Attitudes of Lithuanian students towards consumption

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The article offers a discussion of the main consumption patterns by Lithuanian students. The theoretical analysis focuses on various aspects of consumption, presented by T. Veblen, P. Bourdieu, M. Marcuse, J. Baudrillard, M. Douglas and B. Isherwood. Theoretical assumptions have been tested in an empirical research based on an original methodology. Data of the empirical study revealed four main types regarding leisure activities: (1) elite culture, (2) popular culture, (3) social and civic participation, and (4) consumer culture. As empirical data indicate, fashion is more important than brands in making a decision to buy products and services. Students understand conspicuous consumption mainly as a way of showing a high social status; nevertheless, they themselves do not use conspicuous consumption.

Key words: consumption, academic youth, leisure time, conspicuous consumption, advertising

INTRODUCTION

According to the United Nations development programme (1998) "Notification about human social development", private and public expenses for consumption in 1998 reached 24 trillion dollars – it is twice as much as in 1975 and threefold as much as in 1950. The worldwide consumption was about 1.5 trillion dollars in 1900. This shows that consumption has been rapidly increasing. Consumer expenses comprise ¾ of overall expenses in the USA and exert a significant influence on macroeconomics.

Characteristics of the consumer society, leisure, popular culture, status, class, lifestyle, advertising, fashion issues were analysed by J. Baudrillard (1989), T. Veblen (1899), M. Douglas and B. Isherwood (1979), P. Bourdieu (1984, 2003), Lithuanian researchers J. Černevičiūtė (2003), V. Leonavičius (2002), A. Vosyliūtė (2003) and others.

The purpose of this work was to explore the attitudes of Lithuanian university students towards consumption.

The key issues of this article are as follows:

- the ways academic youth express themselves through leisure activities;
- the main patterns of leisure activities;
- the subjects and objects of consumption;
- students' attitudes towards advertising and fashion.

The first part of the paper deals with the theoretical framework of consumption studies, and the second part presents examples of attitudes of academic youth towards consumption.

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF CONSUMPTION

Consumption may be described depending on the features of society. According to C. Campbell (Campbell 1987), there are two different attitudes to consumption:

- 1. Consumption is understood as an essential, natural thing connected to particular demands, daily routine, particular decisions, habits and activities.
- 2. Consumption of unessential goods and services, based on unlimited wishes and desires.

One of the foremost authors who analyzed consumption was K. Marx (Marx 1867). He stated that "not production but consumption is the engine of everlasting society". The major part of consumers is the manufacturing class. It is obvious that this doctrine was formed when work was considered to be a wealth source of society and determined the value of goods. According to K. Marx (Marx 1867), the perception of the world by individuals or even groups of society is influenced by their social and particularly economic status, therefore all the knowledge of mankind is such a "classical" expression and reflection of the world.

According to K. Marx (Marx 1867), "capitalist production is manufacturing more and more, but only a small part of society can dispose of the biggest part of products". The amount, alternation and variety of goods depend on the demands and values of consumers. However, goods are being manufactured in order to get profit.

When we want to escape from our daily routine, we plunge ourselves into our own virtual space of illusions and for a moment feel better, but after some time we integrate ourselves into the endless circle of life – economic competition where rush, power, animosity and voracious greediness for goods dominate. Due to this uncontrollable materialism and consumption we even have no time for ourselves (in the epoch of K. Marx it was undoubtedly praiseworthy). Moreover, we complain that we do not have a spare minute for the reality which is around us. However, we are not going to change anything. Money gives us a possibility to consume, we can flaunt our wealth, so we have a status and are satisfied.

T. Veblen (Veblen 1899) states that the consumption, status and divergence of social groups have existed at the dawn of history. According to him, "at the dawn of history, primary subdivision of society was noticed among women's hard and monotonous work to manufacture practicable things and men's exhaustion by embezzling the products of work, using such domination forms as war, slavery etc."

The main question for T. Veblen (Veblen 1899) is: What is the basic indicator of social honour, social prestige or social status? T. Veblen seems to be pretty cynical. He gives only one answer: it is wealth.

According to H. Marcuse, man does not have time for himself because most of his time he spends on working and consuming or, in other words, on necessity and luxury. We get satisfaction from the necessity, and from luxury we get pleasure. Necessity is for existence, while luxury means comfort. Campbell (Campbell 1987) indicates that human beings behave in two ways. To meet the requirements and get satisfaction are two different things. The first one is necessary for making a balance in man's life, and the second one gives a higher stimulation and pleasure. Man can feel pleasure while thinking about food, but he gets satisfaction only while eating.

M. Douglas and B. Isherwood (Douglas, Isherwood 1979) present another (non-material) attitude towards consumption, impelling contemplation about the evil and pleasure of goods: not about the value obtainable by using them, but about the place and hierarchy, tradition and links.

Alcohol and tobacco consumption is like the consumption of food, not only because these actions are habitual like eating, but also because they encompass such processes as the ingestion of food and intake to the organism. Eating, drinking and smoking can be considered together as the action of consumption. There, consumption encompasses not only physical food, other goods, traditional economic expressions and their purchase, but also makes these human ideas impose the world of consumption, partially trying to create social and cultural personalities. Douglas and Isherwood (Douglas, Isherwood 1979) have proved that consumption is the most important thing for social life, because using encompasses or distinguishes others and manipulates the interests of society: "Food is the means of distinguishing worth and class discrimination. Dressing, transport and rubbish transportation are the set of signs, which gives provisional frames. Continuous selection of goods creates a certain pattern of discrimination that suppresses or strengthens the others".

- M. Douglas and B. Isherwood (Douglas, Isherwood 1979) consider consumption as an inherent part of social needs, which determines relationship with other people. They tried to discover the advantage of goods and distinguished the following functions:
- 1. Things are necessary to demonstrate and stabilize cultural categories. This expostulates with the economic approach to consumption. According to economists, a consumer is an individual who gets the highest level of experience in order to satisfy his needs. Douglas and Isherwood (Douglas, Isherwood 1979) transferred it to the lower cultural level.
- 2. Things create and hold social relationships. In the economic point of view, they associate the consumer with the groups of friends, kinsmen and even enemies.

According to Douglas and Isherwood (Douglas, Isherwood 1979), the main function of consumption is not to satisfy the needs, but to give some sense. For instance, we can say that each kind of food can satisfy the needs, but we do not think so: we do not eat human meat not because it lacks valuable vitamins, but because of its meaning to us.

Different social classes have different needs which help to distinguish among them. P. Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2003) and J. Baudrillard (Baudrillard 1989) have thoroughly analyzed social classes and positional consumption.

P. Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2003) distinguishes different fractions of social classes by emphasizing education, income and profession, and he formulates the conception of *habitus* (*similar life experience*). Small incomes restrain consumption, and so groups of socially isolated people are formed. Their needs and the satisfaction of these needs are minimal. Mass society has started to participate in positional consumption which was inherent to the noble orders and the remaining part of society more or less used goods according to their practical and functional characteristics. One of the contemporary consumption characteristics is that positional consumption democratization is going on. In a wealthy society, the social status is expressed by consumption; social position becomes more and more accessible also for lower orders.

Lifestyle has a tendency to become a specific behaviour expression of a certain social group. P. Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2003) similarly describes a lifestyle, using the concept of *habitus* as well. Common features of the habitus (perception schemes, contemplation, activity – the components of the so-called habitus) – distinguish social classes with similar lifestyles. We can recognize *habitus* in qualities and things in which individuals and groups enwrap themselves. It may be houses, furniture, pictures, books, vehicles, alcohol etc. *Habitus* is also demonstrated in varied practical activities: sports, games, entertainments etc. where individuals demonstrate their exclusiveness.

P. Bourdieu has shown that while climbing upwards in the social pyramid (from people who have the smallest income to the wealthiest people) favourite drinks are changing. For instance, in France this order is as follows: red wine, beer, sparkling white wine, mineral water, whiskey and cocktails. Musical taste, fashions, political attitude, literature are "evolving" as well. For instance, the attitude to photography depends on the socials class. In a France village, photography is considered to be a sign of urban culture; therefore, it is a sign of luxury.

Photography in the working class was considered as a natural thing, although it was regarded as a means of recollection of some events. Petty bourgeoisie considered photography as a sphere of art (not as a recollection set). Photography was compared to pictorial art. The upper strata of society did not much associate photography with aesthetics. So we can notice that climbing up the social pyramid, the attitude to such an innocent activity as photography is changing. Different combinations of these capitals convey the main social differences among classes. Bigger cultural capital provides higher possibilities of aesthetics; therefore, the upper strata of society can be distinguished by their exquisite taste, abstract mind, and inclination to formality, esoteric things, and delicate forms of consumption. Lower classes are inclined to popular culture, naturalism, carnality, explicit demonstration of consumption.

According to P. Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2003), symbolic capital (prestige, honour, privilege to be listened) is a crucial source of power. He considers capital as a form of power. Symbolic power is one of the alternatives of economic power because, by using exclusive goods, the individual gets a certain status, and this can lead to power.

Therefore, P. Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2003) was concerned with social classes having their habitus, consumption of various goods or services in order to demonstrate their social status in the social hierarchy. It can be stated that classes are competing with each other, and goods simply become weapons.

J. Baudrillard (Baudrillard 1989) analyzed consumer society, mass media, contemporary fashion, sexuality and art. In his books *System of Objects* and *Consumer Society* he states that consumption has become the foundation of social order. The most important thing for consumption goods is brand and publicity. According to J. Baudrillard, the objects of consumption are a perpetual chain of signs that evoke consumer's desire to buy and use. Thus, we buy not a product but the product's brand or image.

J. Baudrillard begins his theory of consumption by discussing the relation between the individual and the object. Where do the needs come from? According to the classical economic theory, man is "endowed" with needs which lead him to the objects that give him satisfaction. J. Baudrillard states that needs are a magic thing; they just exist. If these needs are connatural, there is no need for expansion, although nowadays needs are much more complicated than it was many years ago. Therefore, the needs should be placed somewhere. But they should not be placed in the same individual. Then where? According to this theorist, the answer subsists in the practice of advertising and marketing. It is not the subject of market reacting to the higher ambitions of the consumer, but it is a circumspect attempt of producers to form the behaviour of consumers by advertising.

The formation of consumer society is relevant nowadays. The needs of individuals – autonomy, self-determination, authentic life or personal development – will be replaced by the demands of possession and consumption of market goods. Consumer activity and the life of an individual, which depend on individual consumption, will become, or even are becoming, the most essential link between the individual and society. Consumer society is a middle class society having its own particular characteristics:

- it is a prosperous society; therefore, representatives of this society can spend more money on goods, leisure, vacation etc.;
- in this society, we have less working time and a bigger leisure time budget;
- the identity of the individuals is defined not only according to their work, but, more often, according to their consumption and leisure time;
- life is more and more aesthetized, members of this society are inclined to construct
 their individual way of lives. Moreover, consumption is constructed according to
 some subjective models;
- consumption, the way of life, purchase of goods are becoming indicators of a certain social status. Individuals purchase goods in order to demonstrate their membership in particular groups. Positional consumption is developing;
- individuals start to be stratified according to models of consumption;
- · citizens are replaced by consumers.

In a consumer society, man is distinguished not by his character, his inner beauty, but also by the objects and signs by which he wants to represent himself. Frequently social groups involved in the same life experiences are formed. These groups can be distinguished by income, education, profession and status, although the main feature of consumption, noted in entire social territories, can be described as survival. Consumption is concentrated on a particular human being who uses goods in order to express himself, to demonstrate his value and social group. The more assorted goods, the bigger the need to purchase. Here, mass culture or mass consumption but not individuality are manifested. People stop seeking for their individuality, most of their concern and energy are directed to money and obtainable goods. Nowadays, a consumer wonders at a human who does not want to consume or does not have the needs and ambitions to represent himself or herself by possessing goods.

STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS CONSUMPTION: RESULTS OF EMPIRICAL STUDY

Consumption is one of the main ways by which human identity is formed in contemporary society. Consumption gives a sense of self and a sense of association with others who consume in a similar way. Thus, the questions are how do academic youth express themselves through consumption of leisure activities, what do they consume, why are they doing all this consuming and what are the main patterns of consumption?

Trying to answer these questions, an opinion survey was carried out to explore students' attitudes towards consumption. The survey of a sample of 284 respondents from four Lithuanian universities (Kaunas University of Technology, Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuanian University of Agriculture and iauliai University) was conducted in April–May 2007 and was based on an originally formulated questionnaire.

PATTERNS OF CONSUMING LEISURE ACTIVITIES

The data of empirical study indicate that the consumption of leisure activities can be classified into four main categories. According to results of factor analysis (see Table 1), we can divide academic youth into four main types as regards their consumption of leisure activities:

- (1) elite culture,
- (2) pop culture,
- (3) social and civic participation,
- (4) consumer culture.

	Components***			
	1	2	3	4
Theatre	0.841			
Opera	0.876			
Public concerts (e. g. pop & rock music)		0.796		
Public events (e. g. city celebrations)		0.833		
Sport clubs, night clubs		0.441	0.633	
Voluntary associations			0.690	
Meeting friends			0.609	
Watching TV				0.715
Visiting shopping malls				0.758

Table 1. TYPES OF LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES (ROTATED COMPONENT MATRIX)

KMO AND BARTLETT'S TEST

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy	0.557
Bartlett's test of sphericity: approx. Chi-square	385.722
df	36
sig.	0.000

Elite culture. This type includes such components as theatre and opera. According to empirical data, students are least likely to spend their leisure time going to theatre or opera, as 50.9% of respondents indicated that they preferred going to theatre than doing something else during their leisure time, and only 33.3% liked going to opera.

Pop culture. This type includes such components as public concerts (e. g. pop & rock music) and other public events (e. g. city celebrations); 67.9% of respondents indicted that they are willing to participate in public concerts and 60.3% in other public events.

Social and civic participation. This type includes such components as sport clubs (night clubs), voluntary associations and organizations, and meeting friends. According to empirical data, students are most likely to spend their leisure time with friends, as 97% of respondents indicated that they preferred spending their leisure time by meeting friends. Data show that students are not willing to participate in voluntary organizations and associations (just 23.9% of respondents indicated this type of activity); 66.3% of respondents preferred going to night clubs and sport clubs than doing something else during their leisure time.

Consumer culture. This type includes such components as watching TV and visiting shopping malls. Consumer culture is rather strong in students' population as 64.8% of respondents indicated that they liked to stay watching TV during their leisure time, and 59.7% would choose visiting shopping malls.

^{***} Note. Extraction method: principal component analysis. Rotation method: equamax with Kaiser normalization. Rotation converged in 8 iterations. Initial eigenvalues are more than 1. Rotation sums of squared loadings: cumulative % is 66.439.

Empirical data reveal rather controversial tendencies about students' engagement in activities that are traditionally associated with consumer culture. As Fig. 1 shows, students are keen on visiting shopping malls, but they rarely go to fast food restaurants, while those who go frequently to fast food restaurants also frequently go to shopping malls (Spearman's rho = 0.309, significant at the 0.01 level, n = 282).

This raises further important questions. Who has the strongest orientation towards consumer culture?

According to empirical data, male students are more likely than female students to go to fast food restaurants (Pearson's correlation -0.274, significant at the 0.01 level, n=282). There was no significant correlation between gender and visiting shopping malls. Students who have higher levels of income are more likely to go to fast food restaurants than those with lower levels of income (Spearman's rho 0.269 significant at the 0.01 level, n=280); nevertheless, there was no significant correlation between the income level and visiting shopping malls. Thus, the frequency of visiting shopping malls depends neither on gender nor on income levels.

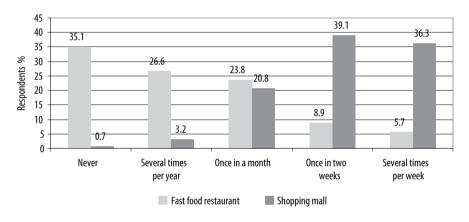


Fig. 1. GOING TO FAST FOOD RESTAURANTS AND SHOPPING MALLS (n = 280)

REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL STATUS AND CONSUMPTION

Empirical data revealed a correlation between consumption and the representation of social status; 73.2% of respondents think that consumption is a means of social stratification.

Students understand conspicuous consumption mainly as a way of showing off a high social status; this was indicated by 43.5% of respondents (see Fig. 2).

In the opinion of respondents, the meaning of conspicuous consumption is also related to consumption of the goods that others are jealous about (this aspect was indicated by 27.9% of respondents) and consumption of the goods that are in fashion (25% of respondents).

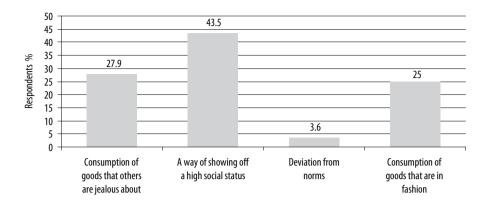


Fig. 2. THE MEANING OF CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION (n = 280)

Considering the question whether they themselves use demonstrative consumption, students express a negative position. The majority of respondents (58.3%) argue that they are individual persons (see Fig. 3).

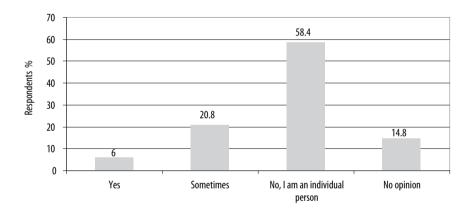


Fig. 3. USE OF CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION (n = 280)

STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS ADVERTISING

Most commonly, advertising is understood as an attraction of consumer or, as Goldman and Papson (Goldman, Papson 1996) argue, "commodity-sign industry". Is advertising really a super-efficient "persuasion factory"? Trying to answer this question, the empirical investigation focused also on students' attitudes towards advertising and fashion.

According to empirical data, students' attitudes towards advertising can be classified into two main categories. According to results of factor analysis (see Table 2), we can divide academic youth into two main types regarding their attitudes towards advertising: (1) advertising-favourable orientation; (2) anti-advertising orientation.

	Component	
	1	2
High-quality goods do not need advertising		0.503
Insistent advertising deters from buying		0.628
All discounts are a deception of customer		0.710
Quality is more important than package		0.447
Products and services that are advertised are of high quality	0.716	
It is rational to choose products of a well-known brand	0.640	
Foreign advertisements are more noticeable	0.685	

Table 2. THE STRUCTURE OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS ADVERTISING (ROTATED COMPONENT MATRIX)

KMO AND BARTLETT'S TEST

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy	0.539
Bartlett's test of sphericity: approx. Chi-square	99.996
df	21
sig.	0.000

As is evident from empirical data, well-known brands are not very important in making a decision to buy products and services. Students are not keen on branding: 87.2% of respondents said that they disagreed or totally disagreed with the statement "I buy goods of well-known brands" (see Fig. 4).

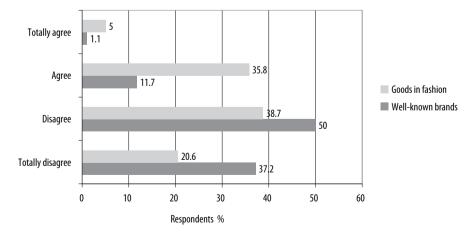


Fig. 4. THE IMPORTANCE OF BRANDS AND FASHION IN MAKING A DECISION TO BUY SOME GOODS (n=280)

^{***} Note. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Equamax with Kaiser Normalization. Rotation converged in 3 iterations. Initial eigenvalues are more than 1. Rotation sums of squared loadings: cumulative % is 41.237.

As empirical data show, fashion is more important than brands in making a decision on buying products and services. 40.8% of respondents agreed with the statement "I buy products that are in fashion". Nevertheless, 59.3% of respondents disagreed with this statement (see Fig. 4).

CONCLUSIONS

Consumption is one of the main ways by which human identity is made in contemporary society. Analysis of scientific literature allows concluding that wealth and money power help to form the features of a consumer society. Man is distinguished not by his character, his inner beauty, but by the objects and signs by which he wants to represent himself. Frequently some social groups of people involved in the same life experiences are formed. These groups can be distinguished by income, education, profession and status.

According to the results of the empirical study, we can divide academic youth into four main types as regards their leisure activities: (1) elite culture, (2) popular culture, (3) social and civic participation, (4) consumer culture. Empirical data reveal rather controversial tendencies in students' engagement in the activities that are traditionally associated with consumer culture, as students are keen on visiting shopping malls; nevertheless, they rarely go to fast food restaurants.

There was no significant correlation between gender and visiting shopping malls. Students who have higher levels of income are more likely to go to fast food restaurants than those with lower levels of income; nevertheless, there is no significant correlation between income level and visiting shopping malls. Thus, the frequency of visiting shopping malls depends neither on gender nor on income levels.

Students understand conspicuous consumption mainly as a way of showing off a high social status.

According to empirical data, students' attitudes towards advertising can be classified into two main categories: (1) advertising-favourable orientation; (2) anti-advertising orientation. To students, fashion is more important than brands in making a decision to buy products and services.

Received 20 10 2009

Accepted 25 11 2009

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Lietuvos akademinio jaunimo vartojimo ypatumai

Santrauka

Vartojimo charakteristikų, modelių ir ypatumų tema yra labai aktuali šiandieninėje visuomenėje. Kasdien susiduriame su daugybe vartojimui įtakos turinčių veiksnių: marketingu, reklama, pirkimais, pardavimais, laisvalaikiu, augančiais individų poreikiais. Vartojimas tampa vis svarbesnis, išreiškiantis individo socialinę padėtį bei socialinį statusą visuomenėje.

Pažymėtina, kad postmodernusis vartojimas siejamas ne tik su gėrybių vartojimu, socialinio statuso įtvirtinimu ar prestižu, bet ir su individualaus tapatumo kūrimu pasirenkant gyvenimo būdą. Šiuo atveju vartojimas tampa esminiu kultūros mechanizmu, formuojančiu šiuolaikinį gyvenimo būdą, nes vartojimas suteikia žmonėms tam tikrą galią tvarkyti ir kurti savo kasdienį gyvenimą. Vartojimo, vartotojiškos visuomenės ypatumai, laisvalaikio, masinės kultūros, statuso, klasių, gyvenimo būdo, reklamos, mados tematika nagrinėta J. Baudrillard'o (1989), T. Vebleno (1899), M. Douglas, B. Isherwoodo (1979), P. Bourdieu (1984; 2003), lietuvių mokslininkų – J. Černevičiūtės (2003), V. Leonavičiaus (2002), A. Vosyliūtės (2003) ir kt. – darbuose. Šio straipsnio tikslas – išanalizuoti akademinio jaunimo vartojimo ypatumus Lietuvoje.

Vartojimas pabrėžia asmenį kaip aktyvų visuomenės dalyvį. Vieniems vartojimas tampa reikšmingu egzistavimo šaltiniu, o kitiems – malonumu. Individų asmeninės autonomijos, savęs apibrėžimo, autentiško gyvenimo ar asmeninio tobulumo poreikiai vis dažniau siejami su poreikiu turėti ir vartoti rinkos siūlomas prekes, todėl vartotojiška veikla bei individo gyvenimas, priklausantis nuo vartojimo, vis labiau taps arba jau tampa svarbiausiu visuomenės ir individo tarpusavio ryšiu.

Bandomojo empirinio tyrimo metu apklausti 284 Kauno technologijos, Lietuvos žemės ūkio, Vytauto Didžiojo ir Šiaulių universitetų studentai. Tyrimas atliktas 2007 m. balandžio–gegužės mėnesiais. Faktorinės analizės rezultatai leidžia išskirti būdingas keturias studentijos laisvalaikio leidimo dimensijas: 1) orientacija į elitinę kultūrą, 2) orientacija į populiariąją kultūrą, 3) orientacija į socialinius ryšius ir pilietinę veiklą ir 4) orientacija į vartotojišką kultūrą. Pastaroji dimensija apima studentus, kurie linkę laisvalaikiu žiūrėti TV ir vaikštinėti po prekybos centrus.

Raktažodžiai: vartojimas, akademinis jaunimas, laisvalaikis, prekinis ženklas, reklama