Marketspace Power Struggles: Families Confronting Spatial Limitations

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A significant number of families encounter spatial limitations in the marketplace stemming from the disability of one of their children. Restrictions arise in many areas, such as limited mobility, difficulty engaging with the market environment or time limitations. A phenomenological approach provides family perspectives on the marketspace, how they contest spatial limitations of the market and how they attempt to reclaim their “place in the market” as they move out of the shadows of disability-invisibility. The meanings of public and private activities are explored as are culturally embedded notions of ability and disability.

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SPECIAL SESSION SUMMARY
Space, the Final Frontier: Consumer Adaptation, Resistance and Redefinition of Spatial Limitation in the Marketspace
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SESSION OVERVIEW
Anyone who has broken a leg can attest that most people go through their day blissfully oblivious to small gradations in slope, curbs, cramped aisles or tight parking places. Nearsighted baby boomers are discovering that poorly lit aisles make reading labels or credit card numbers difficult. Parents of newborns quickly realize that their prime shopping opportunities are often late at night when stores may be closed but, thank goodness, the internet is open. In each case, marketers have assiduously worked to fine-tune the space component of the marketing mix, only to have consumers face idiosyncratic spatial impediments that limit the exchange process.

The focus of this session is to explore the meaning that consumers attach to their spatial relationship with and spatial movement through the marketplace, particularly when experiencing spatial impediments. The topic is approached from a theoretical perspective propelled by existing theories in sociology, geography and semiotics. The social construction of the market defines normative “movement” and thus identifies consumers who cannot participate like everyone else as other. Social exclusion is a term used in policy discourse in relation to individuals that are outside the mainstream of the labor and citizenship (e.g., illegal workers, the homeless). At its heart, social exclusion reflects both isolation and segregation (Sommerville 1998), elements that normally reflect abstract notions of separateness as well as physically grounded spatial disconnection. Research in the area identifies physical disconnection as a manifestation of abstract separateness (e.g., unwillingness to leave the neighborhood due to language barriers) or as impediments to inclusion (e.g., the persistence of enclaves of minorities) (Massey and Denton 1993).

Using ethnographic and interview methods, the presenters investigate the meaning of moving through market space to engage in exchange via the lens of consumers who face specific challenges, either in mobility restrictions, homelessness, or information processing deficits. The three papers address questions of 1) how consumers adapt to being denoted as other in this setting, 2) how they resist this demarcation, and 3) how they redefine the market space to make it inclusive rather than exclusive. Building on existing theory in socio-spatial relation that addresses the spatiality of social life (Richardson and Jensen 2003) and extending this thinking into the spatiality of market exchange, the presenters draw from their empirical work to argue that the inherent nature of space, the control of the space, norms and rules about space, and even the language of space are socially constructed and closely linked to power.

EXTENDED ABSTRACTS
“Expanding Retail Spaces: Website Accessibility for Consumers with Visual Impairments”
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When examining the experiences of persons with a specific disability, such as vision impairments, it is unclear exactly what their experience of shopping space has been and what, if any, new opportunities are offered by shopping online. The goal of this study is to address these questions building on the work of Baker (2006, 2001) and her work with visually impaired consumers in the physical marketplace.

As Baker (2006) notes, retail store “spaces” are designed assuming that most customers have usable vision and are able to fully experience the colors, décor, displays and signage. Essentially, the physical shopping market defines normative “movement” as being able to drive, walk, or take mass transit to shopping locations, and often is constructed so that the shopper relies on visual cues to determine their route through malls and stores. Moreover, a basic assumption is that all customers can search on their own, navigate through each store, and respond to store cues in making their decisions and purchases. Nothing is further than the truth for consumers who are have significant visual impairments, since the limitations and effort of traveling to the retail space, navigating through unseen or poorly-seen space, and receiving help in shopping may undermine the degree of independence or normalcy that these consumers experience.

The built or physical environment has been criticized as being designed from an “ableist” perspective, assuming that physical places are constructed so that persons who are able-bodied will participate (Chounard 1997; Imrie 1999). Basically, persons who are not able-bodied are not expected to participate, and thus are not “expected customers.” Such criticisms are typically made of the built environment rather than the virtual world of the Internet. In essence, shopping in cyberspace “should” be like taking a trip to the mall without the physical limitations found in most built shopping spaces. That is, it allows persons with disabilities “to transcend the issues of time, space, communication, and the body” (Seymour and Lupton 2004), and more importantly, allows the shopper to feel “normal” in that setting (Baker 2006).

Depth interviews were conducted with 45 persons who have visual impairments in order to examine their comparisons of physical spaces with the virtual space of online stores. Each was interviewed for approximately 30 to 60 minutes concerning their use of the Internet, their assistive technologies, and the web access issues that they felt were most important. The participants had web access and varying degrees of experience and expertise with online shopping. Results show that multiple themes emerged from analysis concerning individuals’ concern for independence, empower-
ment, and quality of information that is engendered though availing themselves of online access to shopping. Additionally, interviews identified a series of impediments to their online shopping experience. These impediments included; the nature of website construction (the lack of Alt tags on pictures), the need for assistance from others to fulfill certain online purchasing tasks (e.g., completing purchase forms), and in many cases, the ambiguity of product descriptions (e.g. ambiguous color names).

Preliminary analysis indicates that the question as whether they choose electronic markets over physical markets because of problems with bricks and mortar stores is a simplistic one. There are multiple issues involved.

- Independence: Many enjoy shopping in physical stores, but complain that their shopping trips are limited to “purpose-driven” outings restricted to the sections of their destination stores that either store employees or personal assistants choose for shopping. Areas with spatial challenges are avoided, eliminating the merchandise from these areas as well.
- Empowerment: Some gather and analyze product and store information online, with subsequent purchase in stores or by telephone. Browsing becomes possible for the first time.
- Improved quality of information: The web provides information that is inaccessible in many store spaces, such as reading product labels (such as, through screen readers) or enlarging patterns and designs.
- Less information: Unable to touch certain types of products for examination.
- Unanticipated problems in store space: They indicate they may avoid the physical store space due to problems that they have encountered, such as spilled items that present dangers to their guide dogs.

When Baker’s dimensions of normalcy are considered:

- Online shopping not only maintains a feeling of participating in the marketplace for persons with visual impairments. In many instances it increases it.
- To some extent, online shopping allows them to feel treated as individuals, but they prefer personal contact in stores for social interactions.
- Online shopping allows them to feel empowered with new access to information.
- With online shopping, persons with visual impairments feel a more equal access to products and information. A new equal access to written information such as labels can be found.
- Websites are uneven in their accessibility and may assume visual scanning by the user. Information may lack necessary detail to be useful. Designs of certain web elements may not be compatible with assistive technologies.

Our analysis gives new insights into spatial tradeoffs that persons with visual impairments make when choosing a marketplace for their shopping purposes. It is not an “either-or” decision, but instead each type of marketplace presents its own opportunities and challenges.

“**The Homeless Renegotiating Marketspaces: Hey! Why is Your Store in Our Living Room?”**

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Hill and Stamey (1990) boldly ventured into a previously unresearched area in the consumer behavior field when they sought to understand how the homeless acquire possessions and attach meanings to them. Their research vividly stresses how the homeless face multiple structural impediments to basic interactions within traditional marketplaces (Hill and Stamey 1990; Hill 1991). Homeless consumers routinely experience multiple disadvantages and increased risks for victimization due to their social structural location and “restricted access to housing, employment, and public spaces” (Gatez 2004; Roschelle and Kaufman 2004). Rising rates of homelessness especially among families exacerbate these risks. The National Alliance to End Homelessness estimates the magnitude of people without domiciles in the United States to approach nearly 3 million people per year and more than 750,000 people per night with more than half being comprised of homeless families (www.endhomelessness.org 2005).

For many domiciled consumers and consumer researchers, the homeless are invisible with only occasional glimpses into this reality offered when approached by a panhandler on a city street corner. Due in part to negative public sentiment, disengagement and self-marginalization, and harassment by society and police, many of the homeless avoid use of public spaces for shelter and other living necessities (Hill and Stamey 1990). In sharp contrast, this research examines the socio-spatial dynamics of homelessness in a well-defined downtown retail area (DRAs).

Marketing scholars’ understanding and investigations of the interplay of social and commercial elements in marketspaces, like DRAs, remain limited, although a growing body of work recognizes DRAs’ roles in community development and life (Shils 1997; Presti 2003). Drawing upon the marketing literature on co-production which primarily focuses on its proximal benefits for co-producers (i.e., efficiencies for marketers and services from products for consumers; Bendapudi and Leone 2003; Vargo and Lusch 2004), this research examines other less proximal and more general consequences, including the production and negotiation of marketplace meanings by merchants, domiciled consumers and the homeless inhabiting the research area. We will discuss how in a given community, the creation of meaning is renegotiated through the symbolism of the marketplace and is a source of identification for those involved (McAlexander, Schouten and Koenig 2002).

Specifically, we explore how the homeless in a downtown retail area negotiate and survive in the physical space of the marketplace which was neither “designed nor intended for residence and basic subsistence activities” (Harter, Berquist, Titsworth, Novak and Brokaw 2005, p. 315). Similar to the findings of Adkins and Ozanne’s (2005) study of consumers with low literacy, homeless consumers who successfully reject and renegotiate the negative label and derogatory identities associated with it feel empowered to exert control, choice, and influence in the marketplace (Buffalo and Rogers 1974; Hill and Stamey 1990; Pryor 2006).

The study site was a downtown retail area in a Midwestern city with a population of approximately 90,000. The area encompasses 27 block sides with 130 stores, service establishments, and restaurants. Data collected over a 3-year period using multiple ethnographic methods including participant and non-participant observation; semi-structured field interviews; long interviews with retailers and domiciled consumers; and secondary data collection of artifacts (including marketing collaterals and communication materials).
Marketers and consumers who used the DRA in different ways expressed different views about its meanings. These meanings were social, cultural, economic, and political, as well as consumption-related, in nature. Additionally, tensions and inconsistencies in their views about the marketplace’s formal, commercial, festive, and other qualities exist between the various groups (Pryor and Grossbart, forthcoming; Peñaloza 2000; Sherry 1990). Yet, there are socially acceptable variations in marketplace meanings because, as it has in other settings, the resulting social capital in the area fosters tolerance or reconciliation of differences (Flora and Flora 1993).

Historically, the merchants and the domiciled consumers in the DRA organize and support charitable events designed to provide resources for the needy and homeless. However, more recently, the merchants in the area have become actively involved in pressing the city to move social service resources out of the DRA and for the passage of additional ordinance and policies governing the transient population and to protect the aesthetic qualities and appeal of the downtown area. As one merchant explained, “I am entirely tired of the street musicians who hang out across the street from my business,” he said. “Many of my customers are senior citizens who find them intimidating and frightening.” (FN, DLI meeting, 2001)

We explicate the manner in which several of the homeless engage in co-production with an established spatial area and add “flavor” to the marketplace environment. By actively co-optiming marketplace symbols and structures for their own purposes, such as “homeless Santa” who uses the commercial symbolism of Christmas to panhandle and street musicians who sit by entrances to retail outlets singing and playing for a coin, the homeless in the DRA are challenging local merchants efforts to define the space without them.

“Marketspace Power Struggles: Families Confronting Spatial Limitations”
Marlys Mason, Oklahoma State University
Teresa Pavia, University of Utah

As most parents of newborns discover, the ability to move through the marketplace that most able-bodied adults take for granted is immediately changed by the arrival of a child. Over time, families become adept at meeting the physical challenge of engaging as a parent-plus-child consumer aided, in part, by marketplace adaptations such as car seats that integrate into a carriage or parking spots reserved for parents with small children. While physical impediments may be overcome or accommodated, various marketspace, are understood to be off limits to the parent-with-child consumer due to social norms (e.g., a very fancy restaurant), legal restrictions (e.g., bars or strip clubs), or environmental stresses (e.g., extreme adventure travel). For a variety of reasons most people believe such social exclusion policies are not only acceptable, they are commendable and proper.

The dark side of social exclusion, however, is condemned. Laws and policies have been enacted to ensure equal access to marketspace regardless of diverse attributes (e.g., race, ethnicity, disability). Sellers portray their spaces as accessible and open to all, with mixed races, ethnicities and genders commonly appearing in promotional materials. Is the space of the market really accessible and open to all though? This question raises two issues: can the individual physically move into the marketspace, and is the individual socially excluded from the marketspace. Families with a child who has a disability provide a window into the complex relationship that consumers have with the space of the market, exclusions consumers experience, and notions of activities that are appropriate for the public sphere.

In the U.S. approximately 20% of the 54.4 million non-institutionalized children between 5 and 20 years of age are designated as having some type of disability (US Census Bureau 2005, Table 34). Although the disabilities in question span a wide range of cognitive, physical, and sensory disabilities, all families of children with special needs remain challenged by barriers that the marketspace presents for far longer than the average family with a typical newborn or able-bodied child.

Using a phenomenological approach, this paper explores the lived experience of families with a special needs child in marketspaces constructed with ‘normal’ consumers and families in mind. Following prolonged immersion into the special needs community, twenty two in-depth interviews were conducted, with each lasting approximately 1-2 hours. The interviews were largely unstructured using broad guiding questions as initial prompts.

Specifically, we investigate 1) the spatial challenges (both physical and social) that families face in marketspaces, 2) the means that families use to adapt to these challenges, and 3) identifiers of the “other” that consumers experience in the marketspace.

This research has descriptive findings that center on concrete elements of spatial exclusion, and theoretical findings that address the abstract exclusion experienced by the “other”. On the concrete level, all informants describe retail environments as not understanding special needs children and families when designing the marketspace. For example, they discuss too few handicapped parking spaces, inappropriate store services and displays targeted to normal kids that trigger inappropriate outbursts in those with behavioral impairments. These negative consumption experiences elevate the family’s awareness of the disability and at times create such difficulties that the family voluntarily excludes themselves from the marketspace. To accommodate the special need, our informants discuss making adjustments in fundamental and specific areas such as shopping (e.g., locations, time, medium), travel and vacations, recreation and leisure, vehicles, living spaces, celebrations and holidays, etc. They also discussed larger shifts related to consumption including employment choices that allow the parent the flexibility to work, and major shifts in family roles, particularly roles related to movements between different spatial spheres of the family (e.g., teen doing routine grocery shopping, a shift to traditional gender roles of the mother at home, care giving, and the father outside the home as breadwinner).

The theoretical contributions of this research center around persistent inversions of commonly held notions of spatiality that these families face. Scarry (1985) argues that a unique aspect of pain derives from “an almost obscene conflation of public and private” in which activities that are normally private (such as crying or vomiting) become public, and activities that are normally public (such as eating or conversation) must be done in solitude. The pain of the marketspace for consumers living with physical/mental limitations arises in part from public aversion to a body that does not follow convention public/private norms. At the same time, informants express distress that the acutely visible limitations they display appear to evoke no market response in terms of new products, environments or understanding.

Demarked as the other, parents report both avoidance and resistance, depending on the situation. For example, informants move between in-your-face, up close and personal advocacy for their child, and striving, conformist behaviors such as dressing the child in brand name clothes for outings so he/she looks “cute”. Parents report managing their space in ways that increase privacy
and decrease the judgmental public stare: some assume health care

tasks specifically to remove other providers from the home, some

limit face-to-face confrontations by employing e-mail or letters,

and many refuse to meet other shoppers’/patrons’ eyes when in

public. Parents report assertively managing their environment, but

report that most victories are hard won and often transitory. That is,

small accommodations are made, but there are no changes to the

system to formalize the adaptation.

Our analysis highlights the symbolic meanings that the fami-

lies attach to their spatial limitations in the marketspace and their

adaptations. Consumer resistance is traced both as straightforward

complaining and as more subversive “rule bending”; consumer

conformance is noted primarily as an effort to fit in and be accepted.

These informants speak for other consumers who redefine what

they want and will accept from the marketspace and in doing so

simultaneously redefine spatiality in their consumption and de-

mand a renegotiation of power between themselves and the market-

place.

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Consumers often must estimate the lengths of time intervals when making decisions. For example, they might forecast the time until a payment will be received when evaluating interest rates, or might estimate how long they waited in line when deciding whether to revisit a store. These estimates are likely to be influenced by factors beyond objective duration, much as judgments of frequency or likelihood are often biased by ostensibly irrelevant factors (Gilovich, Griffin, and Kahneman, 2002). To further our understanding of how consumers perceive time, the papers in this session explore factors that make time intervals of equal objective length seem long or short. Specifically, these papers examine how the events involved in a time interval affect perceptions of that interval’s length.

Faro, McGill, and Hastie begin by examining how perceptions of a past time interval are affected by the relationship between the events denoting the interval’s beginning and end. They find that intervals seem shorter when their beginning and ending events have a strong causal relationship than when the causal relationship is weaker; they also find that the type of cause connecting the events heavily influences length judgments. Diehl, Levav, and Zauber augment this finding by focusing on the number of events perceived to have been caused by the beginning event. They find that intervals begun by an event that triggered many subsequent events seem longer than do intervals begun by an event that triggered few events. Finally, LeBoeuf and Simmons extend these findings to perceptions of future time. Building from the suggestion that past intervals seem longer when they contain more events, these authors investigate whether perceptions of future intervals are similarly affected by whether the intervals seem full of events, as opposed to empty. Daniel Read serves as the discussant; his work on intertemporal choice, and particularly on the sensitivity of discount rates to the framing of time intervals, lends him an ideal perspective on this work.

This session highlights common themes emerging from these independently developed streams of research, thereby facilitating general conclusions about factors affecting time perception. These papers thus shed light on important practical issues, such as how consumers perceive, for example, the length of time that they waited for a shipment to arrive or the length of time that they must wait for an investment to mature. Interestingly, the papers presented here also suggest ways in which past and future time perception differ, highlighting the need for additional research to examine whether other established properties of past time perception hold in the relatively unexplored domain of future time perception. More broadly, this research has implications for theories of memory, planning, and intertemporal choice, as discussed in the papers that follow.

EXTENDED ABSTRACTS

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Consider the time that elapses between a cause and an effect. For example, the time between using a product and experiencing its benefit, placing an ad and seeing its impact on sales, or developing a new product and, in doing so, triggering a competitor’s response. Understanding retrospective judgments of the time between cause-effect events is important because people rely on these when they later face similar situations (“How long shall I wait for a pain killer to show its effect before I take another pill?”) and when they evaluate efficiency of actions (“How quickly did Microsoft react to Apple’s introduction of iPod?”).

Recent research has shown that people rely on their impressions of the strength of the causal relationship between two events as a cue to judge the time between them. A stronger perception of a causal relationship results in shorter judgments of time (Faro et al. 2005). The present work examines the psychological underpinnings of this tendency. We suggest the time-shortening effect of causality reflects a default physics-based view of causal mechanisms. Temporal proximity is an important cue in perceiving causality between physical objects (e.g., Michotte 1963). Given its prominence and early use, the temporal proximity cue might be generalized to other domains (Heider 1944). However, recent research showed that people do not always expect events to be proximate in time in order to link them causally. If the mechanism by which the events are believed to be related entails temporal delay, or a causal force that does not lose its impact over time, the events can be seen as causally related in spite of the lack of temporal proximity (Brickman et al. 1975; Buehner et al. 2003; Hagmayer and Waldmann 2002).

In the first two studies we manipulate participants’ salient mental model of causality and examine its effect on time estimates. Building on the above research, we hypothesize that if causes are perceived as factors that lose their force over time, a strong impression of causality will result in shorter time estimates. If, however, causes are perceived as factors that have stable or increasing force over time, an impression of causality will not shorten time estimates.

In the first study participants made elapsed time judgments for causally related pairs of events. Prior to making time estimates, participants were asked to choose (from provided lists) either a) which emotions are associated with the actors in the events, or b) which trait characteristics are associated with the actors in the events, or c) which situational factors are associated with these events. In a fourth, control condition, participants made time estimates without any choice task. We predicted that emotions would be perceived as a causal force that dissipates over time and hence focusing on these would result in shorter time estimates. In contrast, focusing on traits and situational factors, which tend to be causal forces that have stable impact over time, should result in longer time estimates. Results were in line with these predictions.

In the second study, prior to making time judgments, participants were asked to explain in writing the workings of three physical processes or three biological processes. We hypothesized that thinking about physical processes would trigger a view of causal forces that dissipate over time while thinking about biological processes would trigger a view of causal forces that increase over time. Participants in the physics-prime conditions judged the subsequent pairs of events to be closer in time than participants in the biology-prime condition.

The first two studies manipulated the type-of-cause and showed that the impression of causality shortens time for dissipative causes (emotions, physical forces) but not for stable or increasing causes.
(traits, biological forces). This suggests that the inference of short time from causality is a heuristic driven by people’s dominant physics-based view of causality. Previous research has shown that people who are low in NFC are more likely to use heuristics for judgment. This suggests that people who are low in NFC would give shorter time estimates for causally related events than people high in NFC. Participants in the third study made elapsed time judgments for causally related pairs of events, but also for pairs that were pre-tested to be causally not related. They then completed the NFC scale (Cacioppo and Petty 1982). Results revealed an interaction between NFC and type of event-pair. For the non-causal events, there was no difference between the time estimates for the high and low NFC participants, suggesting that NFC does not affect time estimates in general. For the causal pairs however, as predicted, low NFC participants gave significantly shorter time estimates than the high NFC participants.

The three studies reveal a common pattern. Participants gave shorter time estimates when they focused on dissipative causes. In addition, participants who tend to rely on heuristics gave shorter time estimates for cause-effect pairs of events. The findings suggest the time-shortening effect of causality reflects a default physics-based view of causal mechanisms where the force of a cause dissipates over time. The physics metaphor is a prominent mode of thinking about causality in other contexts and domains (Heider 1944). This form of thinking about causality and its shortening implication for time judgment might underlie the underestimation of time and the impatience with causal processes observed in many contexts.

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“1995 Feels so Close Yet so Far: The Effect of Event ‘Markers’ on the Subjective Feeling of Elapsed Time”
Kristin Diehl, University of Southern California
Jonathan Levav, Columbia University
Gal Zauberman, University of Pennsylvania

Why do some events feel more distant than others? Past research has documented a number of factors contributing to this phenomenon, reporting positive correlations between feelings of recency and greater event importance, vividness, and emotionality. But what about events that are equally vivid or emotional? We argue that equally vivid or emotional events can feel more or less distant in time depending upon the perceived number of subsequent events precipitated by the target event. We call these subsequent events “memory markers.” We hypothesize that events associated with a larger number of markers will elicit feelings of greater temporal distance than equally vivid events that are associated with fewer markers.

Associative network models of memory predict a positive relationship between the number of events subsequent to a target initiating event and the activation of the target event. Greater activation—and stronger memories—should reduce feelings of temporal distance because people typically hold lay theories about the positive relationship between memory strength and memory recency (Schwarz 2005). We predict the opposite: Associating a greater number of subsequent events should divide time into more discrete segments, which will in turn increase the perceived temporal distance of the initiating event. This idea is most in line with the conveyor belt model of memory (Murdock 1974), which suggests that, when trying to assess an event’s timing, people scan backwards from the present to the target event. Recency is a function of the memory traces encountered in the scan. This model, however, was tested mainly in laboratory settings using simple word list tasks and has not been extended to the kind of emotional, real life experiences that are of interest to us here.

Note that we are not interested in people’s assessments of the exact time an event happened; instead, we focus on how long ago an event feels like it happened. In contrast, prior research has focused on people’s estimates of elapsed time by comparing respondents’ judged timing of an event with its actual calendar date (e.g., Thompson, Skowronski, and Lee 1988). Using the dating method, researchers have identified the phenomenon of “telescoping,” which refers to people’s tendency to report distant events as having occurred more recently than they actually did (forward telescoping) or the tendency to report that more recent events occurred in the more distant past (backward telescoping; e.g., Morwitz 1997).

We conducted a computer-based survey to investigate our marker hypothesis. Seventy-seven undergraduate students were asked to indicate how recent 19 vivid, national and school-specific public events felt to them. The study was conducted in November 2004 and all target events had occurred in the 2003 calendar year. For each event, participants first indicated their subjective feelings of when the event had occurred using a scale anchored at 1 (feels very recent) and 15 (feels very distant); they could also indicate that they were not aware of the event. Participants assessed their feelings of recency for all 19 events. They then rated the extent of their feeling that each event caused subsequent events on a scale from 1 (triggered no event) to 7 (triggered many events). They also indicated how well they remembered each of the target events (1—not at all, 7—perfectly) and how emotional they judged the event to be (1—not at all emotional, 7—extremely emotional). The order of the events participants responded to was randomly determined for each measure. Finally, they were asked to indicate the month and year that the event occurred.

Accuracy Results. While we were mostly interested in respondents’ subjective feeling of elapsed time, we assessed dating accuracy by calculating the difference in months between the dates provided by the respondents and the actual dates on which the events occurred. Using this measure, positive numbers indicate backward telescoping and negative numbers indicate forward telescoping. Across all events of which participants were aware ($n=1150$), we find some evidence of backward telescoping: participants dated the events as having occurred about 2.5 months earlier than they actually did ($t(1149)=7.66$, $p<.0001$). Unsurprisingly,