

Instrumental and Ceremonial Aspects of Consumer Behavior Among Women in the USA*

By Zdravka K. Todorova

Introduction

The present paper analyzes consumer behavior as an institution defined by instrumental and ceremonial factors. The purpose of the research is to propose an alternative framework of consumer analysis. It provides empirical grounds for questioning the dominant mainstream framework and provides a scheme of analysis that allows for consumer theory to look at consumer behavior as an indicator for inequality and class stratification in comparative systems. The research is narrowed to US society as an example of a capitalistic system and excludes from the historical analysis the specific characteristics of different ethnic identities in that society. This approach, to a certain extent, imposes a limitation for comprehensive analysis, since different cultures exist in interaction with one another. However, I believe that this *abstraction* does not represent a *simplification*, since the studied segment is analyzed in a historical dimension. The assumption of mainstream consumer theory -- that individual consumer behavior is independent of the consumer choices of others -- excludes habit formation as an element of consumer behavior at all.

The paper shows that consumer products have both instrumental and ceremonial aspects – they satisfy our basic life needs and our desire for social identity. If so, we should ask ourselves what does form our desires. The present research starts with the proposition that social behavior is habitual. Based on the philosophy of John Dewey and Thorstein Veblen, I accept that habits are rooted in the past and represent ideologically based ceremonial values. Since consumer behavior as an economic activity is also social behavior, we need to search for its basis in the past. Thus, analysis of consumer behavior requires a historical approach. In addition, to explore the ceremonial and instrumental values that set the rules for consumer behavior, we need qualitative data. Since we allow for historical analysis and qualitative data, we can go about specification of consumer behavior as gender-defined. Later we can extrapolate some implications for consumer theory as a whole and for economics as a study of social activities.

Why this paper probably will not be of interest for most of the contemporary economists?

1. It employs qualitative rather than quantitative data.
2. It does not employ the "economics" concepts of Utility Functions, Indifference Curves and Maximization. It explores ceremonial values and instrumental realities and makes judgments about the economic behavior.
3. It understands economic behavior not as rational behavior, conducted by informed agents, but as constrained by habit, social standards and instrumental reality.
4. It does not attempt to derive Demand Curves, Consumer Surplus, and Substitution Effects, and thus does imply the irrelevance of equilibrium.

* I am grateful to Professor James Sturgeon for his helpful comments.

5. It questions the dominant framework of economic analysis and implicitly questions the ideology that this framework sustains.

I. Theoretical Background

1.1. Ceremonial and Instrumental Characteristics of Social Behavior

If we recognize that for the most part, social behavior is habitual, as a result of the "habit of doing," it may appear that certain patterns of behavior are "natural," which may explain their rigidity. Habits therefore, being rooted in the past, may represent ideologically based ceremonial values. Myth and ritual are the practices, which bring ceremonial beliefs into action. As Hickerson states: "Ceremonial values are ... habitual and conditioned by traditional practices; they reflect deferential concern with status, power, and custom" [Hickerson 1988, 185]. An example of myth conditioning with regard to the status of women may be seen in biblical form: "And the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man. And Adam said, this [is] now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man." Ceremonial beliefs like this provide standards for valuing certain behavior and prescribe particular status in society to particular segments of people. Therefore, ceremonial values help to set the rules for the economic behavior of individuals.

For example, the behavior of housewives as consumers is shaped by the stereotype that the cleanliness and appearance of a house are their responsibility. The roots for this attitude can be found in values imbedded in the institution of religion that influence the institution of marriage. This institution is based on the presumption that women should satisfy the needs of their husbands. Since one of these needs is a comfortable place to live, women should do their best to provide a good home environment and, at the same time care for their own good appearance and performance as mothers. We can trace the formation of this "natural" pattern of behavior back to the *Bible*: "The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please [her] husband."

Due to the "unconscious" habit of following traditions, ceremonial values are usually beyond inquiry for a relatively long time. "While ceremonial dominance determines the ceremonial feasibility of the range of permissible behavior, it is the knowledge fund that determines the instrumental feasibility of problem-solving activities" [Bush 1988, 141]. When new instrumental realities occur, new patterns of behavior capable of absorbing the advanced tools and skills are required. The standards of judgment by which tools and skills are employed in the problem-solving process require change. Thus, a change in technology requires a change in ceremonial values and patterns of behavior. That is how the industrial revolution changed the consumer behavior of women as workers. Another example is the change in courtship patterns with the increasing use of the automobile [Bush 1988, 250]. New tools are not only based upon the existing institutions, but also become a condition affecting the formation of future habits of thought, behavior patterns, or the form new institutions. This represents the continuum of institutional change and implies a dichotomy of ceremonial and

instrumental, but not a dualism, since the interaction between the two ways of valuing cannot be clearly drawn.

With regard to the art of spending money, Wesley Mitchell draws attention to the family as the most important unit for consumption. He emphasizes the role of women in spending and notes the influence of tradition on their behavior [Mitchell 1950, 6]. Mitchell points out that, just as progress in the arts of production rests upon scientific knowledge, so does progress in the area of consumption [Mitchell 1950, 11]. However, according to Mitchell, "... as the family remains the most important unit for spending money, so long will the art of spending lag behind the art of making money" [Mitchell 1950, 6]. The fund of knowledge as a determinant of instrumental feasibility is a part of technology, which itself is an aspect of culture and a dynamic force for ceremonial changes. Culture, according to Ayres, is "...an organized corpus of behavior of which economic activity is but a part" [Ayres 1944, 96]. In order to analyze certain economic behavior - in the present case women's consumption patterns - it is necessary therefore, to look at the particular culture formed by ceremonial and instrumental values.

1.2. Institutionalists' View of Consumption

If we recognize that culture is formed with the historical experience of people it should be clear that consumption is a historical result, and looking at it merely as a function of prices and incomes moves us away from understanding its complex structure. The institutional theory of consumption is concerned with the formation of needs and desires. Price is only one of the factors in consumer behavior. Institutionalists factor into their analysis the ceremonial and instrumental forces responsible for formation and change of wants. A well-furnished kitchen is wanted not only because of its instrumental function (providing convenience and efficiency), but also because of the ceremonial function related to the symbolic meaning of the furniture (an expression of life style). Thorstein Veblen states that "the methods and the objects of expenditure" are shaped by desire for "pecuniary emulation," which exhibits status and gains "the esteem and envy of one's fellow men" [Veblen 1993, 21]. He traces back the habit of emulation to the origins of ownership and to the nature of habit. Acquisition of commodities complies with the habit of valuing what is reputable and honorable. Buying products similar to as those that rich consumers buy makes us feel respected and valuable. Displaying our consumption conspicuously reveals an interest not only in the instrumental value of the products, but also in their ceremonial value as a sign of status. Thus, consumer products have both instrumental and ceremonial aspects. They satisfy our basic life needs and our desire for social identity. What forms our wants? According to Dewey "... a wish gets definite form only in connection with an idea, and an idea gets shape and consistency only when it has a habit back to it" [Dewey 1988, 25]. Therefore, behavior should be analyzed as a social construct with cultural and dynamic characteristics. Consumer behavior is an element of the changing social process and is related to other institutions. As Sturgeon et al. point out, "Consumption is not, then, an end in and of itself to which all other economic activity points, but part of the life process of which economic activities are but a part" [Sturgeon et al. 1986, 164]. The present paper takes the above points into consideration and recognizes that purchasing represents an element of a historical process.

1.3. The “Barbarian Status of Women” as Basis for Women's Habits of Consumption

Property as an object of display can be related to the ownership of persons. In his article “*The Barbarian Status of Women*,” Thorstein Veblen looked at the capture of women by conquest as showing a propensity for dominance in the predatory barbarian group. The ownership of and the control of women show high status in the patriarchal system. Male control over women in barbarian society contributes to the molding of women's mores and habits, their tastes for commodities, and their attitude toward lifestyles. As Veblen states:

The growing predilection for mastery and ownership, will affect the tastes of the men most immediately and most strongly; but since the men are the superior class, whose views determine the current views of the community, their common sense in the matter will shape the current canons of taste in its own image. The tastes of the women also, in point of morality and of propriety alike, will presently be affected in the same way [Veblen 1998, 507].

Possessing women became a prerequisite for the good standing of men in predatory society and, according to Veblen, led to the introduction of the ceremonial capture of women from the tribe by means of the institution of ownership-marriage. The status of women as trophy became the reason that masterless, unattached women consequently lost caste in society [Veblen 1998, 508]. In order to improve their own status, women felt they had to cultivate those physical qualities that would most attract men. The standards for female beauty have been changing throughout the ages, along with the accessories women use to achieve beauty. Thus, one can look at the dominance of masculine preferences as a factor shaping the consumer behavior of women. The status of women as trophy leads to women's pursuit of male's appreciation. In the reasoning of John Dewey about nature and conduct, this is to say that men praise women's quest for accessories, thus implementing it into the female character. In this way, men encourage women in future acts of cultivating attractiveness and thus providing pleasure to the opposite sex. The male approval of women's consumerism is a “technique of influencing the development of character and conduct.” As Dewey further points out, “after a time and to some extent, a person teaches [her]self to think of the results of acting in this way or that before [she] acts. [She] recalls that if [she] acts this way or that some observer, real or imaginary, will attribute to [her] noble or mean disposition, virtuous or vicious motive” [Dewey 1983, 85].

It would be an oversimplification to consider the modifications of women's character and habits only as a result of their “barbarian status” in the predatory (and in the contemporary) society. Institutions do change. However, the primitive ownership relations have molded the instrumental and ceremonial environment of future societies and the roles for both sexes in them. Analyzing the status and the consumer culture of US women, this paper will attempt to point out some gender stereotypes in the context of the US history important as factors in forming women's consumer culture.

II. Social Status and Consumer Behavior among Women in the US

2.1. Gender Stereotypes and the Institution of Family as Factors Forming the Consumer Culture of Women in the US throughout History

Women's lives in Colonial America were partly shaped by the traditional conception of male-female relationships in Europe, and especially in Britain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, it can be suggested that the people coming to North America were more flexible about changing their habits, through having left behind the remnants of the feudal institutions. Some of the colonists came with their wives and daughters; still there was a shortage of women. This created an urgent demand for their importation as potential wives. Some of these women were sentenced to deportation by European governments; others were victims of merchants who sold them for profit. Also, single women between eighteen and twenty-five years of age came voluntarily as servants for four to seven years in return for their passage, support, and a small amount of cash and clothing [Riley 1986, 12]. This indicates the low economic status of women in the colonial period. On the other hand, it can be suggested that their scarcity gave women the opportunity to choose among men of different status. This allowed women to determine to a certain extent their pattern of consumption, since colonial husbands were compelled by law to support their wives.

Keeping in mind the relative self-sufficiency of the household during the colonial period, women did not exercise much of their purchasing power. In fact, women were responsible for the production of most of the items that later, with technological advancements and the popularization of mass production, became objects of purchase. With the progress of technological advancement, women's consumer behavior changed. However, the adoption of home technology was slowed down during the 1860s and 1870s because the mystique of domesticity preached that only lazy or incompetent women would use the new machines to care for their families [Riley 1986, 132]. Maintaining an old-fashioned household was a socially established way of demonstrating morality. The availability of commercially processed fruits and vegetables by the 1880's did not discourage the practice of home canning in the increasingly urban society. Prejudices that the cans from the grocery stores were not fresh and that the food tasted "tinny," along with the relatively high costs, kept housewives skeptical about ready-made food. Unlike the commodity production related to their husbands' labor, the making of soap candles, clothes, food, etc., which was the domain of women's work, was not oriented toward the market, but directly fulfilled the needs of the family. The task of the wife in the household was to reduce the family expenditures. In the higher class where women could afford to exclude homemaker's work from their obligations, housewives were responsible for purchasing commodities, overseeing the servants or the household slaves, and playing a social, entertaining, and decorative role [Matthai 1982, 31].

The central focus of the white colonial woman's life was her family and household. Childbearing played a prominent role in the lives of colonists – a woman bore an average of eight children [Riley 1986, 25]. With the establishment of marriage and household, succession of property became a sign of economic independence for men. On the other hand, women's childbearing and caring roles were seen as indications of virtue, since they contributed to male dignity. Further, female obligations to family life were

looked upon as an important pillar of the young American nation during the Revolutionary era (1776–1816). According to Glenda Riley, the conception of women as mothers and wives was strengthened during these years. She writes, “Not only women but men as well gradually accepted the idea that females were innately more loving and nurturing than males... Motherhood was idealized, romanticized, and sentimentalized by Americans who believed that the future of their new nation somehow depended on it” [Riley 1986, 47]. Indoctrinated in such a value system, women conducted their lives accordingly and formed their specific consumer culture and behavior. Some of these characteristics have persisted to this day. For example, the woman’s role as loving family protector can be observed in most commercials for cleaning and washing detergents, where the thoughtful housewife protects her family from the bacteria by purchasing the advertised product. The message of these advertisements to the housewives as target consumers is that by buying the product a woman will not only keep the family members healthy and clean, but also will earn their love and attention. In her analysis of housewives’ lives between the wars, R. S. Cowan points out that guilt and embarrassment made American women worry about their status as good housekeepers. She gives examples from advertisements from women’s magazines during the period 1923 to 1933 and concludes that “Advertisers may have stimulated these guilt feelings, but they could not have created them single-handedly; the guilt must have been there or advertisers would not have found that they could be successful by playing upon it” [Cowan 1986, 155].

The cult of true womanhood – a combination of Victorian and Christian sentimentalism – has entrapped American housewives in a stereotype and has made worries about properly dressing their children and choosing color combinations for the house into “productive” tasks contributing to the well-being of the family. The general perception of the man as breadwinner has identified him as a “productive worker,” thus one with higher knowledge and status than the housewife. Keeping in mind the fact that American women had come to a new continent and had begun to establish relatively more flexible systems of habits, one can expect that that they would hardly be satisfied with their inferior status. Veiling housework with a mystique known only to well-trained, knowledgeable housewives would make women feel closer to the status of their husbands. Having their own sphere of action, women could apply their abilities and imagination by acting the role of buyers.

Except for the above ceremonial reasons, the attitude toward housework as “professional” also had its instrumental roots in technological advancements. Printing, manufacturing, and transportation had been developing constantly, bringing new fields of activities. As Cowan says, “In earlier days the young housewife had to be taught to make things well; in the 20’s she had to be taught to buy things well” [Cowan 1986, 152] . Teaching the housewife to be a smart buyer became the privilege of the manufacturers themselves, who first used the popular women's periodicals as media for their advertisements and public relations.

The first woman to become a Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Home Economics was Edna Day, who organized a department of home economics at the University of Kansas. This new field of education was seen as necessary for women, and appropriate university departments were created. At the University of Chicago, there was a Department of Household Administration; at the University of Illinois, it was called the

Department of Household Science; and at the University of Missouri, the first graduates in Home Economics came in 1910. Women's training as consumers became an important field of education because they were the ones who "choose and use the world's resources intelligently on behalf of family and community" [Hard 1911, 91–95]. In a magazine advertisement from 1907, shown in *Myth America – Picturing Women 1865–1945*, a young woman dressed as a college graduate holds a detergent. The text below says:

NO INTELLIGENCE REQUIRED – in the Use of PEARLINE – but in the selection of it – YES! Simply SOAK and RINSE – and the Washing is done – that's SIMPLE enough for a child. BUT – to desert the thousand year's old bar-soap-way and to realize that PEARLINE IS MODERN SOAP and to look back on it's thirty years of general use – it's Millions of Users and Friends and Absence of Enemies – there's where Intelligence gets the better of the Dull Ones and accepts the Benefits of PEARLINE [Wald and Papachristou 1992, 17].

From this commercial aspect, one can abstract some patterns characterizing advertising tricks and women's consumer culture from the period. The image of a woman in a graduate robe is supposed to make housewives who use the product identify with the image and feel knowledgeable. Keeping in mind the psychological complex of mental inferiority accumulated throughout the centuries, the advertiser exploits the vulnerability of women by challenging their self-esteem. Emphasizing that the product is modern, the commercial tells the housewife she should go along with the new trends, including her new "intelligent" role as buyer. The attitude of doing as the "Millions of Users and Friends" do is characteristic for the female consumer behavior in the US, and is constantly used by the advertisers.

Women's periodicals played a great role in the formation of the mores and patterns of behavior. "*The Lady's Magazine and Repository of Entertaining Knowledge*," which began in 1792 was the first periodical that played significant role in the lives of American women [Zuckerman 1998, 1]. The women's magazines that appeared later addressed gender-specific topics like efficient housekeeping, proper lady's manners, fashion, and light fiction. The early periodicals, being relatively expensive, were read by the elite class, and consisted mostly of literature, etiquette, and fashion material with little or no advertisements [Zuckerman 1998, 1]. Innovations in print technology allowed larger circulation because of the lower price per copy. In addition, the railroad system, improved roads and cheaper postal service allowed the beginning of mass distribution of the periodicals. Finally, thanks to the growing manufacturing sector, publishers were able to cut the prices of their journals by offering advertising space to entrepreneurs. That led to a broader audience for women's periodicals and to their greater influence over women's culture.

However, this was not possible until reading became a popular activity, especially among women, who were thought intellectually inferior to men. Puritan women from the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century were responsible for reading the *Bible* to their children. Between 1780 and 1830, women began to attend district schools and academies because of the republican motherhood notion that reading was necessary for both sexes [Damon-Moore 1994, 20]. However, there were gender differences between male and female readings. Men were said to be interested in politics, history and

technological innovations, while appropriate readings for women were light fiction and helpful hint literature. Traditional stereotypes about the female sex came into play with the establishing of women magazine readers as targets of advertisers. With “female psychology” in mind, advertisers affected the content and the appearance of the periodicals. “Advertisers felt that women preferred little complexity or technicality; they followed commands and directions more easily than men. Appeals needed to be directed to women’s feelings, not their intellects. Illustrations worked especially well” [Zuckerman 1998, 67].

Relying on the advertisers, the periodicals' main goal became luring the appropriate reading audience. Women’s periodicals included departments for children, anticipating that such features would give mothers another reason to purchase the journal and would help to shape future readers and consumers. The children’s departments were split to form gender differences in consumption patterns. The *Delineator* in 1907 had sections called *Jenny Wren Club* and *Boys Knights of the Round Table*. The “Jenny Wrens” were instructed about buying patterns and sewing clothes for their dolls [Zuckerman 1998, 82]. The popular cutout pages featured dolls and clothes, preparing the future grown-up woman for the experience of choosing, buying, and arranging.

In addition, girls’ toys were related to the process of gender socialization of the children. For example, young ladies became educated in decorating their future home by playing with scrapbooks and dollhouses, which by the late nineteenth century were proving less expensive. With the entrance of technology advancements in the house, small-scale toy appliances directed girls toward housework and created the habit of using technical novelties, thus molding the consumer culture of the future grown-up women. Imitating their mothers, the girls were themselves engaged in mothering their own dolls and falling into the pattern of consumption that their social environment required. The importance that society gave to motherhood continued, as dolls with adult faces from the Civil War era were gradually replaced with a new French pattern – the child-doll *Bebe* that appeared to be 8–12 years old [Green 1983, 49]. Later, after World War II, with the revolution of plastics, attention to children as consumers grew. In response to the changing popular culture, affected by the technological inventions implemented in the showbusiness industry, the Barbie doll - with its exaggerated grown-up proportions (38–18–34) - was created. The affluent mentality encoded in Barbie will be analyzed in section 2.3.

The mother’s responsibility for the formation of proper habits and attitudes for her children has been welcomed by producers and promulgated by publishers and the advertisers. A 1904 advertisement for the detergent *Pearline* shows a little girl, about 6 years of age, involved in washing clothes. The advertisement says, “Train up a child in the way she should go” [Wald et al. 1992, 17]. Examples of similar messages from women's periodicals of this time are numerous. The importance of mothers as consumers and the advertisers’ awareness of this can be demonstrated by a commercial of *Parents’ Magazine and Better Homemaking* targeting to producers of pancake mixtures, butter, and shortening, published in *Advertising Age* from March 6, 1967. It informs the producers that a select group of women rated “Heavy Users” buy 87 % of all pancake mix; 84 % of all butter; and 96 % of all shortening. *Parent’s Magazine* had 76.6 % of mothers 18–39 years old among its audience. The advertisement finishes with this assurance: “Children do make the difference in your sale” [1967, 29]. According to

Advertising Age, children influence more than \$100 billion in purchases annually [*Advertising Age* 1991, 25]. They learn how to be consumers especially from their mothers. “The economic power of children has grown much faster than that of any other age group in the past decade... Almost without thinking about it, parents are creating the next generation of spenders” [*American Demographics* 1993, 25].

In addition, the spending habits of mothers are defined by their families’ top priorities. When asked what they would do with a lottery award of \$200, 59 % of the responding mothers replied that they would choose to spend the money on their families, more than twice the number (27 %) who would put the money in the bank [1994, 302]. This outcome of the *Redbook Parents III Survey* should not be considered a sign of “spending spree” among of contemporary mothers. Instead, it may indicate low family income that requires satisfying basic household needs. However, it shows how of married women’s purchasing choices are tied to the needs of their families. The roots of this feature stem from the character of the institution of marriage discussed earlier.

The above discussion shows some stereotypes related to women’s social status, which have been shaped their consumer culture. Wives support and assist their husbands; women are attached to their role as homemakers; housework is a professional occupation, and purchasing represents one of its productive roles; and the basic responsibility for childcare is assigned to the mothers – these stereotypes are valid not only for women in the US, but in the context of US history, they contribute to the formation of a specific consumer culture.

2.2. Changes in Consumer Behavior as a Response to Structural Changes in the Status of Working Women in the US

The Civil War (1861–1865) helped to change the model of womanhood by pushing women into the war effort and by the necessity of housewives coping with men’s work while their husbands were at the front. Women had to learn new skills, such as how to handle finances. They were also involved in sewing uniforms, organizing fund-raising events, nursing, etc. Some of these activities required mastering new technological devices such as sewing machines, which not only helped to establish the professional status of housekeepers, but also changed the habits of women, who had in the past, worked only at home. Women became decisionmakers in their families. Although many women returned to their homes at the war’s end, it was probably difficult for them to resume submissive roles. Questioning of the ideology of women's domesticity dates back to the reform era between 1837 and 1861, when the birth of the clothing industry in America opened new labor opportunities for women. However, society as a whole tended to think that this was a temporary trend and that women would return to their place – at home [Riley 1986, 101]. Women became more interested in improving their health and controlling their reproduction. The birth-control movement took place after the development of vulcanization of rubber in 1843. However, after the Civil War, as a result of the drop in birth rates and the large number of war casualties, there was negative attitude in society toward abortion and birth-control methods. Yet, the possibility of gaining control over their own bodies and lives began to shape the quest for independence of American women. Working women’s relationship to consumerism can be traced back to the first steps taken toward women’s personal independence in the US.

Democratization of female fashion was one of the symptoms of the changing status of women. The emergence of the dress-pattern industry during the 1860s enabled women to more easily make their own clothes, giving them the freedom to simplify and adjust their clothing to meet the requirements of new social activities. Women's aspirations to wage work, education, and leisure activities such as sports and tango parties modified the clothes and the consumer behavior. In her book *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure*, Nan Enstad notes the influence of two types of mass-produced commodities targeted to a young working female audience: inexpensive clothes and dime novels [Enstad 1999, 17]. The ready-made clothing industry that was initially oriented toward men extended to clothing for women and replaced dressmakers' goods with mass-produced items, which were accessible to more consumers. The number of female workers rose steadily in the 1870s, and many of the new jobs were in the rapidly growing industry of consumer goods [Enstad 1999, 21]. As more women earned money, some industries began to treat them like individual consumers rather than only family members. Dressmakers and milliners followed the technological changes and commercial innovations by transforming their tiny shops into department stores, where more and more women were working. Publishers embarked on a new approach to female consumers, using women advertising agents, magazine editors, public relations specialists, and home economists that became tastemakers in the mass market [Peiss 1998, 226]. The mechanization of textile production in the early nineteenth century changed the type of clothing and social the meanings associated with it. As Nan Enstad notes "When working women purchased clothing, they exercised their new entitlement as workers" [Enstad 1999, 63]. Clothing, along with dime novels, had collective meaning for women's practice of acquiring them. The discussions about them at work established a way of belonging to a group. The consumption of dime novels and fashions by working women from the turn of the twentieth century are related to the social practice of acquiring and shaped imaginative elements in these products, creating a dream world. The elaborate fashions of working-class women and the sentimental fiction demonstrated the aspirations of working women to a privileged status that they lacked. As Nan Enstad points out:

Working women dressed in fashion, but they exaggerated elements of style that specifically coded femininity; High-heeled shoes, large or highly decorated hats, ... and fine undergarments. In addition, they used more color than was considered tasteful by the middle class to dress up their garments and heighten the element of display in their clothing [Enstad 1999, 78].

Enstad sees this cultural style of working women as a way to deny that labor made them masculine and alien to the current society. The class distinction mediated by fashion and popular culture, along with the search for identity, will be discussed in the following section.

The tradition of women working in the household led to the practice of giving the whole of their wages to the family. The changing structure of the labor market due to the adoption of technological innovations did not bring along an immediate change in the economic status of the working women. As Paul Bush concludes in his paper "*The Theory of Institutional Change*," the evolution of culture results from the choices made to adopt or not to adopt technological innovations [Bush 1988, 158]. However, he notes that

the intention of society for instrumental improvement by adopting a new technological innovation does not necessarily involve the intention of leaving behind some ceremonial practices of the culture. The formation of the female consumer as an individual became possible when the ceremonial practices became inadequate to the new instrumental values. The institution of the consumer behavior of women has been affected by perpetual ceremonial practices related to the traditional roles of women, and by the changing instrumental environment. According to Julie Mathaei, the characteristics of the women's labor force related to its attachment to the family were transformed by the entrance of married women into the labor market [Mathaei 1982, 279]. The traditional woman's life cycle was changed – from working only before marriage to something closer to the lifetime labor participation profile of the average man. Increasingly expected to remain for a longer period of time in the labor force, women became inclined to invest in having themselves trained for more highly paid jobs. Advertisements in popular magazines like *Vogue* for job training and job openings use adjectives implying that excitement, responsibility, and social status will accompany the new job opportunities. For example: "Executive positions in retailing await trained women. Fascinating, responsible positions in stores or in the teaching of retailing await graduates of the foremost School of Retailing" [*Vogue* 1946]. "Fascinating jobs in modern business are now open to women – college graduates preferred." "You can qualify for fascinating work, good pay and a sound, substantial future" [*Vogue* 1946].

On the other hand, publishers of popular periodicals saw the potency of the growing financial independence of US working women, and followed the motto: "We keep adding readers who keep reading adds." An advertisement for *Today's Secretary*, that appeared in *Advertising Age* compares this periodical oriented to the secretaries with regard to its commercial potential to the top magazines of the 60s like *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Seventeen*, *Ladies Home Journal*, and *Glamour*. The advertisers find this:

Quite natural on schedules like this. Girls with money. Average \$ 10 a week. Largely expendable. And expended. On fashions. Cosmetics. Toiletries. Jewelry. Vacations. And \$ 4.50 for *Today's Secretary*. Career girls. You know. Have to keep up. Look smart. Act smart. 175, 000 of them (350, 000 plus, total audience). Cream of the crop. Reach them through *Today's Secretary* [*Advertising Age* 1967, 125].

This kind of attitude toward working women consumers speaks for the altering economic structure due to changes in the structure of the labor force. The new instrumental way of valuing not only found expression in the changed treatment of women as consumers on behalf of producers and publishers, but also began to mold new ceremonial patterns. The competition in the business environment affected women's perception of success and changed their lifestyles, creating the stimulus for continuous aspiration for satisfying the new "needs" of the growing number of women consumers. Women consumers' participation in traditional markets for men demonstrated their aspiration for obtaining freedom through the purchase of a commodity.

With women entering the labor force, especially in 1970s, traditionally widely read magazines could not adequately grasp their attention. To look at all working women as a homogeneous group without differences in purchasing ability and lifestyle was already a simplification. To reach various groups of working women, magazines used

“class” or “mass” strategies. For example, *Executive Woman* and *Professional Woman* were oriented to a narrow elite audience with high incomes [McCracken 1993, 209]. However, women in well-paid professions were not the only group targeted by these kinds of periodicals. Less affluent working women who were pursuing careers and wanted to belong to the affluent working class represented another segment of the reading and buying audience. The periodical *Working Women* included advertisements both for expensive items like computers, cars, and jewelry, and for cheaper items such as cosmetics, which were affordable for the lower-income audience. The simultaneous “class” and “mass” orientation of *Working Women* made it less elite than *Savvy*, but more elite than *New Woman* or *Working Mother* [McCracken 1993, 54].

Women’s magazines, the vehicle through which advertisers have traditionally reached female consumers, transferred its style and pattern of addressing its audience to TV channels. The ideology of *Gems* – the first transnational television channel oriented to women from the US and Latin America – is revealed by an advertisement run in the trade magazine *TV World* in April 1994.

“She’s a romantic and a realist. A caretaker and an emerging power. She’s the gatekeeper of more than \$ 260 billion in the US alone... *GEMS* is her TV. Because we empower her in a way cable programming never has before. And because we know she is a treasure [Galagher 1996, 6].

The new women’s economic power, seen as “a treasure” by the marketers, arose from their participation in the work force. Statistics from *The 1993 Information Please Almanac* shows that in 1960, a woman’s median earnings (working year-round, full-time), were \$3,257 versus men’s \$5,368, or 60.7 % of a man’s earnings, with men’s earnings being 64.8 % higher than women’s. In 1990, a woman’s median earnings were \$19, 822, or 71. 6 % of a man’s \$27, 678, with men’s earnings exceeding women’s by 39.6 %. On the other hand, in 1981, 16 % of all dual career households had wives who earned more than their husbands. In 1987, 18 % of all working couples' households had wives who earned more than their spouses [Leeming et al. 1994, 242]. As the wife earns an income and supplements the household accounts, she feels she can spend more for personal needs.

Single working women feel freer to shop for themselves, thus representing a target market diversified by age and income. In 1960, the percentage of women who had never yet been married stood at 12 % of all women in the U.S. In 1970, it was 14 %, while by 1992 the never-married women represented nearly 20 % [Leeming et al. 1994, 310]. Table 1 shows the percentage of never married women by year and age for 1970 and 1992, since this period represents the growth of women's participation in labor force. The need of these women to care for themselves is stronger, since “no one else will” [Leeming et al. 1994, 325]. Of single women, 89 % said they used shopping as a way to reward themselves. Table 2 shows how single women from different age groups reward themselves. This “rewarding culture,” which finds expression in acquiring by purchase, has its roots in the characteristics of capitalistic society and is nurtured by advertisers. This can be noticed in the numerous commercials for female cosmetics whose message is “Buy it, because you worth it!” Purchasing is an act satisfying not only instrumental needs, but also ceremonial needs related to demonstrating self-esteem and independence. Possessing a car, computer, or real estate is both an instrumental necessity and a social

lifestyle, which shows woman's higher status and her freedom. Many advertisements imply that freedom can be obtained through purchase of a commodity. The success of these kinds of messages addressed to female audience is related to the traditional suppression of the female status. Rapid technological innovations give new fields for exploitation of this ceremonial feature of women's consumer behavior.

In 1999, a study by the National Foundation of Women Business Owners found that 57 % of women business owners who use the Internet have purchased online, compared to 40 % of female employees who go online. Women contribute more than \$ 3.6 trillion in revenues from their purchases online. Also, 30% of women business owners/executives, compared to 23 % of other working women have ordered from a catalog [Wooded 2000, 1]. This study shows that women business owners are embracing technology as a way of life, not just in business, but also in their personal lives. However, as Edward Comor points out, "In spite of great optimism about the growth of this form of commerce, ... it faces potential barrier" [Comor 2000, 105-115]. He notes elements such as money, time, and cultural/psychological inclination, and puts forth the question: can consumers be compelled or convinced to spend money online at levels and at a pace commensurate with investments in e-commerce? Comor points out that the emerging Internet consumption phenomenon may be seen as market growth by the relatively affluent, not the mass market [Comor 2000, 111]. Convenience and saving time are adequate factors for working women with high incomes. However, the habits and methods of purchasing will change gradually when e-commerce becomes accessible as the mass market. When this occurs, women's consumer behavior will be influenced by the instrumental characteristics of reality, but currently, the institutional construct of consumption assists class distinction among women consumers with regard to online buying.

2.3. Class, Social Identity, and Conspicuous Consumption among Women in the US

Consumption is an element of a class society that facilitates people's claims of belonging to a particular class. The aspiration toward acquisition of commodities creates a conflict with the existing income and wealth inequalities. Consumer behavior is not necessarily commensurate with the actual status of the buyers; it demonstrates their claims for this status. The attempt to acquire an identity entitled by goods represents aspirations to belonging to a particular social class. US society traditionally perceives that material abundance, achieved by an individual through a market-driven economic system, contributes to "good" order in terms of human values and efficient management of resources. Yet this ideology, while sustaining mass consumption, fails to offer a solution to the inequalities characterizing the institution of consumption. In fact, the American hedonistic model of affluence relies on the idea of hierarchy and preaches that creation of mass production "empowers" the lower social classes. In the face of the entrepreneur, the capitalistic ideologist sees a creative element that makes possible the absorption of technological innovations in people's everyday lives. The neglected "contribution" of mass producers is the molding of the mass consumer's features, which is, in fact, the essence of a capitalistic society. The purpose of the capitalistic system of production is not to "empower" all classes through their purchasing ability, but to create and change the identities of consumers while increasing the market size.

Desire for acquisition of a commodity evolves when the individual wishes need to fulfill a certain need. "Need" refers not only to the apparent physiological necessities and to the aspiration for particular status, but also to the instrumental realities. For example, the use of the car as a symbol of class membership was not possible before the invention of the motor engine. "Educating" consumers about their new "needs" is the main task of the marketer, which is achieved through advertising and public relations. Thus, fashion and show business, via the electronic media, participate in the formation of new personal identities and patterns of behavior within the conditions of a class society. The products of the centralized entertainment industry disseminate its material to a nationwide audience, which becomes more and more homogeneous in its tastes. On the other hand, this audience increasingly has become international, since U.S. films and television programs dominate the video imports of most nations in the world [Ettema et al. 1994, 115]. Because women have been seen as major consumers, there is an emphasis on manipulating their self-image through the media. As discussed above the development of consumer society has been impacted by the established gender roles, which are continuously adjusting.

In the United States, the ideology of "perfect womanhood" began to mold the consumer culture of American women with the introduction of magazines such as *Godey's Lady's Book*. "The magazine inculcated the pursuit of dress as a most important duty of the woman, as part of the ideal of gentility and religion set before the perfect lady" [Colidge 1972, 161]. In her study "*American Women – images and reality*", Colidge quotes 1910 material in a women's periodical: "... Now, it is as well understood and accepted as any other duty, for being well-dressed, which means suitably dressed, imparts the serenity and poise which make for happiness; and the woman who is happy and well-poised makes everybody around her better and more serene" [Colidge 1972, 162]. The traditional accessory role of women finds its expression in societal expectations that females contribute to the goodness of "everybody around". In addition, as Colidge notes, the "duty" of being well dressed is an invitation to throw away the old and buy the new. She points out that what men used to spend on cigars and tobacco, club life, and heavy drinking, women compensated for by elaboration of their dress.

As a result of the combined influence of economic forces and social traditions, centering in dress, women have acquired a set of habits of expenditure and thinking which lead to discontent and waste of time in the trivialities of taste, in the pursuit of petty economies, and in the discussion of dress detail [Colidge 1972, 167].

The importance of women's clothing may be represented by the idol of girls in the US from the past half century – Barbie. Coming into existence in the period during the formation of the American suburban class, Barbie reflects the middle-class consumption lifestyle and the personal aspiration for material success. The image of woman as an accessory fitted into the emerging suburban culture, but has adjusted with the change in technology. Commodities, which are promoted through Barbie, are not limited only to clothes and furniture but include make-up, sports accessories, cars, and whatever items are available to consume in the new instrumental reality, which involves more and more activities. Barbie and her numerous friends introduce awareness of these commodities and induce a large range of "needs" into children's mentality, who perceive these needs as

“natural” and find that they are “absolutely necessary,” not only for acquiring as many friends as Barbie, but also for achieving her high material status. Looking upon this doll as a model, the child desires to identify herself with it while experiencing the material hierarchy in society. Implemented in the mind of the future female consumer, the habit of commodity acquisition and the inclination to follow preached patterns of behavior make women who have grown up in a “Barbie culture,” a suitable target market.

The institution of fashion is defined by traditional views and changing instrumental values. It is a channel for identity formation and, through that, for class distinction. As a social construct for a symbolic way of communication, fashion represents a continuous mechanism, which both is defined by and defines the social order. As Gabriel Weimann notes “... the need for fashion correlates with the amount of stratification and sub-divisions of society and is aided by the need to symbolize mobility and class identity in modern, open systems” [Weimann 1994, 141]. Living in particular geographic and time constructs, consumers act in accordance with fashion. Their behavior does not fit the traditional view of economic rationality, since buyers are more interested in the ceremonial function of the product than in its instrumental function. However, if we look at consumer behavior as an institution constituted by both instrumental and ceremonial factors, we still can view buyers as rational actors, since they behave in ways that are guided by their needs – instrumental and ceremonial. Thus, the process of “buying” identity, although inspired by emotional rather than instrumental motives, represents a rational behavior in a stratified society based on hedonistic principles.

In the US, women's aspiration for social approval has been related to their desire to keep up with popular trends while, at the same time, sustaining the illusion of being different and special. Marketers have nurtured this attitude. One of the numerous early commercials that illustrate the importance of exclusivity and the opportunity to achieve special status by possessing the advertised product reads: “For Beautiful, Exquisite, Lovely You. The Luxury of a Chandler Shoe. Unrivalled elegance for your most Supreme moments. Fashion’s artisans take treasured leathers and create their most inspired shoes... Admired by many but worn by few” [Vogue 1946]. The message not only uses praising adjectives to demonstrate the special qualities of the commodity, but also suggests superiority over women who can not afford them. The advertisements from women's popular journals from the '40s and '50s illustrate a class-stratified society based on the principle that the ability to be conspicuous is a feature of virtue. This trend illustrates the class, rather than mass, orientation of the periodicals.

The '80s magazines such as *House Beautiful*, *Town & Country*, and *House & Garden* focus on a more affluent audience than the other lifestyle journals, emphasizing the emotional values of interior design and culinary through supportive articles. According to Michael Argyle, social class can be assessed from the contents or decoration of homes [Argyle 1994, 114]. He notes that middle-class homes are designed more for entertainment and self-expression, accepting elements from museums, art galleries and libraries. Argyle quotes a study by Laumann and House from 1970, in which 897 white adults in Detroit were interviewed and the contents of their living rooms were checked. The study analyzes the data in two dimensions. The first dimension correlates with income, occupation, and education. The second dimension is interpreted as traditional versus modern. Within the upper-income group, traditional interiors were

found in the houses of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, who followed the fashions of the traditional upper class. Modern interior design was found in the homes of the upwardly mobile class, “who were aspiring to high social status, but exercised new forms of conspicuous consumption, which showed both their status and their rejection of snobbish, traditional society” [Argyle 1994, 116]. The female buyers' choices with regard to their households are related not only to their financial ability but also to their interactions within their work environment, which is crucial for defining the forms of conspicuous consumption. In addition, Argyle finds that in higher social classes the meals are more formal and elaborate especially when there are guests [Argyle 1994, 117]. Another dimension of distinction with regard to meals is the traditional or modern orientation of women, which is related to their work experience. Highly paid working women not only consider ease of preparation and health concern important factors in their choices, but also dine out more often, either on business or personal occasions. Having a meal outside the home can be a form of conspicuous consumption with regard to place and demonstrates class belonging. It involves expensive and elaborate food, appropriate clothes, jewelry, make up, hair styles, and even cars.

The language of display is engraved into the habit of thinking and conduct, and according to Eric Rothenbuhler, represents thoughtful acceptance of an imposed order of thought. People willingly submit to an external order of signs and behave accordingly. Thus, female consumers in the US act in harmony with the constructed hierarchical order, which involves the use of ceremonial language as a means for demonstrating class belonging [Rothenbuhler 1998, 129].

Conclusions

The historical evidence presented in this paper and discussed in the institutional framework of instrumental and ceremonial analysis leads us to two main conclusions about women's consumer behavior in the US. First, women's behavior alternates historically in accordance with the change of the instrumental and ceremonial realities in the US. Second, women's consumer behavior is influenced by the prevailing ideologies in the American society, which are historically determined. In the US throughout history, three ideologies seem to have strong impact on women as consumers.

The *ideology of women's domesticity* has two ostentatious outcomes. First, it makes women to identify their needs with the needs of their family. Second, domesticity and childbearing, via mothers' influence on their children, contributes to the preservation of existing patterns of consumer behavior. The *ideology of "You can do it"* -- promoting the multifarious roles of women inside and outside the home -- is relevant to the mass production of convenient and timesaving goods, which are used by working mothers and housewives. The *rewarding ideology* -- "*You worth it!*" promotes individualism, consumerism, conspicuous consumption, and thus class distinguishing. All of the three ideologies that have molded women's consumption habits in the US can be seen as complementary to the *ideology of capitalism*, which praises acquisition and possession of goods as a proof of social and personal mores. Outcomes from the impact of the capitalist ideology on American society that are suggested by the present case study are class stratification and consumerism.

The conclusions about consumer behavior among women in the US provide us with bases for extrapolation of conclusions about gender-defined consumer behavior. First, we have seen that, with respect to gender, consumer behavior is defined by gender roles and gender status in society changing through time. Second, it is based on stereotypes which are based on habits of doing and valuing, on ideology and interest of groups having power discretion. The stereotypes are emphasized by the media and thus depend on the instrumental reality -- technology, the political order. In addition, the historical evidence has demonstrated that gender stereotypes are both exploited and created by vested interests.

The third group of conclusions based on this case study concerns the institution of consumer behavior as a whole. These conclusions are of interest because they may be used as basis for an alternative framework of consumer theory. First, consumer behavior is historically formed. Second, it is based on habits of doing and is defined by the social standards for valuing. Third, consumer behavior takes place within particular instrumental and ceremonial realities. Hence, we can propose the following framework for consumer analysis.

Consumer Behavior = F (Instrumental Reality; Ceremonial Reality)

Instrumental Reality = F (Level of Technology -- different levels of needs and wants; History; Type of Social System; Bonding Habits).

Ceremonial Reality = F (Technological Ability for Channeling Stereotypes, Popular Culture and Ideologies -- Media, Infrastructure; History; Prevailing Economic and Political Ideology; Vested Interests.

It should be noted that the instrumental and ceremonial aspects of the institution of consumer behavior should be perceived along a means – ends continuum. Therefore, the variables of instrumental and ceremonial realities are in continuous interaction with each other and with the formation of consumer (class) identity. The dichotomized model helps to reveal the complexity of the consumer behavior institution by representing it as a social construct. Its purpose is not to divide the factors, which form the institutions, but to emphasize their role and help in analyzing their interaction. As a whole, consumers' identities are formed in the instrumental and ceremonial environment in which they live and are historically defined. Thus, comprehensive analyses of consumer behavior are not possible in the framework of the currently dominant mainstream tools for analysis.

An alternative framework is one that:

1. Recognizes the interdependence with the production process, taking into consideration economic power, vested interests and instrumental reality.
2. Does not assume rational behavior -- considers habits, gender, class, etc.
3. Employs qualitative and quantitative data.
4. Looks at consumers in the context of their social environment, interaction and interdependence.
5. Uses historical time, not space analysis.

The proposed framework allows for cross-cultural, cross-gender studies and for historical time change. If used, the above framework may be developed further and may be able to look at consumer behavior not only as an indicator, but also as a channel, for inequality and class stratification. This proposes that consumer theory may be involved in analyses of inequality and class, issues that commonly are perceived as a domain of macroeconomic policy and of sociology. The proposed framework, allow analyzing the impact of the production process, and of activities inside the firm, on social issues.

The above conclusions lead us to some implications for Economics as an inquiry about economic activities. The conclusions suggest that economists should analyze the activities inside the firm together with the habits of consumers in historical and geopolitical, and geographical perspectives. Economists should not feel that the use of qualitative data (such as historical evidence and interviews) falls outside their research field. They should consider an interdisciplinary approach toward the issues they analyze.

Finally, analyzing economic behavior as constrained by ceremonial and instrumental realities excludes the notions of rational choices and utility maximization. This approach does not use the popular concepts of Utility Function, Indifference and Demand Curves. The alternative framework does not employ derivation of Demand Curves, Consumer Surplus and Substitution Effects, thus, it implies the irrelevance of the concepts of equilibrium or disequilibrium for economic studies. By demonstrating that economic agents act driven by historically formed habits that represent ideologically based ceremonial values, the present paper challenges the dominant framework of economic analysis, which has no notion of historical time. Thus, the proposed alternative framework implicitly questions the ideology of capitalism that it sustains via its unrealistic assumptions. In addition this framework opens avenues for *inquiry about the final form of capitalism* and implies a possibility for *its evolution*.

Table 1. Percent of Never Married Women in the U.S.

AGE	1970	1992
18-19	75.6	90
20-24	35.8	65.7
25-29	10.5	33.2
30-34	6.2	18.8
35-39	5.4	12.6
40-44	4.9	5.3
55-64	6.8	4.0
65-74	7.8	4.4
Over 75	7.5	5.4
Total	13.7	19.2

Source: *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.* [Leeming, et al., 1994, 310]

Table 2. How Single Women Reward Themselves

“I REWARD MYSELF BY...”	Total	18-24	25-29	30-40
Shopping	89%	92%	89%	83%
A favorite activity	75	77	77	68
Beauty treatment	38	41	38	34

Source: *Segmenting the Women’s Market* [Leeming et al. 1994, 324]

References

- Advertising Age*, (March 6, 1967): 29.
- Advertising Age*, (August 12, 1991): 25.
- American Demographics*, (June 1993): 23–24.
- Argyle, Michael. *The Psychology of Social Class*, London, England, and New York, NY: Routledge, 1994.
- The Bible*, Retrieved on March 14, 2000 from: gopher://gopher.english.upenn.edu:70/
- Bush, Paul. “Theory of Institutional Change,” in *Evolutionary Economics, Volume I*. New York, NY, London, England: M. E. Sharpe, 1988.
- Commor, Edward. “Household Consumption on the Internet: Income, Time, and Institutional Contradictions,” *Journal of Economic Issues*, 34 (March 2000): 105-116.
- Coolidge, M. *American Women – Images and Realities*. New York, NY: A New York Times Company, 1972.
- Cowan, R. “Two washes in the morning and a bridge party at night: The American housewife between the wars.” *Women’s Studies*, 3 (1986) 147-172.
- Damon-Moore, H. *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Lady’s Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post (1880–1910)*. New York, NY: State University of New York, 1994.
- Dewey, John *Human Nature and Conduct*. In *John Dewey - The Middle Works 1899–1924, Volume 14*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988.
- Enstad, Nan. *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Ettema, J., and Whitney, C. “Audience-making: How the Media Create the Audience,” in *Sage Annual Reviews of Communication Research*, 22. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1994.
- Gallagher, M. “Women and Media at the Close of the Twentieth Century.” Retrieved on March 14, 2000 from: gopher://undp.org. *United Nations, Division for the Advancement of Women, Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development*, 1996.
- Green, H. *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Zdravka K. Todorova

- Hickerson, S. "Instrumental Valuation," in *Evolutionary Economics, Volume I*. New York, NY, London, England: M. E. Sharpe, 1988.
- Leeming, J. and Tripp, C. *Segmenting the Women's Market*. Chicago, Illinois, Cambridge, England: Probus Publishing Company, 1994.
- Matthaei, Julie. *An Economic History of Women in America*. New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1982.
- McCracken, E. *Decoding Women's Magazines: From Madmoiselle to Ms*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- Mitchell, Wesly. "The Backward Art of Spending Money," in *The Backward Art of Spending Money and Other Essays*. New York, NY: Augustus M. Kelley, Inc., 1950.
- Peiss, K. "'Vital Industry' and Women's Ventures." *Business History Review*, (Summer 1998): 218-241.
- Riley, Glenda. *Inventing the American Woman: A perspective on Woman's History: 1607-1877*. Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1986.
- Rothenbuhler, Eric. *Ritual Communication: From Everyday Conversation to Mediated Ceremony*. Thousand Oaks, London, and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 1998.
- Sturgeon, James, Brazelton, Robert, and Weinel, Ivan. *Alternative Streams in Economic Analysis: a Primer of Alternatives in Economic Analysis*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1986.
- Veblen, Thorstein. *Theory of the Leisure Class*. In *A Veblen Treasury: From Leisure Class to War, Peace, and Capitalism*. Armonk, NY, London, England: M. E. Sharpe, 1993.
- _____. "The Barbarian Status of Women." *American Journal of Sociology*, 4 (1898-9): 503-527.
- Vogue*. (August 1946).
- Wald, C. and Papachristou, J. *Myth America: Picturing Women 1865-1945*. Panthion Books, a Division of Random House, 1992.
- Weimann, Gabriel. *The Influentials - People Who Influence People*. New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Woodard, K. "Women Execs Embrace Web Purchasing." In *Cincinnati Business Courier*. Retrieved on March 14, 2000 from:
<http://www.amcity.com/cincinnati/stories/2000/03/13/focus4.html>
- Zuckerman, M. E. *A History of Popular Women's Magazines in the United States, 1792-1995*. Westport, Connecticut, London, England: Greenwood Press, 1998.