An exploration of orientations, practices and attitudes toward shopping in Australia

Dr. Ian Woodward
Griffith University

Ms. Sally Hawkins
Griffith University

Abstract

Shopping has been an emblematic and often decisive social practice for theoretical interpretations of authenticity, lifestyle and commodification in both modern and postmodern conceptions of consumption. The history, politics and indeed mythologies of consumption have frequently been examined through conceptual frames which focus on shopping spaces such as the arcade, the shopping mall and even the airport terminal or cruise liner, and through shopping-oriented social types such as the flâneur or the shopper zombie. Though consumption studies has to a large extent moved away from the shopping mall and its disputed affects to questions of objects and networked systems of consumption practices, an important reality of contemporary consumer culture remains the fact that shopping is a significant leisure activity for many people. In part, this is because such shopping combines search, acquisition and purchase with the apparent pleasures of sociality associated with drifting through shopping spaces. In this paper we draw upon quantitative evidence from a representative sample of Australian citizens to explore patterns of recreational shopping engagement. Our data illustrates the characteristics of recreational shopping in the context of the usual social survey variables, as well as relevant theoretical questions of desire, sociality, anxiety, ethics and self-identity.

Introduction

In this paper we draw upon quantitative survey evidence from a representative sample of Australian citizens to explore patterns of shopping engagement. As our

questionnaire covers a range of dimensions of the shopping experience and also some general dispositions and attitudes toward shopping, we are able to explore frequencies of shopping engagement across the Australian population. But, in particular, we focus on a specific group of shoppers, who by their practices and attitudes, could be regarded as recreational shoppers. These are perhaps the most enthusiastic sub-group of shoppers. Our data illustrates the characteristics of recreational shopping in the context of a range of demographic and social variables, as well as relevant theoretical questions in the shopping and consumption literature on desire, sociality, anxiety and self-identity.

Though our paper progresses in a way typically associated with quantitative data reporting, our theoretical goals are more ambitious. The aim of this research is not just to explore shopping as a leisure activity, but as a psycho-cultural practice where aspects of cultural life such as identity, embodiment, commodification and security are routinely performed and realised through cultural immersion and social performance. We conceptualise shopping as a practice which is materially and psycho-dynamically structured. We do not deny that shopping is a social practice at its core related to provisioning, restocking and consolidating kinship relationships. But, we also add that it is a particular mode of negotiating social space. While the shopping experience is economically structured by masses of capital and infrastructure, materially structured by various assemblages of objects and images, it also has a psycho-social language which shoppers experience, confront and negotiate. Shoppers wander through various types of object-saturated fields in their shopping experiences; malls and shopping districts are literally 'forests of objects' (Turner 1968). These object fields are socio-spatial environments routinely dealt with via pragmatic and prosaic means by shoppers. Yet, they also present an evocative forest of material and psychological objects. Any of these has the capacity to direct shafts of interest into our conscious and unconscious being, as Bollas has argued: 'when we meander in the world of things, we may be doing so as free associating beings – governed by an underlying sequence in what seems to be random movement – but we will also be caught up in what we might think of as *islands* of emotional experience' (2009: 80-1). Though our data cannot systematically or comprehensively confirm this theoretical conviction (for this, we do surely need ethnographic studies and in-depth

interviews), in this paper we point in general to aspects of for whom and to what extent shopping constitutes a wander through fields of evocative objects.

Sociology of shopping: the traditional frames for exploring shopping behaviours

Shopping has been an emblematic and often decisive practice commonly used as an exemplar for reflecting on questions of commodification, lifestyle and authenticity in both modern and postmodern conceptions of consumption. For scholars such as Benjamin, Simmel and Kracauer in the modern era, and Jameson, Featherstone and Shields in the postmodern, shopping has functioned as simultaneously a powerful metaphor and pivotal social practice; a crucial site and powerful performative symbol for understanding changing natures and patterns of sociality. The way theorists conceive shopping is structured by master discourses which pit capitalism against agency, autonomy, authenticity, and human freedom against the dead hand of capitalism and the commodity-machine economy. In Levi-Strauss's terms then, shopping as a social practice has long been '*bonnes a penser'* for theorists (1962); it is a central totem useful for theorists as a device for organising and ordering the universe in preparation for theorising the intersections of self, commodity and public space.

The result of this is that too often then, within sociological attempts to understand the practices of shopping, there have rested much more serious and intractable - decidedly modernist - intellectual struggles. Yet, in sociology, the way shopping is theorised and researched has transformed substantially in the last few decades. In part, this shift in the possible meanings of shopping is in line with the cultural turn within sociology broadly. An integral aspect of this was the drafting of the maturing discipline of consumption studies within debates on the nature of postmodern social change. As a result, the central meanings of shopping shifted dramatically, but its function as an intellectual totem remained; shopping became a leitmotif for re-thinking matters of identity, agency, reflexivity and autonomy. As Falk and Campbell noted (1997: 2, italics as in original), shopping was regarded as 'a paradigmatic case illustrating the fundamental *shift in the structuring principle of society from production to consumption*'. Through the 1980s and 1990s, shopping became a metaphor for real life social (sociological) struggles: certain theoretical accounts of agency seemed to be premised on the idea that people literally 'shopped for their identities', or went

‘lifestyle shopping’. Bauman, for example, saw new consumer freedoms as affording people the chance of self-construction ‘by a process of acquiring commodities of distinction and difference’ (1988: 808). So, while the meanings of shopping have radically changed in line with the intellectual fashions of the time, for example, tactical reflexivities rather than domination, identity play as opposed to the reproduction of ascribed roles, the fact remained that shopping itself was treated as more of a totemic sign rather than a complex set of social practices subjected to serious and sensitive exploration.

The implications of the use of shopping as totem and metaphor rather than important cultural practice worthy of study had a dual effect. It seemed shopping offered *de rigeur*, cutting-edge possibilities for theorising such things as bodies, spaces, cityscapes, the public sphere and hyper-commodification; as a symbolic condensation, shopping was reduced to a sign. Yet, the realities of shopping practices, habits and routines were mostly ignored as commentary on shopping was enlisted into battles over diverse areas such as gender, desire, social control, privatisation, lifestyle and public space. In response to the development of such a body of material, innovative studies began to emerge which sought to use ethnographic and anthropological models of inquiry, focussing on explaining actual shopping practices through place and space, kinship and other relationship ties based upon symbolic affinities, sociality and even care and love (Miller 1998; Miller et al. 1998).

Recently, shopping has received renewed focus as a site where political values can be expressed, alternative value systems exercised, and conventional economic rules of self-interest rationality challenged. In this paper our analysis proceeds on the basis of our access to population social survey data. This means that while the probing and interaction enabled by in-depth studies is denied, we can explore dimensions of the frequency of basic orientations to shopping and at the same time our questions allow us to map some of the basic aspects of shopping as a psycho-materially structured set of practices. We explain further what is suggested by this below.

Shopping as a leisure and as cultural practice

Leisure practices have remained under sociological enquiry for some time now. Early research focused on defining leisure practices with researchers such as Veblen (1899)

seeing leisure as a metaphor for the social transformations of modern society. Over time our consideration for leisure has led to significant shifts in how theorists think of previously 'given' factors such as gender, class and race (Bryce 2001), with sociological discourse now acknowledging the role culture and history have played in shaping what society views as acceptable leisure practice (Bammel and Burrus-Bammel 1996). For example, leisure practices have changed with the invention of the shopping mall, technological advances (Bryce 2001) and the alteration of the workplace to include more aspects of leisure (Rapuano 2009).

Literature surrounding leisure studies indentifies three different notions of leisure which include leisure as time, leisure as experience and leisure as activity (Esteve, Martín and López 1999). In this research a heavy focus is applied to leisure as experience and activity, and we subsequently adopt Kelly's (1996: 23) definition: 'Leisure… is activity in the sense of directed action… action with the qualities of not being required, of decision, and of focus on experience. It is quality of activity for the actor'. Leisure practices can be viewed as a vital part of a balanced lifestyle (Caldwell 2005) and can take form in a number of locations. Leisure may occur within the home or at specific leisure places such as the cinema, or a bar (Bryce 2001). Trenberth and Dewe (2002) highlight that leisure practices act as a diversion to the everyday and in essence allow for escape from the demands of life.

Literatures on material culture combine the idea of escapism through object engagements and consumption practices which broadly acknowledge the notion of consumption as leisure. In other words, consumption is no longer simply to satisfy utilitarian needs but has changed to become recognised as a hedonistic pursuit and an activity to be enjoyed. Falk and Campbell (1997: 189) discuss shopping as a leisure practice stating '…there is little doubt that many people do obtain great pleasure from shopping…shopping is a leisure-time pursuit that has increased in importance in recent decades.' On this point, Sassatelli (2007: 164) points out that shopping places have become 'hybrid spaces mixing goods and leisure in varied proportions'. Thus, the hybrid space has given rise to the notion of shopping as recreation. Recreational shopping is chiefly characterised by the enjoyment felt by the shopper (Falk and Campbell 1997: 180) regardless of whether any purchases are made. Furthermore,

recreational shopping is noted to act as a means for 'acknowledging, entertaining or expressing one's self' (Prus and Dawson 1991: 160).

Recreational shopping appears to vary in its nature depending on individual factors and motivations. Existing research highlights that some consumers place emphasis on finding bargains (Ritzer 2010: 121), identity development (Guiry et al. 2006) and time alone to think about love, money saving and treats (Miller et al. 1998). Shopping as recreation can be understood in terms of Csikszentmihalyi's (1992) concept of *flow* where a balance between challenge and competence is achieved in relation to the activity. In other words, shopping can be a highly positive activity when the individual experiences competence at the activity but is also met with an acceptable level of challenge, interest or entertainment.

Beyond thinking about shopping as leisure, we can see that shopping has a variety of cultural uses. First and foremost, the majority of shopping experiences must be understood as provisioning excursions made with the goal of purchasing basic household items. Thus, it can involve a range of activities including planning, collection, and storage of items, purchasing and transporting them from shop to home. Of course, if we think of shopping in terms of this set of provisioning practices, there is no reason to presume it cannot at the same time relate to interesting and important cultural imperatives such as care, love and the maintenance of kinship relations (Miller et al 1998). In addition, such excursions can frequently be done with family members, friends or individuals in other networks and thus constitute opportunities for consolidating relationships. Thus, what we do whilst shopping is not necessarily merely provision, but dream, browse, people-watch or just pass time. Furthermore, such excursions to the supermarket or bakery are not just about provisioning, as we are frequently reminded of the political, ethical and environmental consequences our choices depend on.

Moreover, we must rationalise such decisions in terms of aspects of identity, reconciling shopping decisions with aspects of self in diverse fields of everyday life from budgeting, risk and aspects of physical health. Shopping excursions are thus much more than provisioning expeditions. Working from a contemporary object-relations psychoanalytic perspective, we might characterise shopping as consisting of

an immersive experience within an evocative object field (Bollas 2009). Such immersions offer opportunities to externalise oneself, to engage in an opportunity to let one's mind wander; to free associate, to ponder, relax, classify and evaluate other people and things by their looks, and to play in and amongst the image-rich world of contemporary culture.

Methods: data, definitions and measurement

Methodology

As part of a larger study, a number of scaled-response items related to shopping practices were submitted and accepted for inclusion in the Australian Survey of Social Attitudes, 2007. The questionnaire was distributed by The Australian Social Science Data Archive (ASSDA) to study social attitudes and behaviour of Australian citizens. The self-administered questionnaire was distributed via mail-out to a cross-sectional sample chosen at random from the Australian Electoral Roll. Of the 6666 surveys that were sent, 2583 surveys were returned completed and usable.

Measures

The present study focused on temporal, social and cultural aspects related to shopping. In order to tap into these areas, the first researcher developed a number of items through completion of a review of the relevant shopping literature. The items included in the questionnaire were designed to provoke thoughtful consideration of shopping behaviours from participants. All items that were used reflect acknowledged leisure behaviour attributes such as arousal, mastery and involvement in the activity of shopping (Unger and Kernan 1983). Likert scales were used for all items except for shopping frequency and length of time spent shopping. Furthermore, the survey included an extensive number of demographic items.

In terms of demographics, 46.8 per cent of our sample were male, while 53.2 per cent were female. The mean year of birth for our sample was 1956, indicating that a large proportion of our sample are in their 50s. At the time of data collection, the oldest person in our sample was 98 and the youngest was 17. In terms of education, 51.2 per cent of our sample indicated that they had finished grade 12 at high school. The leading occupations of our sample included professionals (n=604), clerical and administrative (n=412) and managers (n=356). The mean weekly income for our sample was between $500 and $599.

Results

In order to provide a background to the quantitative analysis of this paper, we first examine and present some descriptive information about people's shopping behaviours, orientations and beliefs. Along with scaled items, participants were asked to indicate the frequency and duration of their shopping visits. The mean visits to a shopping centre per month was 8.8 visits at 1.5 hours per visit. A significant majority indicated that they would prefer to visit a shopping centre alone (50.2%) or with their partner (28%), while shopping with family members (15.5%) or with friends (5.9%) was less desirable. Table I indicates that a majority of participants engaged in activities related to purchasing goods. For instance, a cumulative 69.5 per cent of participants indicated that they always/often buy something when visiting a shopping centre while for around half, 48.8 per cent, browsing was also an activity engaged in often. A significantly smaller number of participants indicated that they engage in sociable activities while visiting a shopping centre. For instance, a cumulative 35.4 per cent of participants indicated that they always/often stopped for food and drink while a cumulative 13.7 per cent indicated that they always/often meet friends or family when visiting a shopping centre. Thus, while we can see a significant percentage of respondents enjoy the leisure and social dimensions of visiting shopping centres, for the majority shopping is a provisioning practice. This finding is somewhat contrary to the emerging shopping literature that focuses on the shopping mall as a site of entertainment and sociability (for example, Sassatelli 2007). This finding may be a reflection of the mean age of the sample, or possibly a reflection of Australian shopping centres and the facilities incorporated into them, with only major centres offering significant entertainment opportunities. For example, a number of these shopping centres now include bowling alleys, movie cinemas and theme parks, but in the midst of large cities these mega-centres are dispersed.

Table I: *Frequency distributions of shopping behaviours*

When visiting a shopping centre how often you do the following?	Always %	Often %	Sometimes %	Rarely %	Never %	(n)
Browse	19.5	29.3	31.2	14.2	5.8	(2240)
Buy things	32.4	37.1	27.7	2.4	0.3	(2420)
Stop for food and drink	11.1	24.3	36.4	21.5	6.8	(2313)
Meet with friends or family	2.1	11.6	31.4	34.7	20.2	(2254)
Sit and watch people	1.4	6.8	17.9	28.1	45.7	(2247)
Look for future purchases	7.6	20.1	38.5	19.8	14	(2291)

Source: The Australian Survey of Social Attitudes, 2007 (n= 2583).

Tables II and III show dimensions of identity, leisure and psycho-social aspects relating to attitudes toward shopping. They provide insight into significant attitudinal components of shopping activity. Table II shows that a small number of research participants indicated agreement with the statement that shopping helps create who they are. A cumulative 13 per cent indicated that they strongly agreed/agreed with this statement. This tells us that a majority of shoppers do not regard shopping as a key activity in their self-definition of who they are. The items related to shopping as a leisure pursuit show that 23.9 per cent of our sample feels that shopping is a form of escape for them, while 27 per cent of our sample finds enjoyment in observing storefronts and other shoppers. This response shows that a relatively high level of leisure as activity and experience is felt by a number of shoppers. In generalising, we might say that around 30 per cent of our sample has this orientation.

In regard to the anxieties of shopping, Table II shows that 19.2 per cent of our sample strongly agree/agree that shopping is a way for them to register their social and political views while, 45.5 per cent disagree/strongly disagree with this dimension. It is interesting that shoppers generally feel that the activity of shopping, visiting stores and dealing with brands does not correlate with social or political views. Perhaps this highlights a non-reflexive view to the activity of shopping and buying products. This is an interesting finding when we consider the growing transparency of brands, the publication of product components and country-of-origin information, as well as environmental concerns associated with everyday goods. Our results also show that 36.7 per cent of the sample strongly agreed/agreed that the security of shopping centres was reassuring to them. This exemplifies one of the advantages associated with postmodern shopping spaces where shoppers are under constant surveillance with security staff employed to patrol the space and also security cameras installed throughout to provide consumers with a greater sense of protection (Ritzer 2010). Though heavily criticised by theorists, such a view is not in-line with consumer experiences.

Table II: *Frequency distributions of attitudes towards shopping*

How much do you agree or disagree with the following? statements?	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(n)
	%	%	%	%	%	
Leisure and identity:						
Shopping helps me create who I am	2.1	10.9	24.5	34.4	28.1	(2477)
Shopping is a form of escape for me	3.6	20.3	18.9	33.1	24.2	(2473)
Shopping is one of my main forms of leisure	3.5	16.7	16.5	36.4	26.9	(2485)
Social shoppers:						
As much enjoyment from looking at storefronts and other shoppers as buying things	3.2	23.8	25.0	30.4	17.6	(2480)
Shopping is a chance to register my social and political values (eg. Purchasing green goods)	1.8	17.4	35.3	30.4	15.1	(2462)
Anxieties of shopping:						
After shopping I sometimes feel guilty about the money I have spent	3.3	27.7	20.0	35.6	13.3	(2480)
The safety and security of shopping centres is reassuring to me as a shopper	4.4	32.3	40.3	15.6	7.3	(2483)

Source: The Australian Survey of Social Attitudes, 2007 (n= 2583).

The results of the factor analysis presented in Table III show that the three dimensions load onto separate factors. The factor analysis findings are important because they suggest that each factor taps into different shopping-related dimensions.

Table III: *Factor analysis of attitudes toward shopping*

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Leisure and identity:			
Shopping helps me create who I am	0.78		
Shopping is a form of escape for me	0.85		
Shopping is one of my main forms of leisure	0.81		
Social shoppers:			
As much enjoyment from looking at storefronts and other shoppers as buying things		0.59	
Shopping is a chance to register my social and political values (eg. Purchasing green goods)		0.86	
Anxieties of shopping:			
After shopping I sometimes feel guilty about the money I have spent			0.80
The safety and security of shopping centres is reassuring to me as a shopper			0.70

Note: Factor loadings from principal component analysis using varimax rotation.
Source: The Australian Survey of Social Attitudes, 2007 (n= 2583).

The next analytic step is to show how the identified factors are accounted for in terms of shopping-related variables and demographic variables. As shown in Table IV, ordinary least squares regression, with pairwise deletion of missing data, was employed in order to estimate the equations. The dependent variables are the scaled items presented in Table III. Internal-consistency reliability of the scales was tested using Cronbach's alpha. The leisure and identity scale features high internal consistency at 0.83, while both the social shoppers and anxieties of shopping scales show low internal consistency at 0.53 and 0.39 respectively. The low number of items accounting for each scale is believed to have caused this low internal-consistency. Ideally, each scale measure should contain at least three items in order to tap into the desired construct (Malhotra et al. 2006).

Table IV. *Multivariate analysis of socio-demographic predictors of shopping-related dimensions*

	Leisure and identity	Social shoppers	Anxieties of shopping
	b	b	b
Gender	0.92***	0.64***	0.40***
Age	0.01***	0.01***	0.01**
Years of education	0.01	0.01	0.01
Occupation	0.02	0.01	0.01
Gross annual income	0.06***	0.02	0.04***
Time spent shopping (hours)	0.18***	0.02	0.04
Time spent shopping (mins)	0.00	0.00	0.00
While shopping: Browse	0.61***	0.28***	0.12***
While shopping: Buy	0.15*	0.09*	0.03
While shopping: Have food & drink	0.10	0.11**	0.02
While shopping: Meet friends/family	0.27***	0.10***	0.11**
While shopping: Observe others	0.08	0.35***	0.08*
While shopping: Look for future buys	0.53***	0.29***	0.24***
Shopping companion	0.03	0.06	0.05
R-squared	**0.32**	**0.26**	**0.14**

Ordinary least squares regression analysis showing unstandardised (b)
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Discussion of results

R-squared coefficients, as shown in Table IV above, indicate that the most significant total variation explained relates to the leisure and identity dimension at 32 per cent, while the social shoppers (26 per cent) and anxieties of shopping (14 per cent) were less significant. Looking at the *leisure and identity* dimension, gender, browsing and spending time looking for future buys registered the strongest unique contribution to explaining this shopping dimension. The results show, for instance, that female

shoppers are most likely to indicate felt leisure and identity components from shopping. That is to say, females are more likely to idealise the act of shopping as a means to create who they are, and leisure in the form of experience and activity (Esteve et al. 1999). These findings also highlight that the activity of store-browsing and looking for future buys while shopping are key activities that account for shopping as a leisure pursuit. In fact, the often-used phrase 'I'm just looking' frequently justifies the activities of browsing and planning future purchases (Bowlby 1993: 35).

Turning to the *social shoppers* dimension, gender, browsing, looking for future buys and observing others while visiting the shopping mall are the most significant variables. Thus, females are more likely to identify themselves as social shoppers and engage in activities such as browsing and observing others. Surprisingly, these shoppers did not indicate shopping/catching up with others as an important social aspect of shopping. These significant factors help to conceptualise the social or recreational shopper in terms of activity whilst shopping and confirm those theories put forth by Miller (1998) and Miller et al. (1998). The results for the last dimension, *anxieties of shopping*, reveal that gender, age and looking for future buys are the most significant unique contributions for explaining this dimension. When considering the significance of gender and age, our findings suggest that older females are more concerned with the security that a shopping centre can offer and are more likely to be concerned about political associations with the products they buy. This finding also connects to the significance of browsing in explaining anxieties of shopping. For instance, if consumers are concerned with product-related factors of country-of-origin or environmental impact, browsing time will be of greater length.

The researchers acknowledge that the study of recreational shopping also includes a 'before' and 'after' to this activity that may influence the way the activity is carried out (Backstrom 2006). Hence, future studies should also take this into account by asking participants how their shopping activity fits into a typical day for them. In summary, while there is an overlap of significant unique predictors of each shopping dimension, our findings highlight the diversity of these predictors in the context of shopping. These results highlight the very complex nature of shopping and the associations this activity can have with other facets of the self. By pointing to the

frequencies of leisure shopping and shopping behaviours more generally, the results suggest that the idea that shopping as a form of leisure is not felt by the majority of the population. Thus, shopping remains by and large a provisioning related practice. Though, significantly, for around one-third of our sample, shopping does offer meaningful opportunities to engage in serious leisure pursuits related to fostering self, identity and sociality. This sub-group are mostly female. While admitting to enjoying the opportunities associated with pondering, browsing and the sociabilities of shopping – what might be considered a style of flâneurie – this sub-group also experience certain anxieties associated with their shopping. This mixing of pleasurable immersion in commodity worlds within the constraints of time and money and the management of social identity constitutes perhaps the core problem in consumption studies and may also be a significant research site for considering aspects of social and public policy.

References

Backstrom, K. (2006) 'Understanding Recreational Shopping: A New Approach', *International Review of Retail Distribution and Consumer Research* 16(2): 143-158.

Bammel, G. and L. Burrus-Bammel (1996) *Leisure and Human Behaviour*. Chicago: Brown and Benchmark.

Bauman, Z. (1988) *Freedom*. England: Open University Press.

Bollas, C. (2009) 'The Evocative Object World', *British Journal of Psychotherapy* 25(3): 405-408.

Bowlby, R. (1993) *Shopping with Freud*. London: Routledge.

Bryce, J. (2001) 'The Technological Transformation of Leisure', *Social Science Computer Review* 19(1): 7-16.

Caldwell, L. (2005) 'Leisure and Health: Why is Leisure Therapeutic?', *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* 33: 7-26.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (1992) *Flow: The Psychology of Happiness*. London: Rider.

Esteve, R., J. Martín and A. López (1999) 'Grasping the Meaning of Leisure: Developing a Self-Report Measurement Tool', *Leisure Studies* 18: 79-91.

Falk, P. and C. Campbell (1997) *The Shopping Experience*. London: Sage.

Guiry, M., A. Mägi and R. Lutz (2006) 'Defining and Measuring Recreational Shopper Identity', *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Sciences* 34(1): 74-83.

Kelly, J. (1996) *Leisure*. Needham Heights: Allyn and Bacon.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1963) (trans. R Needham), *Totemism*. England: Penguin Books.

Malhotra, N., J. Hall, M. Shaw and P. Oppenheim (2006) *Marketing Research*, 3rd edn. Frenchs Forest: Pearson Education Australia.

Miller, D. (1998) *A Theory of Shopping*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Miller, D., P. Jackson, N. Thrift, B. Holbrook, and M. Rowlands(1998) *Shopping, Place and Identity*. London: Routledge.

Prus, R. and L. Dawson (1991) 'Shop 'Til You Drop: Shopping as Recreational and Laborious Activity', *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 16: 145-164.

Rapuano, D. (2009) 'Working at Fun: Conceptualizing leisurework', *Current Sociology* 57(5): 617-636.

Ritzer, G. (2010) *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Continuity and Change in the Cathedrals of Consumption*. United States of America: Sage.

Sassatelli, R. (2007) *Consumer Culture*. London: Sage.

Turner, R. (1968) 'The Self in Social Interaction' in C. Gordon and K. Gergen (ed.) *The Self in Social Interaction*, vol. 1, pp. 93-106. New York: Wiley.

Trenberth L. and P. Dewe (2002) 'The Importance of Leisure as a Means of Coping with Work-Related Stress', *Counseling Psychology Quarterly* 15: 59-72.

Veblen, T. (1899) *The Theory of the Leisure Class.* New York: MacMillan.

Unger, L. and J. Kernan (1983) 'On the meaning of leisure: an investigation of some determinants of subjective experience', *Journal of Consumer Research* 9: 381-392.