

SHOP „TIL YOU DROP: AN EMPIRICAL EXAMINATION OF THEORIES OF AND  
GENDER DIFFERENCES IN CONSUMPTION

A thesis by

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Bachelor of Arts, Friends University, 2007

Submitted to the Department of Sociology  
and the faculty of the Graduate School of  
Wichita State University  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

May 2011

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The following faculty members have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content, and recommended that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts with a major of Sociology.

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## ABSTRACT

This study used the 2006 through 2008 American Time Use Survey (ATUS) to empirically examine factors that influenced the consumption of men and women in the United States. Three sets of independent variables were used to construct a model and test hypotheses about whether or not respondents had shopped during the week in which the survey was administered. One set of independent variables was derived from a theory made popular by Juliet Schor (1992), which asserts that additional work in one's job results in additional consumption, a cycle of "work and spend." Another set of independent variables was selected on the basis of theories that argued that exposure to mass media, with its marketing and advertising content, influenced people to consume. The third set of variables related to gender and was derived from theories that explained women's higher levels of consumption, relative to men's, as a consequence of their gendered work, family, household, and leisure roles. A sample t-test, ANOVA and a Logistic regression were used to analyze the ATUS data. Results indicated that for each hour an individual worked, they were 0.8% less likely to have shopped in the last week, net of all other factors. Exposure to media did not influence whether an individual shopped or not. Being female increased the odds of shopping in the last week by 20.7%. A surprising finding was that women's traditional roles (caring for young children and performing household work) not only affected women's consumption, but similarly affected a surprisingly large proportion of men in the sample who also performed these traditionally feminine roles.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### **1.1 Historical background: The politics and economics of post World War II consumption in the United States**

In the United States, after World War II there was a growth in mobility that was both physical and social (Clark, 1955). This growth afforded opportunities that were not previously available. Traveling between cities was made easier. Communication from distances was improved. Even one's class was shifting. There were five factors that economist Harry Magdoff as cited in Yates (1994) gave as to why the United States economy exploded. First, because of the war there was widespread destruction outside of the United States. To rebuild from this destruction, countries needed capital, and the United States was the glad to lend. Clarke (1955) and Yates (1994) commented that during World War II and even after the war, there was a nationwide increase in income every year and as a result there was a swelling amount of discretionary income. Due to the profits from the war, businesses were willing to extend credit to people (Yates, 1994). The second factor was that Western Europe and Japan experienced a growth in the ownership of automobiles, of which the United States was the chief supplier. Third, the war produced technological advances, especially in the military, electronics, and communications (Yates, 1994). The fourth factor was that after the war the government did not cut its spending. This spending was primarily put in military and infrastructure, which created and sustained jobs from the war (Yates, 1994). Lastly, the United States leaders wanted to make sure that the United States remained the dominant economic power in the world (Yates, 1994). The leaders passed legislation that would allow businesses to be more successful within the United States and around the world.

By 1970, the savings were gone and consumer debt was growing. By rebuilding the European countries and Japan, the United States had unknowingly created economic rivals. The European and Japanese automobile industries cut into the once monopolized United States market (Yates, 1994). Since the United States was no longer the stand alone manufacturer of goods, advertising and branding became as important as the products themselves. It was during this time the American economy shifted from an economy based on manufacturing to one based on consumption (De Graaf, Wann and Naylor 2005; Ransome, 2005). This is what Sweet and Meiksins (2008) described as the shift from the old economy to the new economy. The old economy was characterized by mass production, gendered divisions of labor and unionized labor. In 1939, the number of employees working in the manufacturing sector equaled the number of employees in all other sectors combined (Sweet and Meiksins, 2008). In 1989, the shift in the economy was completed as the manufacturing sector lost its grip as the leading employer of individuals (Sweet and Meiksins, 2008). The new economy was characterized by the heightened economic importance of consuming and of employment in the service sector.

Another difference between the old and new economy was the proportion of women in the workforce. In 1940, under the old economy only one in four women worked, as compared to 2005, in which two out of every three worked (Sweet and Meiksins, 2008:57). According to Sweet and Meiksins (2008), women entered the workplace for three main reasons. The first reason was a change in the public's perception of women's place in society and a change in gender roles. Second, there were changes in the structure of the economy. Since jobs were shifting from manufacturing to services, women were perceived by employers to be more qualified to fill the vacant positions. Last, stagnant male incomes made it difficult to support a family on one income (Sweet and Meiksins, 2008). Because of declining employment in



manufacturing, this switch from the old economy to the new economy created an increasingly important focus on consumption.

Another change associated with a shift to the new economy was seemingly paradoxical. At the same time that American companies became transnational producers of manufactured goods, they often moved jobs from locations within the United States to other countries, such as Mexico and China. These same companies bolstered their marketing and advertising efforts in the United States in an effort to exploit the maximum benefit that could be derived from United States consumers.

In their book, *Affluenza* (2005:13), De Graaf, Wann, and Naylor, explain that two-thirds of America's \$11 trillion Gross Domestic Product (GDP) comes on the heels of consumer goods. In fact, America's strong focus has been on consumption. Individuals, on average, shop for six hours a week, but only spend 40 minutes with friends. In the United States, there are now two times more the number of shopping centers than schools (De Graff, Wann and Naylor 2005:14). Because of the emphasis on consumption, problems such as overspending, under saving, commercialization of almost anything and everything and environmental degradation have taken a hold of society. Due to the recent economic recession, these problems have been magnified, and many people are now looking to cut back on their consumption in all areas.

This study explores consumption in the United States through an empirical examination of frequency of shopping among a nationally representative sample of consumers. It will attempt to identify the important factors that influence the different levels of consumption. Although there are arguably many different areas that affect consumption, this study will focus on three main areas, each of which has an important historical precedence and is identified by the literature as an important variable that potentially influences contemporary consumption. They

are: 1). the hours that an individual works; 2). the amount of mass media and advertising to which one is exposed, and 3). the gender of the individual. These three areas are important to study because they are all observable in the daily lives of consumers and are widely discussed in research. Additionally, this research attempts to address two main gaps found in much of the literature on consumption. First, many studies either propose or embrace theories of why people consume without adequately testing these theories with empirical data. Second, many of these same theories of consumption homogenize men and women, thus ignoring potentially important gender differences. For example, it is often taken for granted by sociologists that overwork produces and is perpetuated by overspending. Other studies point out that in general, the more one is exposed to mass media, the more one consumes. These two theories are so well-known in some circles that they may not be adequately questioned. Moreover, in these and other theories of consumption, men and women tend to be seen as homogeneous in terms of the relationship between their work time, exposure to mass media, and consumption. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to test and inform the above stated theories of consumption by analyzing time use data from a nationally representative sample of people in the United States. In doing so, this study will pay special attention to potential gender differences that occur among those in the sample.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Working longer, spending more

The transition from the old economy to the new economy brought a huge change in the amount of time individuals spent at work. It was during this time that there was a move from task-oriented labor to time-oriented labor. Whereas in the old economy individuals were paid for completing tasks, in the new economy individuals are paid based on the length of time they are engaged in particular tasks (Sweet and Meiksins, 2008). Survey after survey yields the same results: Americans want more time to spend with their children, spouses and friends and less time at work (Schor, 1992; De Graaf, Wann and Naylor 2005; Sweet and Meiksins, 2008). Forty-two percent of people feel used up after work and 69% would like to slow down and live a more relaxed life with less work (De Graaf, 2005:43). But contrary to the surveys, the average American worker in 1989 worked 163 more hours than their counterparts did in 1969 (Schor, 1992). What was not mentioned by Schor was that much of the increase in hours was ultimately attributed to the increase in women's hours worked. Another huge culprit in this increase was the decline in the nine to five job. Today, only 40% of people work a traditional 9 to 5 job (Sweet and Meiksins, 2008:159) because many companies are now open 24-7. McDonalds and Wal-Mart are examples of companies that encourage workers to work outside of traditional hours. Another example of non-traditional hours is found in work at UPS, a company that will deliver any package within a day, and subsequently forces workers to be available during all hours of the day. Sweet and Meiksins (2008:151) found that 75% of Americans report that they would continue to work, even if they had enough money to live as comfortably as they would like for the rest of their lives. Juliet Schor's book *The Overworked American* (1992) provides a

few possible reasons for the increase in hours worked. Schor theorizes that people are in a constant cycle of work and spend. There are four points that encompass the “work and spend cycle”: employers, status, addictions, and regulations.

### **2.1.1 Employers**

Employers play a significant role in perpetuating the cycle as they are the ones determining the number of hours that the employees work, and in turn the workers adjust their lifestyles to the hours and the pay. When productivity rises, instead of reduced work time, the employers pass along the profits in the form of higher wages. More often than not, people want to be rewarded for their hard work and long hours. Many times this reward comes in the form of shopping as a personal reward (Pooler, 2003). Workers then take the extra wages and spend them, and subsequently become accustomed to their new level of spending (Ropke, 1997; Pollay, 1986). If production lowers or they lose their jobs, they must either work longer hours or find a new job to maintain their new level of spending. John De Graaf (2005) explains this as the “*law of diminishing marginal utility*,” the basic premise of which is people must “run faster to stay in place.” In other words: they must increasingly work harder to gain pleasure that comes only from a steady increase in the quality, quantity, and price of goods and services.

### **2.1.2 Status**

Rising incomes create other problems, such as social pressures to keep up with the lifestyles of others (Schor, 1998). This begins as people often spend their earnings on new, better, or just more substance and their consumption will then have a rippling effect on the rest of their peers. Thorstein Veblen, commenting nearly a hundred years ago in 1912, noticed the tendency to compare ourselves with others. Veblen (1912) called this “*the principle of emulation*.” Moreover, he also found that people of all ranks of society tend to compare

themselves not in reference to people of their same rank, but rather to those ranking above them. As attachment to increased standards of living becomes a recognized social goal, individuals are socialized into recognizing its importance (Duesenberry, 1949). Another concept that Veblen (1912) described was called “*conspicuous consumption*”. Conspicuous consumption is the consumption of goods not because there is a need for them, but to create a higher status which will lead to distinctions between people. This creates envy for the lower classes, thus causing them to work longer and harder to emulate the upper class. The end result of this quest for higher status is that neighbors have to work longer to keep up with the proverbial Joneses and the vicious cycle continues (Baudrillard, 1975; Duesenberry, 1949; Patal, 2009).

One of the effects that the pursuit of status has is what Rindfleisch, Burroughs and Wong (2009) called “*materialism*”. They explain that materialism is a set of centrally held beliefs about the importance of possessions in one’s life. These materialistic individuals are strongly influenced by the perceptions of others and prefer possessions that are highly prestigious (Rindfleisch, Burroughs, and Wong, 2009). One problem resulting from an excessive focus on materialism is that it creates a strain on people’s relationships with family, friends, and communities, as they tend to increasingly neglect those who have played important roles in their lives while redirecting their time and energy toward consumption.

### **2.1.3 Addiction**

Another possible explanation for the extra work hours is that for many people consuming can be addicting and habit forming (Schor, 1992; De Graaf, 2005). People at first get pleasure from consuming, but it soon after turns into a comfort. This cycle is what Galbraith (1998) calls “*the dependence effect*”. Since they are addicted to this cycle of pleasure and comfort that they get from consuming, they will need to continue to work more hours to keep up their “*habit*”.

Ackerman (1997) also recognized that consuming could become an addiction. He concluded that consumption makes some individuals happy and that any addiction maximizes happiness.

Ackerman (1997) also compared consumption to procrastination; even though the consumer knows they should save or not spend, the addiction facilitates them to put off the appropriate behavior for a later time. Another analogy that helps explain consuming as an addiction likens consumers to tourists, explaining that they are “*sensation-seekers*”, their relationship to the world is principally aesthetic; they look for the stimulating things that they have seen in movies and television (Willis, 1991; Pooler, 2003). Once they find the thing they have been looking for, they quickly move on to another site. The very act of shopping, the searching and finding, becomes the object of the shopper’s attention (Pooler, 2003). People become so addicted to their consumption that consuming becomes the main focus of their lives, which in turn causes their personal lives to suffer (Machlowitz, 1980). Of course, the flip side of the addiction to consumption is that one must earn more and more income to afford purchases. Thus, for most people an addiction to consuming requires more hours of worked to provide sufficient income to keep up with their spending habits.

#### **2.1.4 The role of the state**

The 1938 legislation regulating overtime played a major role in the rise in hours worked. The new legislation demanded that companies pay employees time-and-a-half after they worked 40 hours within a week and was to be a deterrent of long hours. But instead, this legislation produced the opposite effect (Schor, 1992). The legislation gave workers an incentive to work as many hours as they could to increase their wages. Many companies have also embraced overtime pay. Instead of hiring more employees, the company just pays time-and-a-half to the fewer employees. In addition to paying lower wages, the company also saves on the cost of

healthcare, 401K plans and other benefits that they will not have to pay to additional full-time employees. In this way, both sides seemingly have a vested interest in working the greatest numbers of hours.

Another important piece of legislation affecting consumption was a ruling by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) in 1978, which forever changed the way that retailers were able to do business (Williams, 2006). This new ruling gave retailers the ability to set their own price for merchandise, whereas prior to that time there had been a standard set price that was controlled by manufacturers of merchandise. This enabled larger retailers to lower their prices and profit through their large volumes of sales while also forcing out of business many smaller retail stores that did not have sufficiently large numbers of sales that would enable them to lower their prices to be competitive with larger retailers. It was during this period that the numbers and size of discount chains dramatically expanded. Stores such as Wal-Mart and Target took full advantage of this new ruling, reducing their prices to all time lows (Williams, 2006).

Compare the United States to Europe and it is easy to see that regulations have a major effect on the number of hours an individual works. In the United States, employers use overtime instead of more workers because of the enormous cost in healthcare that they must provide; while in Europe, where healthcare is widely provided by the state, companies do not have to worry about taking on more workers. The United States employee works yearly 155 more hours than their British counterparts and an astonishing 383 more hours than their French counterparts (Sweet and Meiksins, 2008:147). This is because most European countries have established laws to regulate the maximum number of hours that an employer can have an individual work (Sweet and Meiksins, 2008). Other reasons for this disparity include that United States has fewer holidays and that the United States has no laws that guarantee the right to vacations.

The United States has more inequality, higher poverty rates and longer hours of work than its peers but far fewer days off (Economic Policy Institute, 2009). Even though people have stated that they would prefer to spend less time at work and more time with family and friends, the rise in hours worked has continued to climb (Schor, 1992; De Graaf, 2005).

From the literature emerges the following culprits to this rise in hours worked: 1) employers are requiring employees to work more hours; 2) people must work more hours to afford consuming as a means of status seeking; 3) working long hours is necessary to provide the means by which to enable consuming as an addiction, and 4) economic policy has in some cases made it more possible to work more hours, earn more income, and easily access large stores with many items that can be subsequently purchased. These factors have made it so both the employer and employee wants to work the most hours possible.

## **2.2 Exposure to media**

Prior to World War II, the general outlook on advertising was that it was a public service (Goodwin, Akerman, and Kiron, 1997). Advertising was used to inform people of the products and nothing else. After World War II, the whole thinking behind advertising changed. One such example stems from the Bank of America corporation. In the 1950's, Bank of America promoted credit cards, suggesting that if an upstanding middle-class citizen got a credit card they would be able to achieve the American Dream (Goodwin, Akerman, and Kiron, 1997). The advertising business has become a multi-billion dollar industry (Dretzin and Goodman, 2001). Mass marketing and advertising has flourished with the evolution of the computer and television (Goodwin, Akerman, and Kiron, 1997). The Council for Research Excellence conducted a recent study that concluded that the average American spends 8.5 hours of their day in front of some sort of screen (Shelter, 2009, para. 1). Advertising agencies know that screens have become a



huge part of popular culture and have fought to get their share of the contents that appear on them. The average American is exposed to nearly 3,000 discrete advertisements per day and over 10 million advertisements by the time an individual turns 18 (Dretzin and Goodman, 2001; Kilbourne, 2000). Two of the major sources of media that are both prevalent in the literature and in our lives are the television and the computer.

### **2.2.1 Television and computer usage**

There are many different types of online advertising and marketing happening all the time. One great example of the advertisement going on the computer is Google. Google, the world's number one search engine and provider of personal email accounts, searches typically yields ten results surrounded by 11 advertisements (White, 2010, para. 3). They control the ad-space on over 85% of all websites on the internet. Today 99% of Google's revenue comes from the ads it fills on websites across the internet. Even Google's CEO Eric Schmidt recently explained in an interview with Charlie Rose, "now we are an advertising company! (as cited in White, 2010, para. 4)" G-mail, Google's e-mail, takes keywords from the user's e-mails and creates a list of possible advertisements they think those keywords would be interested in and puts that advertisement on the user's web page (Rohde, 2004). Thus, advertising has become a large part of the internet.

Television has become another place to be bombarded by advertisements. Other than working and sleeping, the average person spends more time watching television than doing anything else (Morgan and Signorielli, 1990). Shelter (2009, para. 1) reports the average American is exposed to 61 minutes of TV ads and promotions a day. Television uses both direct and indirect advertising. First, there is the direct advertising, the type of advertising that everyone is aware of, including infomercials, home shopping channels, and conventional 30 and

60 second commercials. Second, television uses indirect advertising, where the characters on the television shows display wealth and legitimize the consumerist lifestyles (Morgan and Signorielli, 1990). Susan Willis (1991:31) put it, “We consume with our eyes, taking in commodities every time we push a grocery cart up and down the aisles in a supermarket, or watch television, or drive down a logo-studded highways.” People who consistently watch more television tend to exaggerate the amount of wealth and luxuries that others have (Morgan and Signorielli, 1990).

The constant bombardments of advertising on individual’s minds affects the way people see the world and affects the products people choose to consume within the world (Bauman, 2007). This is what Lasn (1999) called the “*Manchurian Consumer*”. The consumer ends up being programmed from all the advertisements they are exposed to and then purchases things based upon a number of predetermined commands. Lasn (1999:41) continues, “Slogans now come easily to his lips. He has warm feelings toward many products. Even his most innate drives and emotions trigger immediate connection with consumer goods. Hunger equals Big Mac. Drowsiness equals Starbucks. Depression equals Prozac.”

The role of advertising has changed from its original form. The process has gone from delivering product information into building an image around the particular brand name version of the product (Klein, 1999). Advertising informs the consumers about the existence of some new product, then that if they purchase this product, their lives would be better. This is what is known as brand advertising and marketing. Rindfleisch, Burroughs, and Wong (2009) commented that materialistic individuals form strong connections to their brands as a means of putting aside their insecurities about their own image. Another source of alleviating insecurities in the consumer is to seek meaningful connections with fellow brand users. One such example is

the Harley Davidson brand. Men within this group are given a boost of self-esteem because the brand is considered to be masculine (Rindfleisch, Burroughs and Wong, 2009). This is what companies aspire for their brands; the brands become integrated into the heart of culture (Arvidsson, 2005; Klein, 1999). Brand personality becomes a way that the consumer can express different aspects of themselves (Swaminathan, Stilley and Ahluwalia, 2009). In effect, individuals can use brands as a means of expressing a desirable quality about themselves to others.

The advertising agency's main objective is to manipulate the consumer's preferences through their advertising in order to create new pseudo needs related to their product (Benhabib and Bisin, 2002). Essentially, what advertising does is makes consumption more desirable so that consumers will accelerate their current consumption and postpone saving (Benhabib and Bisin, 2002; Duensenberry, 1949).

### **2.3 Gender roles**

There may not be a more significant determinant of patterns of consumption than gender roles and patterns of consumption have changed markedly as men's and women's work and family roles have changed over the past eighty years. The Great Depression was the first time that women really began to enter the workforce to make up for lost wages or jobs from their husbands or brothers (Amott, 1993). Then World War II hit and women replaced men's jobs while they were away and many remained working after the war. As more and more women left the home, there was more commoditization of daily life (Amott, 1993). Families ate out more instead of cooking at home. Instead of women making clothing, more clothes were bought. Entertainment, such as radios and televisions, became the norm for the family. All of these new commodities required more income. Therefore, families needed more income to purchase these

things (Amott, 1993). Arlie Hochschild (1989) termed an important part of this shift in roles as the “*The Second Shift*”. Women were traditionally in charge of “*reproductive labor*”, sets of tasks such as caring for the family as well as maintaining the current generation of workers while producing and rising the next generation (Amott, 1993:84). With the shift from household to paid employment, not only were they responsible for reproductive labor, but also, productive labor in which they became employed in jobs producing commodities and providing services. This created two shifts for women, one at the workplace and then another one at home (Amott, 1993).

Children have also come to play a more important part in the parent’s consumption. Children who watch more television also make more purchase requests to their parents. Studies show that when children ask their parents to buy them something they have seen on television, the parents oblige (Mullen, 1990; Schor, 2004). Summarily, changes in gender roles for women have also affected gender differences in consumption while at the same time children have also increased their influence in the level of their parents’ consumption

According to Faber (2000), historically, the males’ primary role takes place within a “work frame.” They are problem solvers, so when they go to buy something, they solve the problem the most efficient way. Conversely, Faber (2000) suggests that historically women’s’ primary role has been performed within a “leisure frame.” They are taught that shopping is almost therapeutic and something to do when bored or depressed. Because women’s role has been of this nature, studies have continually shown that more women experience compulsive buying problems than men (Faber, 2000). Traditionally, women were responsible for most of the grocery shopping and gift buying for the family (Costa, 1994; Firat, 1987). Because advertisers know this, women have been the main target for grocery advertising over recent decades (Lewin,

1963). From the literature, significant and understood factors that affect women and their shopping habits include their body image, self esteem, and hours of employment.

### **2.3.1 Body Image**

One main area that advertisers have especially taken aim at is women's body image. Durgee (1986) suggests that advertising intentionally plays on the consumer's self-esteem. Advertising sells its goods by making unattainable images seem possible and by fostering insecurities, anxieties and feelings of inadequacy (Pollay, 1986). For women, advertising idealizes and promotes desirability of unrealistic body images; body images that focus on deficiencies of the women's own appearances (Pollay, 1986). In Jean Kilbourne's video *Killing Us Softly* (2000) she comments that, "advertising tells us who we are and who we should be." Just 30 minutes of television can alter a women's perspective of her body and analysis of television commercials show that most commercials have a message about attractiveness (Myers, 1992; Pollay, 1986). Advertisers use this beaten down self image and exploit it with their products. They use their specialized advertisements to manipulate women to feel as if they need to buy their healthy foods, weight loss products, and a gift to make them feel better about themselves. Magazines publish both food recipes and diet plans for this same reason (Lewin, 1963). De Graaf (2005:157) explains that, "daily bombardments of advertising leave us dissatisfied with our own appearance."

### **2.3.2 Self-esteem**

Self-esteem and body image play a major role in our "self-advertisement". Just as political candidates are carefully groomed and positioned in such a way as to be pleasing to the greatest number of people; individuals also try and package themselves to be likeable to those

around them. Laermans (1993) found that early department stores understood this and offered middle-class women an opportunity to escape the dullness of domestic life. The department stores transformed simple mass produced goods into symbolic goals that conveyed special meanings, and reaching these goals boosted self-esteem. Bauman (1998:13) comments that, “We advertise in personal advertisements, making and selling ourselves as a bundle of attributes, much like product marketing.” Because individuals care so much about how they advertise themselves to others, people’s identity guides much of their consumptive behaviors (Bauman, 1998).

### **2.3.3 Hours worked**

Another area in which gender has historically played a major role is in the amount of hours that men and women work. Traditionally, men were the ones who worked while the women stayed at home with children and kept up the household. Women’s average hours in employment have steadily increased over the past several decades and are approaching men’s average hours of employment. Because most women are now out of the household and employed, gaps left in their previous roles of taking care of the household and the family have often been filled by other sources. For men and women, balancing their traditional roles with their jobs has lead to “*personal outsourcing*”. This personal outsourcing has used daycares and babysitters instead of raising the kids, McDonalds has replaced home cooked meals, and maids now clean the household (Schor, 1992).

There has begun to take place a breaking of these traditional gender roles, where consumption has now become an acceptable activity of leisure for males as well (Firat, 1994; Costa, 1994) David Kiron (1997:81) comments, “Certainly some women continue to construct their identity as mother and wife through shopping and managing family consumption, but for

many others consumption plays a larger role in defining aspects of self that are separate from the family context.” Even though there has begun a breaking of traditional roles, the historical roles still are the rule. Due to their gender roles, the way that marketers exploit them, and families and employers reinforce them, women continue to be the primary caretakers of the family and the primary members responsible for household work, which consumption is a part.

## **2.4 Hypotheses**

This research takes from the literature and examines three major sets of factors that influence consumption: 1) hours worked in employment; 2) amount of exposure to mass media, and 3) gender. It is important to point out that there are many different dimensions of consumption; where one consumes, time spent consuming, why one consumes, the types of goods and services consumed. For purposes specified below in the methods section of this thesis, this study will use whether they had participated in shopping or not during the week in which they took the survey as the dependent variable. It will also be used as the basis upon which to measure the affect of independent variables. So for the purpose of this study, consumption will be operationalized as activity of shopping. The factors influencing the activity or lack/thereof are the hours spent working during the week of the survey, the “work and spend cycle”, the amount of mass media one was exposed to during that same week and one’s gender. The model in Figure 1 is broken down into four model segments: hours worked and whether or not they shopped; gender and the hours worked, mass media and whether or not they shopped, and gender and whether or not they shopped.

The first model segment that relates to whether or not one shops is the “work and spend cycle”. Some of the examples found in the literature of how the “work and spend cycle” takes effect are the employers requiring employees to work longer and/or employees choosing to work

longer hours as a means by which to financially afford and improve upon one's social status through the purchase of goods and services. Literature suggests that these factors increase the likelihood of shopping. Therefore, it is this study's contention that variables such as hours of work, working in jobs below that of white-collar and high-skilled jobs, which are viewed as the highest status level of occupations, and higher weekly earnings will correlate with an increased likelihood of having shopped. From this segment of the model the following hypotheses have been constructed.

1a. The more hours one works the more likely one is to participate in shopping, net of all other factors.

1b. Those working in non white-collar and high-skilled jobs will be more likely to participate in shopping than those within white-collar and high-skill jobs, net of all other factors.

1c. Those with higher weekly earnings will be more likely to participate in shopping, net of all other factors.

The second model segment deals with the relationship of gender and the amount of hours spent working. While more women have entered the workforce and are increasingly working more hours, this study contends that it is the males who still work the most and the longest hours. From this segment of the model the following hypotheses have been constructed.

2. Males will work longer hours than females.

The third model segment takes into account the roles that media exposure has on the amount of advertisements that one is exposed to. This constant advertising on our minds eventually program us into the "*Manchurian Consumer*" (Lasn, 1999), consuming out of programmed responses not actual needs. From this segment of the model the following hypotheses have been constructed.



3. The more time one spends exposed to media, the more likely they will be to participate in shopping, net of all other factors.

The final model segment takes into account the impact that being male or female has on whether one will participate in shopping or not. Even though a breakdown in traditional gender roles has begun, females are still the ones primarily responsible for grocery shopping and gift buying for the family. Because of the traditional roles, most importantly that the primary consumer of the family is the woman, the literature suggests that women will be more likely to shop than men. From this segment of the model the following hypotheses have been constructed.

4a. Women will be more likely than men to participate in shopping, net of all other factors.

4b. Women that participate in doing housework will be more likely to participate in shopping than women who do not participate in housework, net of all other factors.

4c. Women who have children under the age of 6 will be more likely to participate in shopping than women who do not have children under 6, net of all other factors.

## CHAPTER 3

### DATA AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Data

This study used American Time Use Survey (ATUS) data from the years 2006-2008. The ATUS used surveys to provide a representative approximation of how Americans spend their time. People were chosen to be participants in the ATUS by completing their final (8th) month of the Current Population Survey (CPS). From this eligible group, one person age 15 or older was chosen at random from the households that were selected to represent a range of demographics. That person then maintained a time-use diary to track how much time was spent in their activities and answered questions about his or her daily time use (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010).

In order to have a large enough sample, the ATUS samples from the years 2006 through 2008 were combined. The initial sample size for the combined ATUS years 2006-2008 was 37,827 respondents. Restrictions were made in the sample to select those actively working and to only include those between the ages of 18 to 64. To remove outliers from weekly earnings, those who were self-employed and those who were not working for pay were removed, as well as those who earned less than \$5.15 or more than \$3000 per week. After these restrictions had been made, the final sample size was narrowed down to 19,191 participants.

Along with the dataset, the ATUS also included a relative weight. A relative weight was used to compensate for oversampling and therefore reduced the standard error in the sample. The relative weight was created in such a way that weekdays would represent about 5/7 of the weighted data, and weekend days would each represent about 1/7 for the population as a whole.

## **3.2 Variables**

The dependent variable used in this study was shopping activity. This variable did not measure how many times they had shopped, but whether they had shopped or not shopped. Therefore, this variable was used as a proxy for consumption. Shopping included purchases that were made in person, over the telephone, over the Internet, at home, or in a store. The variable was a nominal variable that was coded from 0 to 1. If they had shopped within the last week they were counted as 1 and those who had not shopped were 0.

An additional dependent variable of time shopping was used to examine the range in hours among those who had participated in shopping during the week previous to completing the survey. Time shopping was used as an interval level variable to measure time spent shopping. The reason that the variable time spent shopping was not used as the primary dependent variable was due to the fact that this variable would have resulted in an excessively skewed distribution, as only 46 % of the sample had participated in any shopping, while 54% had not participated in shopping.

### **3.2.1 “Work and spend cycle”**

The first model segment was constructed from theories that posited that the amount an individual worked would influence their shopping habits. These “work and spend” factors included hours worked per week, works full time, goods-producing industry, white-collar high-skill, white-collar low-skill, blue-collar high-skill, and blue-collar low-skill, as well as weekly earnings. The following variables that were measured in hours were gathered using the individual’s time-use diary. The following binary variables were gathered from the demographic section of the questionnaire.

Hours worked per week was an interval level variable that measured the amount of hours per week the individual worked.

Works full time was a binary variable indicating whether or not the respondents worked full time. Workers who worked at least 35 hours per week for all their jobs are coded as full time and were assigned a value of 1. Those who did not work at least 35 hours a week were coded as 0.

Goods-producing industry was a binary variable that divided the sample into those who had service jobs (0) and those who had production jobs (1).

White-collar high-skill was a binary variable that looked at the individual's job type. If their job fell into this category then they were assigned a 1 and all others were 0. For the logistic regression analysis, explained below, this variable was used as the reference variable.

White-collar low-skill was a binary variable that looked at the individual's job type. If their job fell into this category then they were assigned a 1 and all others were 0.

Blue-collar high-skill was a binary variable that looked at the individual's job type. If their job fell into this category then they were assigned a 1 and all others were 0.

Blue-collar low-skill was a binary variable that looked at the individual's job type. If their job fell into this category then they were assigned a 1 and all others were 0.

Weekly earnings was an interval level variable that indicated the individual's weekly income. This variable was recoded so that those who made less than \$5.15 or made more than \$3000 per week were left out. This was done to remove outliers from the sample. This information was gathered from the participant's responses on the questionnaire.

### **3.2.2 Media consumption**

The second model was constructed from theories that stated that media consumption would influence shopping habits. The media consumption factors included an interval measure of time exposed to media and a binary nominal measure of whether or not they had any exposure to media during the survey week.

The variable of leisure time was recoded into a time exposed to media. To create this new variable television, radio, games, computer, and reading were extracted from the leisure time variable and combined into new variable of time of media exposure. To collect this data, the individual kept a time-use diary of their leisure hours per day. The new variable was then multiplied by seven to calculate the total weekly hours. The new variable of media exposure was an interval level variable.

The variable of binary media exposure was also used. If the individual had been exposed to media in the past week then they were assigned a 1, and if they had not then they were assigned a 0. To collect this data the individual kept a time-use diary of their hours spent in different forms of leisure.

### **3.2.3 Gender**

The third model segment was derived from theories about the relationship between gender and consumption which explained that traditional gender roles would influence consumption. The following variables that were measured in hours were gathered using the individual's time-use diary that the individual kept of their hours. The following binary variables were gathered from the demographic section of the questionnaire.

The variable sex was used as a proxy for gender with the value of 0 being male and the value of 1 being female.

An interval level variable of occupational sex-segregation was created to measure the difference in the proportion of 1 males and females in the employed population within occupations. This variable was created by using the female's % of participation within a specific occupation and then dividing it by the overall female participation rate. The information of the participant's occupation was gathered from the demographic section of the questionnaire.

A binary variable of marriage was used to measure the proportion of participants that were married. The value of 0 was given to those not currently married, while the value of 1 was given to the currently married participants.

A binary variable of household work was used to identify who participated or did not participate in household work. This variable included such activities as cooking, cleaning, yard work and home improvement to name a few. The value of 0 was given to those who had not participated in housework in the survey week and the value of 1 was given to those who had participated in housework during the week.

A binary variable of participants with children under the age of 6 was used to separate those who had young children and those who did not. Those without children under the age of 6 were given the value of 0 and those with children under the age of 6 were given a value of 1.

Spousal hours worked per week was an interval level variable. This data was not self-reported, but rather, the participant was responsible for answering how much time their spouse spent at work.

### **3.3.1 Demographic factors**

The demographic variables of age in years, less than a high school diploma, high school diploma, some college experience, bachelor's degree, graduate or professional degree, geographical location, minority, and immigrant were used to help control for potential effects of variable that were not utilized in the previous model segments. The following variables that were measured in hours were gathered using the individual's time-use diary that the individual kept. The following binary variables were gathered from the demographic section of the questionnaire.

The first of the control variables was age in years. The variable was an interval level variable that ranged between the ages of 18 and 64. This range was important to the sample for the fact that being too young or too old could hinder their ability to spend time consuming purchases. This information was obtained from the demographic part of the questionnaire.

The variable of less than a high school diploma was a binary variable. Those who had less than a high school diploma were given the value of 1 and those with something different were given the value of 0.

The variable of a high school diploma was a binary variable. Those who had at least a high school diploma were assigned the value of 1 and those with a different level of education were given the value of 0.

The variable of some college experience was a binary variable. Those who had at least some college were given the value of 1 and those with a different level of education were assigned the value of 0.

The variable of with a bachelor's degree was a binary variable. Those who had a bachelor's degree were given the value of 1 and those with a different level of education were given the value of 0.

The variable of with a graduate or professional degree was a binary variable. Those who had a graduate or professional degree were given the value of 1 and those with a different level of education were assigned the value of 0.

Geographical location was used as a control variable in the analysis. The original variable of metro was recoded into the new variable of rural. The new variable of rural took the rural from metro and gave it the value of 1 and gave everything else a 0. This was important to time consuming purchases because those in urban areas have more and easier access to stores and consumption than their counterparts.

The binary variable of minority was constructed using the two variables of race and ethnicity, which were combined into one variable that consisted of white non-Hispanic, black non-Hispanic, Hispanic, Asian, and other non-Hispanic. Those who were white non-Hispanic and Asian were subsequently recoded as 0 and black non-Hispanic, Hispanic and other non-Hispanic were assigned the value of 1.

The variable of immigrants was a binary variable that identified those who were immigrants. Those who were immigrants were given a value of 1 and those who were not immigrants were assigned the value of 0.



### **3.4 Methodology**

This study used several different statistical procedures to look at the difference between men and women and their shopping habits. Univariate analysis was used for men and women as well as the full sample to provide distribution patterns among the variables. When comparing the differences between men and women (bivariate analysis), a group-means-comparison test (t-test) and ANOVA were used to identify whether the differences between men and women were statistically significant. The group-means-comparison identified groups based on a threshold of their effect size (.20 or higher). A logistic regression analysis was used to examine the multivariate relationships between the dichotomous dependent variable and the independent variables. Unlike multiple regression analysis, logistic regression does not use variance, but instead measures the odds or likelihood that a specific independent variable will independently affect the likelihood or odds of having or not having an attribute of the binary dependent variable. However, like multiple regression it does enable one to control for effects of other independent variables.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

Table 1 provides univariate and bivariate analysis as a baseline comparison among men and women among the variables. For the full sample, 41.83 % had shopped in the past week. Women (46.76%) were more likely than men (37.39%) to have shopped in the past week. The difference between men and women was not statistically significant.

Among “work and spend cycle” factors, women (9.52%) were less likely than men (20.71%) to be employed in a goods-producing industry. The difference between men and women was statistically significant at the .001 level. Women were more likely to be in white collar high skill (44.42% versus 33.24%) and white collar low skill (33.97% versus 16.46%), while men were likely to be in blue collar high skill (26.91% versus 3.28%). All of these job types were statistically significant at the .001 level. Males earned \$917.30 per week while women made \$664.64 per week. The difference between them was statistically significant at the .001 level.

This study hypothesized that males would work longer hours than females, which was not supported. Males worked an average of 43.90 hours compared to females 37.57 hours per week. Although there is a reported difference the difference is not statistically significant.

Regarding media exposure, men and women had no differences whether or not they were exposed to media (67.14% versus 67.35%).

Among gender factors, occupational sex-segregation shows that women (1.41) are over-represented in occupations and men (0.65) are underrepresented. Women (77.47%) were more likely to do housework than men (55.48%) and had spouses with more hours worked per week

(22.75 versus 16.81). The difference between all three of these factors was statistically significant at the .001 level.

Table 2 lists results of a one-way analysis of variance conducted to show the difference between men and women and the amount of time shopping in which they had participated. Women (47.64%) who worked part time were more likely to shop than men (38.25%) who worked part time and the difference was statistically significant at the .001 level. These women also on average shopped 2.1 more hours per week than their male counterparts. Women (47.07%) who worked in white collar and low skill jobs were more likely to have shopped than men (39.74%) who also worked in white collar and low skill jobs and the difference was statistically significant. These women also on average shopped 2.6 more hours per week than men in white collar and low skill jobs. Women (49.85%) with some college were more likely to shop than men (40.15%) with some college and the difference was statistically significant. These women also on average shopped 2.4 more hours per week than men with some college.

Table 3 shows a logistic regression that was conducted to evaluate the relationship between the “work and spend cycle”, media exposure, and gender factors with their participation in shopping. This study hypothesizes that the more hours an individual spends working, the more likely they will have shopped in the past week, net of all other factors. For the full sample, every hour worked by the individual decreased the likelihood of the individual having participated in shopping by 0.8% and was statistically significant at the .001 level. This relationship holds true for both males (-1.0%,  $p < .001$ ) and females (-0.6%  $p < .01$ ). The hypothesis of more hours worked resulting in more shopping was not supported.

The study hypothesizes that because shopping is used as a way of increasing one's social status, those working in jobs below that of the highest status, white collar high skill jobs, will be more likely to participate in shopping, net of all other factors, which was not supported. The findings of the logistic regression analysis compared the likelihood of shopping among those in the three categories of non-white collar high skill jobs to those with white collar high skill jobs.

The hypothesis that higher weekly salaries will increase the likelihood of shopping, net of all other factors was not supported. For the full sample and for men and women separately, there was no difference in the likelihood of shopping and their weekly earnings.

The study hypothesizes that the more time one spends exposed to media, the more likely they will be to participate in shopping, net of all other factors, which was not supported. For the full sample, every hour an individual was exposed to media, their likelihood of shopping decreased by 1.4%. Both men's (-1.2%) and women's (-1.7%) likelihood of shopping decreased with the increase in media exposure, but this was not statistically significant.

The study hypothesizes that because of women's traditional roles they will be more likely to participate in shopping compared to men, net of all other factors, which was supported. Women were 20.7% more likely to shop in the past week than men.

The study hypothesizes that women that participate in doing housework will be more likely to participate in shopping than those not doing housework, net of all other factors, which was supported. For the full sample, those who participated in doing housework were 51% more likely to participate in shopping than those who did no housework. This is also true for not only women (48.3%), but also for men (55.3%).

The study hypothesizes that because of their traditional roles, women who have children under the age of six will be more likely to participate in shopping, net of all other factors, which was not supported. Women who had children under the age of six were 10.8% less likely to participate in shopping compared to women without children under the age of six. This was also true for men as well. Men with children under the age of six were 13.5% less likely to participate in shopping compared to men without children under the age of six. For the full sample, having children under the age of six decreased the likelihood of participating in shopping by 12.4%.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

#### 5.1 Discussion

The shift in America's economy from one based on the manufacturing of goods to the consuming of commodities created a culture of over consumption. This culture of over consumption has contributed to such social problems as overspending, under saving, commercialization of almost anything and everything, and environmental degradation. This study tested theories that the "work and spend cycle", media exposure and changing gender roles influence how people consume. It did so by analyzing a specific dimension of consumption, the indicator of whether or not individuals shopped.

The "work and spend cycle" model segment predicted that factors such as working overtime, shopping for status, addiction to shopping, and governmental regulations have led to Americans working more hours and shopping because of it. There were three hypotheses associated with this model segment, none of which were supported. These findings can be interpreted as being contradictory to Schor's (1992) theory that the more hours a person works, the greater the level of consumption. Perhaps, one reason why this study's findings differ from Schor's theory was that Schor's theory was based in part on a study of a small, geographically homogenous population, whereas this study is taken from a large national sample. Another reason why more hours worked would not necessarily lead to more shopping, would be the fact that there are limited hours in a day, and if more and more hours are being consumed by work, then there is less available time to shop. Perhaps most significantly, the limitations of the data in this study resulted in a rather narrow proxy of consumption, in that the dependent variable measured only whether or not one shopped during the survey week, rather than how much time or money they

spent. It is reasonable to assume that those who shopped during the survey week spent more money on consumption than those who did not. However, it is possible that there is not a direct relationship between instances of shopping during a single week and levels of spending. One could participate in shopping many times and spend a great deal of money. Or, one could rarely participate in shopping, perhaps once a month or less, but spend large sums of money purchasing high priced goods and services. Therefore, additional research is necessary with other sources of empirical data to further explore and test Schor's theory.

The media exposure model segment argued that because Americans are constantly exposed to advertisements, the more advertisements one was exposed to the more likely they would be to participate in shopping. America has long wondered about the effects of the constant advertisements on consumers. Most conventional theories asserted or at least implied that more exposure to advertisements resulted in more shopping. Judging from the amount of advertising and the large amount of money spent on advertising, it is no doubt that companies are betting their dollars on such results. However, this study's findings did not show such results. In fact, results in Table 3 indicated that the more an individual was exposed to media, the less likely they were to participate in shopping. There could be several reasons why this hypothesis was not supported. First, many people skip over advertisements on television by using such devices as TiVo or a digital video recorder. Second, it is likely that many people are so over-exposed to advertisements that they have simply learned to tune them out. This has led companies to try new approaches to advertising, including clever, more sophisticated forms of "word of mouth advertising, or placing brand logos on products that will surely be seen by other people. One can see many examples of this on shirts, shoes and other apparel which prominently display the brand name of the apparel company. Corporations know that by making these items fashionable,

they will not only sell them more easily, but will also spread information about their products as individuals consume them. In this example it is not mass media that encourages consumption, but the people that they come into contact with.

The gender model argued that because of traditional roles women would be more likely than men to participate in shopping. Table 3 showed that this hypothesis was true; women did in fact shop more than men did. What was interesting was that the traditional women's role of doing housework had the same affect on men. Table 2 showed that 41.8% of men who participated in household labor also shopped the highest of any variable. This could be due to the feminization of men's roles. The effect of having children under the ages of six was also very interesting in terms of its results. Table 3 showed that having children actually influenced the individuals shop less, which is counter to theory that household work and caretaking of children requires women to consume more. One explanation is that because people are working longer and having young children is very time consuming as well, that there just is not enough time to go shopping. Or perhaps with the existence of large, one-stop department stores such as Wal-Mart, people buy more on each shopping trip, leading to fewer overall trips to the store.

In addition to variables considered by the hypotheses, several control variables yielded interesting findings. For example, education seemed to play an important role in whether someone participated in shopping or not. For the full sample, using less than high school diploma as a reference group, those with a high school diploma (17.8%), some college (46%), a bachelor degree (47.4%) and graduate degrees (35%) were more likely to participate in shopping compared to those with less than a high school diploma. This suggests that additional education beyond high school increases the likelihood of having participated in shopping. This suggests the need for additional research on the relationship between education and consumption. One



could also speculate that it is possible that the more educated individuals are shopping to meet role expectations that are perceived to be in accordance with their level of education. This would be another dimension of status-seeking consumption that was discussed by literature relating to the relationship between working and spending.

For the full sample, individuals living in a rural area were 15.3% less likely to participate in shopping. This was truer for women (-28.4%) than for men (-0.3%). This finding is logical, as those living in urban settings are located closer to the stores at which they shop and are closer to a greater number of stores. Naturally, closer proximity to stores would make it easier to shop. This finding highlights the importance of geographic location in its relationship to consumption.

The last demographic variable was that female immigrants were 28.3% less likely to participate in shopping than women who were citizens. One explanation for this pattern is that historically immigrants have had lower paying jobs and have carried multiple jobs and therefore may not have the money or time to participate in shopping. This finding suggests that additional research is needed on consumption among immigrants.

## **5.2 Limitations**

Although this study yielded some useful and informative findings, it was not without limitations. The largest limitation was that ATUS data was collected over a period of a week. Since it was only one week, it is questionable whether the data present is an accurate reflection of the individual's actual time use during most weeks. Also, when dealing with time use, the ability of respondents to accurately record their time use comes into question. Often people overestimate or underestimate the amount of time they spend on activities. Finally, ideally, the variable of time spent consuming would have been used as the dependant variable throughout

this study. As explained previously, it also would have been useful to know how much money was spent in a given shopping experience or a given amount of time shopping. Therefore, shopping activity was used as an admittedly narrow proxy for shopping in general.

However, because the use of this specific aspect of consumption resulted in unexpected findings, which often seemed to contradict established notions of consumption, it should be duly noted that different dimensions of consumption work in different ways. As evidenced by this study, using time in certain areas, such as watching television or using a computer and caring for young children decreased the likelihood that respondents shopped during the survey week. This is not that surprising in retrospect, as it makes logical senses that more time spent in these activities would leave less time to participate in other activities, including shopping. However, would these same independent variables result in more or less spending when one does shop? Would they result in fewer instances but longer durations of continuous consumption during a given instance? Would this, in turn, lead to more spending? For now, more research is necessary to answer these and other questions.

With regards to this research, we can conclude that the findings of this study are useful and are interesting by themselves. This research does explore what factors influence whether or not people participate in shopping within a 7-day timeframe, an important measure to consider in the overall context of consumption patterns and practices. The more we know about consumption, and its nuances, the more information that can be used to form creative and intelligent solutions that effectively address conditions that lead to excessive consumerism, overspending, debt, foreclosures, bankruptcies, divorces and other related social problems. These solutions will help with that which has plagued so many consumers in the United States, especially at this critical juncture in our nation's economic history.

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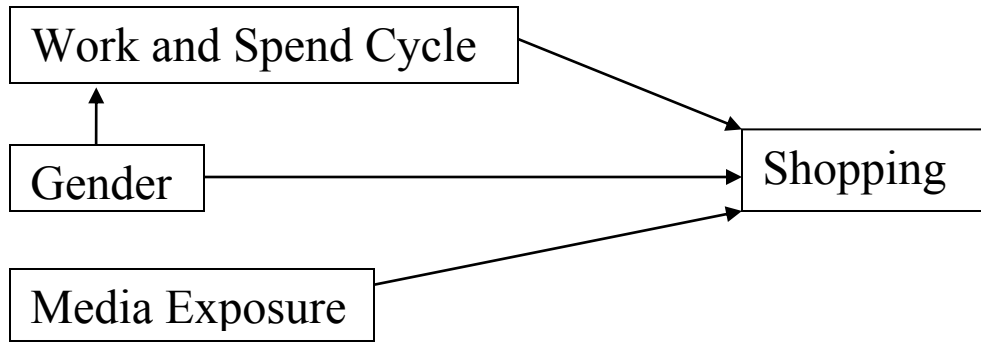
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## APPENDIX

Figure 1



**TABLE 1**  
**Values for Full Sample and by Sex**

Variables:	Full Sample	Men	1	2	Women
<b>Dependent Variable</b>					
% Consumed (0,1):	41.83%	37.39%	***		46.76%
(Stddev):	(0.49)	(0.48)			(0.50)
<b>Independent Variables</b>					
<b>Work Spend Cycle</b>					
Hours worked per week (mean):	40.90	43.90			37.57
	(12.02)	(11.80)			(11.38)
% Goods-producing industry (0,1):	20.71%	30.82%	***	^	9.52%
	(0.40)	(0.46)			(0.29)
% White Collar High Skill:	38.54%	33.24%	***	^	44.42%
	(0.49)	(0.47)			(0.50)
% White Collar Low Skill:	24.77%	16.46%	***	^	33.97%
	(0.43)	(0.37)			(0.47)
% Blue Collar High Skill:	15.70%	26.91%	***	^	3.28%
	(0.36)	(0.44)			(0.18)
% Blue Collar Low Skill:	20.99%	23.39%	***		18.32%
	(0.41)	(0.42)			(0.39)
Weekly Earnings (mean):	\$797.45	\$917.30	***	^	\$664.64
	(589.81)	(629.77)			(510.24)
<b>Media Consumption</b>					
% Consumed Media:	67.24%	67.14%			67.35%
	(0.47)	(0.47)			(0.47)
<b>Gender</b>					
Occupational Sex-Segregation:	1.01	0.65	**	^	1.41
	(0.64)	(0.52)			(0.51)
% Married (0,1):	57.34%	59.09%	***		55.40%
	(0.49)	(0.49)			(0.50)
% Does Household Work (0,1):	65.91%	55.48%	***	^	77.47%
	(0.47)	(0.50)			(0.42)
% With children under 6 (0,1):	22.01%	23.24%	***		20.64%
	(0.41)	(0.42)			(0.40)
Spousal Hours per week (mean):	19.63	16.81	***	^	22.75
	(21.91)	(20.32)			(23.16)
<b>Individual Factors</b>					
Age in Years (mean):	39.39	39.00	***		39.82
	(12.40)	(12.20)			(12.61)
% with less than high school diploma:	9.83%	11.48%	***		8.01%
	(0.30)	(0.32)			(0.27)
% with high school diploma:	29.35%	30.84%	***		27.71%
	(0.46)	(0.46)			(0.45)
% with some college:	28.88%	27.10%	***		30.84%
	(0.45)	(0.44)			(0.46)
% with bachelors:	20.97%	19.79%	***		22.27%
	(0.41)	(0.40)			(0.42)
% with graduate or professional degree:	10.97%	10.79%			11.17%
	(0.31)	(0.31)			(0.32)
% Rural (0,1):	15.60%	15.10%	***		16.14%
	(0.36)	(0.36)			(0.37)
% Minority (0,1):	27.44%	27.94%	***		26.88%
	(0.45)	(0.45)			(0.44)
% Immigrants (0,1):	15.71%	17.72%	***		13.48%
	(0.36)	(0.38)			(0.34)
<b>Sample n (weighted)</b>	19,191	10,088			9,103
	100.00%	52.60%			47.40%

**Table 2**  
**ANOVA Time Use by Men and Women**

All activities including :		Percent who participate in shopping		Weekly hours				Wkly diff in hours (f-m)
		male	1 2 female	male	1 2 female	female		
Work Hours:	Part-Time	38.25%	*** ^	47.64%	5.3	*** ^	7.4	2.1
	Full-Time	37.29%	*** ^	46.46%	5.5	*** ^	7.0	1.5
Goods-producing industry:	Service	38.25%	*** ^	46.83%	5.4	*** ^	7.1	1.7
	Goods	35.44%	*** ^	46.07%	5.5	*** ^	6.8	1.2
Job Status:	White Collar High Skill	39.61%	*** ^	49.06%	5.5	*** ^	7.0	1.5
	White Collar Low Skill	39.74%	*** ^	47.07%	4.9	*** ^	7.5	2.6
	Blue Collar High Skill	35.66%	*** ^	48.96%	5.3	*** ^	6.7	1.3
	Blue Collar Low Skill	34.56%	*** ^	40.21%	6.0	**	6.7	0.6
Marital Status:	Not married	39.22%	*** ^	46.44%	5.0	*** ^	6.7	1.7
	Married	36.11%	*** ^	47.01%	5.8	*** ^	7.4	1.6
With Children Under 6yrs:	No	37.86%	*** ^	46.79%	5.3	*** ^	7.2	1.9
	Yes	35.81%	*** ^	46.65%	6.2	*	6.7	0.5
Spouse Employed:	No	37.52%	*** ^	45.63%	5.2	*** ^	6.8	1.5
	Yes	37.22%	*** ^	47.80%	5.8	*** ^	7.4	1.6
Spouse Full-time Employed:	No	37.35%	*** ^	45.32%	5.2	*** ^	6.8	1.5
	Yes	37.45%	*** ^	48.25%	5.9	*** ^	7.4	1.5
Does Household work:	No	31.87%	*** ^	40.46%	5.3	*** ^	7.1	1.8
	Yes	41.81%	*** ^	48.59%	5.6	*** ^	7.1	1.5
Consume Media:	No	37.37%	*** ^	46.92%	5.5	*** ^	7.5	2.0
	Yes	37.39%	*** ^	46.68%	5.5	*** ^	6.9	1.4
Education:	less than high school diploma	30.25%	*** ^	35.72%	6.3	**	6.9	0.6
	high school diploma	35.02%	*** ^	42.46%	5.6	*** ^	7.2	1.6
	some college	40.15%	*** ^	49.85%	5.2	*** ^	7.5	2.4
	bachelors	41.40%	*** ^	50.31%	5.3	*** ^	6.5	1.2
	graduate or professional degree	37.46%	*** ^	49.73%	5.5	*** ^	7.0	1.5
Rural :	No	37.56%	*** ^	47.94%	5.5	*** ^	7.1	1.6
	Yes	36.41%	*** ^	40.63%	5.4	*** ^	6.9	1.5
Minority:	No	38.18%	*** ^	47.99%	5.3	*** ^	7.2	1.9
	Yes	35.32%	*** ^	43.41%	6.0	**	6.8	0.8
Immigrants:	No	38.23%	*** ^	47.96%	5.2	*** ^	7.1	1.9
	Yes	33.45%	*** ^	39.07%	7.0		7.1	0.1

<sup>1</sup> = \*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05

<sup>2</sup> effect size greater = > .20

**Table 3**  
**Logistic Regression Analysis for Shopping**

(Dependent Variable= Shopping)

Variables:	Full sample				Men				Women			
	beta	1	%	odds	beta	1	%	odds <sup>2</sup>	beta	1	%	odds
<b>Independent Variables</b>												
<b>Work Spend Cycle</b>												
Hours worked per week:	-0.008	***	-0.8%	0.992	-0.010	***	-1.0%	0.990	-0.006	**	-0.6%	0.994
Goods-producing industry (0,1):	0.028		2.9%	1.029	-0.004		-0.4%	0.996	0.081		8.4%	1.084
White Collar High Skill (0,1):			ref grp.				ref grp.				ref grp.	
White Collar Low Skill(0,1):	0.010		1.0%	1.010	0.060		6.1%	1.061	0.127		13.6%	1.136
Blue Collar High Skill(0,1):	0.016		1.6%	1.016	0.079		8.3%	1.083	0.124		13.2%	1.132
Blue Collar Low Skill(0,1):	-0.088		-8.5%	0.915	0.058		6.0%	1.060	0.365	**	44.0%	1.440
Weekly Earnings:	0.000		0%	1.000	0.000	*	0%	1.000	0.000		0%	1.000
<b>Media Exposure</b>												
Hours Consuming Media :	-0.014		-1.4%	0.986	-0.012		-1.2%	0.988	-0.017		-1.7%	0.983
<b>Gender</b>												
Female (0,1):	0.188	***	20.7%	1.207								
Occupational Sex-Segregation:	0.072	*	7.5%	1.075	0.120	*	12.8%	1.128	0.076		7.9%	1.079
Does Household Work (0,1):	0.412	***	51%	1.510	0.440	***	55.3%	1.553	0.394	***	48.3%	1.483
With children under 6 (0,1):	-0.133	***	-12.4%	0.876	-0.145	**	-13.5%	0.865	-0.115	*	-10.8%	0.892
Spousal Hours per week:	0.000		0%	1.000	-0.001		-0.1%	0.999	0.001		0.1%	1.001
<b>Individual Factors</b>												
Age in Years:	-0.004	**	-0.4%	0.996	-0.001		-0.1%	0.999	-0.006	**	-0.6%	0.994
less than high school diploma(0,1):			ref grp.				ref grp.				ref grp.	
high school diploma(0,1):	0.164	**	17.8%	1.178	0.164	*	17.8%	1.178	0.172		18.8%	1.188
some college(0,1):	0.379	***	46.0%	1.460	0.320	***	37.8%	1.378	0.438	***	55.0%	1.550
bachelors(0,1):	0.388	***	47.4%	1.474	0.313	***	36.7%	1.367	0.439	***	55.1%	1.551
graduate or professional degree(0,1):	0.300	***	35.0%	1.350	0.120		12.7%	1.127	0.440	***	55.3%	1.553
Rural (0,1):	-0.167	***	-15.3%	0.847	-0.003		-0.3%	0.997	-0.321	***	-28.4%	0.726
Minority (0,1):	-0.022		-2.2%	0.978	0.005		0.5%	1.005	-0.061		-6.0%	0.940
Immigrants (0,1):	-0.199	***	-0.18%	0.820	-0.090			0.914	-0.332	***	-28.3%	0.717
(Constant):	-0.591	***			-0.623	***			-0.436	**		
Chi-sq:	545.784	***			210.802	***			210.045	***		

<sup>1</sup> = \*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05

<sup>2</sup> significant difference between men and women at the .05 level