

Money and the Life Worlds of Children in Korea

-Examining the Phenomenon of *Ogori* (Treating) from Cultural Psychological Perspectives-

Oh Seon-Ah¹ Pian Chengnan² Yamamoto Toshiya³ Takahashi Noboru⁴
Sato Tatsuya⁵ Takeo Kazuko⁶ Choi Soon-Ja⁷ Kim Soon-ja⁸

Introduction

People who live in societies with a monetary-based economy use money every day to get what they need. Children are no exception; most are part of societies where using money is an inevitable part of everyday life, whether or not they understand money or economic concepts. Many school-aged children in Europe, the United States, and Eastern Asia (e.g., China, Korea, and Japan) get pocket money (or an allowance) from their parents as payment for household chores, to buy needed items, or simply as an entitlement (Furnham 1999, in the UK; Miller & Yung 1990, Mortimer, Dennehy, Lee, & Finch 1994, in the US; Furnham & Kirkcaldy 2000, in Germany; Yamamoto & Pian 1999, in China; Yamamoto, et al., 2003 in Korea; and Yamamoto & Pian 2000, in Japan).

Previous research suggests that there are cultural and socioeconomic differences concerning such issues as the age at which children begin to get pocket money, how much they get, at what intervals parents give them pocket money, for what objectives children use their money, whether they have to do household chores to get money, and so on (Furnham & Argyle, 1998; Yamamoto et al, 2003). This is true even within Asian countries. For example, while Japanese children usually get pocket money at regular weekly or monthly intervals, children in Korea get money from their parents

¹ Maebashi Kyoai Gakuen College

² China University of political Sciences and Law

³ Maebashi Kyoai Gakuen College

⁴ Osaka Kyoiku University

⁵ Ritsumeikan University

⁶ Tokyo University of Science

⁷ Kookmin University

⁸ Daejin University

when they need something, although parents have a tacit policy of not giving their children too much money (Yamamoto & Pian, 2001; Yamamoto, et al, 2003).

Ogori, or treating, is one of the most notable phenomena for psychologists with different cultural backgrounds who have participated in cross-cultural research projects on the life worlds of children related to money. Based on their personal experiences, they have shared the intuitive impression that the Japanese, including both children and adults, rarely treat others to something, while their Chinese and Korean counterparts often do *ogori*. But what can really be said about the relationship between the life worlds of children and money when focusing on this particular phenomenon?

Japanese adults commonly harbor negative attitudes toward *ogori* as a result of common social beliefs about children's money. For example, in a popular book for parents entitled "Your Kids' Academic Achievement is Accomplished in the Home (Gakuryoku wa Katei de Nobiru)," it is stated that *ogori* will jeopardize peer relationships (Kageyama, 2003). Japanese children are taught that *ogori*, as with lending and borrowing money, is *bad* because it may serve to plant the seeds of trouble as it necessarily creates unequal relationships between peers. Korean parents living in China and Korea, by contrast, even though they may restrict the amount and frequency of *ogori*, evaluate positively and sometimes even encourage *ogori* because it can help construct good relationships among peers (Yamamoto et al, 2003).

The results of a cross cultural survey about the money given to children also confirmed that while Japanese elementary, junior high, and high school students responded relatively positively to the item "It is not good to treat peers or to be treated by peers" (Yamamoto et al., 2004), Korean children tended to respond negatively (Yamamoto et al., in preparation). Therefore, at the level of social norms, it can be said that people in each culture believe that Japanese children rarely treat their peers while Chinese and Korean children treat often.

However, Takahashi (in preparation) has reported, based on an observation study of children's shopping in Japan, that Japanese children often eat sweets and snacks together with peers after paying for them by themselves with their own money. Furthermore, high school students in Japan were found to have more experience in treating peers to foods and sweets than younger students (Takeo and Sato, 2003). Therefore it may be said that Japanese children believe that *ogori* is prohibited, but in reality they actually perform *ogori* in various occasions.

Even if the statement "Japanese children do not treat their peers" has some validity, it is an extreme simplification of the life world of children with regard to money in Japan. The same can be said to be true in the cases of Chinese and Korean

children. Rather than adopt simple dichotomies such as whether or not children do *ogori*, we should more cautiously scrutinize the phenomena, categorize them, and then investigate how each type of *ogori* is represented in the life worlds of children. Indeed, there are many unknown problems related to *ogori*: What kinds of food do children treat their peers to? What is the price range? In what situations do they decide to treat and in what situations do they decide against it? Whom do they treat, and whom do they not treat? Do children who are treated always treat the next time around? This kind of categorization is a necessary step in the further theorization of the meaning of money for children and the related cultural differences. In this paper, we begin by looking at *ogori* in Korean children because the Korean children tended to talk about a wider variety of *ogori* in the interviews.

Ogori is essentially an interaction between people that is mediated by foods which were acquired through the transfer of money in contemporary consumer society. Thus, while children build relationships with their peers through the mediation of foods in *ogori*, the relationships between the children and the foods is also mediated by money. *Ogori* has two opposite aspects with respect to treating behavior in children in that the children have sole possession of the foods, but at the same time they share the foods with their peers. The value of the foods in this case is more than just being useful, for they are also mediated by actual money as an exchange value. Therefore the life worlds of children regarding money can be described as a balancing process between the satisfaction and repression of desires rooted in the mediation of money. This process can become evident only when we also take into account the relationships of children with others such as parents and peers.

Ogori means to *share foods with others*, but several levels of sharing can exist at the same time. For example, eating together means to *share the behavior of eating between peers*, and such behavior necessarily also involves some kind of common affect, which would indicate the *sharing of the same feelings by doing the same thing*. Further, when there are rules about *ogori* in the social communities to which children belong, *ogori* then necessarily involves the sharing of norms regarding treating and being treated. The *ogori* phenomena clearly suggest that people are open to others, but at the same time they must also converge on themselves. Kujiraoka (1998) has pointed out that there is a profound contradiction within human beings such that they are necessarily open to others while they always converge on themselves. This profound contradiction existing at the base of human existence is called profound ambivalence.

At first glance, *ogori* seems to disclose the fact that human beings are open to others. There is one thing, however, that children cannot share during *ogori*: money.

Money tacitly mediates between treating one's peers and sharing things. Before, during, and after *ogori*, money cannot be shared and thus continuously belongs to the treating children as a mediational tool. For children who treat their peers to something, *ogori* has two basic orientations. One is toward others, and therefore constitutes sharing, while the other is toward themselves, constituting possession. Therefore, to investigate the cultural differences of *ogori* is to know how people live with profound ambiguity in different cultures.

The purpose of this study was to investigate qualitatively the phenomenon called *ogori*. The research questions were as follows: 1) In what situations, and in what forms, does *ogori* occur in everyday contexts? 2) Are these events evaluated positively or negatively? 3) What are the reasons behind these evaluations? The narrative reasoning of children and their parents when describing their *ogori* situations is identified and discussed from the point of view of the life world of children in different cultures.

Method

Field interviews were conducted from February 21 to 25 on Jeju Island and from August 23 to 25 in Seoul, Korea, in 2002. Each household was visited by a group of 2-3 Japanese researchers accompanied by a Korean or Korean-Chinese interpreter. The interviews were conducted within the households and included the 2-4 researchers, the children, and their parents. In order to make the situation as natural as possible and keep the conversation flowing, even if questions were originally directed at children, sometimes the parents would answer in place of them, and if a child left the group or lost interest in the interview, the parents were then asked the same questions. Further, the active participation of the interpreters was also welcomed.

The lengths of the interviews ranged from a minimum of 46 minutes to a maximum of 93 minutes, with an average time of 65 minutes. The Japanese researchers first asked a question, and it was then interpreted into Korean. The Korean answers were then interpreted into Japanese. The interviewers asked questions in a semi-structured format based on a questionnaire prepared beforehand.

The contents of the interview questions were prepared based on previous studies of pocket money in Japan and China by Yamamoto and Pian (Yamamoto, 1992; Yamamoto & Pian, 2001; Pian & Yamamoto, 2001). The interview questions were designed to examine the following points: a.) how children get their allowance



and New Year's money, b.) what they spend it on, c.) how they manage it, d.) what their views are regarding allowances, e.) what they think about treating their friends to something using their allowance, f.) what they think about buying and selling things among their friends, and g.) what the parents' reasons are for giving (or not giving) allowances to their children. In addition, the interviews were conducted in such a way that detailed examples of actual episodes regarding these topics could be discussed.

All conversations were recorded with the consent and understanding of the informants. At the same time, a designated note-taker would take down simple memos during the interviews on a prepared record sheet. After the investigation was completed, the Japanese portions of the recorded conversations were transcribed word-for-word.

This paper focuses on analysis of the parts of the interviews that related to the concept of "*ogori*" (treating). There were 10 households visited in Jeju, for a total of 22 informants (7 elementary school students, 3 junior high school students, 2 high school students, and 9 mothers). In Seoul, 8 households were visited, for a total of 14 informants (5 elementary school students, 6 junior high school students, and 3 mothers).

In this study, we analyzed the answers to the following questions. The questions ask about the actual conditions and value judgments regarding the act of treating: 1-1) Do you ever treat your friends to food? If so, in what kinds of situations? What kind of food? How often? 1-2) Do you more often go by "*ogori*" or by "*warikan*" (to split the costs)? 2-1) [Some people think that treating friends to food is bad because you have to use your own allowance for it.] How do you feel about this opinion? 2-2) [Some people think that "*ogori*" is bad because if you treat your friends to food then your friends feel a burden to repay you.] How do you feel about this opinion?

Results

(1) Types of food children buy with their allowance in Korea.

Almost all elementary school students reported that they bought confectionery, ice cream, and other sweets together with friends. They often bought them at small shops or markets (cc2, cc4, cc5, cc6, cc12, sc3, sc2). The elementary school students from higher grades reported that they often bought rice cakes, noodles, and fried potatoes (cc12, sc1), which they could purchase at shops selling flour foods.

Almost all junior high and high school students reported that they bought rice cakes, rice rolls, oden (hotchpotch), and noodles (cc1, cc8, cc9, sc5, sc9, sc10, sc11). They also reported that they often go to fast food restaurants such as Lotteria and McDonald's. But almost no elementary school students reported going to fast food

restaurants with friends.

Although treating (*ogori*) behavior differed in terms of the amounts of money spent and the buying patterns, all children reported that they did have experiences of treating each other when among friends. Regarding the proportions of *ogori* and *warikan* behavior, elementary school students reported the highest rates of *ogori*. However, the foods most often bought during *ogori* were confectionery items costing 500 won or less, which were then shared and eaten together. Most junior high school students and high school students, on the other hand, reported engaging in both *ogori* and *warikan* with roughly equal frequency or with *warikan* as the more frequent choice. Further, in cases of *ogori* among junior high school students and high school students, the average cost was reported as higher, at around 1000 - 3000 won per person.

In a comparison of frequency and amount of money spent on *ogori* between students in Seoul and Jeju, students from Jeju were found to more frequently engage in *ogori* and also to spend more money. For example, a Seoul 3rd year elementary school student reported engaging in *ogori* 5-6 times a year (sc2), while a similar 3rd year student in Jeju reported a frequency of only 1-2 times a week (cc12).

A typical occurrence of *ogori* would unfold as follows. When a student or group of students went to a friend's house to play, they would then go to a shop together to buy some sweets, and one of them would treat the other(s). *Ogori* would happen for a number of reasons, including because they were close friends, because someone didn't have enough money, and because they were used to taking turns treating each other. Thus, depending on the particular case, the relationships and patterns of *ogori* differ. More detailed results regarding the patterns of *ogori* are as follows.

(2) The patterns and changes of “*ogori*” (treating friends to food)

As explained above, we call treating friends to food “*ogori*.” We investigated how and under what situations *ogori* occurred in everyday contexts. As a result, we found that the patterns were different depending on the ages and the relationships of the children involved. Examples are as follows.

1. The pattern of sharing and eating one unit of confectionery/candy

This pattern was seen in children in the lower grades. When they visit a friend's home, one of them buys some candy, and they eat it together. When they encounter friends on the street, if one of them has something to eat, then they share it (see Figure 1). The most common foods shared during *ogori* were candy/confectionery and ice cream.; **Example:**

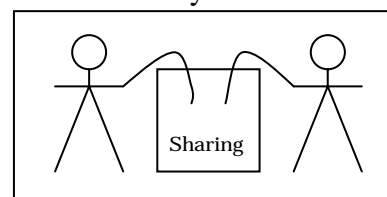


Figure 1. Pattern 1

[“When we went to the grocery store, I bought a package of candy by myself, and since there were a number of pieces in one package, I divided them up and gave them to my friends.” (cc2, 3rd year elementary school student, M)] [“When I had a bag of candy, my friend took it without asking and started eating it.” (cc6, 3rd year elementary school student, F)]

2. The pattern of mutual sharing of food with many friends

On certain days at school, such as Valentine’s Day, all the children in a class share with each others (see Figure 2).; **Example:** [“On Valentine’s Day, I gave chocolate caramels to almost all of my friends, around 30 people.” (cc6, 3rd year elementary school student, F)]

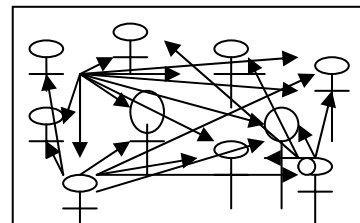


Figure 2. Pattern 2

3. The pattern of give and take between one or two close friends

In cases of sharing with one or two close friends, first one treats the other or others, and the next time the treated friend(s) will then treat the one who originally treated.

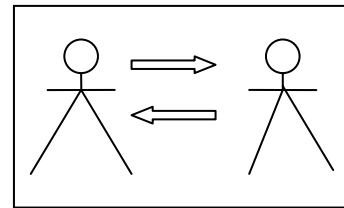


Figure3. Pattern 3

This is done not out of a feeling of obligation but out of a consequence of the situation. We can see this phenomenon in all students from elementary schoolchildren to high school students, and as the younger students grow up into junior high and high school students, this type of treating behavior occurs at a variety of places where students with friends, such as fast food restaurants and lunchrooms (see Figure 3). ; **Example:** [“Sometimes, on Saturdays or holidays, when I go out to play with my friends, we will go to have a light lunch at a fast food restaurant and either I will treat my friends or they will treat me.” (cc1, 2nd year junior high school student)] [“If I am treated to some food, then I will treat them the next time. (sc2, 3rd year elementary school student, M)]

4. The pattern of turn-taking treating

This pattern occurs when there is a particular group of friends, and each one will take turns treating the others in a particular order.

For example, in one group of 5 students, when they went out for some food, only one person paid for all the others, and the next time they went out one of the others paid for

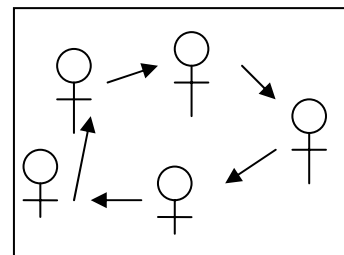


Figure 4. Pattern 4

everyone else. Children who do not get a daily allowance have to ask their parents for

money when it is their turn to treat the others in the group. Of course the parents understand this, and so they give their children money to treat everyone in the group. We can see this phenomenon occurring from the higher elementary school grades to junior high school and even high school students. There were even some cases among older students in which the act of treating was felt as somewhat of a burden because the amount that had to be paid had become expensive (see Figure 4). ; **Example:** [“For us it goes like this: ‘Today I paid, so next time you will pay, and the next time you...,’ and one person always pays for the whole group.” (cc9, 3rd year junior high school student, M)] [“I treat my friends when my turn comes around.” (sc1, 5th year elementary school student, F)]

5. The pattern of one-way treating

This pattern is different from the above-mentioned four patterns in that the person treated does not need to return the treat. An example is when senior students treat junior students, and another example is when something extremely good happens to someone, then that person is often treated by friends. In such cases, there is a tacit

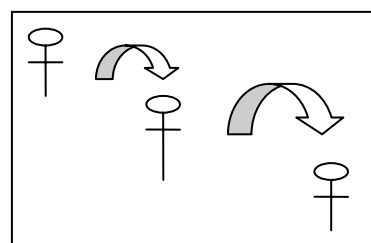


Figure 5. Pattern 5

understanding that the person treated does not have to return the treat in the future (see Figure 5).; **Example:** [“My friends don’t pay for me, but my seniors in school often treat me.” (cc3, 2nd year high school student, F)] [“I get treated to food more then I treat.” (sc9, 2nd year junior high school student)]

6. The pattern of all members paying and sharing their food

This pattern is similar to the Japanese custom of “*warikan*” (splitting the bill) in which each person pays their share of the bill. Thus we can call this pattern the Korean style of “*warikan*” in which each person pays not the amount that they ate, but rather each person pays the same percentage of the bill, or,

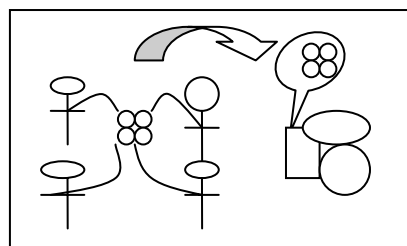


Figure 6. Pattern 6

such as in a fast food or small shop, after everyone eats they will divide the total food bill evenly among them (see Figure 6).; **Example:** [“We each contribute our own money for buying some food that we can then share among all of us. Thus it’s not each person’s food, but everyone’s food.” (cc9, 1st year junior high school student)] [(in a shop) “After we eat, we calculate the bill and each pay the same amount of money.” (cc7, 3rd year high school student)]

(3) Value judgments regarding the act of treating

In Japan, treating food to others is often understood as a negative thing. How about in Korea? Table 1 shows the responses to the questions, “Is it good or bad that children treat their friends to food?” and “Why do you think so?” Table 2 shows the responses to the question, “Some people think that ogori is bad because if you treat your friends to food then your friends feel a burden to repay you. How do you feel about this opinion?”

Table 1. The responses to the questions “Is it good or bad that children treat their friends to food?”

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| <p>- I don't know. (sc3, Elementary school, 2nd grade, F)</p> <p>- To not treat is bad. It's selfish. (cc12, Elementary school, 4th grade, M)</p> <p>-I don't know. But I don't think it's bad. (sc1, Elementary school, 5th grade, F)</p> <p>-Treating is good because we can get to know each other. (cc9, Junior high school, 1st year, F)</p> <p>-It's OK, but I don't think it's good. (sc9, Junior high school 1st year, F)</p> <p>-To treat too often is not good, but usually it's OK. (cc1, Junior high school, 2nd year, F)</p> <p>-I don't think it's bad. I treat when it's necessary. (cc3, High school, 2nd year, F)</p> <p>-It's not bad. There is no loss because if I treat a friend, then the next time the friend will treat me.
(cc8, High school, 3rd year, F)</p> <p>-It's hard to say whether it's good or bad. I never think of it in those terms. (cc1, Mother)</p> <p>-If I only pay for my own, then I think I'm too selfish. (sc2, Mother)</p> <p>-It's not good if it's done too often, but if the parents know about it, it's okay. (sc2, Mother)</p> <p>-It's the human feeling of the Korean people. (cc5, Mother)</p> |
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Table 2. The responses to the question “Some people think that ogori is bad because if you treat your friends to food then your friends feel a burden to repay you. How do you feel about this opinion?”

- | |
|--|
| <p>-I don't know. (sc3, Elementary school 2nd grade, F)</p> <p>-It's different case by case. (Junior high school 3rd year, M)</p> <p>-If it's too expensive, then I feel a burden. If it's a small thing, then I'm OK with it.
(cc1, Junior high school, 2nd year, F)</p> <p>-If it's too expensive for the ages of the children, it's not good. (sc5, Mother)</p> <p>-If I treat my friend, then when I don't have any money the friend will treat me. It's a good thing
(cc12, Elementary school, 4th grade, M)</p> <p>-If I receive some food from my friend then the next time we are out I will buy my friend some food.
It's OK. (sc1, Elementary school 5th grade, F)</p> |
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According to the responses from children and their parents, we could see that while there were some negative images of ogori, such as “it's bad if it's too expensive” or “if it happens too often then it's bad,” there were actually even more positive images, such as “it's good,” “it's not bad,” and “I never really thought of it as good or bad.” Further,

we think that many children and their parents understand treating behavior not in terms of “good” or “bad,” but simply that it is just something that children do as a necessary response to the situation.

In addition, when asked how they feel about the opinion that the act of treating causing the other person to feel a burden to repay the debt, the children answered that in cases when the cost of the bill is expensive then they might feel burdened, but in most cases the reason for treating is to help each other out, and that the act of treating each other brings a “human touch” to their relationships.

Discussion

We found six patterns of children's behaviors concerning *ogori* in our interview study of 23 children and 12mothers from 18 families in Seoul and Jeju, Korea. Moreover, we were able to consider some additional patterns based on one of the Korean researcher's personal experiences in Korea, but these patterns could not be affirmed through the collected interview data. Although it remains the task of future research to analyze the patterns of behaviors concerning *ogori* in other Asian countries where we have been conducting field studies, including China, Vietnam, and Japan, at this point we can say, based on our impressions from past interviews in Japan, that Korean children seem to engage in many more patterns of *ogori* than children in Japan.

Although there were some differences in the evaluations of *ogori* among Korean families, individuals, and situations, we also discovered some strong overall tendencies when the interview data were examined as a whole. For example, Korean respondents seem to have more positive images of *ogori* and emphasize the importance of *ogori*-based relationships than their Japanese counterparts. This could be the reason why Korean children generate rich variations of *ogori* behavior patterns in their daily lives.

As stated previously, the goal of this interview study was to uncover the structures of the relationships among Korean children that are mediated by pocket money and to understand the developmental processes and cultural characteristics of those relationships. Nevertheless, since this requires that we ask children many questions within a limited amount of time, we have not been able to investigate every point in depth.

Under such conditions, the main purposes of this interview study were to get a basic grasp of the phenomena and to discover their interesting aspects. In addition, analyzing the patterns of children in countries other than South Korea remains a task for future studies. For these reasons, it is still too early to suggest that we have already

discovered all of the important patterns of *ogori*, and thus it is not yet appropriate to discuss in depth the developmental processes or cultural characteristics of such behaviors and relationships.

Therefore, in this paper it was our intention to categorize the various behaviors surrounding *ogori* and form a solid basis for future research and analysis. Therefore here we are only concerned with the categorization of those patterns of behaviors and have not attempted to analyze them from the perspective of developmental or cross-cultural psychology.

Ogori is a flow of goods from person to person, and this flow produces a change in the relationships among the people involved. If we interpret *ogori* as a type of gift-giving behavior, then it could be categorized as one of the main themes of anthropology. Therefore we would like to analyze the patterns of *ogori* behavior that we found in our study from an anthropological perspective and discuss how far the anthropological concept of "gift exchange," described below, can clarify the phenomena of *ogori* and *warikan* (going Dutch). This type of analysis will provide us with a basis for future research and analysis.

As described by Mauss in his gift theory, gifts usually leave the receiver with a feeling of obligation or indebtedness, and these feelings then motivate him/her to conduct counter-performance, or return the favor. Depending on the ways by which the recipients of gifts resolve such feelings of obligation, different types of relationships among givers and receivers related to the flow of goods may emerge. For example, Polanyi (1977) has proposed the three famous concepts of reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange, and has gone on to use them in analyzing three types of social transactional modes. We would like to explain briefly the relationships among obligations and interactional patterns typical to each of these three transactional modes.

The first relationship, reciprocity, is formed when a recipient acquits his/her obligation or pays his/her debt not immediately, but at some other opportunity some time after the initial encounter. In this case, recipients are not usually required to pay back exactly the same gift or even a different gift of the same value. Through the act of reciprocal gift exchange they forge close ties with each other, and the relationship between them may acquire the traits of being more mutual and equal.

The second relationship is redistribution, in which the goods to be traded are concentrated in the center of the social group at the beginning and then given out to those in the periphery in a one-directional manner. In this case, the gifts are given as a favor from the person in the center of the group. The roles of giver and receiver are completely fixed, and therefore the feelings of indebtedness in the receivers are never

resolved, thus creating a sense of inequality among the group members.

The third relationship, market exchange, occurs when a recipient donates goods of equivalent value back to the donor immediately. The most typical example of this type of relationship is purchasing, which is an exchange of money for goods. The debt of a recipient of goods can be cancelled immediately by paying money to the shopkeeper, but at the same time they will not forge close ties with each other. The relationship among them will remain one of an equal relationship among strangers.

Here we will try to analyze the characteristics of the 6 interactional patterns of *ogori* in the context of the above three transactional modes. However, in order to do so, we must first be mindful of the issues related to the level of society to which each concept refers. Polanyi's original three categories are not concepts at the individual or psychological level, but rather concepts at the social level, with each corresponding to a certain type of institutionalized social system (Polanyi, 1977). The six patterns of *ogori*, on the other hand, were found through our interviews with individual children without any direct observation of real social interactions, and therefore we have not yet been able to directly confirm the stability or levels of institutionalization of the six patterns in their peer groups or their social functions.

Thus, we must exercise caution when associating Polanyi's concepts directly with our patterns. We can use the concepts only as cues for our own analyses. Of the 6 patterns of *ogori*, the pattern of "dividing up and sharing food" constitutes a type of sharing, but if the sharing behavior continues steadily in future encounters, such as in the example, "First child A divides and shares with friends, then child B divides and shares with friends at their next meeting, and so on," a social bond of reciprocity will be formed. Further, regarding the patterns of "equal distribution among members in a large group," "reciprocation between close friends," and "taking turns," the constant behaviors of giving and returning goods are embedded in the patterns themselves, so they can be seen as typical examples of relationships of reciprocity.

On the other hand, there is no returning of goods in the pattern of "one-way giving" since it only occurs in one direction. Under such conditions, relationships of inequality form between the givers and receivers. This pattern may be seen as one type, or even a primitive version, of a re-distributional relationship in a broader sense. At the same time, since *ogori* is purely a social behavior which concerns the formation and/or maintenance of interpersonal bonds, it is of a different nature than relationships rooted in market exchange which are based on impersonal relationships. Thus it is no surprise that there exists no pattern belonging to this category within the realm of market exchange relationships.

The last pattern, “buying and eating together,” has a very interesting nature. There is no constant inequality among the members of the group, and therefore it does not belong to the category of re-distributional relationships. At the same time, however, there is no immediate equivalent exchange among the members either, and thus the interactions serve the purpose of generating and/or maintaining interpersonal bonds, and therefore it neither belong to the category of market exchange relationships.

However, we cannot say with certainty that this pattern belongs to the category of reciprocity. Regarding the pattern, “buying and eating together,” all group members pay the same amount of money even though they each may eat different amounts of food. On this point, it might be possible to say that some members, in effect, end up giving part of their portions to other members. However, in this pattern the identity of the giver is not readily apparent. In such a case, if one “giver” is to be identified, then one can only say that it is the group itself. Though this pattern is similar to re-distributional relationships in that the members collect their money together at once, the center of the distribution remains ambiguous, and therefore this pattern cannot be categorized as a re-distributional relationship. Furthermore, the members pay for their food completely at the same time and there is no delayed returning behavior, and therefore this pattern can not be considered reciprocal in this respect. The only type of returning behavior that can be acknowledged for this pattern occurs when the same members constantly repeat this kind of sharing. As just described, although this pattern shares some characteristics of the two categories of reciprocity and redistribution, the similarities are very ambiguous and therefore do not correspond to any single category completely.

Next we would like to discuss the differences between the pattern of “buying and eating together” and *warikan* (going Dutch), a phenomenon we have not examined in this study since it is different from *ogori*. The most typical form of *warikan* is the pattern in which everyone pays for him/herself. There is no component of giving to others, and therefore there is no reason for the emergence of returning behavior. *Warikan* has no component of reciprocally-mediated goods, and in this respect it differs from the pattern of “buying and eating together.”

At the same time, it also does not belong to the relationship of market exchange. In *warikan*, everyone engages in market exchange with the storekeeper by him/herself, but there is no such exchange of goods among the group members. Nevertheless, the relationships involved in *warikan* differ completely from those of eating separately. 'Eating with another person' is a necessary element of *warikan*, and by this 'sharing' of a situation, the members are able to forge closer ties with each other. In other words, we

can say that the members foster their interpersonal bonds through sharing the same space in which market exchange is conducted.

Through a series of studies, including this one, we are attempting to investigate the nature, formational processes, and cultural characteristics of "children's relationships with others mediated by pocket money or goods bought with such money." The points noted above regarding the ambiguous character of "buying and eating together" and the particularities of the phenomenon of *warikan* will become important topics for discussion of these issues. We may not yet be able to sufficiently understand the above aspects by applying the above-mentioned conceptual frameworks concerning gift exchange. Nevertheless, the patterns and reciprocal relationships described in this study clearly share the same functions of generating, maintaining, and developing relationships with others, and each of them can be discriminated from market exchange relationships.

It is the situation itself of "eating together at the same place" that has such functions, and the act of giving goods, even if included as a part of such situations, is no more than an additional element and is not essential. In particular, in Japanese society, which has strong overall tendencies of holding negative attitudes toward *ogori* and positive attitudes toward *warikan*, this aspect will become very important when discussing the functions of *warikan* for generating, maintaining, and developing interpersonal bonds. This issue, along with the issue of developmental changes regarding such relationships, will be taken up in future, more detailed studies.

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Appendix

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要旨

お金をめぐる子どもの生活世界に関する比較文化的研究 韓国の子もたちのおごり現象に焦点を当ててー

呉宣兎・片成男・山本登志哉・高橋登
サトウタツヤ・竹尾和子・崔順子・金順子

日本・韓国・中国朝鮮族の研究者が、2002年に韓国ソウルおよび済州島の18家庭を訪問し、小学生から高校生までの子ども(23名)とその親(12名)を対象に、お小遣いを巡る子どもの生活に関するインタビュー調査を行った。本研究ではインタビューされた内容のうち、特に子ども同士のおごり合いに関する項目に焦点を当てて分析を行った。その結果、韓国の子もたちの間でのおごり合いには、子どもの年齢やおかれた状況によって異なる以下の6パターンが見いだされた。すなわち1)分けて食べるパターン、2)大人数で配り合うパターン、3)親しい友達との返報パターン、4)順番回しのパターン、5)一方向的なパターン、6)全員一緒に払って共食するパターンであった。また様々な状況でのおごりの善し悪しを尋ねる質問については、高すぎる場合や頻繁にやりすぎることは良くないと答えたものの、適切な値段や頻度ならば、むしろ友達関係を深めるものとしてポジティブに答える傾向が見られた。これらの結果に関し、人類学の「互酬・再分配・市場交換」という概念と対照させつつその意味を整理し、日本での調査結果に照らし合わせて考察した。