [-36.0, 36.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]
Missing	0 (0%)	8 (2.7%)	8 (2.2%)
SOQ_10item			
Mean (SD)	4.30 (13.2)	1.11 (12.7)	1.72 (12.9)
Median [Min, Max]	5.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]
Missing	1 (1.4%)	8 (2.7%)	9 (2.4%)
SOQ_diff			
Mean (SD)	0.900 (6.31)	-0.987 (5.89)	-0.631 (6.01)
Median [Min, Max]	0.500 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]

	East Asian (N=101)	Not East Asian (N=270)	Total (N=371)
SOQ_12item			
Mean (SD)	-0.376 (17.3)	1.63 (17.4)	1.07 (17.4)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-36.0, 30.0]	2.00 [-34.0, 36.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]
Missing	0 (0%)	8 (3.0%)	8 (2.2%)
SOQ_10item			
Mean (SD)	0.525 (12.4)	2.18 (13.0)	1.72 (12.9)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	3.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]
Missing	0 (0%)	9 (3.3%)	9 (2.4%)
SOQ_diff			
Mean (SD)	-0.901 (6.35)	-0.530 (5.88)	-0.631 (6.01)
Median [Min, Max]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]

	Black (N=57)	Not Black (N=314)	Total (N=371)
SOQ_12item			
Mean (SD)	0.691 (19.5)	1.14 (17.0)	1.07 (17.4)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [-34.0, 36.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]
Missing	2 (3.5%)	6 (1.9%)	8 (2.2%)
SOQ_10item			
Mean (SD)	1.33 (14.6)	1.79 (12.6)	1.72 (12.9)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]
Missing	2 (3.5%)	7 (2.2%)	9 (2.4%)
SOQ_diff			
Mean (SD)	-0.614 (6.39)	-0.634 (5.94)	-0.631 (6.01)
Median [Min, Max]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]

	Lawrence (N=47)	Lexington (N=106)	Harvard (N=218)	Total (N=371)
SOQ_12item				
Mean (SD)	5.47 (15.8)	0.911 (17.8)	0.230 (17.4)	1.07 (17.4)
Median [Min, Max]	8.00 [-26.0, 30.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]	0 [-36.0, 36.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]
Missing	2 (4.3%)	5 (4.7%)	1 (0.5%)	8 (2.2%)
SOQ_10item				
Mean (SD)	4.82 (12.2)	1.69 (13.5)	1.08 (12.6)	1.72 (12.9)
Median [Min, Max]	7.00 [-21.0, 23.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]
Missing	2 (4.3%)	5 (4.7%)	2 (0.9%)	9 (2.4%)
SOQ_diff				
Mean (SD)	0.617 (6.16)	-0.745 (5.50)	-0.844 (6.20)	-0.631 (6.01)
Median [Min, Max]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]

	Sig. Below (N=27)	Below (N=30)	Around (N=50)	Above (N=99)	Sig. Above (N=120)	Total (N=371)
SOQ_12item						
Mean (SD)	4.89 (15.6)	1.93 (17.0)	1.44 (16.3)	-0.253 (18.5)	0.874 (17.5)	1.07 (17.4)
Median [Min, Max]	8.00 [-22.0, 36.0]	2.00 [-32.0, 30.0]	0 [-30.0, 36.0]	2.00 [-34.0, 32.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]	2.00 [-36.0, 36.0]
Missing	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (4.0%)	1 (0.8%)	8 (2.2%)
SOQ_10item						
Mean (SD)	5.15 (11.1)	2.13 (12.0)	2.52 (12.3)	0.726 (13.5)	1.61 (13.5)	1.72 (12.9)
Median [Min, Max]	5.00 [-15.0, 25.0]	3.00 [-25.0, 21.0]	3.00 [-21.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]	1.00 [-25.0, 25.0]
Missing	1 (3.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (4.0%)	1 (0.8%)	9 (2.4%)
SOQ_diff						
Mean (SD)	-0.0741 (6.43)	-0.200 (6.68)	-1.08 (6.21)	-0.939 (5.97)	-0.725 (5.49)	-0.631 (6.01)
Median [Min, Max]	-3.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-9.00, 11.0]	-3.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]	-1.00 [-11.0, 11.0]

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