Recreational Shopper Identity:
Implications of Recreational Shopping
for Consumer Self-Definition

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Abstract

Three groups of shoppers, nonrecreational shoppers, ordinary recreational shoppers, and recreational shopping enthusiasts, who vary in their level of involvement and interest in shopping, are profiled and differentiated in a multi-method study, combining a survey and depth interviews. In Study 1, a Recreational Shopper Identity Scale is developed and used to categorize survey respondents into each shopping group. A comparison of group profiles showed substantial socioeconomic and shopping behavior differences between nonrecreational shoppers and both recreational shopping groups. More importantly, seven of the ten leisure dimensions (mastery, fantasy, escape/enjoyment, compulsion, salesperson, spontaneity, and social) increased in intensity across the three shopping groups. The results suggest that recreational shopping enthusiasts assume a recreational shopping identity as a salient dimension of their self-concepts. In Study 2, the qualitative data provide a phenomenological account of recreational shopping by illustrating how the leisure dimensions are experienced while shopping as well as providing further insight into the nature of the recreational shopping enthusiast. Compared to ordinary recreational shoppers, recreational shopping enthusiasts have prominent, self-proclaimed shopping identities, label their shopping trips as mission shopping, window shopping, and mood shopping, and have a need for uniqueness and desire to be creative that are satisfied in concert by shopping. Taken together, the results of both studies have implications, for attracting and retaining recreational shoppers through store design, promotion, and retail store service.
Come on you miner (shopper) for truth and delusion, and shine (shop)! (Pink Floyd 1975)

CUTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SHOPPING

Shopping is a way of life in contemporary consumer society. Its cultural significance is evidenced by the considerable time and energy consumers devote to the endeavor (Graham 1988; International Council of Shopping Centers 1990), not only to procure necessary or desired products, but also to participate in a wide range of experiential activities in order to satisfy various personal and social motives (Bloch, Ridgway, and Dawson 1994; Morris 1987; Tauber 1972). Shopping may range from a utilitarian task to a form of recreation and entertainment, as well as being an individual or group event.

The site of much shopping activity is the shopping mall, which stands as a monument to shopping's prominent position in consumer culture by offering a multitude of products and services to satisfy consumer needs and desires. Consumers of all ages spend more time in shopping malls than anywhere else except home, work, and school (Kowinski 1985; Stoffel 1988), leading some to suggest that malls have become modern day community centers and society's new town squares (Glaberson 1992; Zepp 1986), where the shopping experience is ritualized within a community of consumption (Chaney 1990; Featherstone 1991; Zepp 1986).

Since the first malls were built, increasing attention has been given to fostering the experiential aspects of consumers' shopping trips by extending mall offerings beyond tangible goods, to include a vast array of services and other pursuits (Bloch, Ridgway, and Nelson 1991; Stoffel 1988), such as fast-food courts, restaurants, video arcades, movie theaters, hair salons, health clubs, medical offices, and specially orchestrated holiday events. Mega-malls, like West Edmonton and Mall of America, have gone even further by providing such extravagances as
swimming pools, ice skating rinks, theme parks, and miniature golf courses that have made these malls giant entertainment centers and vacation destinations (Belsky 1992).

Consumers' participation in the shopping experience is not limited to the mall and other brick and mortar retail markets, for consumers can shop twenty-four hours a day from the endless array of catalogue "wish books" (Schroeder 1970) that arrive regularly in the mail, filled with ever changing consumption dreams and desires. In addition, QVC and Home Shopping Network fantasy channels display an endless stream of enticing goods and pleasures (Underwood 1993). Both media urge consumers to dial SHOP ALL DAY to satisfy their cravings, and transform consumption dreams and fantasies into reality. More recently, an increasing number of consumers are riding the waves of online shopping not only to search for information, but also to procure their goods from Web-based stores (Beck 1998; Berman and Evans 1998; Green 1999).

As further evidence of shopping's cultural impact, new airport terminals have been built in Denver, New York, and Pittsburgh that include not only passenger gates, but also full service shopping malls (Berman and Evans 1998; Reitman 1992). Once travelers arrive at their destinations, their vacations often include shopping sprees, and may even be tailored as specially designed shopping tours (Del Rosso 1988; Erlick 1995; Lincoln 1992). Shopping has even been sanctified under the cover of religious theme parks, where the center of visitors' attention is not the church, but the community shopping mall (O'Guinn and Belk 1989).

With regards to popular culture, shopping is a significant theme in the life of Cathy, a well-known comic strip character. Similarly, a number of well known television show personalities (e.g., Donna and Kelly of Beverly Hills, 90210 as well as Rachel of Friends) are known for their shopping prowess. In Needful Things, a novel by the horror writer Stephen
King, the residents of Castle Rock, Maine were drawn into Leland Gaunt’s wonderful new store that promised to fulfill their heart’s secret desire only to find evil on a shopping spree. Even our language is filled with aphorisms, such as "Born to shop," "Shop ’til you drop," "I shop, therefore I am," and "When the going gets tough, the tough go shopping" that reflect the prominent position shopping plays in consumer culture, as well as its potential self-significance.

PERSONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SHOPPING

Shopping's cultural pervasiveness touches consumers' lives in a variety of ways. Certainly, for some consumers, shopping serves a strictly utilitarian purpose, being no more than a means to product acquisition. It is viewed as an occupation that requires mandatory time and thus, is considered a necessary evil (Campbell 1997a; Fram 1991; Hopkins 1986; Stern 1989). Under this pretense, shopping may evolve into an unpleasant task filled with frustration and anxiety (Tatzel 1982, 1991). These negative feelings may be magnified when consumers are caught in a struggle between having a strong desire to acquire and consume, together with their aversion to shop.

In contrast to those who dislike to shop, many consumers truly enjoy being in the marketplace to make a product purchase and/or engage in experiential consumption (Bloch et. al. 1994; Campbell 1997a; Prus and Dawson 1991; Solomon 1996). For these consumers, shopping is a form of recreation and entertainment that may even be one of their favorite pastimes and a preferred activity of choice (Gonzales 1988; Hughes 1989). Moreover, it has been suggested that for some consumers being a shopper is an authentic and vital identity, with the shopping experience serving as the unifying principle by which they structure their lives (Hopkins 1986). Thus, shopping may be a vital part of a consumer's extended self (Belk 1988) when it contains
significant symbolic meaning and serves as a means of self-communication, enhancement, affirmation, and cultivation.

**RESEARCH PURPOSE**

Despite shopping's popularity as a recreational activity and its apparent significance in many consumers' lives, consumer research has given little attention to studying recreational shopping beyond recognizing the existence of recreational shoppers and identifying some of their market behaviors, personality traits, and demographics. Far less is known about the lived experience of the activity, its personal meaning and self-significance, and the role it plays in consumers' lives. In addition, although recreational shopping is considered a form of leisure, consumer research has not sufficiently combed the activity to understand this perspective and its influence on the nature of recreational shopping and its participants.

Given that recreational shoppers represent a potentially important market segment for retailers and mall managers to attract and maintain as customers, it seems prudent to advance the knowledge of recreational shopping to enable these parties to design and implement more effective atmospheric, merchandising, and service quality strategies to manage the recreational shopping experience.

Thus, the objective of this paper is to provide a richer and deeper understanding of the recreational shopper's experience in the marketplace, as well as in the larger context of life, through an iterative and emergent multi-method study, including in-depth interviews and a survey. Of particular interest, is the in-depth examination of recreational shopping enthusiasts, i.e., those consumers who are highly involved in the experiential and product focused activities of shopping, and view shopping as a central part of their lives. In essence, these consumers have
a powerful recreational shopper identity, and use shopping as a means of self-affirmation and self-enhancement.

This research compares the shopping experiences of nonrecreational shoppers and recreational shoppers—with special attention devoted to recreational shopping enthusiasts. First, survey data are presented which examine the relationships among a number of shopping related variables, including experiential marketplace activities, leisure-based dimensions of shopping, recreational shopping identity, materialism, compulsive buying, and self-esteem. Then, depth interviews are used to flesh out the lived experience of recreational shopping, yielding a rich theoretical framework for understanding this cultural phenomenon.

RECREATIONAL SHOPPING

Bellenger and Korgoankar (1980) defined recreational shoppers as "… those who enjoy shopping as a leisure-time activity" (p. 78), contrasting them with "economic shoppers" who experienced no pleasure from the shopping process per se. Subsequent research has tended to adhere to this general construal, focusing on shopping enjoyment. Westbrook and Black (1985) performed a cluster analysis based on shopping motivations and identified a "shopping process-involved" cluster that they concluded corresponded to Bellenger and Korgoankar's recreational shoppers. Prus and Dawson (1991), in a qualitative study, identified recreational shopping orientations as embracing "… notions of shopping as interesting, enjoyable, entertaining and leisurely activity" (p. 149). Babin, Darden and Griffin (1994) developed a scale measuring hedonic and utilitarian shopping value, where the former dimension captures pleasure, enjoyment and excitement.

Clearly, enjoyment is a major component of recreational shopping. However, the notion of shopping as leisure or recreation invokes gratifications beyond simple enjoyment. For
example, Prus and Dawson (1991, p. 160) noted that "... shopping takes on recreational or valued quality because it is taken as means of acknowledging, entertaining, or expressing one's self." Campbell (1997a,b) has suggested that recreational shopping is valued because it is a form of self-determination. Based on these observations, the following, more complete definition of recreational shopping is proposed:

Recreational shopping is shopping activity that is characterized by the shopper experiencing gratification from the shopping process per se, either in conjunction with or independent of the acquisition of goods and services.

It is important to note that these intrinsic rewards attendant to the shopping process are anticipated by the shopper and hence become goals that are sought deliberately and may even be the impetus for a shopping trip. In that sense, then, recreational shopping can clearly be construed as a form of leisure behavior.

Recreational Shopper Identity

For some consumers, high involvement with a beloved product or activity reaches a heightened state of total commitment and attachment in which the product/activity is incorporated into their self-concept and becomes a (the) central part of their lives (Belk 1988; Bloch 1986; Buchanan 1985). At this highest level of involvement, referred to in the consumer behavior literature as the extended self (Belk 1988) or product enthusiasm (Bloch 1986), and in leisure research as a leisure identity (Haggard and Williams 1992; Shamir 1992), a consumer defines him/herself in terms of a singular product or activity, recognizing the product/activity's function as the primary means self-enhancement and self-definition.

In the context of recreational shopping, this type of special consumer-object bond appears to be exhibited when consumers explicitly define themselves as being recreational shoppers,
reflected in such statements as "I shop, therefore I am" or "Born to shop" that affirm a unique recreational shopper identity. Although the idea of consumers having a recreational shopper identity has not previously been explored in consumer research, its viability and potential role in life appears to be demonstrated in research on consumer-object relations (Belk 1988; Bloch 1986) and leisure activity participation (Shamir 1992).

Bloch (1986) proposed that the high end of the product involvement continuum was anchored by a group of consumers, referred to as product enthusiasts, for whom the consumption and possession of highly involving products play an important role in life. Although Bloch did not empirically examine the characteristics of product enthusiasts, he speculated that a highly involved state satisfied enthusiasts' needs for uniqueness, mastery, and/or affiliation. If so, enthusiastic product involvement may serve a self-enhancing and self-defining role. Later, Bloch et al. (1994) extended these notions into the shopping arena, profiling the mall enthusiast, who is deeply involved with all aspects of mall-related activities.

Research that more fully captures the notion of consumers being totally involved with recreational shopping to the point of having a recreational shopper identity is Belk's (1988) conceptualization of the extended self, in which consumers incorporate their most meaningful and treasured possessions, including experiences (e.g., shopping) and places (e.g., retail marketplace), into the self. These possessions, being most central to the self, function to create, enhance, and maintain a sense of self-identification, while providing meaning in life.

In the leisure literature, when an individual defines him/her self in terms of a leisure pursuit, s/he possesses a leisure identity (Shamir 1992). A leisure identity may become salient and incorporated into the self-concept for three reasons: 1) it expresses and affirms the individual's talents or capabilities, 2) it endows the person with social recognition, and/or 3) it
affirms the individual's central values" (Shamir 1992, p. 302). This proposition is consistent with research by Haggard and Williams (1992), who found that individuals affirmed the nature of their identities through participation in leisure activities that symbolized desirable character traits and identity images, supporting the idea that a highly salient leisure identity will act in the service of self-enhancement and self-identification. In the present context, we propose the existence of a **Recreational Shopper Identity** (RSI), which is a dimension of the self concept whereby an individual defines him- or herself in terms of shopping for recreational or leisure purposes. This implies a high degree of enduring involvement with, and commitment to, recreational shopping as a personally rewarding activity.

Borrowing Bloch's (1986) terminology, these shoppers exhibiting extreme recreational shopping identity will be designated **recreational shopping enthusiasts**, for whom the marketplace and shopping activity are central facets of life. In this regard, the meaning of their recreational shopping experiences transcends enjoyment and other possible dimensions of leisure, as self-enhancement and self-identification become paramount.

**RESEARCH OVERVIEW**

Two studies were conducted, consisting of depth interviews and a survey. Following the sentiment of previous multi-method consumer research (Arnauld and Price 1993; O'Guinn and Faber 1989), qualitative and quantitative methods were blended in the present study as complements to advance the knowledge and understanding of recreational shopping. Through the survey data, relationships among pertinent shopping and leisure variables were examined to build a structure for defining the recreational shopping experience. In complement, the interview data provided substance and personal meaning to the survey-based structure by yielding a
phenomenological account of recreational shopping that was instrumental in illustrating, contextualizing, and interpreting survey results.

**STUDY 1**

Survey questionnaires were distributed to a quota-convenience sample of consumers by undergraduate and MBA students in the senior author’s classes at a large Eastern university. In return for extra course credit and the opportunity to participate in a cash raffle, each student was asked to secure up to ten respondents. Student participation was voluntary and each student was permitted to complete a survey him/herself. Firm guidelines on respondent eligibility were established to try to ensure a reasonable diversity of individuals and backgrounds.

Each questionnaire was accompanied by a blank envelope and cover letter describing the project as a study of consumer clothes shopping behavior. Anonymity was guaranteed by instructing the respondent to seal the completed questionnaire in the envelope before returning it to the student and by assuring the respondent that the professor directing the project would be responsible for opening the envelope.

The final sample consisted of 561 respondents. Ages ranged from under 19 to over 60, with 54.8% between the ages of 20 and 29; 56.7% were female, and 61.2% had never been married. Caucasians made up 46.1% of the respondents, and 72.8% were U. S. citizens. Educationally, 53.2% of the sample were currently attending high school or college, 26.9% had a college degree and 11.4% had a graduate degree. Regarding annual household income, 15.6% were below $20,000, 25.2% between $20,000 and $39,999, 26.0% between $40,000 and $59,999, 16.2% between $60,000 and $79,999, and 17.1% were at or above $80,000.
Measures

The questionnaire consisted of a series of scales and questions addressing the study's specific research questions.

Recreational shopper identity and leisure-based dimensions of recreational shopping. The survey included 84 items designed to measure recreational shopper identity and leisure-based dimensions of the recreational shopping experience. The items designed to measure recreational shopping identity were drawn from Shamir’s (1992) 7-item leisure identity scale and Bloch’s (1981) research on product involvement, while the leisure-based dimensions were based on the 26-item scale developed by Unger and Kernan (1983) to measure six dimensions of a leisure experience. Additional items were based on the shopping, leisure, and consumer behavior literatures. In addition, items were included to measure the following dimensions: social, including the role of shopping companions and salespeople, fantasy, and the importance of clothing. All 84 items were worded to fit a retail store clothes shopping context. Jackson (1991) and Campbell (1997a) have noted that clothing shopping is particularly well suited for the emergence of recreational shopping behavior. Using 5-point scales anchored by “Strongly Agree” and “Strongly Disagree,” respondents indicated their level of agreement with each item as it pertained to shopping for clothing for themselves.

Shopping mall activities. The measures of the frequency of consumer participation in mall activities were drawn primarily from Bloch et al.’s (1994) research on mall inhabitants. The 13 items from their research were modified and augmented to capture a range of product and service purchase activities, experiential activities, and consumption of the mall itself. The final inventory comprised 20 items measured on 5-point scales anchored by “Very Often” and “Never.”
**Shopping behavior.** Respondents were asked to indicate their frequency of shopping for clothing for themselves in a retail store, how much time they spent shopping for clothing on a shopping trip for themselves, their frequency of shopping for clothing for themselves from a catalog, TV home shopping channel, and the Internet.

**Materialism, compulsive buying, and self-esteem.** Materialism was measured by Richins and Dawson’s (1992) 18-item Likert scale, compulsive buying by Faber and O’Guinn’s (1992) scale, and self-esteem by Rosenberg’s (1965) 10-item Likert scale. These are closely associated individual difference variables and hence are useful for establishing the discriminant validity of the recreational shopper identity scale.

**Sociodemographic variables.** Respondents were asked to indicate their age, gender, race/ethnic group, marital status, number of children living in their household, highest level of education completed, student status, U. S. citizenship status and annual household income before taxes.

**RESULTS**

**Analysis**

Because one of the goals of the research was to develop an improved measure of recreational shopping, i.e., the Recreational Shopper Identity (RSI) scale, we randomly split the sample into a developmental sample (n=200) and a validation sample (n=361). The developmental sample was used to develop and refine the RSI scale, as well as identify, through factor analysis, key leisure dimensions and patterns of shopping activities.

**Development of the RSI Scale.** The 84 recreational shopping items described above were subjected to principal component analysis resulting in eighteen factors with eigenvalues greater than one that together accounted for 72% of the variance. Varimax rotation yielded eleven
interpretable factors. The first factor, accounting for 33% of the variance, was labeled Recreational Shopper Identity. The 27 items loading at .40 or above clustered into eight conceptual groupings, including enjoyment, experience, fulfillment, absorption, involvement, social definition, self definition, and self esteem. Since each of these conceptual categories is encompassed in the expanded construal of recreational shopping, one item representing each category was included in the RSI scale to ensure content validity (see Exhibit 1). RSI scores were computed for each individual by summing the responses to the eight scale items shown in the exhibit. The eight-item scale demonstrated excellent internal consistency reliability, with a Cronbach alpha of .91.

INSERT EXHIBIT 1 HERE.

Correlations with related constructs were moderate and in the expected directions. RSI correlated .39 with materialism ("r = .80), .56 with compulsive buying ("r = .79), and -.25 with self-esteem ("r = .87). RSI appears to be a distinctly different construct than either materialism or self-esteem; however, RSI and compulsive buying shared 31% variance, which threatens the RSI's discriminant validity. Since none of the RSI scale items directly addressed actual purchasing, it was not clear how the RSI scale could be altered to differentiate it more from compulsive buying. We decided, therefore, to retain the RSI intact and re-examine its discriminant validity in the validation sample.

Dimensions of leisure. Unger and Kernan's (1983) 27 items representing six dimensions of subjective leisure experience (intrinsic satisfaction, perceived freedom, arousal, mastery, involvement, and spontaneity) were included among the 84 items factor analyzed to develop the RSI scale. As might be expected, the six original dimensions did not emerge intact from the principal component analysis; instead, items loaded in closely related patterns (e.g., Spontaneity,
Mastery, and Freedom in Exhibit 2). Other items loaded in patterns reflecting the particular context of the research (e.g., Clothing Focus and Compulsive Buying in Exhibit 2). Thus, the dimensions of leisure identified here are generally consistent with the generic dimensions offered by Unger and Kernan (1983), but they also are modified and expanded to provide richer insight into the specific recreational shopping experience as a leisure activity. Note that, unlike the RSI scale, the dimensions of leisure identified here are not being offered as general scales for use in other contexts; rather, they are empirically derived for the purpose of understanding the recreational shopper more fully. The use of the split sample procedure helps to militate against capitalizing on chance variation in identifying structural patterns. Scores were created for all leisure dimensions by summing the scale responses for items loading at least .40 on the factor. If the basic concept of recreational as a true leisure experience is valid, then one would anticipate a positive relationship between RSI Scale scores and the various dimensions of leisure represented here.

**INSERT EXHIBIT 2 HERE.**

**Shopping mall activities.** Similar logic to that underlying the leisure dimensions was applied to the mall activities data. The 20 activities were analyzed via principal component analysis with varimax rotation, yielding four interpretable factors: Products Purchased, Passing Time, Socialize, and Entertainment/Services. Scores were created for each factor by summing the scale item responses for those items loading at .40 or above on the factor. Following Westbrook and Black (1985) and Bloch, et al. (1994), we expect RSI to be positively related to the indices of mall activities that do not involve actual clothing purchase.
Validation Sample Results

The purpose of the validation sample analysis was to investigate the stability of the RSI scale, including its discriminant validity, and to use the RSI scale to build profiles of nonrecreational shoppers, recreational shoppers, and recreational shopping enthusiasts. Through the latter analysis we hoped to establish the RSI scale's predictive validity, as well as gaining more insight into the recreational shopping phenomenon.

Scale properties. The RSI scale showed a Cronbach alpha of .88, which compares favorably with the developmental sample. Thus, it seems clear that the scale has strong internal consistency reliability. The correlations between RSI and related constructs were also similar to the pattern observed in the developmental sample. RSI correlated .45 with materialism (" = .83), .41 with compulsive buying (" = .81), and -.25 with self esteem (" = .87), indicating that RSI shared a maximum of 20% variance with any of these related constructs. The unacceptably high correlation with compulsive buying observed in the developmental sample did not hold in the validation sample. Thus, we concluded that the RSI Scale has adequate reliability, stability, and discriminant validity. On that basis, we were able to proceed with the remaining analyses.

Profile analysis. In order to construct profiles of the various shopper types, we split the validation sample into three groups. Comprised of eight 5-point scale items, the RSI Scale has a conceptual midpoint of 24. We reasoned that to be considered a recreational shopper, a respondent should score at least at the midpoint, indicating a tendency to agree more than disagree with the items. Given the distribution of RSI scores, a simple median split would have resulted in respondents with a general tendency to disagree with these items being identified as recreational shoppers, an undesirable outcome. Our procedure yielded 265 nonrecreational shoppers (73%) and 82 recreational shoppers (23%), with 14 respondents unclassified due to
missing data. We next arbitrarily designated respondents with the 30 highest RSI Scores (actually the top 34, due to ties in the data) as recreational shopping enthusiasts, leaving us with 48 "regular" recreational shoppers. Our expectation was that the recreational shoppers would differ significantly from nonrecreational shoppers on various leisure dimensions and mall activities. In addition, we expected that recreational shopping enthusiast would differ significantly from recreational shoppers on some but not all of the same dimensions. In particular, we anticipated that enthusiasts would differ on dimensions that were more indicative of self-definition and self-expression rather than "lower-level" dimensions reflective of pleasure, enjoyment, and the like. The profile results are shown in Table 1.

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE.

Discussion of the profiles of the three shopper groups is organized around two sets of contrasts, i.e., nonrecreational (NRS) versus recreational shoppers (RS) and recreational shoppers versus recreational shopping enthusiasts (RSE). In virtually every instance, the analyzed variables exhibited a linear trend across the three groups shown in Table 1; hence, if the two reported contrasts are significant, it follows that the comparison between nonrecreational shoppers and recreational shopping enthusiasts is also significant. Exceptions are noted in Table 1.

First it is important to note that the RSI scale differed significantly across the three groups (NRS v. RS, t=14.2; RS v. RSE, t=11.3), indicating its utility in identifying groups who differ in their degree of self-designated recreational shopping. The percentage of nonrecreational shoppers (73%) is much larger than that observed by Bellenger and Korgaonkar (1980) (31%, p. 83). However, they used only a single 5-point scale to assess opinions about shopping, from "enjoy very much" to "strongly dislike." In addition to its suspect reliability, this item captures
only shopping enjoyment and not the other characteristics embodied in the RSI that more strongly invoke shopping as leisure. Thus, the RSI sets a higher cutoff for labeling a respondent a recreational shopper. In that sense, the present results are not directly comparable with Bellenger and Korgaonkar's. They measured shopping enjoyment, while the RSI measures recreational shopping identity.

Contrasting nonrecreational and recreational shoppers. Although the absolute levels of the socioeconomic variables cannot be generalized to the population due to the fact that the survey employed a nonprobability sample, nevertheless, the internal trends in the data can be examined validly. Socioeconomically, recreational shoppers are younger (M_{RS} = 20-29 v. M_{NRS} = 30-39, t = 2.7). They are also less likely to be Caucasian (i^2 = 18.9), married (i^2 = 5.9), or a U.S. citizen (i^2 = 11.1). Perhaps surprisingly, no significant differences were observed for gender, education, income, or number of children. Thus, the picture that emerges is that recreational shoppers are somewhat less "mainstream": they are younger, more likely minority and/or non-U.S. citizens, and less likely to be married than nonrecreational shoppers.

In terms of their shopping behaviors, recreational shoppers not only go shopping more often (t = 2.4), but they shop longer (t = 3.4) when they go. When shopping for clothing, they are more likely to make other purchases (t = 1.7) socialize with friends (t = 1.9) and indicate that they enjoy simply passing time at the mall (t = 5.2). This pattern of results reveals that, in contrast to nonrecreational shoppers, recreational shoppers' shopping differs both quantitatively and qualitatively. Their shopping behaviors reveal a greater interest in the shopping process per se, independent of product acquisition (Bloch et al 1994; Campbell 1997a; Prus and Dawson 1991; Westbrook and Black 1985). Perhaps indicative of the satisfactions derived from the store
shopping process, recreational shoppers are less likely to shop from catalogs ($t = -1.7$). TV shopping and internet shopping (in its infancy at the time of the survey) showed no effects.

Given the observed behavioral pattern, it seems likely that recreational shoppers view shopping as a true leisure activity; this expectation was met strongly in the analysis of the leisure dimensions. On nine of the ten leisure dimensions (all but Freedom), recreational shoppers perceived more leisure gratification than did nonrecreational shoppers (all $t$'s 3.8 or greater). The largest difference in terms of explained variances was for Escape/Enjoyment ($\bar{\alpha}^2 = .20$) while the differences were smaller for Compulsion ($\bar{\alpha}^2 = .07$), Mastery ($\bar{\alpha}^2 = .07$), Clothing ($\bar{\alpha}^2 = .06$), Social ($\bar{\alpha}^2 = .06$), Fantasy ($\bar{\alpha}^2 = .05$), Epistemic ($\bar{\alpha}^2 = .05$), Salesperson ($\bar{\alpha}^2 = .05$), and Spontaneity ($\bar{\alpha}^2 = .04$). According to Gerbing (1999), the Escape/Enjoyment effect size is considered "large", while the remaining leisure dimensions exhibited moderate effect sizes.

**Contrasting recreational shoppers and recreational shopping enthusiasts.** In socioeconomic terms, recreational shopping enthusiasts are largely very similar to recreational shoppers; no differences were observed for age, racial status, education, income or number of children. However, recreational shopping enthusiasts were more likely to be female ($\bar{\alpha}^2 = 4.3$), a finding consistent with Campbell's (1997a, b) results, and were less likely to be U.S. citizens ($\bar{\alpha}^2 = 4.6$). This suggests that one reason for the intense shopping involvement by recreational shopping enthusiasts is that shopping is a powerful source of consumer socialization and acculturation, particularly for young female immigrants.

As shown in Table 1, no differences in shopping behavior patterns were observed between recreational shoppers and recreational shopping enthusiasts. One interesting pattern that failed to reach conventional significance levels was that recreational shopping enthusiasts were more likely than recreational shoppers to shop from catalogs, TV, and the internet. For the
enthusiast, other forms of shopping may be complements rather than substitutes for store shopping.

With regard to dimensions of leisure experience, recreational shopping enthusiasts differed significantly from recreational shoppers on seven of the ten dimensions (see Table 1). In all seven instances, the recreational shopping enthusiasts exhibited higher scores. The largest difference, in terms of explained variance, was for Mastery ($\hat{\alpha}^2 = .09$), followed by Fantasy ($\hat{\alpha}^2 = .07$) and Escape/Enjoyment ($\hat{\alpha}^2 = .04$). Compulsion, Salesperson, Spontaneity, and Social each showed an effect size of $\hat{\alpha}^2 = .03$.

**DISCUSSION**

The survey results were successful in (1) demonstrating the reliability and validity of the newly-developed Recreational Shopper Identity scale and (2) revealing clearcut differences across nonrecreational shoppers, recreational shoppers, and recreational shopping enthusiasts. Substantial socioeconomic and shopping behavior differences emerged between nonrecreational shoppers and both recreational shopping groups, indicating that recreational shopping appeals differentially to different age and demographic groups and that recreational shopping manifests itself in a variety of shopping-related behaviors, as well as the intensity of shopping activity.

Perhaps more significant, seven of the ten dimensions of leisure investigated here increased in intensity across the three shopping groups, with recreational shopping enthusiasts registering significantly higher scores than "ordinary" recreational shoppers, who in turn showed higher scores than nonrecreational shoppers. This pattern of results is the first empirical evidence that recreational shopping is truly a form of leisure behavior, in terms of the meanings ascribed to it by those participating in it. It appears that the intensely involved recreational shopping enthusiasts do indeed assume a recreational shopping identity as a salient dimension of
their self-concepts. In particular, Mastery and Fantasy exhibited relatively larger differences for the recreational shopper/recreational shopping enthusiast contrast than for the nonrecreational shopper/recreational shopper contrast. Mastery is clearly related to an individual's "real" self-concept, while Fantasy is more associated with the "ideal" self-concept. Thus, while "ordinary" recreational shoppers are strongly differentiated from nonrecreational shoppers primarily on the basis of Escape/Enjoyment, the recreational shopping enthusiasts differentiate themselves at a deeper level. This differentiation is commensurate with the concept of leisure identity (Shamir 1992), in this particular case, Recreational Shopper Identity. In order to investigate the nature of that identity more phenomenologically, a qualitative depth interview study was undertaken.

**STUDY 2**

In the second phase of the research, depth interviews were conducted with 15 female consumers who enjoy shopping for clothing. The number of informants was based on the recommendations of McCracken (1988) and Spradley (1979), while the reason for focusing on female informants is Bellenger and Korgaonkar's (1980) and Campbell’s (1997a, b) findings that recreational shoppers were much more likely female than male. The informants were recruited through a university newspaper advertisement, and each received $25 for participating in the study. Each interview was conducted by the senior author and lasted between 60 and 90 minutes. The interviews were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim by the senior author. The informants ranged in age from 19 to 42. Eleven of the informants were students (only three full-time) while the other four were working full-time. Five of the informants were African-American, two were Hispanic American, and the remaining eight were white.
Interview Format and Data Analysis

The interviews were conducted informally, to develop rapport, enable informants to describe their shopping experiences in detail, and allow them the freedom to introduce topics on their own. At the beginning of the interview, informants were asked to discuss a recent experience shopping for clothing at a shopping mall, framed within the context of a "grand tour" question (McCracken 1988; Spradley 1979). From this initial question, the interview moved towards discussing informants’ clothes shopping experience in more detail, other shopping experiences, informants' definition of shopping, the meaning they ascribe to the experience, and the role of shopping in the larger context of their lives. Specific interview questions were raised when necessary to investigate such issues as how is shopping used as a recreational activity, types of activities engaged in while shopping, etc. The goal was to have an in-depth conversation about shopping for clothing from a first-person perspective that would yield a “thick description” (Denzin 1989; Geertz 1973) of informants’ shopping experiences.

The constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990) was used to analyze the interview transcripts, which had yielded 375 single-spaced pages of data. First, each individual transcript was read and reread to examine the meanings informants ascribed to their shopping experiences; margin and written notes were made to code the data for thematic content. Subsequently, the transcripts were analyzed collectively. At this stage, the coded data from the ideographic analysis were organized into broader and more abstract thematic categories.

RESULTS

The goal of the depth interview study was to capture of the "lived experience" (Thompson, Locander, and Pollio 1988) of recreational shopping. To accomplish this goal, the
results are presented in two parts: (a) results that complement and embellish the patterns observed in the survey results, and (b) emergent themes that were not captured by the survey method but that nonetheless provide deeper insights into the recreational shopping phenomenon.

**Recreational Shopper Identity**

A fundamental question in this research was the extent to which some shoppers actually assume a recreational shopper identity as a part of their self-concept. The survey results with respect to the RSI scale suggested that they can and do assume a recreational shopper identity. This is reflected in informant comments such as:

> I consider that a hobby almost. Um, when I, when I go out shopping, I do it for recreation. Um, I like to go to all different shops. It's not just like if I, if I need to buy something. I just like to go and look at the different clothes. And I like to find something different and not just like what everybody's wearing at the same time and it's uniform... Um, I guess, because I'm, for some reason I'm fascinated with shops and stuff. I like little gidget gadgets and, and little small odd items. So, like, I'm always eager to look at different things. (Christine)

Furthermore, the survey results for RSI indicated that *recreational shopping enthusiasts* identified significantly more strongly as recreational shoppers than did the "ordinary" recreational shoppers. This pattern emerged in the interview data as well; six of the 15 informants were clearly much more intensely involved in recreational shopping than were the others. This intensity was reflected throughout their interview transcripts, not only in terms of the quantity and content of their statements, but also by the revealing observation that they often spontaneously labeled themselves as a particular type of shopper (e.g., bargain shopper, competitive shopper, or value shopper). These labels usually were offered early in the interviews, without prompting by the interviewer, and hence are indicative of a salient leisure identity (Shamir 1992). In essence, shopping for clothing was part of these informants' extended self (Belk 1988).
And, um, when I go clothes shopping, I’m a very competitive shopper. I just like looking for the best bargains. And I’m very particular. I could spend like two or three hours in one store and like leave there without anything in my hands because I’m kind of fussy when I, when I choose something... I consider that a hobby almost. Um, when I, when I go out shopping, I do it for recreation. Um, I like to go to all different shops. It’s not just like if I, if I need to buy something. I just like to go and look at the different clothes. (Christine)

Thus, the interview data provide strong, complementary support for Shamir's (1992) concept of a leisure identity, the leisure activity in this case being recreational shopping. We turn now to the interview results pertinent to the leisure dimensions in Table 1.

**Leisure Dimensions**

**Escape/Enjoyment.** Enjoyment or intrinsic satisfaction has been called the “essence of leisure” as most definitions of leisure suggest that the leisure experience provides pleasure or gratification (Unger and Kernan 1983).

Given that the informants in this research had indicated that they enjoyed shopping for clothing when they responded to the advertisement used to recruit informants, it was not surprising that their enjoyment for clothes shopping was evident. There were three major reasons why shopping for clothing was enjoyable to recreational shoppers: purchasing and wearing new clothing, window shopping, and finding bargains. Informants found shopping for clothing to be inherently gratifying since they liked to purchase new clothing and enjoyed the emotional uplift and feeling of satisfaction they received from wearing a new garment. Hence, enjoyment from shopping was derived from both product acquisition and consumption.

I love shopping for clothes... I just get a lot of energy and a lot of excitement from finding something that I like and that I think looks nice on me. And I like just looking nice. So, you know, if I can find clothes, an outfit that accents maybe my figure here or, you know, depreciates on this thing that I don’t like right here about my body or something. If I can find something that makes me look well than I feel better. So, if I think that I’m looking good today than I’m going automatically have a wonderful attitude
when I walk out the door. So, it just makes my day a little brighter to feel like I look nice. (Cametra)

A second potential source of enjoyment for recreational shoppers was window shopping. Informants’ discussion of their clothes shopping experiences clearly showed that they relished the process of looking at, touching, and digging through clothing even if they did not make a purchase. They actively interacted with the merchandise while window shopping. They enjoyed trying clothing on, learning about new styles, and discovering unexpected finds while in retail stores. These sources of enjoyment have been identified as shopping motives in previous research (e.g., Tauber 1972; Westbrook and Black 1985).

I, you know, I, when I go by myself I hit all the stores. When I walk in the mall I come in and I don’t walk from one store and go to the other side of the mall. You know, I walk along the mall and look at all the shops. When I see something I like I walk in there. And I don’t think, ok, I’m only going to look here here here here. I look everywhere. . . . And I always take my time. And I really like to look, you know. It’s fun to look. (Mary)

The final source of enjoyment that was evident in informants’ descriptions of their clothes shopping experiences was finding a product on sale, characterized as getting a “great deal.” All of the informants in this research were avid bargain shoppers who “always hit the sales racks” since they were constantly on the prowl for sales. Bargain hunting required patience and determination, but the payoff was happiness and self-satisfaction.

And I happened to be looking on the, um, on the clearance racks. And I saw this dress. It was really pretty. And it was like the style that I had in mind that I wanted to wear. And it had been marked down from like $60 to $30. So, I was like, it was the only one left. It was the only one in my size. And everything, so, I got really excited about that. And, um, let’s see. Then I tried the dress on and then I bought it that same day. And so, I love that dress now. (Lecresia)

Spontaneity. Support for and insight into the spontaneous nature of recreational shopping was quite evident in the qualitative data. For instance, window shopping trips could be inspired
by the sudden urge to go shopping, a friend calling and suggesting that they go to the mall, the need to fill in free time, being in the vicinity of a shopping mall or retail store, and advertising.

But like, um, we’ll decide to go out one day or something. Or if we’re just sitting around and we’re bored, we’re like, ok, let’s go out shopping. And wherever the car leads us or whatever store we might see, you know, we might just wind up there. There are like no set stores. (Christine)

In other cases, the onset of emotional grief, mental anguish, or a bad mood propelled recreational shoppers into the marketplace at a moment’s notice.

Yeah, like if I’m in a bad mood or if I’m depressed. Like if I’ve had a horrible day at work. You know, oh, look, ugh, I’ve been around people all day. You know, they’ve just really gotten on my nerves. I need to just get away and relax. . . . It’s like, I need a break, you know. So, to take a break I’ll just go shopping. (Cametra)

Social. The survey data showed that recreational shoppers preferred shopping with a companion compared to shopping alone and garnered more benefits from companionship while shopping for clothing than nonrecreational shoppers did. The qualitative data, however, showed that recreational shoppers could have several views about shopping with a companion.

"Solo" recreational shoppers preferred to shop for clothing by themselves since they needed to be free and in control when shopping. They wanted to shop at their own pace, choose which stores to patronize and which merchandise to look at, evade pressure from companions to make a clothing purchase, and avoid shopping with people who had incompatible shopping styles as well as different tastes in clothing and stores.

Yes. I like to go by myself. Yeah, I do. . . . Well, because, um, I don’t have to, so far as, um, limit my time in certain stores. You know, like when you’re with someone else they may enjoy, um, another particular store then, you know, like me with Stuart’s or whatever, you know. And, and then, um, um, you know, I don’t have to, like say for example, if I’m looking for something for a certain occasion a lot of times I have something in mind. You know, as I said before. And then, if someone else, if someone else is with me and they aren’t trying to shop or anything. They’re just going with me to help me look. They don’t know what I have in mind. So, then they, well, how about this? Well, no, you know. I don’t like that. And then, you know, and then it’s hard for
me to say no to a person. That’s another complex that I have. So, I’m like, well, no, not really. When, when really in the back of my mind I’m like, no. I don’t want to buy that, you know. So, I just, especially when I’m shopping for a special occasion. I love to go by myself. (Lecresia)

Shopping with a companion creates tension and conflict for the solo recreational shopper.

From their perspective, shopping with others was not recreational or a leisure experience because of their loss of perceived freedom, lending support to the notion that perceived freedom is a determinant of leisure.

In contrast, "social" recreational shoppers desired companionship while shopping for clothing, regardless of the type of shopping situation. They wanted someone to be with them so that they would have someone to talk with, have fun with, discuss the clothing in the store with, help them while they were in the dressing room, provide advice about clothing options, shield them from salespeople, and stop and get something to eat or drink with. Social recreational shoppers felt lonely when they shopped by themselves. In the shopping experiences they discussed, a favorite companion was present.

I don’t like to go shopping by myself. . . . It’s quiet. No one talks to you. It’s awkward, you know. . . . It makes it, it makes it better for me. I like to shop with other people. (LeTonya)

**Mastery.** By participating in leisure activities, one has the opportunity to test one’s self; mastering an activity makes the experience rewarding for the accomplished participant (Unger and Kernan 1983). Feelings of mastery resonated in informants’ shopping experiences as well, not only when they were shopping for clothing, but also when they were shopping for other cherished products or desired novelties. Feelings of mastery were apparent in informants’ shopping experiences when they felt a sense of adventure while shopping. On these occasions, shopping was an expedition to discover unique, one of a kind items, uncover hidden treasures,
search for bargains, or just wander in a plethora of interesting products. In the eyes of informants, when shopping was an adventure it was fun, exciting, and filled with surprises.

Ah, sometimes it’s kind of an adventure (shopping at thrift stores). You find, you find, like sometimes department stores bother me because you’ll see three or four people with the same outfit. And ah, so you go to a thrift store, you know. I have this little jacket from Paris. And that other jacket from Canada. You know, you get different things that nobody will have because it’s an old item. And, you know, it could be from some, somewhere totally different. And sometimes you find, I found a, I have a leather suede jacket and it comes down to here. Very comfortable. I got it for 7 bucks. Yeah, it was hidden. And, and ah, I’m very happy with it. And so, just once in awhile you find those. (Michelle)

Salesperson. Although the survey data suggested that recreational shoppers value the presence of a salesperson when they are shopping for clothing, for such benefits as conversation, being waited on, and being known on a first-name basis, a different picture emerged from the qualitative data. Most informants wanted to minimize their interaction with salespeople and did not need much attention and help while they were shopping. They were more concerned with salespeople interfering with their shopping experiences than with granting salespeople a significant role in their shopping activity. Informants did indicate that occasionally salespeople might be needed to facilitate the shopping process. The divergent results from the survey and interview data suggest that additional research is necessary to understand the relationship between recreational shoppers and salespeople.

I think a salesperson should greet you. I mean, I don’t mind, I don’t, I’m not saying, I don’t want them not to say anything to me. Because I get offended when I go in the store and nobody says, can I help you? Either, but, and then I also get offended if before I can get in the store this person’s like over me. Like, you know, can I help you? Do you need anything? I think the ideal salesperson for me would be a person that when I came in the store said, hello, how are you? I said, fine. And they say, if you need anything, just holler or whatever. And they go and sit in the corner. Do whatever they do. And leave me alone. (LeTonya)
**Fantasy.** Fantasy behavior was evident in recreational shoppers’ descriptions of shopping for clothing. Some informants reported engaging in fantasy that was of a pure, playful and amusing nature such as playing a game of make believe while trying on clothing or looking at merchandise that they did not intend to buy. They found this fanciful behavior to be an enjoyable and entertaining diversion while shopping.

And it was fun. It was like we were kids again. You know, you’re trying on suits and, and you’re like posing (like models) and jumping all around in the dressing room. And you’re laughing and stuff. And we, we, we were like ten year old kids or something. And, and you’d pull out stuff and you’d start giggling about, wow, look at this. Try this on. (Jean)

Some fantasy episodes that had a compensatory/therapeutic function were apparent in informants’ comments. Fantasizing during these occasions enabled them to temporarily escape their problems, as the activity was emotionally uplifting and self-enhancing. This type of fantasy seems similar to the fantasy-imaginative behavior that O’Guinn and Faber (1989) reported that compulsive buyers engage in to escape reality while shopping and dissociate negative consequences from their behavior.

And then sometimes I’ll get in a mood and I want to dress really nice especially when I’m depressed and I want to wear something nice. Just to make, and I do make myself feel better. . . . I’ll go in and I’ll try something on that I know I can’t afford. I try on this really elaborate thing with all these sequins hanging off of it and know I don’t have anywhere to wear the thing. Can’t even afford it. And I’ll try it on and it looks nice on me. And I come out and he’s, oh, that really looks nice on you. . . . But usually it’s, it’s, it’s a high. You know, I think mmmm. And then you go in the store and the music’s playing and I’ll try the thing on. I’m kind of like bopping around thinking, mmmm, I look ok. And I come out and, you know, usually, you know what it is too. Usually the salesgirls will come out and say, oh my God, you, you’re so thin. Or, I think I like to hear that. It’s like, you know, they’re feeding my ego. I come out. Whoever is like, oh, you look so nice. And the girl’s like, oh, my God look. And there’s other people in the store and they go, you look so cute. . . . That makes me feel good. Yeah. (LeTonya)

A final type of fantasy behavior recreational shoppers took part in was planful daydreaming. In contrast to playful daydreaming in which fanciful wishes were entertained,
planful daydreaming served a preparatory and exploratory function for participants as they
anticipated future purchases or were considering buying an item. The qualitative data indicated
that fantasizing in this manner was an enjoyable activity. In addition, planful daydreaming
seemed to serve a motivational function for some informants.

But, you know, while I’m looking around at, um, I, I really want to get one of their
(Bombay) chests that they have. And I was looking at the chests and just kind of
dreaming and thinking, one day. . . . It’s the, the one that you put at the foot of the bed.
A trunk, but they’re made out of wood like the lane cedar chests and stuff. Um, we have,
Queen Anne, the traditional furniture in our house. In the kind of mahogany, dark cherry,
and we really like that and we’re, as we’re fixing up the house we add pieces here and
there. Um, so, I don’t know. One day I’ll go out and buy it. (Jean)

Clothing focus. In support of the survey results that indicated recreational shoppers were
more clothing-focused than nonrecreational shoppers, the qualitative data provided evidence that
recreational shoppers not only had a high level of interest in the clothing they bought, but also
became strongly attached to their clothing purchases as well. The comments by some informants
suggested that recreational shoppers could become attached to clothing well before it is
purchased. They might see an item either in a store or being worn by someone else and then
become infatuated with it, continuously thinking about the product until it is bought. One
informant characterized her infatuation with a clothing item as feeling like the object was
haunting her. She could not escape her obsession until she gave into her craving and purchased
the desired product.

Um, and sometimes there are items that I really don’t need, but I like them so much that I
know, if I go home I’ll keep thinking about it. And I’ve done that before where I haven’t
purchased something, I’ve gone home and I keep thinking about it. And I end up going
back and getting it. So, I know that if I have that feeling for an item to go ahead and get
it because it will haunt me if I don’t. . . . Um, but I just think that jacket just kept coming
in my mind and it was, I really like that jacket. And I kept seeing it and every time, in the
mornings when I would go in, pull out something to wear, man, that jacket would look
really good with this. It really would have pulled this together. So, that’s what I mean
when I say it haunts me. (Jean)
The example cited above appears to support Campbell’s (1987) contention (later reiterated by Sherry and McGrath (1989) in their gift store ethnography) that “the desiring mode constitutes a state of enjoyable discomfort, and wanting rather than having is the main focus of pleasure seeking” (Campbell 1987, 86-87) in modern consumer culture.

A second way that recreational shoppers may become strongly attached to clothing is when they are looking through the merchandise in a store and discover the object they have been knowingly (or perhaps unknowingly when window shopping) searching for. This discovery process, which appears similar to the selection process observed by Sherry and McGrath (1989) in gift stores, was reflected in informants’ descriptions of finding clothing that “grabs me” or “catches my eye,” suggesting that they saw a reflection of themselves in a special item that was calling out to them or waiting to be found.

You know, if I went to the mall, there, there are times when I go and I’m looking for something, this special outfit. I don’t buy it unless it catches my attention. And if, you know, by looking at it on the rack it doesn’t catch my attention than forget it, you know. (Cametra)

Collections have the capacity to become special possessions and may even become sacred (Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry 1989) when consumers view them as extensions of the self. The time and energy recreational shoppers devote to finding the appropriate clothing item to fit into their collection is an investment of the self and the subsequent wearing and displaying of items from the collection serve as expressions of the self. The most popular type of collection that informants discussed was a shoe collection. Most informants had a large number of shoes and enjoyed shopping for them. Shoes in a wide variety of styles and colors, and the availability of “unusual” shoes satisfied recreational shoppers' need for uniqueness.

I think I enjoy shopping for shoes the most. I love shoes. . . . Um, but me and my Mom, we love shoes. I think we have shoes from everywhere we’ve ever gone. You know, I
have them from Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Venezuela. I have them from all over. Um, I don’t know why I’m so crazy about shoes. I think probably it’s part of my Mom. . . Um, she has a closet full of shoes. And I have basically, like this huge drawer full of shoes. I, I could never take all my shoes anywhere because it’s just too much. . . . But I, I love shopping. I love shoes stores. I love shoe stores. . . . And shoes you could just go crazy. There’s so many things that shoes could be. (Ian)

Epistemic. In support of the survey results, the qualitative data showed evidence of the epistemic nature of recreational shopping. Shopping was fun even when informants were just looking around in a store without any intention to make a purchase.

It’s where you’re just going to look. You don’t have anything to buy. And you, you don’t plan to buy anything. You’re just going window shopping. You’re just going to go and look. You’re just looking. (Jean)

Compulsion. A number of informants indicated that they were not able to control their urge to buy when in the retail marketplace. They discussed how difficult it was to leave a store without buying something.

Me and my sister were in the mall for about an hour and I couldn’t find anything, but I couldn’t leave the mall until I got something. It’s just something that I, if I get a pair of socks and earrings, it’s just something I had to do. So I went into Wet Seal, it’s a clothing store, um, not cheap clothing, but you can say teeny bopper type, you know, clothing store. And um, I made myself find something. (Jennifer)

The uncontrollable urge to buy suggests that some of the informants could be compulsive buyers or may be prone to compulsive buying behavior (O’Guinn and Faber 1989). This relationship also was suggested by the survey results, which showed a strong positive correlation between the RSI scale and the compulsive buying measure.

Further Insights into the Recreational Shopping Enthusiast

As was evident in the survey results, the recreational shopping enthusiasts differed significantly from "ordinary" recreational shoppers on the majority of the leisure dimensions that were present in the shopping context. In all instances, the enthusiasts reported experiencing the
leisure dimension more strongly than the recreational shoppers, thus indicating a deeper degree of involvement with clothing shopping as a leisure activity. The qualitative results discussed above illuminate the "lived experience" of the leisure dimensions for these two groups of shoppers. In addition to the quantitative differences (Table 1) in the intensity of the experience, the depth interviews revealed some qualitative differences between the lived experience of recreational shoppers and recreational shopping enthusiasts.

**Type of shopping trip.** Springing from their high level of involvement with shopping, recreational shopping enthusiasts distinguished among different types of shopping experiences, labeling their shopping trips as mission shopping, window shopping, or mood shopping. Additionally, they participated in all three types of these trips, which was not the case for less intense recreational shoppers.

Mission shopping is the type of shopping recreational shoppers undertake when they plan to make a clothing purchase. When mission shopping, informants had a goal or objective to reach. They either had a specific item in mind that they wanted to purchase (e.g., a pair of blue jean short shorts at Express) or their purchase goal was more general in nature (e.g., a pair of casual shorts or something different).

Mission shopping was triggered by a number of different circumstances. It occurred when informants had extra money on hand to spend on clothing, wanted or needed to buy an outfit for an occasion or event (e.g., holiday, wedding, vacation/excursion, or business function), went shopping for clothing for the new school year or season, wanted/needed to replace an old item (e.g., buy a new pair of jeans or a new swimsuit), went shopping to buy a gift, or just had the urge/need to buy something new. Mission shopping was not associated with making minor low involvement clothing purchases that seemed purely functional in nature, such as going to the
store to purchase a pair of socks or pantyhose. A mission shopping purchase was more involving, significant, and fulfilling to recreational shoppers and seemed to have some hedonic value to them that stemmed from the product that was purchased.

Rarely do I go just to look. You know, I have an incentive. I have a motive to go... If I have the money and I go with the idea that I’m going to come back home with something, I’m very disappointed if I don’t find something. Then it becomes a mission. I’ll keep going until I find something that I want... Um, if I have a special occasion coming up. If I have a conference or a workshop that I have to go and speak to. That would be a mission outfit. (Sabrina)

Although it may be viewed as a job, mission shopping usually was an enjoyable activity. The enjoyment appeared to stem from successfully completing the mission, the accompanying sense of fulfillment from realizing the desired goal of making a clothing purchase, and possessing new clothing. Once the mission was over, recreational shoppers were able to enjoy the fruits of their labor by wearing their new garment and displaying their accomplishment.

A second type of recreational shopping trip is window shopping. Window shopping occurred when informants entered the marketplace to look at clothing without having an item in mind that they intended to buy or a planned purchase goal. Yet, during this type of shopping trip recreational shoppers were open to the possibility of making a purchase, if a clothing item caught their attention. If a clothing purchase did occur while window shopping, it was an impulsive act unlike the premeditated purchase seen in mission shopping. In contrast to mission shopping, window shopping was characterized as being carefree, unrestricted and capricious in nature. Some informants viewed window shopping as a social activity. Sometimes they used it to spend free time and socialize with family and friends. At other times informants played the role of the helpful shopping companion when they offered advice and facilitated their partner’s shopping process.
Yeah, usually, um, me and my ex-boyfriend sometimes, you know, we’re just sitting around, ok, let’s just go to the mall. You know, we don’t have anything else to do. Not going to actually buy something. Not going to buy. Not just, you know, just going to the mall. Just to have fun kind of thing. So, we have fun going to the mall. . . . You see a lot of people that you know at the mall. So, like, hey look stuff, hey you doing? You know, how’s your life. (Cametra)

The prevalence of window shopping among informants in this research was not surprising given the previously discussed research on shopping motives (e.g., Tauber 1972) and recreational shoppers (Bellenger and Korgoankar 1980). The present research, however, offers a more in-depth, first-person view of the window shopping experience, while contrasting it to the more focused, planful activity of mission shopping.

The third type of recreational shopping that emerged from the interview data was mood shopping, i.e., ventures into the marketplace inspired by sadness, depression, or stress. Although it is generally accepted in popular culture (e.g., Cathy comic strip) and the press that consumers, especially females, shop when they are feeling down or under stress, this aspect of the recreational shoppers’ experience has not been plumbed in previous research on recreational shoppers. When mood shopping, recreational shoppers were looking for relief from their melancholy or anxiety and hoping that they would find emotional or psychological uplift in the retail setting of their choice.

And then there’s another experience when I’m upset. Or after an exam when I’m under stress, I go to the mall. Because that’s the best reliever for me because, um, you know, I’m doing the thing that I love to do most. So, I always go on my own when I have, when I have, after an exam or after some stressful situation. I go to the mall. I always get coffee every time I go to the mall too. I go to Barney’s and get a cup of coffee. The flavor of the day. And then my heart is content. (Mary)

An essential part of the mood shopping experience was making a product purchase to alleviate, albeit temporarily, their pain. Hence, recreational shoppers appear to engage in self-gift behavior since they seek solace through product acquisition when feeling down or under
stress (Mick and DeMoss 1990a). The self-gift provides emotional nutrition by elevating one’s self-esteem (Mick and DeMoss 1990b). At the same time, the need to enter the marketplace and purchase a clothing item is similar to the behavior exhibited by compulsive buyers (O’Guinn and Faber 1989). Like compulsive buyers, the majority of informants in the present research who engaged in mood shopping seemed to place more emphasis on the emotional and psychological uplift provided by purchasing a product than possessing the product in and of itself. This suggests that for recreational shoppers the shopping trip itself is the self-gift—an experiential gift of being in and interacting with the marketplace rather than giving one’s self a material object per se.

I don’t really just go casual shopping, just browsing. Unless, I’m a little depressed or something. If I’m depressed or, you know, I’m having a bad day I’ll just go through and casually look through. . . . Yeah, it’s a, I didn’t have a good day at work or I didn’t get a good grade on a test or, you know, something is not so right with my life. I’ll just go and casually look. Usually, I try not to buy because I know that I’m depressed and I know that, you know, I’m more likely to spend more money. (Cametra)

The ability to garner emotional and psychological nutrition without product acquisition seems to distinguish some recreational shoppers from compulsive buyers who feel compelled to make a purchase when searching for emotional/psychological uplift (O’Guinn and Faber 1989).

Need for uniqueness. A common characteristic among the recreational shoppers interviewed was a strong desire to be unique. This need for uniqueness (Snyder and Fromkin 1980) was manifested in the type of clothing that recreational shoppers wanted to buy and wear. They look for clothing that reflects their personality and that they feel “comfortable” wearing so that they can construct their own identity. Recreational shoppers are concerned about their appearance. They want to look attractive but make their own fashion statement. Hence, they want to stand apart from the crowd and shun fashionable or “hot” items.
I just like to go and look at the different clothes. And I like to find something different and not just like what everybody’s wearing at the same time and it’s uniform. . . . Because, um, I, I kind of like to pick stuff out that I consider as me not just some, you know, something that fashion dictated, you know, to everyone. . . . I’m a nonconformist, I guess you could say. (Christine)

Part of the allure of shopping for the recreational shopper is the opportunity to find clothing that no one else has. Their need for uniqueness drives recreational shoppers from traditional stores, i.e., department and specialty clothing stores, in shopping malls to factory outlet stores, off-price stores, thrift stores, consignment shops, and flea markets.

Because I guess I, I ah, I like to have things that no one else around here (Orlando) has. So, you go, you know, you go somewhere else (New York/New Jersey). Just to be unique, I suppose. And just to have different things. I mean, some stores you’re going to just bump into, everyone has, like Bass and stuff. But, but other than that these, these places have a, have the lines before the lines come out. . . . Like I, I like to buy Espirit. It’s a brand that I like to buy. I like that a lot. And ah, when I, the, Little Marcie’s, the name of the store that I go to. It, ah, takes the lines that don’t get sold very much at the big department stores. And I just purchase those. That line. So no one really sees what I’ve got. (Jen)

Recreational shoppers who have a need for uniqueness seem to be similar to two types of shoppers identified in previous research, i.e., individualistic shoppers (Chicago Tribune 1955) and fashion conscious shoppers (Tatzel 1982). Individualistic shoppers like to express themselves in shopping by finding unusual and individualistic merchandise, while fashion conscious shoppers are very interested in fashion and had innovative and stylish tastes. These findings give credence to Bloch’s (1986) proposal that product enthusiasts’ high level of involvement in a product category satisfies their need for uniqueness. In the present research, all six informants who were considered to be recreational shopping enthusiasts due to their stated shopping identity expressed their need for uniqueness during their interviews, suggesting that a need for uniqueness influences the development and maintenance of a recreational shopper identity.
Creativity. Related to the theme of uniqueness is the desire that recreational shoppers have to be creative while shopping for clothing, a characteristic previously associated with individualistic shoppers (Chicago Tribune 1955). Recreational shoppers can express their creativity by putting outfits together and mixing and matching items. Informants expressed a strong preference for putting their own outfits together while shopping, in addition to buying items to go with clothing that they already owned, instead of buying an outfit that the store had displayed.

Um, recently though, um, some friends and I, we’ve gotten together and we kind of like going to thrift stores. And you’re able to find, like some barely used clothes really cheap, if you like looking around. And it’s kind of fun to do that because, you know, it’s not like. A lot of stores when you go in they have the whole outfit set up and you’re just, you know, just take it off the rack and buy it. And I like, I think it’s, it’s a lot funner to go ahead and pick a piece and then try to find something to match with it. . . . It’s kind of like creative to come up with something different than the other person. (Christine)

Being creative while shopping is not only enjoyable and fulfilling for recreational shoppers, but it also enables them to construct and sustain their individual selves on their own terms. In this service, shopping for clothing makes it possible for recreational shoppers to manage and experiment with their possible selves (Markus and Nurius 1986; Schouten 1991).

There’s some nice shops that have some real nice clothes for, you know, the business look. When, you know, when, like in the future when I’m going to work. Because that’s, that’s one thing I look forward to, you know, having a job in the future because I’m going to be able to buy good quality clothes and I’m going to look professional. I like that. (Mary)

Shopping for and purchasing symbolic and self-expressive products, such as clothing and household furnishings and accessories, “are important for successful role transitions since they aid in the exploration, establishment, and ongoing support of new roles and identities” (Schouten 1991, p. 422). Recreational shoppers' desire to express their creativity while shopping, together with their ability to fulfill their need for uniqueness by shopping for clothing, suggests that
shopping provides the means by which recreational shoppers can exert and maintain control over their lives.

**DISCUSSION**

The interview data were used to complement the survey data and provide a richer, more robust understanding of recreational shoppers and their shopping experiences. Given that the informants enjoyed shopping for clothing it was not surprising that they considered shopping for clothing to be a leisure/recreational experience. They were, in fact, recreational shoppers. The analysis of their comments revealed that shopping for clothing was comprised of the same leisure dimensions that were identified in the survey data, i.e., escape/enjoyment, spontaneity, social, mastery, salesperson, fantasy, clothing focus, epistemic, and compulsion. Beyond simply identifying these dimensions, however, the qualitative data analysis, revealed how these dimensions emerged while recreational shoppers shopped for clothing.

A key point of interest in this research was differentiating recreational shoppers according to their level of involvement in and identity with the activity of shopping. Both the survey and interview data indicated that the strength of recreational shoppers’ recreational shopper identity does vary, suggesting different levels of interest in and involvement with shopping. For the survey data, the recreational shopper identity scale was used to separate high involvement recreational shoppers, labeled recreational shopping enthusiasts, from “ordinary” recreational shoppers who have a lower level of involvement with shopping as leisure. Consistent with the survey results, a subset of informants had particularly strong recreational shopper identities. They distinguished themselves from other informants by proclaiming their shopping identities, e.g., competitive shopper or bargain shopper, during the interviews and, in light of their comments, seemed to be especially involved in and enamored with shopping.
Beyond declaring their shopping identities, these recreational shopping enthusiasts further differentiated themselves from other informants by labeling their recreational shopping trips as mission shopping, window shopping, or mood shopping. Their self-identification with not only the activity of shopping, but also particular types of shopping stems from the high level of importance shopping assumes in their lives.

The qualitative data also revealed that the strength of recreational shoppers’ recreational shopper identity appears to be related to their need for uniqueness and desire to be creative. Recreational shopping enthusiasts’ need for uniqueness encourages them to go shopping, while their desire for creativity is satisfied while shopping. The enduring nature of these personality traits fosters a high level of involvement with shopping and seems to forge recreational shopping enthusiasts’ shopping identity.

**Theoretical Implications**

This research took the position that recreational shoppers should not be viewed generically and simply defined on the basis of shopping enjoyment, as has been done in past research, the consumer behavior literature, and in the few consumer behavior textbooks that even mention recreational shoppers. The present research provides a more complete, but not yet whole, understanding of recreational shoppers by bringing to light that recreational shoppers engage in different types of recreational shopping trips with different motives and goals, vary in their level of involvement in and identification with shopping, and use shopping as a pathway to self-enhancement, self-construction, and self-maintenance. Although two consumers may indicate that they enjoy shopping, their motivations for shopping and subsequent benefits realized from the experience may differ depending on the type of trip they are engaging in, as well as their level of involvement and the strength of their recreational shopper identity.
Compared to “ordinary” recreational shoppers, recreational shopping enthusiasts have stronger recreational shopper identities and realize higher levels of escape/enjoyment as well as stronger feelings of mastery, fantasy, spontaneity, and compulsion related to shopping. The differences in levels of enjoyment, mastery, fantasy, spontaneity, and compulsion between the two groups suggest that there is a progression of meaning and evolution of motives, similar to that seen in other leisure activities (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993; McIntyre 1989), as recreational shoppers become more involved in, committed to, and enthusiastic about shopping. For recreational shopping enthusiasts, the shopping experience becomes more meaning laden and self-fulfilling. “Ordinary” recreational shoppers appear to participate in recreational shopping primarily because of their interest in the activity and enjoyment realized from it whereas recreational shopping enthusiasts seem to participate in recreational shopping primarily because the activity is a means of self-expression and central to their lifestyle. For recreational shopping enthusiasts, shopping has symbolic value and mood-altering properties, along with instrumental benefits--it is part of their extended selves.

The aforementioned progression of meaning and incorporation of shopping into shoppers’ extended selves suggests that, for some consumers, leading the life of a recreational shopper and actively participating in retail environments provides positive long-term benefits, standing in contrast to the short-term compensatory role that shopping plays in the compulsive buyer’s life (O’Guinn and Faber 1989).

This research demonstrates the value of conceptualizing and measuring recreational shopping as a leisure experience since recreational shoppers are not only drawn into the retail marketplace for the intrinsic satisfaction that shopping provides, but also because of the opportunity to experience other dimensions of leisure. For recreational shopping enthusiasts,
recreational shopping seems to come closer to being a true leisure experience because of its multidimensional nature and self-implications.

**Managerial Implications**

The findings of this research suggest three implications for retailers. First, for retailers to attract and retain recreational shoppers as loyal customers, it is necessary to create a store environment and atmosphere that enables recreational shoppers to experience the various leisure dimensions while shopping. Stores should be designed in a manner that encourages consumers to search for new merchandise, singular items, and bargains. The challenge is to create an attractive, unique layout and design that encourages exploration, but at the same time facilitates freedom of movement, i.e., stores should be well-organized, uncluttered, and not overcrowded with merchandise and floor fixtures and displays. For retailers targeting recreational shoppers, a free-form layout, characterized by an asymmetrical use of fixtures and displays, seems more conducive to provoking escape/enjoyment, mastery, spontaneity, fantasy, and other leisure dimensions than other layout designs, e.g., loop or racetrack. The research also suggests that stores that have unique merchandise offerings, e.g., boutiques, off-price retailers, factory outlet stores, consignment shops, and flea markets, may have an advantage in attracting recreational shoppers. More traditional merchants would be well served by devoting at least a portion of their merchandise mix to unique items.

The second implication regards the promotion element of the retailing mix. Advertising and other communication efforts designed to attract recreational shoppers should not only focus on the merchandise a store offers, but also extol the experiential aspects of shopping at the store. Messages can be designed that promote shopping as the means to satisfying a need for
uniqueness and desire for creativity, as well as being a pathway to self-enhancement and self-fulfillment through the process of shopping, beyond mere product acquisition.

The final implication pertains to the role of salespeople in retail stores. Retailers must train salespeople to read and understand their customers so they can distinguish between customers who want to shop on their own and those who expect more personal attention and guidance from salespeople.

Recreational shoppers are more likely to view salespeople as hindrances rather than as shopping facilitators. They need to have the freedom to roam and explore a store so that shopping will be a leisure experience replete with a host of leisure dimensions, e.g., escape/enjoyment, mastery, spontaneity, and fantasy. This requires that they be given a zone of personal space, especially when they first enter a store. Salespeople should greet recreational shoppers when they come into a store and then allow them to be on their own, ready to help if beckoned to do so.

In the present context of the emerging electronic marketplace and the rapid growth of “e-tailing”, it is more crucial than ever for the traditional brick-and-mortar retailer to discover ways of providing value to the customer that cannot be delivered on-line. Insights gained from this research can begin to address the issues of how to understand, attract, and entertain (Jones 1999) the recreational shopper.
REFERENCES


Green, Heather (1999). “‘Twas the Season for Splurging,” *Business Week*, (January 18): 40, 42.


Exhibit 1

Recreational Shopper Identity Scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shopping for clothing is much more than simply buying something - it is a whole experience.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping for clothing is one of the most fulfilling things I do.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I get so involved shopping for clothing that I forget everything else.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping for clothing is what makes life truly enjoyable.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I was not able to go shopping for clothing, I would feel that a part of me is missing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I'm with a friend or family we often end up talking about shopping for clothing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping for clothing is often on my mind.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel like I'm a real champion when shopping for clothing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
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<th>alpha</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developmental Sample</td>
<td>18.89</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Validation Sample</td>
<td>19.19</td>
<td>6.20</td>
<td>.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Exhibit 2

Dimensions of Leisure in Recreational Clothing Shopping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Representative Scale Item</th>
<th>Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Escape/Enjoyment</td>
<td>Shopping for clothing helps me to forget about the day’s problems.</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spontaneity</td>
<td>For me, shopping for clothing is a &quot;spur-of-the-moment&quot; thing.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Shopping for clothing is most enjoyable when I go with another person.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mastery</td>
<td>I feel like I’m being thoroughly tested when shopping for clothing.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesperson</td>
<td>When shopping for clothing I enjoy talking with salespeople.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>When I am shopping for clothing I often imagine myself living another life.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing Focus</td>
<td>The clothing that I buy is special to me.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic</td>
<td>Shopping for clothing is fun when I am just looking around in a store with no intention to buy.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsive</td>
<td>When I go shopping for clothing I have to buy something.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>I do not feel forced to shop for clothing.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nonrecreational Shoppers* (n=265)</td>
<td>Recreational Shoppers* (n=48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSI</td>
<td>16.78</td>
<td>25.88&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure Dimensions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape/Enjoy</td>
<td>27.35</td>
<td>37.40&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spontaneity</td>
<td>14.07</td>
<td>16.60&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>16.37</td>
<td>19.44&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mastery</td>
<td>8.72</td>
<td>10.85&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesperson</td>
<td>13.58</td>
<td>15.71&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantasy</td>
<td>10.91</td>
<td>13.02&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clothing Focus</td>
<td>6.58</td>
<td>7.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistemic</td>
<td>5.61</td>
<td>6.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsion</td>
<td>7.15</td>
<td>9.02&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>7.32&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>7.50&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping Behaviors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Purchases</td>
<td>18.45&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>19.54&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Passing Time</td>
<td>12.79&lt;sup&gt;ab&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>15.88&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socializing</td>
<td>11.41&lt;sup&gt;bc&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>12.40&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertain/Service</td>
<td>6.29</td>
<td>6.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store Shopping Freq.</td>
<td>5.05&lt;sup&gt;ab&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>5.83&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Spent</td>
<td>2.95&lt;sup&gt;ab&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3.66&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Column</th>
<th>Second Column</th>
<th>Third Column</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catalog Shopping Freq.</td>
<td>3.00(^c)</td>
<td>2.40(^c)</td>
<td>2.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV Shopping Freq.</td>
<td>1.30(^d)</td>
<td>1.21(^d)</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet Shopping Freq.</td>
<td>1.13(^d)</td>
<td>1.13(^d)</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Socioeconomic Status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Column</th>
<th>Second Column</th>
<th>Third Column</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percent Female</td>
<td>53.6(^{ad})</td>
<td>54.2(^{bd})</td>
<td>76.5(^{ab})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Caucasian</td>
<td>52.9(^a)</td>
<td>18.8(^{ad})</td>
<td>12.5(^d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent U.S. Citizens</td>
<td>78.8(^a)</td>
<td>56.3(^{ab})</td>
<td>32.4(^{b})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent Married</td>
<td>34.5(^{b})</td>
<td>16.7(^{bd})</td>
<td>14.7(^{d})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>4.00(^{ab})</td>
<td>2.96(^{b})</td>
<td>2.76(^{a})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3.68(^d)</td>
<td>3.56(^d)</td>
<td>3.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>5.63(^d)</td>
<td>5.36(^d)</td>
<td>4.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># Children</td>
<td>1.76(^d)</td>
<td>1.60(^d)</td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*All differences between first two columns significant at p<.001, except as noted

\(^a\) Entries sharing superscript significantly different (p<.001)

\(^b\) Entries sharing superscript significantly different (p<.05)

\(^c\) Entries sharing superscript significantly different (p<.10)

\(^d\) Non-significant difference between entries sharing superscript