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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF UNIFORM IN ESTABLISHING UNITY, HIERARCHY
AND CONFORMITY AT THAI UNIVERSITIES

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The significance of uniform in establishing unity, hierarchy and conformity at Thai universities

The practice of wearing uniforms in Thai universities was implemented in the reign of King Rama V for Chulalongkorn University, the first university of Thailand. Later on the majority of universities in Thailand have adopted this practice because it has been seen to represent the ideas of politeness, honor, unity, and uniqueness of Thai culture. Hence, the practice of wearing the uniform is anchored on Thainess, the core of which is founded on kingship, religion, and nation creating a sense of shared identity among the Thai people.

This research aims to investigate (1) students’ experiences of wearing the uniform concerning power relation among Thai university students inside and outside their universities, and (2) students’ experiences regarding their personal development and how the university dress code affects them. The theoretical framework is grounded on concepts of habitus and cultural representation by Pierre Bourdieu and Stuart Hall respectively. Since the study focuses on students’ experiences, the phenomenological approach was considered suitable. A total of eight interviews were carried out with students in Kasetsart University (Kamphaeng Saen Campus) and Nakorn Pathom Rajabhat Universities by purposive sampling. The interviews were translated from Thai to English. Data analysis was conducted with thematic content analysis.

The research findings reveal experiences of the strict dress code indicating that the uniform engages with symbolic communication and hierarchical empowerment. Wearing the uniform keeps up the illusion of uniformity while exerting suppression of individuality. Further the strict dress code creates problematic gender issues but does not promote students' life goals. The aim of this study is to encourage the dialogue on the necessity of wearing university uniforms in Thailand. The findings of the study can be used as relevant material for policy makers to consider the issues related to the strictness of the dress code and its connection to power relations and personal development. A large scale survey on the role and significance of wearing the uniform at Thai universities could be conducted to acquire more evidence by engaging a greater number of related parties in research such as lecturers, parents, and policy makers.
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1 INTRODUCTION

Uniform is defined as a costume identifying similar appearance, distinctiveness, or uniformity of a group. The uniform is not only attire that an individual wears, but also symbolizes membership of a group that an individual belongs to or inclusion to a group, while creating exclusion and otherness to people outside the group. (Joseph & Alex, 1972, p. 719-730) Meadmore and Symes (1997) stated that student uniform promoted their membership of their school community. The uniform could also reflect two-layer relationship between teachers and students. It contained a sense of superiority of teachers and inferiority of the students. (p. 174-186)

Chira (2016) interestingly mentioned that although the meanings represented through the uniform are considered by some authors as stiff and straightforward both for the viewers and wearers, clothing does not exactly represent the same messages, even in the case of specific dress code. During symbolic communication, different interpretations towards a uniform can occur by distinct receptors and wearers can handle the uniform to make it communicate exactly as they want. (p. 85-92)

Among people opposing the uniform, they reasoned that the uniform restricts freedom of expression (Chira, 2016, p. 85-92; Meadmore and Symes, 1997, p. 174-186). It diminishes the opportunity to be recognized by a normal clothing, or it does not match with personal taste, or it is not practical enough (Chira, 2016, p. 85-92). On the contrary, dress code receives a widespread support from school principals. They considered that the dress code is likely to improve student’s behavior and prepare them for work in real life. (DeMitchell, Fossey, & Cobb, 2000, p. 31-49) In terms of gender, female dress code which requires females to wear skirts and hats, no pants, implies power of males including father and husband exert on female’s body (Garber, 1997, p. 23). Dress code is influential in shaping characteristics of students. Raby (2005) concluded that dress code basically creates passive characteristics and obedience to authority. (p. 71-91)

1.1 Study ground

Chulalongkorn University’s website (n.d.) stated that the uniform of university student was initiated in the reign of King Rama the V. It was created for the students in the institution since its early period as the school providing education for royal page before becoming the
first university of Thailand later on. Although not fashionable, the uniform of Chulalongkorn University has been adapted for numerous times in order to be appropriate for different periods. Sooksai (2013) remarked that the university students were required to wear the uniform because it was viewed as 1) polite and appropriate dress, 2) representing the honor of university, 3) maintaining grace, uniqueness and value of Thai culture, 4) demonstrating unity, and 5) preventing sexual abuse in the university.

At present, not many countries impose student uniform in university level, and Thailand is one of those. Many advantages and disadvantages regarding uniform of university students have been raised between opponents and supporters. A lot of research is conducted about student uniforms in school level. However, in Thailand where uniforms are mandatory at university level, there has been no study conducted according to my knowledge. This is the first study to investigate experiences towards influences of uniform among university students in Thailand. The study aims to shed a light on exploring experiences of university students on wearing the uniforms and see first, how this links to power relations at Thai universities and secondly, how this affects students’ personal development.

1.2 Research questions

As this study intends to (1) explore the attribution of uniform that can shape and distribute power to different groups of social actors on a basis of cultural representation as a symbol both in university and general circumstance and (2) the consequences of wearing university uniform and how personality is shaped by the uniform in Thailand’s context, the research questions are formed as the following.

1. How does the uniform affect the power relations inside and outside the university?

2. How does uniform contribute to personal development among university students?

The theoretical starting point for the research is mainly grounded on habitus initiated by Pierre Bourdieu (1984), the French sociologist, to analyse social power which is unequally distributed among social groups due to constant interactions of social actors in the fields (p. 169-395). Then, Stuart Hall’s theory (1997) on social representation through symbols is applied to portray the function of uniform towards social construction (p. 1-28).

Chapter two informs about background and context of the research. In Chapter three, theoretical framework is explained. Chapter four reveals the methodology underpinning the
process of research, data acquisition, and methods of data analysis which will be described along with clarification on trustworthiness and ethical issues concerned. Chapter five consists of findings based on the collected data. Lastly, chapter six shall discuss and analyse the findings compared with other studies with some recommendations to properly handle the related issues of uniform.

1.3 Researcher’s position

The researcher’s experiences are unavoidably influential in conducting a research. I would like to inform the readers that I have experiences about uniform directly as a Thai student wearing the student uniform since kindergarten to bachelor's degree. More importantly, while studying for the Bachelor of Arts during 2002-2006, I used to wear the university uniform to attend classes regularly in the first year. Then, when I became a senior student, I only wore it to attend major examinations. Although Silpakorn University imposed a regulation of student dress code, the students in the Faculty of Arts were not strictly required to wear the uniform every day due to the liberal nature of faculty. Subsequently, I had a chance to observe the role of student dress code from perspective of a lecturer while working at Nakhon Pathom Rajabhat University and Kasetsart University (Kamphaeng Saen Campus). Considering the student dress code through different perspectives, as student and lecturer, has shaped my understanding and perception of it in terms of power relations and personal development.
2 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH

This section explains the background of Thailand’s social contexts dominated by the idea of Thainess established on the triangle pillar of Buddhism, monarchy, and nation. Thainess has influenced the establishment of Thailand’s higher education, characteristics of Thailand’s university students, Thailand’s university uniform, student’s appearance, and hierarchical structure inside Thai universities.

2.1 Origin and significance of the concept of Thainess

Thailand (“Land of the Free”) situated in Southeast Asia has a splendid history and rich culture. The state’s first permanent residence can be traced back for 40,000 years ago according to the archeological excavation around Chao Phraya Basin on the west of present Thailand where Thai cultures flourished. (Mishra, 2010, p. 1) Sukhothai and Ayutthaya were Thailand’s ancient states respectively before Chakri dynasty established Bangkok, a new capital in 1782, and has reigned the country until the present day (Baker and Phongpaichit, 2014, p. 1). Buddhism is the main religion in Thailand with 95% of Thais being Buddhists and identity of Thais are deeply rooted in Thainess evidenced in traditional social practices that distinguish qualities, behavior, and virtues of Thailand. (Liamputtong, 2014, p. 1-22).

Thainess was introduced by King Rama V to create the state homogeneity for the benefits of political elites in Bangkok in response to colonial threatening (Liamputtong, 2014, p. 1-22). Rhein (2016) mentioned that expanding influences of western countries enforced Thailand to become civilized for survival of colonialism. Thailand’s ruling class accepted western-style material progress while sustaining most parts of Thainess (p. 261 -274). Sattayanurak (2008) viewed that King Rama V reformed the bureaucratic systems including education system to support national development together with redefining Thainess in various parts to prevent criticism from western countries claiming Thais being barbaric. Thainess defined common Thai characteristics and cultures that make Thais unique from other nations.

Thainess is the integral foundation of absolute monarchy because it justified the political structure that centralized power at the king and social structure that classified people based on their birthright. To maximize the process of power centralization, King Rama V assigned
new meanings to royal rituals and processions and constructed symbols that place the King at the center of state, and strongly emphasized about national unity. Throughout his era, he guided the nation in selecting artistic and cultural expressions of Thainess to represent national uniqueness and sustained absolute monarchy at the same time. Identity of civil servants was ranked and awarded by the King in the form of honors. (Sattayanurak, 2008)

Subsequently, King Rama VI developed a concept of “Thai nation” which meant the nation of Thai people whose livelihood has been intricately linked with Thai cultures and who loyally adopted Thainess for their social practices, founded on triangulation pillars of nation, religion, and kingship. He reiterated that truly Thai cultures must be inherited from the ancient days. He also described that the value and truthfulness of Thainess was comparable to European civilizations because it was grounded on Buddhism which was considered superior than that of other religions. Thainess was claimed to allow Thais to be proud of their nation and feel grateful of the King’s generosity in helping Thais become civilized and free from colonization. King Rama V, at the same time, created the concept of “otherness” which focused on the Chinese people in Siam who brought republic ideology into the nation. (Sattayanurak, 2008)

Thainess has been redefined constantly due to changes in political contexts. At the end of 1930s, Thailand was in an official alliance with Japan and aimed to become a Southeast Asian superpower. Luang Wichitwathakan, Director General of the Fine Arts Department at that time, crafted the concept of Thainess as Thais who love progress, have a fighting spirit, work hard, and favor commerce. (Sattayanurak, 2008) According to Bunyavejchewin (2010), although definitions of Thainess have been adapted continuously, the real function of Thainess is an effective political tool to justify and sustain power holders and social structure. Unity or kwamsamakki is extremely significant to Thai dominant social class because they viewed that it leads to stability through demanding a similar set of thinking, belief in royal nationalism, and top-down benefits. Removing all differences in thinking would maintain the current power structure. (p. 241-248)

Apart from being loyal to the King, Thais are expected to pay respect to parents and teachers, and be aware of seniority in a sense that children respect elders and elders are kind to the children in return (Farrelly, 2016, p. 331-343). Thai education system has played an important role in cultivating Thai nationalistic conservativeness in a top-down approach to the students regardless of their background (Renard, 2006, p. 295-320).
Sattayanurak (2008) mentions that the hierarchical social structure is perceived as good and proper because it results in order, stability, and peace. Thais accept favoritism and other injustices easily, or else view them as natural. Demanding for the people's rights and resistance against those who violate their rights and freedom are improper and therefore rare. Thainess is a part of Thai social violent structure because it makes Thais ignore inequalities which exist in many dimensions of the society including relationships between classes, gender, economic status and daily life. Thainess shapes the idea “Thailand is a good country” a reality among many problems leading to ignorance of complexity of problems which constantly causes failures in solving social problems. Thainess calms the people and convinces them not to turn against the ruler and government because it explains that unity would bring happiness, prosperity, and independence to the nation.

At present, Thai people usually prefer pleasuring atmosphere at working and living places. They emphasize on strong spirit of community through social relations. Anything that threatens social balance and harmony would be resisted. (Hallinger and Kantamara, 2000, p. 189-205) A study of Pimpa (2012) mentioned that Thai social relations are interwoven with boonkoon (goodness or usefulness). It is obligation, on the need for affiliation and security. The more intense this motivation, the more stable and predictable the relationship will be. Due to the ideology of collective system, Thais give importance of saving face which motivates them to act accordingly to the social expectation and tries not to have variable behavior. They also fear to make inappropriate decisions. Thai society has minimum tolerance to uncertainty and risks. It tends to avoid risky activities. (p. 35-42)

2.2 Establishment and hierarchy of Thai universities

In 1917, Chulalongkorn University, the first university of Thailand, was established in the reign of King Rama VI. The university aimed to produce devoting and effective government officers selected from the elite families at that time to strengthen and expand royal projects for nation-state construction. Thai higher education adopted foreign models in both spirit and nature because the system was formulated by influential elites graduating abroad. (Rhein, 2016, p. 261-274) Later government founded three more public universities in the early 1940s to fulfill the needs of public services; these three universities were aimed for different expertise namely Kasetsart University for agriculture, Silpakorn University for fine arts, and Mahidol University for medicine (Bovonsiri & Fry, 1991, p. 30-35). Despite the
western influences and values, Thai universities strongly emphasize preservation of Thai cultures (Bovornsiri & Fry, 1991, p. 30-35; Rhein, 2016, p. 261-274).

The internal system of Thailand’s universities is based on distinctive administration of each faculty similarly to those in the United Kingdom. On the other hand, teaching and course credits are close to the American system. Nonetheless, the interactions between professors and students follow traditional Thai approach rather than any foreign model. Rites and rituals exert strong influence on students’ attitudes and academic performance. The undergraduate students are required to wear uniform and attend classes regularly. Therefore, the mental attitudes of students have been developed in a passive fashion, instead of being creative and intellectual. The students hardly raise any questions or arguments in class because they lack participative training in schooling. The majority of Thai university students are familiar with authoritarian practices as they perceive the university as a further educational section of their conventional schooling in which they acquire knowledge passively and submissively. Giving lectures is still a prevalent teaching approach which spares very limited room for self-learning activities for students. (Prangpatanpon, 1996, p. 14-16)

Most of Thai university students recognize Thainess values and prioritize devotion to the nation, religion, and the king; and the secondary set of values are gratitude and honesty (Tubporn, 2011, p. 177-185). They usually gather in groups and it is rare to find students studying alone and individually. At Kasetsart University, the students particularly participate in a wide range of group activities such as sports, parties, fairs, and field trips. Consequently, one of the major advantages for Thais of completing their undergraduate degree in Thailand is the large number of strong personal contacts formed during bachelor’s life in the university. Thai society significantly pressures students to gain admission to selective, prestigious universities. The elite universities ensure greater benefits and higher job security after graduation. Paying great respect to teachers, elders, and individuals of high status is integral to Thai culture. Extreme politeness is significant to Thai cultural norms. It contributes to an atmosphere of social solidarity and minimizes disciplinary problems. Such extreme politeness affects the learning environment in a way that students may feel reluctant to challenge professors in intellectual matters and tend to accept the professor’s ideas without any queries. Thai university embeds qualifications to the students that would make them successful in bureaucratic world. Basically, it consists of (1) respect and deference to superiors, (2) knowledge of etiquette for interacting with royalty and those of highly elite status, (3) ability to maintain and foster social harmony, and (4) development of high levels
Thai universities are organized in hierarchies which imitate Thai social structure. The universities set up the systems that strictly impose regulations, disciplines, and conventions to make the students behave accordingly to sustain the conventional values. (Mezey, 1975, p. 499-509) Obedience to the seniority and authority is a positive personal trait of university students in Thai society. At the beginning of each academic year, all of Thai universities hold Wai Kru. (Fakjamroon, 2005) In the past, the teachers did not receive any financial benefits for their lessons given to the students. Thus, the students hold Wai Kru to show their gratitude to the teachers who kindly give knowledge to them. At present, although the teaching profession is recognized and teachers receive financial compensations, Wai Kru is still held annually in all levels of Thai education. (Prangpatanpon, 1996, p. 14-16)

Thais still give importance to teachers until the present day because the knowledge transmitted from the teachers is regarded specific and special. It is collected, experienced, and applied by the teachers. Teachers are admired as a second parent of students. The students are successful because the parent gives birth and the teachers give knowledge and wisdom to their lives. Wai Kru is important to Thai culture because it shows that the students are aware of boonkoon (goodness or usefulness) of teachers. It is believed that the persons returning favors to the teachers would have prosperous lives. (Kitkerdsaeng, 2011)

Apart from showing gratitude to the lecturers, the students need to show respect to the senior students because of their seniority. In the past, studying in university is considered highly privileged. The initiations (or Junior Greeting Activities) were used as a way of endorsing this honor to new students in a faculty of university. Attending initiations are duties and responsibilities of new members of the university. Many faculty initiations consist of senior students yelling at first-year students and telling them to do activities unrelated to their study. The yelling is called “wark” in Thai and the senior students yelling the newcomers are called “warkers”. The first-year students normally fear for the warkers both during the activities and their free time. A silly look or inappropriate comments can lead to “punishment” for the whole first-year group. To avoid the “punishment”, which is usually imposed to the entire first-year student group, the first-year students must obey the order of senior students without a question. The activities are purposeful by the seniors as the way of promoting unity, hierarchy, and conformity among the first-year students. (Grubbs, 2012, p. 39-46)
During the activities, the senior students always emphasize about proper university uniform on campus and respect for older students and lecturers under SOTUS system. SOTUS refers to seniority, order, tradition, unity, and spirit. When the new students attend the university next year, the first-year student in this year needs to transmit the SOTUS to the next generation of first-year students. (Nainapat, 2016)
3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter aims to reveal the theoretical framework underpinning the study. The grand theory of *habitus* created by Pierre Bourdieu is adopted to provide an understanding of unequal social power among different groups of social actors. Stuart Hall’s theory of *cultural representation* is also used to explain the social functions of uniform that help to construct and maintain Thailand’s social structure. These two main theories make the foundation for finding answers to the research questions.

3.1 Bourdieu’s theory of practice

According to Bourdieu’s theory of practice (in Navarro, 2006), power is ubiquitous in the society. Power gives a wide possible range of control to social actors from influence to domination, violence to force, or oppression to coercion. A distant power exerted by one mind can reduce one’s sovereignty. Power is related to existing structure, social action, and multiple factors of social arrangements grounded on *habitus, capital*, and *field*. Bourdieu’s social perception is different from Karl Marx because he rejects the idea that power is a direct result of inequality in wealth. Bourdieu conceptualizes the society as a series of production, circulation, and consumption of various forms of culture as well as material resources structurally. (p. 11-22) According to Bourdieu’s perception (in Walther, 2014), one’s behaviors and actions are driven by personal interest and social arrangements. Viewing symbolic and material interests as objective form of interest enables him to develop various concepts of capital such as *economic capital, cultural capital, social capital*, and *symbolic capital*. The capitals are mechanisms that bring about differences which lead to social hierarchies. Therefore, the capitals become valued resources that people struggle for. All interactions occur in the field where practices of agents are socially structured. (p.7-23) Bourdieu created the equation of his theory, that is, \(((\text{habitus}) \times \text{capital}) + \text{field} = \text{practices}\) (Bourdieu, 1984, p.101). Well knowing that the applied theories have been constructed by Westerners, they are being applied precisely because, after careful consideration, they are found well suited to the current research intention of examining the effects of certain cultural practices i.e. the strict rules of wearing the uniforms in Thai universities.
3.1.1 Habitus

Habitus is the central concept of Bourdieu’s grand social theory. Habitus is a product of social conditionings and a history, not naturally occurred or merely personal behaviors. (Walther, 2014, p.7-23) It is a social facet inherited and sustained by various forms of capital. Therefore, habitus is varying across time, place, and power distributions in different fields. It functions as the strategy generating principle that enables agents to handle unpredictable and ever-changing circumstances. Habitus leads to unconscious practices of people in achieving their goals by means of investing proper types and amounts of capitals on a social field. It is systematically surrounding us through books, cars, spirits, or perfumes. (Reay, 2004, p.431-444) In this perspective, habitus limits our practices and social behaviors because it happens in the social field that sets social boundaries. Habitus drives us to act unconsciously to conform to our social position in the field. The dominant class in the field exerts strong influence on rule setting and puts efforts in continuation of the rules. (Bourdieu, 1984, p.101)

Habitus is mostly developed through the process of socialization and it shapes dispositions in the given context. It results from social class (doxa) and the rules of the game in the field. Habitus is not a ‘structure’ but a set of firm dispositions which molds human behaviors. It may vary in the society from one period to another because of changed social conditions. Habitus can strengthen inclusion, but also provokes changes and innovations, particularly when it does not fit in the circumstance of society where it evolves. (Walther, 2014, p.7-23)

There are two types of habitus consisting of primary and secondary according to different terms of socialization. The *primary habitus* is relatively stable. It is the schemes of action and perception that have been cultivated during childhood. It primarily links to social positions of parents. Perception and actions of parents rooted from their dispositions are internally transferred to the children as the first education; this results in different tastes, lifestyles, and interests among social class. The *secondary habitus* is created additionally on the ground of primary habitus, but it is basically the direct outcome of one’s education at school and university including personal experiences. The primary and secondary habitus can be merged into one single habitus which is continuously shaped and modified by one’s experiences. As habitus is durable, but not eternal, it sometimes is not adapted to the conditions of modified fields such as the problem about generation gap. (Walther, 2014, p. 7-23)
3.1.2 Capitals

Based on Bourdieu, capital is the resources of social class that engenders power hierarchies. Bourdieu extends the concepts of capital beyond the financial notions in economics. The ‘capital’ covers tangible and intangible forms. Bourdieu differentiates capitals into four types including economic capital, cultural capitals, social capital, and symbolic capital. A certain type of capital sends effects to the other types of capital. Thus, a clear-cut distinction cannot be determined in reality due to their interconnection and convertible characteristics. Nonetheless, trying to draw the frame for each type of capital is still in need in order to understand each concept more clearly and to see the effects of culture in giving values concerning capitals. (Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo, 1995, p. 859-903)

Economic capital refers to all forms of valued resources. It is related to an individual’s fortune and revenues. It can be convertible directly into money and claimed for property rights. This type of capital is easier to be transformed into other types of capital than vice-versa and thus has the highest convertibility. For instance, a person buys a book and thus, it is exchanging the economic capital for cultural capital. It becomes an object of dispute and the foundation of power hierarchies. (Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo, 1995, p. 859-903; Navarro, 2006, p. 11-22; Walther, 2014, p. 7-23)

Cultural capital appears in many forms. It includes long-standing dispositions and habits shaped by the process of socialization, and accumulation of valued cultural objects. The cultural capital is classified into two types, that is, incorporated cultural capital in the form of education and knowledge, and symbolic cultural capital or the capacity to define and justify cultural, moral, and artistic values, standards, and styles. (Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo, 1995, p. 859-903) Cultural capital strongly influences education field because it brings the differences in academic performance among students. The students born in high class families usually perform better in schools compared with those from low class families. The high class students acquire more cultural capital from their families. They have more books, modern devices, and learning activities that provide more exposures to experiences in the world. (Sablan & Tierney, 2014, p. 153-188) Dumais (2002) specifically explained about objectified cultural capital which refers to objects that require special cultural abilities to appreciate including institutionalized cultural capital. A person can appropriated embody cultural capital through educational system. The cultural capital creates gender distinctions which is likely to benefit males more than females (p.44-68)
Bourdieu’s social capital enables social reproduction anchored in two components, that is, group membership and social networks. Social relations grounded on relationships between actors, rather than a common ‘quality’ of the group, increases the ability of an actor in acquiring his or her interests. An individual’s social capital relies on the size of his or her network of connections and the amount of capital in the network. Social capital is directly bound and can be changed to economic and cultural capital. The examples of existing social groups are labour unions, political parties, and voluntary associations. (Sublan & Tierney, 2014 p. 153-188)

Symbolic capital is a result of mutual cognition and recognition of social capital combined. In order to become effective by making the differences meaningful as ‘self-evident’, differences between groups or classes need to be converted into symbolic differences and classifications which expose symbolic recognition and distinction. Symbolic capital legitimizes one’s social positions and the division of economic, cultural, and social resources. Trust, the basic element of symbolic capital, is subject to be exploited in the practice of symbolic power or symbolic exchange. The most successful self-evident can be apprehended as the most absolute recognition of legitimacy once it is prevalent in every day’s life. The authority plays a crucial role in determining symbolic capital and therefore can sustain its power. Apparently, the authority constitutes and imposes a universally applicable common set of coercive norms within a given nation. (Siisiäinen, 2003, p. 183-204) In addition, Skeggs (2004) proposed that a person who fails to comply himself or herself with a set of dominant bourgeois norms or practices, he or she would be branded as immoral. The immoral is unable to acquire suitable personhood which means that they cannot embed value into themselves. Hence, self making is directly associated with a dominant bourgeois class making. (p. 75-95)

3.1.3 Field

Field is an arena that actors struggle over legitimate power by improving their social positions, aiming to sustain or transform the existing balance of force (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 92-96). Siisiäinen (2003) discussed about the field that it is social spaces allowing cultural dispositions, norms, and knowledge to be produced and valued; and these create social practices (p. 183-204). A society has many social fields dominated by different groups of actors. It depends on the determined capital that the dominant groups sufficiently possess to
occupy the leading positions within their relative fields such as economic field, religious field, and education field. The capitals here particularly focus on economic capital and cultural capital. For instance, the university field is dominated by the intellectuals while the political field is led by politicians. (Bourdieu, 1984, p.132-151)

I conclude the above quotations concerning Bourdieu’s theorizing by saying that the unequal power of society is resulted from constant interplay of actors and structure through the culture and its symbols. Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice comprises three main parts, that is, habitus, capital, and field. Habitus means social norms or tendencies that guide the members to think and behave in particular ways unconsciously. It is produced by a sort of interplay among social actors. The societal power relations are underpinned by ‘capital’ that creates social classes. Field is a network, structure, or set of relationships formed on varied grounds such as intellectualism, religion, education, and culture. People experience power differently relying on a field they are in at that moment. Self-critical knowledge would empower and emancipate the majority of society from the unethical cultures imposed which are rooted from social asymmetries and hierarchy.

3.2 Cultural representation

According to Hall (1997), culture is about shared meanings that deposit values and meaning of a society. The cultures are represented in the classic work of literature, painting, music, and philosophy. Cultures are a set of abstract things which are turned into practices as they are considered make-sense. People who belong from the same culture have the similar interpretations of the world broadly. Their expressions about themselves, thoughts, and feelings are understood among the social members. People make sense of things through language, but the language here does not mean German, French, or Chinese nor does it mean they understand perfectly what anyone who speaks the same language is saying. Here, the scope of language is expanded and referred to the roughly similar interpretation of visual image, body language, and facial expression. (p. 1-4)

It can be said that all social practices ‘work like languages’. This is not because they are used for written or spoken, but rather they all use some elements to stand for or represent what people want to say, to express, or communicate a thought, concept, idea, or feeling. For example, spoken language uses sounds, written language uses words, the fashion industry uses items of clothing, and traffic lights use red, green and amber to ‘say something’.
These elements of sounds, words, clothes, and colors are part of our natural and material world; but their importance for language is not what they are but what they do or function. Representation through language is therefore central to the processes by which meaning is produced. (Hall, 1997, p. 18-19)

There are three basic approaches that explain how representation through language works - reflective, the intentional and the constructionist or constructivist approaches. In the **reflective approach**, meaning is considered to embed in the object, person, idea or event in the real world. Language functions like a mirror reflecting its true meaning existed in the world. For example, ‘A rose is a rose is a rose’. A *rose* here is a sign. A word ‘rose’ can be referred to an actual plant growing in the garden, but people who use the word need to know the code which links the concept to particular world or image. The word ‘rose’ would not be understood by someone coming from the different culture that does not call the plant with thorn growing in the garden ‘rose’. The second approach offers the opposite argument. It proposes that the meaning in representation is uniquely imposed by the speaker or author on the world through language. This is the **intentional approach**. This approach has a major flaw in a way that the significance of language is for communication and relying on shared codes and linguistic conventions. In order to be shared and understood, the privately intended language needs to enter into the rules, codes, and conventions of language. Therefore, language cannot be a private game. The third approach realizes the public and social character of language. Things have meaning because people construct their meanings by using representational systems - concepts and signs. Consequently, this one is called constructivist or **constructionist approach**. Constructivists accept the existence of the material world. Remarkably, the meanings of material world are given by the social actors based on the conceptual system of their culture, linguistics, and other representational systems. (Hall, 1997, p. 24-26)

After having introduced my theoretical foundation, based on Bourdieu’s ideas of habitus and capital as well as Hall’s conceptualization of cultural representation, I shall move on to discuss the methodological choices of my study.
4 METHODOLOGY

In this section I shall discuss the methodological choices I considered best for my study. This discussion includes a brief introduction to the research paradigm grounded on postpositivism and a description of the main features of qualitative research. After that I will explain in greater detail how the study was carried out, selection of the informants, data collection through interviews, and its analysis. Towards the end of this chapter I shall explicate how I acquired trustworthiness of the research, and dealt with ethical issues.

4.1 Introduction to the research paradigm and qualitative research

Philosophers of science and methodologists have engaged in debate on the nature of reality and knowledge for a long time. Those philosophical debates try to seek constitutions of good research and high-quality evidence. In its most distinguishable pattern among a wide range of variation on inquiry approaches, the debates can be broadly separated under two main paradigms as a departure of research journey: (1) using quantitative and experimental methods to produce and test hypothesis by deduction, versus (2) using qualitative and naturalistic approaches to understand human experience in a context-based setting holistically by induction. (Patton, 2015, p. 88-89)

Inquiry paradigm is fundamental to conducting a research because it can help justify appropriateness of methodology and evaluation applied to understand realities. Patton (2015) defined inquiry paradigm as a worldview or a way to see and make sense of complexities of the real world. Paradigms are strongly influenced by socializations performed by adherents and practitioners. Paradigm informs us about importance, legitimacy, and rationality of the existents. It possesses strength and weakness at the same time. Its strength is to make decision become relatively easy, while its weakness is the unquestioned assumption underpinning paradigm used to justify a certain decision. (p. 89)

Although varying in objective and methodology, both qualitative and quantitative inquiries share common value and obligation around systematic inquiry i.e. matching methods to questions, punctilious data collection, reliable analysis, and detail reporting of the procedures followed, including clarifying strengths and weaknesses of the chosen inquiry approach and results acquired. Either qualitative or quantitative inquiry provides useful coherent worldview; therefore, it seems illogical to confine exploring the world reality only
in a single paradigm of qualitative or quantitative inquiry or even mixed paradigm narrowly. Towards more practical stances, the researcher should select the paradigm appropriate for her intended purposes, available resources, procedures followed, results obtained all within a particular context, and for a specific audience. (Patton, 2015, p. 88-92)

Qualitative is personal because the researcher is the instrument of inquiry. The researcher’s background, experience, worldview, training, skills, interpersonal competence, and capacity for empathy affect data collection and interpretation undergird credibility of research findings and its analysis. Qualitative research occupies five main characteristics. These are (1) studying how things work by using open-ended questions aiming to acquire in-depth, personal, and contextually sensitive comprehension, (2) explaining how systems function and affect people’s lives in the way they are, (3) understanding context of interest, (4) identifying unanticipated consequences and side effects, and (5) comparing its results to other studies to find important patterns and themes. (Patton, 2015, p. 3-12)

In responding to perception of truth and reality underpinning qualitative inquiry, postpositivism generates much of contemporary social science research (Patton, 2015, p. 106). Postpositivists believe that there is a single reality, but this reality can never be fully understood due to its multiple hidden values and variables. Knowledge is the attempt to approximate the reality and get closer to the truth as much as possible. (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011, p. 97-128) Postpositivists perceived that elective judgment is unavoidable in science; and establishing fixed causality to understand human interactions is problematic. Knowledge is relative rather than absolute because it has been historically constituted on specific paradigms. Although being modest in constituting any certainty to what can be known, postpositivists do affirm that by using empirical evidence, it is possible to distinguish between more and less logical claims, to test and choose between competing hypotheses, and to justify what is belief or valid. (Patton, 2015, p. 106)

Phenomenology has been considered as a method applicable within a postpositivism paradigm because it yields empirical knowledge in the form of descriptive and explanatory theory to create understanding. The method leads to practically relevant knowledge and also contributes to ethical, aesthetic, personal, and socio-political ways of knowing. (Racher & Robinson, 2003, p. 464-481) As this study intends to (1) explore the attribution of uniform that can shape and distribute power to different groups of social actors on a basis of cultural
representation as a symbol both in university and general circumstance and (2) the consequences of wearing university uniform and personality shaped by the uniform in Thailand’s contexts, phenomenology is followed.

Phenomenology is remarkably influenced by Edmund Husserl and Alfred Schutz. The approach relies on data interpretation by bracketing an idea the participants take for granted as true to find out about what is actually taken for granted. (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 25) Phenomenology views humans as open and engaged beings who are capable of developing their personal meanings and expressing themselves (Kerry and Armour, 2000, p.1-17). Phenomenology aims to acquire a more profound understanding of human’s everyday experiences and explore how they transform their experiences into consciousness, both individually and as shared meaning. In data gathering, the researcher needs to conduct in-depth interviews with people who directly have experiences of phenomenon under the investigation. (Patton, 2015, p. 115-118) Starks and Trinidad (2007) summarized that phenomenology is about the study of social reality from human experiences (p. 1372-1380).

4.2 Informants and data collection through interviews

There were eight interviewees whose details are depicted in the table below.

Table 1. Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Faculty</th>
<th>Year of Study</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KU.KPS</td>
<td>Faculty of Education and Development Sciences (English Education Program)</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Faculty of Liberal Arts and Science (Hotel and Tourism Management Program)</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPRU</td>
<td>Faculty of Education (English Education Program)</td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4th</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Humanities and Social Sciences (Tourism Industry)</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see from the table above, the interviewees were all young people, four male and four female students. Codes were given based on genders of male and female to conceal the identity of participants; for instance, M1 means the first male participant and F1 means the first female participants. The codes are applied to the whole group of participants.

**Data collection**

Guided by Burnard (1991), the interview guidelines were formulated from literature review in a form of open-ended questions. The questions suggested theme areas that I wanted to explore. Subsequently, additional questions were raised to acquire more information according to individual perceptions of the participants. The open-ended and probing questions reflected the themes. (p. 461-466)

The interviews were conducted in four days during 6-20 June, 2016 (see the semi-structured interview questions, annex 12). Prior to data collection, the pre-test was carried out with a second-year student of Suan Sunandha Rajabhat University. The research guidelines were extended for gaining deeper understanding of participants. After the pre-test, the first day of interviews was conducted with two NPRU’s students from the faculty of education. Transcriptions in Thai were produced on the same day to reflect upon the interview contents. Three days after the first day of interviews, two more interviews were recorded from NPRU’s students from the faculty of humanities and social sciences. Thai transcriptions were made on the same day to recognize similarities and differences of the new sets of interview contents. Three days after that, on the third day of interviews, data from KU’s students from the faculty of education was acquired. Transcriptions were completed within
three days. After transcription of the sixth interview, a sense of data saturation was confirmed. In the same week, the last two interviews were conducted and a stage of saturation was reached. I stopped after a total of eight interviews. Later on, all transcripts were translated into English for analysis.

4.3 Data analysis

Content analysis has been widely used for education studies (Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun, 2012, p. 479). This flexible method enables researchers to study ever changing human experiences (Fraenkel et al., 2012, p. 478; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1277-1288). The goal of content analysis is to understand significant, multifaceted, and sensitive phenomenon with a focus on analyzing content or contextual meaning of the text (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1277-1288; Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013, p. 398-405). Although offering subjective interpretation on text data, content analysis is carried out through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns. In addition, its subcategories and categories should emerge from the data instead of using preconceived categories to justify its trustworthiness. (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1277-1288)

Burnard (1991) suggested data analysis and interpretation of phenomenology to be conducted by means of thematic content analysis. This particular method is suitable to analyze semi-structured, open-ended interviews with full transcription of the interviews recorded. It focuses on categorizing and codifying the transcription aiming at delivering a detailed and systematic analysis of the themes including issues raised in the recorded interviews. Thus, the themes are linked to the interviews under a reasonable category system. (p. 461-466)

Data analysis of this study is elaborated grounded on Burnard (1991, p. 461-466) as the following.

1. A table of content analysis was created comprising of three columns i.e. (a) order of question, (b) questions of subtheme and (c) its data, and findings.

2. Codes were opened through reading all of transcripts and underlying verbatim.

3. Verbatim were put in the column of findings. Verbatim which had similar sense or contents were grouped together in order to find subcategory.
4. Explanations were written based on verbatim and then headings were given to each group as subcategory to put scattering data into a story. Meanwhile, repetitions in the process of coding were examined and removed.

5. Subcategory conveying similar senses were grouped together to form category so as to see a larger picture.

6. Category and subcategory were examined to finalize all of the lists and ensure that the lists cover all perspectives related to the themes and subthemes. I referred back to the original data many times during the process to adjust subtheme, category, and subcategory to make the findings reflect the phenomenon truthfully.

7. I started writing descriptions of each theme, subtheme, and category to complete a section of findings.

4.4 Trustworthiness

The fluid nature of qualitative research brings challenges to evaluation of its quality. In order to justify the value of qualitative research, Hammersley (in Cutcliffe & McKenna, 1999, p. 374-380) proposed that its assessment criteria should be comparable to that of quantitative research. Shenton (2004, p. 63-75) shared similar opinion and translated evaluating criteria to be practical for assessing qualitative research; these are credibility (in preference to internal validity), transferability (in preference to external validity/generalisability), dependability (in preference to reliability), and confirmability (in preference to objectivity).

4.4.1 Credibility

Credibility is the criterion to ensure congruence of findings with reality by considering how far the research can measure or test what is actually intended. The researcher can follow the following guidelines to accurately record the phenomena under investigation. These are the (1) adoptions of research methods well established both in qualitative investigation in general and in information science in particular, (2) the development of an early familiarity with the culture of participating organisations, (3) random sampling of individuals to serve as informants, (4) tactics to help ensure honesty in informants when contributing data, (5) iterative question, (6) frequent debriefing session, (7) peer scrutiny of the research project, (8) the researcher’s reflective commentary progressive subjectivity, (9) clarifying
background, qualifications and experience of the researcher, (10) thick description of the phenomenon under scrutiny, (11) and examination of previous research findings. (Shenton, 2004, p. 63-75)

To ensure credibility I adopted phenomenology approach which is prevalently used in education science, particularly in conducting research on student and nursing uniform. I developed familiarity with the institutions under the study because I worked as English lecturer of those two universities. I taught at NPRU as a part-time lecturer about seven months and then I taught at KU.KPS as a full-time lecturer approximately one and a half year. In terms of finding the participants, the university students who became participants were to a certain degree randomly selected to join the study, in the sense that I did not know them well personally. I asked my previous colleague at NPRU to find four participants. I requested a graduate student to find two participants from KU.KPS; and I contacted other two more students of KU.KPS to participate the interviews.

To promote honesty of informants, prior to conducting the interview, I introduced myself and my research area to the participants. I assured them that their identity shall not be disclosed. The consent form and rights to leave the interviews or skip any questions were informed. Furthermore, probing questions are used to clarify some abstract concepts such as in the topic of “decision making” which means the act of choosing between two or more actions, I gave an example which made the concept in question easier to understand such as “When you are on holiday, you do many new things But when you wear uniform, you are under regulations? What do you think about this?”

I had frequent debriefing sessions with my advisor and colleagues to discuss about my research. I gained more understanding and found new perspectives from those discussions. I also had a critical peer review to discuss my topic more extensively. My background, qualifications, and experiences concerning the uniform as research topic were clarified. Literature review covering the uniform wearing as the key phenomenon and examination of previous research findings were also carried out as expected.

4.4.2 Transferability

Transferability focuses a range of research findings which can be applied to other contextual settings (Malterud, 2001, p. 483-488; Shenton 2004, p.63-75). My research on university
uniform was conducted in the context of Thai culture where the uniform has been implemented in university to bachelor’s level. The findings and methodology, underpinned by phenomenology of this study, can be applied to the contexts of universities in developing countries elsewhere that are imposing uniform to their students at undergraduate level.

4.4.3 Dependability

Dependability emphasizes about detailed descriptions of research design and its implementation, data gathering, and review on effectiveness of inquiry process (Shenton 2004, p.63-75). According to the flexibility of phenomenology, I can create research approach to match with participants and research field. The universities provided the academic platform which supported data collection, and participants were willing to give information and share their experiences. The pilot test was conducted before data collection. The question guideline was slightly extended to make the questions more understandable for the interviewees. On the whole, the research was carried out according to the research plan.

4.4.4 Confirmability

Confirmability is employed to reduce the effect of researcher’s bias and ensure as far as possible that the research’s findings are derived on basis of the experiences and ideas of informants, rather than preferences and characteristics of the researcher. In achieving the confirmability, the researcher is required to follow three steps, that is, (1) admit her own predisposition, (2) express her belief underpinning decisions in the method adopted and weakness in its techniques, and (3) clarify preliminary theories that were not generated by the data. (Shenton 2004, p.63-75)

To reach confirmability, I tried to make sense of social facts through interpreting experiences of participants. Based on qualitative inquiry, I viewed that it is impossible to understand social reality without human interpretation because all societies are constructed by people. As a researcher, I considered my own personal opinions, put them aside and analysed the data according to experiences of participants through the interviews recorded. Hence, phenomenology was adopted to fulfill the aim of study to understand experiences of wearing the student uniform at university level. Translating texts from Thai into English brings about technical weakness due to some language gaps and selections of translated words which may not represent exact thoughts or perceptions of participants. As a result,
some unintentional biases on language may happen due to personal selection of word choices. In data analysis, some definite preconceived categories were not used, instead the categories rather flow from the data.

4.5 Ethical issue

In dealing with ethical issue, the consent forms were distributed to participants. Confidentiality of data and anonymity of participants were ensured. Also, the participants were freely allowed to leave the research project anytime and in any process.
5 FINDINGS

In this section I will first describe different styles of uniforms of participants from different universities and faculties. Then I will present findings of the first and second research questions. The finding of first theme reveals the functions of the uniform concerning power relations and how these are socio-culturally represented, and the finding of second theme discloses how students’ personal develop might be affected by the university dress codes. After that, I will be presenting generated subthemes, categories, and subcategories supported by verbatims.

5.1 Dress codes in university and faculty

Overall, the student uniforms in most universities are relatively similar as was mentioned in chapter 2 (Literature Review). However, a new type of student uniform required by the hotel and tourism programs is remarkably different from the conventional black and white uniform. A closer look of different uniform styles and dress codes (annex1-4) creates a common understanding among readers that will be useful for following the analysis process and the discussion chapter.

To sum up the relevant points concerning the descriptions of the different uniforms (as pictures displayed in annex 1-4), the following comments can be made. First of all, the dress code of all the uniforms is extremely formal and the rules are strict. The colours are normally only black and white. Women’s dress code shows more variation for different occasions. Universities’ signs and markers on tie and belt are an essential part of the dress code. The descriptions of the uniform show also for example, that in classrooms, male students of education faculties need to wear black trousers while female students are required to wear skirt and high-heeled shoes, and further that female students need to wear light makeup and use hair net daily while male students are required to put hair gel in hotel and tourism programs. Femininity is accentuated in the requirement that female students should wear knee-length pleated skirt with white sport shoes from year one to four on daily basis, men instead wear the uniform similarly to those in other universities. All in all, gender differences are clearly accentuated, hence we can conclude that based on the dress code descriptions, it seems that the studied universities clearly demonstrate conservative ethos as regards the norms set to their students’ habitus and behaviour.
5.2 The uniform as the representation of power relations

In the following section, I will present the answer of research question 1 in table 2. Subthemes are generated by categories, and categories based on subcategories. Subcategories are built on verbatims. The authentic quotes taken from my interview data are presented as follows:

Table 2 Findings for theme 1: power relations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtheme</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Subcategory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Symbolic communication</strong></td>
<td>Social class</td>
<td>Symbol of group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Respect to the superior actors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prosperity</td>
<td>Symbol of successful study life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Symbol of higher value of big universities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hierarchical empowerment</strong></td>
<td>Tool of lecturers</td>
<td>Arbitrary power of lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lecturer’s over-empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Punishment made by lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stricter discipline to first-year students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uniform prioritized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not asking questions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Theme one as showed in table 2 aims to explore power relations inside and outside the university. Wearing the uniform can signify different status of social actors as it implies certain qualifications of wearers both in the university and public places. Inside the university, the uniform creates hierarchies as it becomes tools of superior actors to control the students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tool of senior students</th>
<th>Temporary empowerment to seniors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promoting seniority status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fear for senior status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transmitting violence to other generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Violation of individual freedom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Symbolic communication**

The uniform provides symbolic communication among different groups of social actors inside and outside the university. The symbolic communication consists of two categories namely *social class* and *economic capital* i.e. *prosperity*.

**Social class**

The uniform is a cultural representation of a certain group of people belonging together. In this case, it is a social marker of a group which is meant to show respect towards their superiors. Hence the students have positive views towards the university uniform because it is a symbol of their group and the unity showing that they are members of a certain university. “*The student uniforms make me feel as a part of university.*” (F1) The uniform is a symbol of respect given to the seniors, lecturers, and institutions by the students. The junior students are inferior actors while the lecturers and senior students hold different superiority respectively. Wearing the uniform also means showing obedience to the rules set
by the superiors and thus signifies the respect of inferiors to them. “Wearing the student uniform shows respect to senior, lecturer, and institution.” (M1)

**Prosperity**

The uniform becomes a symbolic representation of successful study life and higher value of big universities among the students who pass or fail in a national entrance examination including opinions of parents and employers towards these students. The logo of famous university makes the students proud of being its member. Most of high school students aim to win a seat in top public universities to show their successful outcome. The winner of entrance examination can enjoy victory and announce her achievement through the university logo placed on its uniform. “I was very proud because I got admission at KU. It is top-three university of the country….I wore KU token to several places” (F4)

The students failing entrance examination feel uncomfortable when seeing those who passed the examinations. They made comparison and then became disheartened. “Seeing their uniforms attached with logo of big universities, I feel that they have higher value than me. They look more admirable because they got admitted.” (M2). Not only the students value entrance examinations, employers believe that the top universities can train their students better than smaller universities due to their higher academic standard and qualified students who pass a national entrance examination. “For hotel business, the students from big universities always work as Front Officers, while Rajabhat students usually work in the kitchen.” (M4) Doing well in the entrance examination and gaining a place in a top university means higher status in society and through it, prosperity.

**Hierarchical empowerment**

The uniform exerts strong influence on hierarchical empowerment inside the university through offering a tool of lecturers and tool of senior students for controlling the newcomers.

**Uniform as a tool of lecturers**

In terms of being used as a tool of lecturers, the uniform offers arbitrary power to the lecturer; lecturer’s over-empowerment, punishment given by lecturer, stricter discipline to first-year students, priority of uniform, and conforming and not asking questions. Uniform is a powerful tool used by lecturers to control their students. The lecturers are allowed to
arbitrarily determine punishments to the students. “Before teaching, some lecturers would call names and ask the students to stand up. If we dress improperly, our scores would be deducted.” (M4) Also, the lecturers can decide how far they want to take the strict rules with the uniform. “At present, wearing pleated skirt is allowed or not depends on lecturer of the subject” (M1)

Lecturer is an influential actor in sharing experience and providing knowledge to the students. Good students are supposed to pay respect, feel considerate, and follow the lecturer’s instructions. By strictly imposing dress codes, the lecturer can create fear among students because they implement harsh punishments. “No one ever dares to take any move…. If we don’t bring name tags, he will not allow us to enter into the classroom.” (M2)

The lecturers are usually stricter to first-year students about the uniform, compared with senior students because the newcomers are not familiar to university system. “However, the lecturers would focus on the first year students because they just entered into the university.” (F1) The first priority given to embedding a passive mindset to students through strict dress codes can result in weak academic performance. “They focus on good image, but view academic performance and capability less important.” (M1) The universities train students to be neat and polite through wearing proper uniform because they might view that weak academic performance of students after graduation can be compensated by proper clothes which can make them survive in Thailand’s work system. “The senior officers would prefer an employee following the norms.” (F1)

Students raise questions about uniform in different ways. They compare the strictness of uniform rule in their program with that of other programs. Because the lecturers’ opinions dominate, the uniform practices cannot be changed. The strict uniform rule undermines the courage of raising questions. The students learn that raising questions and acting against the rules would put them into troubles instead of receiving consideration or finding resolutions that lecturers and students would both be satisfied with. “I used to raise this question to myself many times, but I cannot do anything. Then, I stop asking question. Following their orders are easier.” (M2)

Uniform as a tool of senior students

Based on my research I dare to claim that not only by lecturers, uniform is also employed by the senior students to control the junior students. This shows how power relations evolve
and how the seniors promote their seniority status and create respect even fear for senior status. This is not only about violation of individual freedom but also about transmitting violence to the next generations, to the next student cohorts.

The senior students from year two to four usually participate in the initiations or Junior Greeting Activities. Wearing improper uniform is normally used as an excuse to punish first-year students. “We punished the juniors every day for wearing improper uniform. We ordered them to run around the Program’s building.” (M2) The main duties of seniors are to guide, control, and enforce juniors to follow rules and regulations of the university and their department. They usually receive respect after the initiations. “Nonetheless, there are some rules established by the senior students. For example, some programs allow students to wear any trousers to the university.” (M1) Misuse of seniority status that comes along with aggressive behaviours causes fear among the junior students. “The junior students are scared of aggressive seniors. When the junior walk pass, they would bend down their heads.” (M4)

Every generation of first-year students receive punishment because of ‘neglecting’ the dress code. Different levels of punishment can be imposed based on individual judgment of senior students. Once these first-year students become senior students, they implement such practice to the newcomers as well. “The rules of Junior Greeting are changed. The senior students who used to face bad Junior Greeting does not feel good because they had worse experiences in their years while the junior students had softer activities.” (M1)

Some seniors never engage in any activities of the universities. Nonetheless, they enjoy extending their freedom of expression while limiting junior’s freedom by using privilege of seniority. They make a claim for improper uniform in order to justify punishment. “I witnessed some aggressive classmates who complained the junior students about dying hair and wearing improper uniform, but they and me also changed our hair colors and wore improper uniforms.” (M4)

5.3 The influence of the dress code on student’s personal development

In the following section, I will present answer of research question 2 in table 3. Subthemes are generated by categories, and categories are based on subcategories. Subcategories are built on verbatims.
Table 3 Findings for theme 2: the influence of the dress code on students’ personal development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtheme</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Subcategory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Illusion of uniformity</strong></td>
<td>Behavioral issues</td>
<td>Classroom attendance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Submission of assignment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Insignificance</td>
<td>Not promoting knowledge acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inspiring profession occasionally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Suppression of individuality</strong></td>
<td>Institutionalized identity</td>
<td>Labeled identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Exerting external control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discomfort</td>
<td>Physical discomfort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A Barrier to personal actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td>Problematic</td>
<td>Demoting self-reliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prone to accidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sexual anxiety</td>
<td>Conservative concept of gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Different adaptation of sexuality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Life goals</strong></td>
<td>Unclear vision</td>
<td>Foreshadowing future profession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Promoting similarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Repressing success</td>
<td>Not promoting academic performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not promoting professional skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reduced learning motivation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Theme two as presented in table 3 intends to investigate personal development of students as a kind of social representation through the uniform. The uniform involves with illusion of uniformity, suppression of individuality, limiting gender acceptance, and does not promote life goals.

**Illusion of uniformity**

The illusion of uniformity due to the strict dress code comprises behavioral issues and may create false perceptions towards disciplinary matters and improvement of knowledge and professional skills.

**Behavioral issues**

Behavioral issues due to the dress code deals with classroom attendance and submission of assignment. The students viewed that punctuality depends on personal conscience and how well a person can manage his or her time. “*The student uniform is not related to attending classroom on time. It depends on the individual behaviour.*” (M3) The uniform as such does not encourage the students to submit assignment on time. This qualification greatly relies on personal determination and responsibility. “*The male students in my Program do not pay attention in submitting assignments and they reach the classroom late every day although they wear proper uniform.*” (M2)

**Insignificance**

The uniform imposed insignificant requirement comprising not promoting knowledge acquisition and inspiring professionalism. The uniform does not promote knowledge acquisition. The uniform only represents rules that the student needs to follow to avoid unnecessary punishment. “*Isaac Newton does not wear the uniform when he discovers physics rules.*” (M3) On the other hand, the hotel uniform worn by the students in hotel and tourism programs can inspire the students to work in the hotel after graduation occasionally. “*It motivates me to reach my target. I can wear this uniform when I work in a hotel.*” (M2)
**Suppression of individuality**

The uniform is viewed as suppression of individuality because of institutionalized identities, and discomfort. In terms of institutionalized identities, the uniform constitutes labeled identity and exerts external control. In order to feel more relaxing and personal and prevent social blames from making some mistakes, the students are likely to take off the uniform before doing any personal activities. “...sometimes I have to manage urgent personal matters. I need to go home and change the dress.” (M1)

Before taking any actions, the students need to consider their consequences whether they would harm a good image of university or not. A fear caused by concern over the university image limits freedom of students. “For me, the uniform does not give great freedom. If I wear the uniform, I would not be badly-behaved. So it would not affect me and my Program.” (F2). Wearing the uniform, the students engaging in activities which are deviated from the dress code, shall be subject to punishment. “If we wear the uniform to night clubs, our behaviours would be reported to the Program certainly.” (M2)

**Discomfort**

The uniform causes physical discomfort and becomes a barrier to personal actions. Due to the uniform’s garment and fixed pattern, it is not flexible, soft, nor comfortable to wear and it does not well ventilate the heat. “The shirt does not allow my arms to move freely. It is not because I’m fat. When I was slim in the first year, I also feel this tightness.” (F4) The students usually do not wear the uniform to any other places without necessity. “Anyway, I never wear student uniform to any places because it is hot.” (M3)

Some of the students expressed that the uniform restricting their physical movement. The uniform is merely convenient for academic activities that do not need free physical movement, or the ones which cannot bring taints to the white cloth. “When I don’t wear the uniform, it is more convenient to do physical activities or voluntary services.” (M1)

**Gender**

In relation to gender issues, the uniform is problematic because it undermines self-reliance upon physical movement and transportation of women. Also, the uniform creates sexual anxiety based on its conservative concept.
Problematic

The uniform becomes problematic because it demotes self-reliance of female students and makes them more prone to accidents. As A-line skirts are narrow and not flexible, the female students need to sit straight with their legs close. However, it is not convenient to wear thin shorts inside the skirt. Therefore, a comfortable sitting position can show a female’s part. “Some female classmates straddle their legs while sitting. It is obscene.” (M4) Thin and transparent texture of uniform can reveal female’s top part when they get wet from rain. “The top body of females is showed when it is rainy because of white shirt.” (M1)

Female students usually take motorcycle taxi and bus to go to their university. An A-line skirt is too narrow and makes them unable to sit in a normal style. “Wearing an A-line skirt causes difficulty when I need to sit on motorcycle. I have to sit by keeping my legs on one side, not in a normal riding post.” (F1) A too long pleated-skirt makes them get on the bus agilely. Difficulties caused by the skirts can cause accidents. “In my first year, I did not agree with wearing long pleated skirt at all because it is dishabille. I have to take it up while getting on the bus.” (F2)

Sexual anxiety

In relation to sexual anxiety, the uniform maintains conservative concept of gender and causes different adaptation of sexuality. The uniform only allows males and females to appear in the formal education atmosphere and ignore LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersexual) people. “The uniform is troublesome to my sexuality. I am a butch.” (F3) Although the uniform denies existence of LGBTI people, a person whose sexuality can be expressed and adapted with the uniform rule would become less bothered. “The lecturers hardly frustrate with my grooming. If the students don’t wear short skirts or dress very improperly, the lecturers would not bother them.” (F3) A student whose sexual identity is obviously contrary to the uniform would feel more unease. “I want to wear clothes like females. …..The Program doesn’t allow me to have long hair while other programs allow this. I want to do like that, but I can’t. I want to change....” (M2)
Life goals

Concerning life goals, the uniform creates unclear vision because it does not actually signify future profession of students as it only promotes similarities that is, uniformity. In addition, it may repress success in studies as promotes neither academic performance nor professional skills.

Unclear vision

The unclear vision consists of foreshadowing future profession and promoting similarity. The uniform of specific professions such hotel and tourism programs make the students proud because their people admire uniform. Some people misunderstand that they work for an airline. “Some do not think that this is hotel suit, but they think this a suit for flight attendant. I am proud with this hotel suit.” (M2) The uniform promotes similarities among students, rather than differences. “The uniform does not support difference....” (F3)

Repressing success

In terms of repressing success, the uniform does not promote academic performance nor professional skills and it reduces learning motivation. The uniform does not promote academic performance. Good academic performance relies on individual’s attention. “The uniform just reminds us that we are studying. The academic performance, however, depends on individual eagerness.” (M3) The uniform does not promote professional skills. The students view that professional skills are fundamentally promoted by determination and work experiences. “The uniform does not improve my teaching skills. The quality of teaching depends on intentions and experiences.” (F1)

In order to study well, the students want to feel the most comfortable with their body movement. The uniform, however, creates difficulties for the students even while sitting in the classroom. It causes great frustrations to them. “The uniform does not motivate learning. I want to learn more when I wear casual clothes. The uniform makes me uncomfortable and tight. I don’t want to do anything.” (F4)
6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I shall discuss the importance of findings and explain any new insights taking the findings into consideration. The discussion will be linked to the introduction through research questions and literature review. In addition, the strengths and limitations of this thesis are deliberated and recommendations for further research are presented. This chapter is beneficial to three main stakeholders of undergraduate education i.e. policy makers, lecturers, and students.


In relation to symbolic communication, the uniform functions as a social class marker and operates as a symbol of cultural representation. In generating affirmation of social class, my study shows that the uniform signifies uniformity in the form of student membership of their universities and strengthens the demanded respect to the superior actors. A perception of researchers that dress code represents membership in a social setting chimes with my finding (Craik, 2003, p. 127-147; Roach-Higgins, Eicher, & Johnson, 1995, p.7-18). Furthermore, an affirmation of Roach-Higgins, Eicher, & Johnson (1995, p.7-18) that dress announces communicating identities conforms with my finding that wearing the uniform to attend classes can imply humble identity of the students in front of the lecturers and senior students. Garber (1997, p. 22) proposed the same view that demanding a certain dress code in a school can be interpreted as acceptance of one’s position in the hierarchy as the students accept the rules of dress code initiated by a principal.

In terms of prosperity, the theory of cultural representation by Hall (1997) is used to explain that uniform works similarly to a language (p. 18-19). The scope of language here is not restricted to communicative forms of written or spoken, but extended to a roughly similar interpretation of visual image among Thai people. My research on wearing the uniform relies
on constructionist approach; despite the fact that uniform is merely an object, the lecturers holding authority in the universities as dominant actors give certain meaning to this practice. This statement corresponds to Hertz (2015) mentioning that uniform embodies different meanings for different audiences.

A function of uniform as a symbol operates not only inside but even in spaces outside the university. The uniform brings pride to the students in top universities, but disheartenment to the students in lower rank universities. In Thailand’s context, giving high value to the top universities is not only a norm among students and employers, parents also have this conviction. The study of Roach-Higgins, Eicher, & Johnson (1995, p. 7-18) also supports the idea that dress announces social position of the wearers which leads to social interaction with wearer and observer within a particular interaction situation. The uniform, therefore, brings prejudgment of viewers towards the wearers without personal contacts and emphasizes classification among students on daily basis.

Hertz (2015) mentions that uniform is aimed for control of a group hierarchy. In the study of nurse uniform (Pearson, Baker, Walsh, & Fitzgerald, 2001, p. 147-152), its findings interestingly reveal that the real power is represented by moving out of uniform. That is, people at the very top position of hierarchy do not wear the uniform. Such finding aligns with the practice of Thai lecturers that they are on the top of hierarchy, hence they do not wear the uniform. The uniform is a tool used by lecturers and senior students because it empowers them. Lawson (2006) argues that empowerment can be initiated by allowing people to voice out their opinions about their new dress code. Her opinion resonates with my findings that allowing the lecturers to set up and implement rules and regulations about the uniform without listening to the students’ opinions results in high empowerment to the lecturers. Prioritizing perfection of dress code over academic outcome with strict practices and severe punishments, especially to first-year students, causes fear among them and decreases their learning motivation.

The senior students use uniform as a tool to control junior students supported by an existing culture of hierarchy in the universities. Olaoye (2013, p. 32-42) notified that dress code promotes a culture of seniority. This concept supports my finding that uniform promotes status of seniority due to hierarchical culture in Thai society. The senior students are temporarily over empowered and then they create fear among first-year students of being punished with a claim for improper uniform. Their hierarchical status maintained by violent
reactions is transmitted from generation to generation and results in a certain degree of violation of individual freedom of first-year students. All in all, by maintaining the uniform rules and regulations, the lecturers and senior students can sustain their power and status quo.

In personal development, the uniform enmeshes in illusion of uniformity, suppression of individuality, female gender anxiety, and insignificant impact on life goals. Obviously, the practice of wearing uniform gives an impression of creating uniformity (Chira, 2016, p. 85-92; Meadmore and Symes, 1997, p. 174-186). However, Hertz (2015) argued that uniform does not create string sense of uniformity among wearers. Expecting uniformity of students due to the strict dress code is more like an illusion. On the other hand, Craik (2003, p. 127-147) found that uniform signifies quality of disciplines and reliability and inculcates new habits valued in the society. Further, Johnson, Lennon, and Rudd (2014, p.1-24) emphasized that the clothes holding symbolic meaning affect the wearer’s behaviors. Nonetheless, my findings reveal that the uniform cannot embed positive behaviors concerning punctuality in classroom attendance and responsibility of submitting academic assignments. Lovett (2013, p.1-14) presented that the impressions of peers’ academic ability and chances for school success are grounded on the outfit of students. On the contrary, my findings in the university context inform that proper uniforms do not as such promote knowledge acquisition and only inspire the students to work hard for their profession intermittently.

The suppressive influence of uniform on individuality is pointed out by Adomaitis and Johnson (2005, p. 88-101) as well as by Hertz (2015), whose notions align with my finding. In Thailand’s context, wearing the uniform suppresses individuality by exerting institutionalized identities, and creates strong sense of discomfort to some students. The study of Hansen (2004, p. 369-392) mentioning that cultural clothes construct individual identity is congruent with my study, which discloses that the uniform retains and enforces institutionalized identities. In the research context, the uniform labels identity through representing image or identity of university over the student’s body. In relation to discomfort, Adomaitis and Johnson (2005) found that dress code identifies the status of the wearer. More importantly, the formal uniform can bring physical discomfort and reserve the personal behaviors of wearers (p. 88-101). The results of Jonson’s study correspond to the outcomes of my study namely that the uniform of university students identify their status.
They often feel uncomfortable while wearing it and cannot take any actions in their own styles due to the concern over the institutional image.

Gender under the uniform cannot be easily masked (Hertz, 2015). Zalesne (2007) further explains that uniform causes gender identity discrimination because the dress code is normatively designed for male and female. Uniform values males as the dominant and competent gender while degrading females to their conventional domestic, sexual, and reproductive roles. Uniform is harmful to women and punishes those who deviate their gender roles from the gender-based stereotype. (p.535-560) Perception of Zalesne (2007, p.535-560) about wearing the uniform concerning gender issues corresponds to my finding that uniforms become problematic to women and can cause sexual anxiety. The dress code poses danger to female students due to its textile and design which relegate women’s independence and even expose them to accidents. In relation to sexual anxiety, Thailand’s university uniform perpetuates traditional gender stereotypes that are limited to male and female only. In order to avoid punishment, the students need to adapt themselves to comply with rules and regulations of dress code whatever their true gender identity.

Setting up life goals is very important for undergraduate students because it is used as an intervention to improve academic performance and treatment for students on academic probation (Hirsh, Morisano, Peterson, Pihl, & Shore, 2010, p. 255-264). School uniforms are investigated whether they can promote academic performance of students and the results show that they are not related to academic performance based on student’s perspectives (DaCosta, 2006, p.49-59; Firmin, Smith & Perry, 2006, p. 143-168). These studies are consistent with my study that the dress code only offers a blurred vision of some desirable careers in hotel and tourism industry. It cannot guarantee their success after graduation because the uniform cannot as such promote neither academic performance nor professional skills. A perception of Raby (2005, p. 71-91) considering that uniform promotes similarity corresponds to mine. In addition, the uniform often reduces learning motivation in Thailand’s context.

Limitations

Although the research reached its aims, I am aware of its limitations and shortcomings. First, translating transcripts from Thai to English may leave some language gaps between Thai and English due to different cultures embedded in the languages. However, the researcher achieving Master’s Degree in English and Thai and Translation has carried out
the task with her best efforts. Second, the participants are restricted only to two institutions due to limited time and financial resources. Finally, the results can be more generalizable if the study engaged more participants from other stakeholders such as policy makers, lecturers, and parents.

In this regard, two suggestions for further research are provided. First, participants should be drawn from other institutions to bring new insights to the study; and second, opinions of other stakeholders inserting strong influence in education system should be examined to increase generalizability.

Conclusion

In this study I explored influences of uniform regarding power relations and students’ personal development. Theoretical framework adopted to unmask the foundations of phenomenon are Bourdieu’s theories of capital and habitus and Hall’s cultural representation. Phenomenology is used to inspect experiences of the undergraduate students wearing the uniform to illustrate the reality inductively. Through the analysis, I found that the student uniform clearly functions on symbolic level. Therefore, it plays an important part in power relations by constructing hierarchy in Thailand’s universities and entire society. In the university sphere, the top-down hierarchy consists of lecturers, senior students, and first-year students. In the social setting, the students wearing uniform of top universities consist of the upper class while the others are members of the lower class. As for personal development, the uniform neither implants qualifications of punctuality nor responsibility among the students. Moreover, the uniform promotes neither academic performance nor professional skills of students as widely claimed, but it rather creates unnecessary stress to them. The study discloses an unexpected viewpoint in educational practice, that is, a rigid practice of uniform is likely to imply that the universities prioritize perfection of dress code over academic performance.

This work fulfills the academic gap of the uniform research on undergraduate level. The results of this study are to great extent generalizable and useful to encourage better practices in the university and society, particularly in Thailand’s context. I propose that practice of uniform should be cautiously considered which revolves around constructive learning environment in the university and reduction of biases among people in the society. Also, there are several research perspectives concerning the dress codes and uniforms which
remain to be explored such as its influence on democratic practices and individuals’ critical thinking.
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## ANNEXES

### Annex 1: Uniform of Faculty of Education, NPRU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Nakhon Pathom Rajabhat University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Education Program (English Education)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uniform Particulars</th>
<th>Student Year 1</th>
<th>Student Year 2-4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Shirt**           | Male: long-sleeve white shirt with undergarment sleeveless t-shirt.  
                      Female: short-sleeve white shirt, without stitches on body side. Not too tight.  
                      Official Ceremony (such as Paying Homage to the Teachers and Commencement Day): The collar pin is replaced by the university button. The students fasten the first button on the collar.  
                      Male: long-sleeve white shirt  
                      Female: short-sleeve white shirt  
                      Official ceremony: The same practice as the first year students |
| **Tie**             | Male: From year 1-4, tie with university logo  
                      Same |
| **Trousers**        | Black slim straight leg pants. The program does not allow super skinny fit pants or jeans.  
                      Same |
| **Shoes**           | Male: From year 1-4, black formal shoes.  
                      Female: White-sports shoes  
                      Female: Black high-heeled shoes covering toes about one inch height (but the University and lecturers allow ballet flats for convenience in walking) |
| **Badge**           | Male: -  
                      Female: University badge  
                      Male: -  
                      Female: University badge |
| **Collar pin**      | Male: -  
                      Female: University collar pin.  
                      Male: -  
                      Female: University collar pin. |
| **Skirt**           | Black or navy blue pleated skirt. Its length covers knees, but shorter than ankles.  
                      A-line black skirt. Its length covers knees, but shorter than ankles. |
| **Belt**            | From year 1-4, male and female wear black university belt based on their gender.  
                      Same |
### Annex 2: Uniform of Faculty of Education, KU.KPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Kasetart University (Kamphaeng Saen Campus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Education Program (English Education)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniform</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particulars</td>
<td>Student Year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Student Year 2-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Uniform</strong></th>
<th><strong>Particulars</strong></th>
<th><strong>Student Year 1</strong></th>
<th><strong>Student Year 2-4</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shirt</td>
<td>Male: long-sleeve or short-sleeve white shirt.</td>
<td>Male: Same</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: short-sleeve white shirt.</td>
<td>Female: short-sleeve white shirt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Official Ceremony</strong> (such as Paying Homage to the Teachers and Commencement Day).</td>
<td><strong>Official ceremony</strong>:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male: Long-sleeve shirt</td>
<td>Male: Same</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: The collar pin is replaced by the university button. The students fasten the first button on the collar.</td>
<td>Female: Same</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tie</td>
<td>Male: From year 1-4, green tie with university logo</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trousers</td>
<td>Male: Black slim straight leg pants. The program does not allow super skinny fit pants or jeans.</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Official Ceremony</strong>: Change the colour from black into navy blue.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td>Male: From year 1-4, black formal shoes.</td>
<td>Male: same</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: White-sports shoes</td>
<td>Female:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Official Ceremony</strong></td>
<td>Black high-heeled shoes covering toes about one-inch height</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badge</td>
<td>Male: -</td>
<td>Male: -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: University badge</td>
<td>Female: University badge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collar pin</td>
<td>Male: Tie pin with a design of book and pencil which is mostly used for official ceremony.</td>
<td>Male: -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: University collar pin.</td>
<td>Female: University collar pin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Official ceremony</strong>:</td>
<td><strong>Official ceremony</strong>: same</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The collar pin is replaced by the university button. The students fasten the first button on the collar.

| Skirt       | Black pleated skirt. Its length covers knees, but shorter than ankles. The black straight skirt is not allowed. | Black pleated skirt
Official ceremony: Navy blue straight skirt and A-line skirt for less official ceremony
Teaching the first year to sing university songs: ankle length pleated skirt |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belt</td>
<td>From year 1-4, male and female wear black university belt based on their gender.</td>
<td>Same</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Annex 3: Uniform of Tourism Industry Program, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, NPRU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Nakhon Pathom Rajabhat University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Tourism Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniform Particulars</td>
<td>Student Year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shirt</strong></td>
<td>Male: White shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: short-sleeve white shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tie</strong></td>
<td>Male: university tie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trousers</strong></td>
<td>Male: black slim straight leg trousers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: slim straight leg trousers (with purple polo shirt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shoes</strong></td>
<td>Male: From year 1-4, black formal shoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: White sports shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Badge</strong></td>
<td>Female: university logo badge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collar pin</strong></td>
<td>Female: University collar pin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skirt</strong></td>
<td>Female: ankle-length pleated skirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Belt</strong></td>
<td>Male and female: belt with university logo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sock</strong></td>
<td>Not specified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stocking</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hair</strong></td>
<td><strong>Official ceremony</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Official ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male: hair gel from year 1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: using hair net from year 1-4 on daily basis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Name badge</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scarf</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Make-up</strong></td>
<td>Female: light make up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Waistcoat</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Annex 4: Uniform of Hotel and Tourism Management Program, Faculty of Liberal Arts, KU.KPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Kasetsart University (Kamphaeng Saen Campus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Hotel and Tourism Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniform Particulars</td>
<td>Student Year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shirt</strong></td>
<td>Male: Long sleeve white shirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: short sleeve white shirt with university logo buttons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tie</strong></td>
<td>Male: From year 1-4, green tie with university logo for black and white uniform. The orange tie is for hotel suit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trousers</strong></td>
<td>Male: black slim straight leg trousers and navy blue hotel trousers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male: same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shoes</strong></td>
<td>Male: From year 1-4, black formal shoes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: white sports shoes from year 1-4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Badge</strong></td>
<td>Female: badge with university logo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female: same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collar pin</strong></td>
<td>Female: University collar pin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Official ceremony</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The collar pin is replaced by the university button. The students fasten the first button on the collar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skirt</strong></td>
<td>Female: knee-length pleated black skirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Official ceremony</strong></td>
<td>Navy blue skirt as a part of hotel suit. On examination day, the female students need to wear A-line skirt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male: Black and white uniform for Paying Homage to the Teachers of the Faculty. However, they need to wear hotel suit for this ceremony held separately for the program.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female: A-line skirt. Its length is moderate, a little bit up from the knees.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As for Commencement Day, there is a process to approve the hotel suit to be worn for the ceremony in order to save cost for students. However, at the moment, the students need to wear black suits and cover them by graduating gown.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Belt</strong></th>
<th>Male and female: belt with university logo</th>
<th>same</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hair</strong></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official ceremony: hair net from 1-4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scarf</strong></td>
<td>Female: Readymade orange or green bow scarf from year 1-4 based on their program. The tourism uses green while hotel wears orange.</td>
<td>Female: same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Annex 5 Comparison of student uniform of KU.KPS in general

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First-Year Student</th>
<th>Senior Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pleated-skirt and white sports shoes.</td>
<td>A-line skirt and high-heeled shoes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annex 6 Hotel uniform of KU.KPS
Annex 7 Comparison of student uniform of NPRU’s Hotel and Tourism Program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First-Year Student</th>
<th>Senior Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1" alt="First-Year Student" /></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Senior Student" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Annex 8 Uniform for major studies of Hotel and Tourism Program of NPRU

![Uniform for major studies of Hotel and Tourism Program of NPRU](image3)
Annex 9 Informal service uniform of Hotel and Tourism Program of NPRU for females

Annex 10 Informal service uniform of Hotel and Tourism Program of NPRU for males
Annex 11 Formal uniform of Hotel and Tourism Program of NPRU
Annex 12 Interview questions

Theme 1: the styles of uniforms among students

1. Please tell us what kind of uniform you wear for university in current grade?
2. What kind of uniform required particularly for students in different years?
3. What kind of uniform that you wear in the formal occasions?

Theme 2: the importance of wearing uniform in relation to power at university and outside university

1. Can you tell us about happy experiences when you wear uniform inside the university, and outside the university?
2. Can you tell us about experiences that have been difficult to handle or that make you unhappy when you wear uniform inside and outside university?
3. How do your teachers react and say about student uniform during their classes?
4. How wearing uniform make your senior students feel empowered?
5. How uniform can give you privileges or make your life easier?
6. How do you feel when you see students from other universities, and from other faculties?

Theme 3: the influence of uniform on student’s personal development, explain the interviewees about these.

1. In your view, how does uniform affects disciplinary habits such as
   - **punctuality** in terms of going to class and submitting assignments timely
   - **obedience** regarding following policies, not asking questions, and showing respect to senior students and teachers?

2. How can uniform affect your
   - Confidence: The feeling of being sure of your abilities in daily routines and build up your own spaces as you like, taking actions in your own styles. Sometimes you
wear uniform and sometimes you don’t. Are there any differences in confident level? How?

- Autonomy: Freedom from external control or influence, such as constructing your own knowledge and identity. If they say no, I need to give them an example.
- Self-independence: Maybe you need someone to take care of your uniform such as washing and ironing. But removal of school uniform, you can be independent by using the clothes no need to be ironed that matches your timetable and lifestyles.
- Decision making: The act of choosing between two or more actions. When you are on holiday, you do many new things. But when you wear uniform, you are under regulations.

3. How is uniform related to your life goals? If you want to be successful in your career, you need to be unique. The ability to imagine something different.

4. How can uniform show your flexibilities and changes in your life?

5. Do you think uniform affect your academic performance?

   Why and how? If no, I need to ask why and how? If yes, is it increase or decrease your academic performances?