HOW INCOME AND THE ECONOMIC EVALUATION OF TIME AFFECT WHO WE SOCIALIZE WITH OUTSIDE OF WORK

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ABSTRACT

Building on research showing that organizational practices that highlight the monetary value of time can affect decisions about time use, we examined how income and the economic evaluation of time jointly predict decisions about socializing with others who can be instrumentally useful to people (e.g., colleagues). Using a multimethod approach of surveys and experiments, we found that income was a stronger predictor of both the economic value placed upon socializing with colleagues outside of work as well as the propensity to engage in such activities. When the economic value of time was high, individuals weighed the instrumental value of networking more heavily in their decision making about how to allocate time. These findings illustrate how organizational pay practices and the salience of income can influence decisions about daily social interactions outside of work.

The intrinsic enjoyment of spending time with another as well as its contrast with relationships pursued for profit has been a theme in writing about friendship as early on as Aristotle (Nehamas, 2016). Such distinctions emerge in daily activities where socializing with friends and family is experienced as the most enjoyable activity during the day (Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone, 2004), which stands in stark contrast with time spent in activities stemming from the requirements of paid work that are experienced as the least enjoyable (i.e., time spent commuting, working and interacting with colleagues). However, with people spending more time at work and with many organizations "encouraging employees to attend social events with coworkers" (Dumas, Phillips, & Rothbard, 2013: 1377), workplace friendships have become more common and are often presumed to confer benefits (Colbert, Bono, & Purvanova, 2016; Dutton, Roberts, & Bednar, 2010; House, 1981; Karasek Jr, 1979; Sluss & Ashforth, 2007).

Building upon recent theorizing on the tension between instrumental and socio-emotional goals engendered by business friendships (Grayson, 2007; Ingram & Zou, 2008; Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018), we examine how people choose to spend their *discretionary* time socializing with colleagues outside of work. In general, Kahneman et al. (2004) found that people enjoy socializing—it is one of the most enjoyable daily activities. However, Kahneman et al. (2004, p. 1777) also showed that it matters with *whom* people are interacting: Interacting with friends,

relatives, and spouses was experienced as more enjoyable than interacting with clients, customers, coworkers, or bosses. Recently, Quoidbach, Taquet, Desseilles, de Montjoye, and Gross (2019) found that unhappiness predicted greater subsequent socializing with family and friends, which in turn boosted experienced happiness. In contrast, they found that happiness was unrelated to socializing with coworkers, and time spent with coworkers had no subsequent impact on happiness.

While socializing with colleagues can provide many different forms of social support (e.g., Ducharme & Martin, 2000), the empirical findings above point to some of the affective costs of colleague interactions (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018). Wanberg et al. (2000) found that when individuals asked others for job-related advice or help, they worried about straining interpersonal relationships or felt embarrassed if they looked bad. Casciaro et al. (2014) have shown that the intent to use interpersonal relationships for self-advantage by engaging in instrumental socializing can engender a sense of feeling morally compromised, and consequently feel affectively "dirty" (e.g., Zhong & Liljenquist, 2006).

On the other hand, the networking literature suggests that socializing with colleagues has the potential to be professionally useful. For instance, studies have shown that instrumental networking is positively related to dimensions of career success, such as promotions (Orpen, 1996), income (Blickle, Witzki, & Schneider, 2009), and positive performance evaluations (Thompson, 2005). Wolff and Moser

(2009) have traced a causal connection between engaging in instrumental networking and the rate of salary increase over time. Thus, in choosing to socialize with colleagues, there is the potential for it to be a professionally useful use of one's discretionary time.

These countervailing tensions engendered by the choice of whom to socialize with outside of work is nicely captured by a recent study conducted by Methot and colleagues (2016). They found that the more colleagues an employee socialized with outside of work, the higher were supervisor ratings of job performance; however, the more colleagues one socialized with outside of work, the greater emotional exhaustion experienced. Thus, research findings revealed that decisions about with whom to spend time with outside of work were consequential for both careers and happiness and that the decisions to socialize with colleagues outside of work can engender trade-offs. While there may be interactions where such trade-offs are absent (e.g., a colleague you enjoy socializing with immensely, or one that has no professional usefulness), on average such decisions will entail choices among conflicting objectives. Therefore, it is both theoretically and practically important to develop a better understanding of how people resolve the tension created by conflicting goals in decisions about using discretionary time off the job to interact with colleagues.

Based upon the tradeoffs between instrumental and socio-emotional goals,

we posit that the decision of whether or not to socialize with colleagues outside of work becomes contingent on the economic value of people's time when they are pressed to think about their time in terms of money. Building off the nascent literature documenting links between income and socializing, we introduce theory describing how organizational practices can commodify time in ways that spill over into the choices people make about with whom to spend time socializing off the job.

We make several contributions in this paper. First, this work extends the literature on business friendship (e.g., see Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018, for a review) by exploring people's decision to socialize with colleagues outside of work. Our work also contributes to understanding how the tension between instrumental and socio-emotional goals gets resolved by articulating the circumstance through which instrumental goals are given greater weight than socio-emotional goals. Third, we contribute to a growing literature on the influence of income on social relationships in organizational settings. As Leana and Meuris (2015) noted in their recent review, "income has received relatively little attention in organizational research as a driver of employee attitudes, affect, and behavior, despite its importance in people's lives" (p. 56). While research has examined the link between material wealth and the tendency to socialize with people from different social subcategories (i.e., friends, family, and neighbors; Bianchi & Vohs, 2016),

socializing with colleagues outside of work as a class of activity has been entirely overlooked. We contribute to understanding how income is related to employees' social relationships by building upon the theoretical perspective of economic evaluation to specify a condition in which there will be a positive association between income and the tendency to socialize with colleagues off the job. Below we review the literature on how exposure to organizational practices that cause people to think of their time in terms of money may induce them to spend their discretionary time socializing with instrumental others in ways that are more contingent upon the economic value of time.

Background & Hypotheses

One of the most powerful ways that organizations influence people's lives is through the material wealth they provide in exchange for labor (Leana & Meuris, 2015). As an indicator of material resources (Oakes & Rossi, 2003), greater income allows people to satisfy their needs without relying upon others (Kraus, Piff, & Keltner, 2011; Lammers, Galinsky, Gordijn, & Otten, 2012). The resulting psychological experience of independence and self-sufficiency stemming from greater wealth has been associated with decreased motivation to engage and connect with others socially. For instance, people with greater material resources compared to those with fewer resources are more likely to disengage from social interactions (Kraus & Keltner, 2009), show less compassion toward people in

distress (Stellar, Manzo, Kraus, & Keltner, 2012), and provide less help and donate a smaller percentage of income to charity (Piff, Kraus, Côté, Cheng, & Keltner, 2010). Similarly, experimentally having people read aloud an essay about growing up with high (vs. low) financial resources increased the amount of time it took to request help from others on an impossible to complete task (Vohs, Mead, & Goode, 2006).

Consistent with the idea that greater material resources are associated with decreased motivation to socialize, Bianchi and Vohs (2016) found that high income was associated with less time spent socializing with others and more time spent alone. Given this finding, we might expect a negative association between income and socializing with colleagues. However, Bianchi and Vohs also showed that the relationships observed with income varied based upon the nature of the socializing context. Specifically, using the American Time Use Survey (ATUS), Bianchi and Vohs (Study 2) found that high income individuals spent less time with their family and neighbors and more time with friends, compared to low income individuals. Investing time in social ties surrounding the immediate home environment can be thought of as optimally instrumental given the uncertainty and threats faced by those with low income (Cobb, 1976; Kraus et al., 2011). For those with high income, these findings are consistent with the idea that material independence makes people less reliant upon non-chosen ties for support and

facilitates more voluntary interactions—liberating wealthier people to spend their discretionary time with people whom they personally enjoy (Burt, 1992).

While the literature has examined the link between material wealth and the tendency to socialize with people from different social subcategories (i.e., friends, family, and neighbors), socializing with colleagues outside of work is an important activity that has been entirely overlooked. In addition to the norms of exchange, Pillemer and Rothbard (2018) highlight three key features of friendship that shift when enacted within an organizational context: voluntary to involuntary, informal to formal, primacy of socio-emotional goals to their co-presence with instrumental goals. If socializing with colleagues outside the work setting makes the activity more similar to that of socializing with friends, in that it is both more voluntary and informal, we might expect that the tendency to engage in the activity would exhibit a positive correlation with income as Bianchi and Vohs (2016) found for the category of friends. However, in contrast to this line of argument, if there is a co-occurrence of socio-emotional and instrumental goals, then these interactions may not engender the same overall enjoyment that pure, non-work friendships offer (Grayson, 2007). The low levels of happiness Kahneman et al. (2004) found for people interacting with colleagues portend a similar experience for those socializing with colleagues outside of work and imply that these interactions may not be an enjoyable use of one's discretionary time. If higher income acts to

liberate people to spend their discretionary time on socializing activities they enjoy the most, then there may be *no* positive association between income and the tendency to socialize with colleagues off the job.

In this paper, we explore the relationship between income and the tendency to socialize with colleagues outside of work. Specifically, we propose that income is likely to guide one's decisions to spend time socializing with colleagues under a specific condition when people evaluate their time in terms of money (i.e., economic evaluation of time). We build upon the theoretical perspective of the economic evaluation of time to understand how people navigate the copresence of socio-emotional and instrumental goals of socializing with colleagues.

Economic Evaluation of Time

Being paid by the hour reifies the metaphor that "time is money" and that, therefore, time is a scarce resource (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Resources should be budgeted, planned, and certainly not wasted. Therefore, it is in some sense unsurprising, although it is empirically and theoretically important, that people paid by the hour or induced to calculate their implicit hourly wage make decisions about time use consistent with a time-as-a-resource perspective.

Being paid by the hour, as well as calculating one's hourly wage rate, have been shown to affect people's attitudes and behaviors. For instance, hourly

payment is associated with a greater willingness to trade more of one's time to earn more money (DeVoe, Lee, & Pfeffer, 2010; DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2007b), a reduced willingness to volunteer one's time (DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2007a; Whillans & Dunn, 2015), and a greater focus on income in judgments about life satisfaction (DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2009). An economic evaluation of time that privileges an instrumental calculus over other dimensions of value has been proposed as an explanation for these outcomes (Evans, Kunda, & Barley, 2004; Pfeffer & DeVoe, 2012).

While an economic evaluation of time might appear to segment work from personal life by what time one is paid for, the greater focus on the economic returns of time use has been proposed to spill over into decisions about time use off the job. Socializing with colleagues outside of work is one way of connecting work and personal life (Rothbard & Dumas, 2006), where the key theoretical insight from research on the economic evaluation of time is whether or not the activity is viewed as instrumental to achieving future economic gain.

A critical aspect of an economic evaluation of time is that it induces people to focus on income when evaluating how valuable their time is (DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2011). Because economic evaluation focuses people on the economic dimension of value, the economic value of time is likely to be a more focal variable in how people make decisions about their time. As the economic value of a person's time increases as a direct function of that individual's income (Hamermesh, 2007),

prompting people to think about their time in terms of money increases the strength of the relationship between observed income and the perceived scarcity of time (DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2011). Moreover, DeVoe and Pfeffer (2009) have shown that individuals prompted to think about their hourly wage or people paid by the hour focused more on their income in evaluating their overall satisfaction with life. Since an economic evaluation of time induces a more explicit cost-benefit calculation of activities, income should serve as a more prominent evaluation criterion in how to allocate time.

Because economic evaluation increases the saliency of the connection between time and money (DeVoe & House, 2012; DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2009), we expect the relationship between economic evaluation and instrumental socializing to be most prominent among individuals with high economic value for their time. In the case of a lower income, the priority for spending income is geared towards meeting the costs of living (Côté, 2011; Kusserow, 1999). Thus, an individual with a low economic value for their time will depend more on social connections that provide immediate support (e.g., family and neighbors), rather than more distal support offered by colleagues for career advancement (Brief, Brett, Raskas, & Stein, 1997). Indeed, research has shown that low income is associated with decisions privileging more immediate short-term gain over greater future economic gains (Haushofer & Fehr, 2014; Mullainathan & Shafir, 2013). Consistent with

this is Bianchi and Vohs' (2016) finding that people with lower incomes spend more time with relatives and neighbors compared to people with higher incomes. Likewise, we expect lower income individuals economically evaluating time not to be focused on socializing with colleagues that offer uncertain long-term economic returns than on other activities that provide more immediate returns of support (Pepper & Nettle, 2017).

Given the copresence of instrumental and socio-emotional goals engendered by socializing with colleagues, economic evaluation is likely to increase the focus on the economic value of time (i.e., income) when weighing the dimensions of professional usefulness and enjoyment of the activity. As the economic value of time increases, so does the potential economic returns of socializing with colleagues, which will be reflected in a greater weight placed on the dimension of professional usefulness over the dimension of enjoyment. Because income is a proxy for evaluating how valuable someone's time is (DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2011), we expect economic evaluators with a high economic value of their time to spend more time socializing with colleagues than those with low economic value or those who do not focus on their economic value of time. In other words, we expect to observe an interaction between income and economic evaluation on the economic value placed upon the activity of socializing with colleagues and in choices to spend discretionary time on such activities.

Overview of studies

We utilized a multimethod approach of surveys and experimental studies to examine how income and economic evaluation of time jointly predict the way people value and make decisions about socializing with colleagues outside of work. In Study 1a (experimental vignettes) and 1b (survey), we consider how income and the economic evaluation of time jointly influence the monetary value of time placed upon socializing with colleagues. Study 2 examines 14 waves of a nationally representative time use survey to observe how income and the economic evaluation of time influence the amount of time spent socializing with colleagues off the job controlling for a variety of job and personal characteristics. In order to provide more direct causal evidence, Study 3 uses a large representative panel of employed hourly-paid and salaried individuals randomly assigned to calculate (or not) their approximate hourly wage to observe how economic evaluation influenced intentions to spend more time socializing with colleagues as a function of income and hourly status. Finally, Study 4a and 4b use experiments to examine how the economic framing of high income influences the amount of time participants allocate to surfing social networking sites as a function of its perceived professional usefulness.

Study 1a

In this experiment, we sought to observe how much economic value people place on time spent socializing with colleagues as a function of income and economic evaluation. We expected that high income economic evaluators would place a greater economic value on time spent socializing with colleagues compared to non-economic evaluators or economic evaluators with a low income. As a first test, we experimentally manipulated the economic value of time (income) and economic evaluation (payment framing) before eliciting the monetary value of time participants would place on spending an hour with colleagues as well as the same amount of time spent with friends.

Method and Measures

We sought a sample of 403 participants through Amazon Mechanical Turk (M_{age} = 36.81 years, SD_{age} = 11.41 years; 53.6% male). In order to observe how income and the economic evaluation of time influence the economic value people place on socializing activities, we utilized a vignette methodology to randomly assign participants in a 2 (income: low vs. high) by 2 (economic evaluation framing: salary vs. hourly) between-subjects design. We manipulated economic value of time by asking participants to imagine having an income (low or high) expressed either as a salary or as an hourly wage rate. Specifically, in the salary condition, participants read the following (high/low): "Imagine that you just received your W-2 for last year. Before taxes, it indicates you earned ($20,800 /

$208,000) last year." In the hourly condition, participants read the following: "Imagine that you just received your W-2 for last year. Before taxes, it indicates you earned ($10 / $100) per hour last year." The calculation of $20,800 / $208,000 per year was based on the standard number of yearly hours worked (2,080 hours) and is roughly equivalent to $10 / $100 per hour. Unlike the salary condition, providing participants with the hourly wage rate information for their time facilitates the use of an economic lens for their time similar to hourly workers where there is a precise monetary value for each hour of their working time.

After participants described how they would think and feel with the income specified, the economic value placed upon socializing activities was elicited. Specifically, participants were asked to place a monetary value on socializing with colleagues by responding to the question: "How much money is 1 hour of your time socializing with colleagues worth to you? In other words, how much would you be willing to pay to keep 1 hour of socializing with colleagues." On the same page, participants also reported the monetary value of socializing with friends by responding to this parallel question: "How much money is 1 hour of your time socializing with friends worth to you? In other words, how much would you be willing to pay to keep 1 hour of socializing with friends."

Results and Discussion

A two-way ANOVA on the monetary value placed on 1 hour socializing

with colleagues revealed a main effect for income, such that those randomly assigned to a higher income placed a significantly greater monetary value (M = 26.61, SD = 28.49) than those assigned to a lower income (M = 10.28, SD = 13.90), $F(1, 399) = 53.62$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .118$. The non-significant main effect of income framing, $F(1, 399) = 2.06$, $p = .152$, $\eta^2 = .005$, was qualified by a significant interaction with income level, $F(1, 399) = 9.66$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .024$. The follow-up comparisons indicated that respondents randomly assigned to a high income framed as an hourly wage placed the greatest monetary value on socializing with colleagues (M = 31.59, SD = 30.09) compared either to those randomly assigned to a lower income framed as an hourly wage (M = 8.38, SD = 12.10, 95% CI [17.01, 29.41], $\eta^2 = .120$) or than those with the same high income framed as a yearly salary (M = 21.48, SD = 25.89, 95% CI [4.01 to 16.21] , $\eta^2 = .026$). When low income was framed as an hourly wage (M = 8.38, SD = 12.01), it did not significantly differ from low income framed as a salary (M = 12.10, SD = 15.27, CI [-9.99, 2.55], $\eta^2 = .003$). By contrast, a two-way analysis of variance on the monetary value placed on socializing with a friend showed no significant main effect of income, $F(1, 399) = .02$, $p = .892$, no main effect of income framing, $F(1, 399) = 1.02$, $p = .313$, nor any interaction effect, $F(1, 399) = 1.34$, $p = .248$.

The results of this study indicate that people utilize information about income in evaluating the economic value of time spent socializing with colleagues

but not so with friends. Unlike socializing with friends, socializing with colleagues invokes instrumental goals that correspond to the economic dimension of value. A clear limitation of this study was that these are vignette-based and may tap more into lay beliefs regarding the economic value of time. Thus, we conducted the next study to test whether such interaction between income and pay status replicated in a larger cross-sectional survey of fully employed workers.

Study 1b

In order to see whether high income economic evaluators do indeed place the greatest economic value on the activity of socializing with colleagues, we sought to replicate this interaction finding using a cross-sectional survey of income and pay status on these same elicitation measures. Thus, we predicted an interaction between income and pay status on the economic value placed on socializing with colleagues, such that high income hourly workers (i.e., economic evaluators) would place a greater economic value on the activity than low income hourly workers or than their non-hourly counterparts. Based upon the absence of any findings for the economic value placed on socializing with friends in the previous study, we did not expect any interaction regarding the economic value placed on socializing with friends.

Method and Measures

We used the panel selection function from Prolific Academic to invite

participants who indicated in a prescreening session that they were full-time employees (not self-employed), lived in and were born in the US. Because there was not a prescreening question regarding individual income for the US sample, we took advantage of the prescreening measure of the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000) and invited participants who identified themselves as falling on the lower rungs (bottom 4 ladder steps) and those who identified as falling on the top rungs (top 4 ladder steps) in terms of socio-economic status when signing up to the panel. Since this measure is highly correlated with income, our recruitment strategy has the potential to facilitate the detection of differences in income as a function of pay status.

Our main dependent variables were the identical items from the previous study, eliciting a monetary amount for keeping 1 hour for socializing with colleagues and friends. Among 879 participants completing the survey, 4 participants indicated a monetary value for an hour socializing with colleagues or friends that was greater than what they earn in a year. For instance, one participant indicated 1 million dollars for their worth of an hour spent with friends, which is about 20 times greater than their reported annual income. Likewise, another participant indicated 1 million dollars for their worth of an hour spent with colleagues, which is about 26 times greater than their reported annual income.

Therefore, we excluded these 4 participants a priori, resulting in a sample of 875 respondents (M_{age} = 36.26 years, SD_{age} = 10.22 years; 52.34% male).

Results and Discussion

We first examined the intercorrelations among variables. Specifically, we explored correlations among income, the monetary value of socializing time with colleagues, and that with friends. Among non-hourly, the correlation of income with value placed on socializing with colleagues was r = -.008, p = .859, and with socializing friends was r = -.035, p = .424. Among hourly, the correlation of income with economic value placed on socializing with colleagues was r = .138, p = .010, and with socializing with friends was r = .062, p = .251. Thus, the preliminary exploration supports our prediction that high income hourly workers place the greatest economic value on socializing with colleagues.

In order to formally test the interaction hypothesis, we first log-transformed people's income to deal with the skewed distribution of the raw income data (Cook & Weisberg, 1999; Johnson & Krueger, 2005, 2006), and standardized it to interact with pay status.[1] We found a significant interaction of log of income and pay status on the economic value of time placed on socializing with colleagues, b = 770.74, SE = 279.81, $t(871) = 2.75$, $\beta = .130$, p = .006. The simple slope test further supported our prediction: › Replicating Study 1a, there was no significant

[1] The raw income also yielded a significant interaction with pay status on the economic value of time placed on socializing with colleagues, b = .030, SE = .008, $t(871) = 3.76$, $\beta = .263$, $p < .001$.

interaction of income and pay status for the economic value of time placed on socializing with friends, $b = 76.98$, $SE = 84.62$, $t(871) = .91$, $\beta = .043$, $p = .363$.

Insert Figure 1 here

Both Study 1a and 1b demonstrated that economic evaluators whose economic value is high placed the greatest economic value on socializing with colleagues. In Study 1a, those who were prompted with a high hourly wage rate (i.e., high economic value of time) placed the greatest monetary value on the activity that satisfies instrumental goals (i.e., spending time socializing with colleagues), compared to those with low hourly wage rates or those without economic evaluation invoked. In Study 1b, we replicated the pattern using participants' actual income and pay status and confirmed the positive association with income only among hourly workers (i.e., economic evaluators). Both studies confirmed that the activity of socializing with colleagues is related to the economic value of time. Because economic evaluation places greater weight on how professionally useful the activity is, economic evaluators appraised their time spent socializing with colleagues in a manner proportionate to the economic value (i.e., income) of their time.

Study 2

With the findings from Study 1a and 1b that high income economic evaluators put a greater economic value on socializing with colleagues, we would

expect to see similar differences manifest in actual time use. In this study, we further tested whether high income hourly workers spend more time off the job socializing with colleagues as well as spend a greater proportion of their socializing time with colleagues. Study 2 examined time use diary data from a series of nationally representative samples to observe how income and hourly status were associated with people's tendency to spend their discretionary time off the job with work-related colleagues. Specifically, we hypothesized that economic evaluators, who see their time as especially economically valuable would be more focused on the professionally useful aspects of socializing outside of work and thus would be more likely to exhibit a clear positive relationship between income and spending more time with work colleagues than their non-hourly paid counterparts. Therefore, making decisions about time use on the basis of the economic value of that time would strengthen the effect of income on the decision to socialize with work colleagues.

Method and Measures

Study 2 employed nationally representative time-diary data from the American Time Use Survey (ATUS) from 2003 to 2017. Each ATUS respondent is randomly selected from a subset of households that have completed interviews for the Current Population Survey. Each year, the Bureau of Labor Statistics selects different respondents, making each respondent unique and precluding panel

study analyses using these data. Extensive documentation of the survey and its methodology can be found on the ATUS homepage (http://www.bls.gov/tus).

Dependent Variables

We aggregated time use categories related to socializing time spent outside of work categories, including the informal aspects of the professional interaction (Forret & Dougherty, 2001; Oh, Chung, & Labianca, 2004)—i.e., "socializing and communicating," "attending or hosting social events," and "eating and drinking" in the presence of someone from work (Methot et al., 2016).[2] We used ATUS code 'Co-workers/colleagues/clients' (prior to 2010), 'coworker,' 'boss,' 'people whom I supervise,' and 'customers' (after 2010) to represent the time spent in the presence of someone from work.[3]

We constructed two dependent variables to capture people's tendency to socialize with work-related colleagues off the job. First, we examined the *absolute* amount of time spent socializing in the presence of colleagues outside of work (the raw number of minutes). Second, we measured the time spent socializing with colleagues *relative* to the total amount of time spent socializing (i.e., time spent

[2] The ATUS second tier activity code for the listed activities are 1201, 1202, and 1101, respectively. Results excluding the *eating and drinking* episodes led to similar conclusions reported here. In addition, ATUS codes eating or drinking (including lunch break) during a workday episode as work-related activities (ATUS second tier activity code of 0502) and is not a part of the dependent variable.

[3] An independent sample of coders drawn from Amazon Mechanical Turk (n = 108) rated each of these relationship types (coworker, boss, people whom I supervise, customer, family, and friends) across each of the three socializing activities ("socializing and communicating", "attending or hosting social events", and "eating and drinking") on the dimensions of professionally usefulness and enjoyability. Supporting our a priori categorization, each of these activities with work-related interactants was rated as more professionally useful and less enjoyable compared to the same activities engaged with either family or friends. See supplementary materials for details.

socializing with colleagues / total time spent socializing). Using this percentage measure allowed us to look at the relative amount of time spent with colleagues despite individual differences in availability and preference for socializing in general (e.g., extraversion). Furthermore, this percentage measure provides a metric for the importance of socializing with colleagues compared with other forms of socializing off the job.

Independent Variables

Income. Consistent with prior research (e.g., Hamermesh, 2002), we used the respondents' income earned per week as our measure of the economic value of their time.

Hourly status. We used the BLS coding of *hourly status* where "0" indicated non-hourly (n = 37,433) and "1" indicated hourly (n = 46,564). The BLS coded this variable so that only respondents who were employed in the labor force were included, and all respondents who were self-employed or without pay were excluded.

Control Variables

Prior research has shown that, as one might expect, hourly and non-hourly paid workers differ on multiple characteristics (DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2007a, 2009; Whillans & Dunn, 2015) and also that various personal and job characteristics are correlated with networking (Fang et al., 2015; Forret & Dougherty, 2001; Wanberg

et al., 2000). Therefore, to the extent possible, we statistically controlled for variables related to the job and the respondents: number of hours worked, the sector of job, the major occupational category of the job, education, age, gender, marital status, and the number of children under 18 (DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2007a; Whillans & Dunn, 2015). As opportunities for socializing vary based upon whether it is a weekend or a weekday (Young & Lim, 2014), we also included a dummy variable for whether the day of the diary was a weekend day or not. In addition, we controlled for full-time status, given the widely documented findings on reduced opportunities for networking for people engaged in part-time work (Dick, 2004; Edwards & Robinson, 2001; Skinner, 1999).

Results and Discussion

The descriptive statistics and intercorrelations among the variables are reported in Table 1. Hourly status was negatively correlated with the total number of minutes spent socializing (r = -.026, p < .001); but was positively correlated with the minutes spent socializing with colleagues (r = .023, p < .001). Being paid by the hour was also positively correlated with a higher proportion of people's time spent socializing with colleagues (r = .059 p < .001).

Insert Table 1 here

Income was positively correlated with both the total number of minutes spent socializing (r = .018, p < .001), and the minutes spent socializing with

colleagues (r = .010, p = .004). However, income exhibited a significant negative correlation with the proportion of time spent socializing with colleagues (r = -.009, p = .008).

When we examined correlations separately for hourly and non-hourly-paid workers, we found a significant positive correlation between income and the number of minutes spent socializing with colleagues for hourly-paid workers (r = .056, p < .001), whereas, there was no correlation for the non-hourly workers (r = -.001, p = .802). Income was positively correlated with the percentage of time spent socializing with colleagues for hourly-paid workers (r = .062, p < .001), but was negatively correlated for non-hourly workers (r = -.018, p = .001).

To test whether this difference was statistically significant when factors related to the jobs and respondents were statistically controlled, we first log-transformed people's income to deal with the skewed distribution of the raw income data. In order to minimize problems with multicollinearity for the interaction terms, we standardized logged income and used it to create its interaction with the hourly status (Aiken & West, 1991).

Because the time diary only captured a randomly selected day out of the year, a substantial number of respondents did not report any socializing activities and therefore had zero minutes of socializing with colleagues. This sample trait yields a truncated, or "left-censored," dependent variable (Tobin, 1958). For this

type of distribution, employing an ordinary least squares (OLS) regression model to estimate the number of minutes respondents spent socializing with colleagues would create potentially biased estimates. Thus, to take into consideration the distribution of the dependent variable, we employed Tobit regression models for the raw number of minutes of socializing with colleagues (Mutchler, Burr, & Caro, 2003; Wang & Bianchi, 2009).[4] The Tobit regression presented in the left column of Table 2 modeled the raw amount of time spent socializing in the presence of colleagues during the day sampled. The model includes standardized logged income, hourly status, and the interaction between the two, along with all of the control variables.

Insert Table 2 here

As hypothesized, there was a statistically significant interaction between income and hourly status ($b = 5.22$ $SE = .887$, $z = 5.89$, $p < .001$). The slope test revealed a significant positive association between income and socializing with colleagues among hourly workers (slope $b = 5.48$, $SE = .709$, $z = 7.72$, $p < .001$); but not for their non-hourly counterparts (slope $b = .2563$, $SE = .720$, $z = .36$, $p = .722$).

An examination of the percentage of time spent socializing in the presence

[4] To account for outliers (e.g., 1,390 minutes spent socializing) that produced a highly right-skewed variable, we tested the same model with a more normal distribution of the dependent variable via transformation (Bianchi & Vohs, 2016; Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). Using the squared root or log transformation all yielded the virtually identical pattern as the one reported here.

of colleagues showed a generally similar pattern of results. To account for the proportion data with a large number of zeros, we employed a Generalized Linear Model (GLM) with logit transformation (Baum, 2008) and fitted the same set of predictors and covariates (see right column of Table 2).[5] Again, we found a significant interaction between income and hourly status (b =.134, SE = .029, z = 4.70, p < .001). As with our first dependent variable, the slope test revealed a significant positive association between income and socializing with colleagues among hourly workers (slope b = .016, SE = .003, z = 6.49, p < .001), but not for their non-hourly counterparts (slope b = .001, SE = .002, z = .58, p = .559). The patterns of relationships are depicted in Figure 2.

Insert Figure 2 here

In sum, we find support for our hypothesis that the positive relationship between income and time spent on socializing with colleagues was stronger for hourly paid workers than their non-hourly paid counterparts for both dependent variables.[6]

Alternative Explanations

We considered three possible alternative explanations for the findings for

[5] We also examined the raw time socializing with colleagues as a count data using a negative binominal regression, controlling for the exposure of any socializing events. The results were highly similar; the simple test revealed that among hourly workers, the income was positively associated with socializing time with colleagues (slope b = 1.80, SE = .467, z = 3.86, p < .001).

[6] We did not find similar patterns for time spent socializing with family or with friends. Among hourly workers, the simple slope test revealed non-significant association between income and socializing with friends (slope b = -2.58, SE = 2.14, z = -1.20, p = .229) or family (slope b = .496, SE = .756, z = .66, p = .511).

both of our dependent variables. In each instance, we present the results for the raw minutes spent socializing with colleagues, but the results were highly similar for the relative measure as well.

Differences in work requirements. It is possible that some higher-paid hourly workers have more networking requirements as part of their work than do either their lower-paid hourly or their non-hourly counterparts, which is why they spend more time socializing with colleagues. To explore this alternative, we analyzed the time spent with colleagues on socializing, eating, and drinking as *part of the job* (under ATUS second-tier activity code 0502). Using the same analytic procedures just described, we found no interaction effect (b = 9.35, SE = 11.713, z = .80, p = .425), no main effect of either hourly status (b = -17.06, SE = 12.271, z = -1.39, p = .165), nor income (b = 11.92, SE = 7.382, z = 1.61, p = .107) on socializing with colleagues as part of the job. This is consistent with our interpretation that the greater socializing with colleagues is a discretionary activity and not merely a requirement of higher-paying hourly jobs.

Differences in occupational characteristics. Another possibility is that income may serve as a proxy for other differences in jobs (e.g., greater autonomy) that differ between hourly and non-hourly paid people and that might explain the observed differences in off the job socializing. In addition to controlling for the sector and major occupational category of the job in our main analyses, we

conducted a supplementary analysis to control for additional dimensions of occupational characteristics. Specifically, we used scores from the work values profile provided by O*Net, a comprehensive system of occupational characteristics and worker attributes developed by the U.S. Department of Labor and matched these values with ATUS respondents through the Standard Occupational Classification crosswalk. O*Net provided ratings (1 = *very small extent*; 7 = *great extent*) on six dimensions that characterize work.

Including these six dimensions in the model, we observed that people in occupations that scored higher in recognition (advancement, authority, recognition and social status needs) and support (human relations and technical supervision) dimensions spent more time socializing with colleagues (b = 2.73, SE = .980, z = 2.79, p = .005, b = 2.91, SE = .557, z = 5.23, p < .001, respectively). People in occupations that scored higher in independence (creativity, responsibility, and autonomy needs) and working conditions (good working conditions and job security) spent less time socializing with colleagues (b = -3.75, SE = .750, z = -5.13, p < .001; b = -4.25, SE = 1.04, z = -4.10, p < .001, respectively). The occupational dimensions of achievement (ability utilization and achievement) and relationship (moral values and social service) were not statistically significant (b = -1.05, SE = .934, z = -1.12, p = .263, b = -.035, SE = .439, z = -.08, p = .937, respectively).

After including these additional occupational dimensions in the regression model, the hourly status by income interaction remained statistically significant (b = 5.46, SE = .895, z = 6.10, $p < .001$) and income was positively associated with more time spent with colleagues only for the hourly workers (slope b = 6.34, SE = .732, z = 8.66, $p < .001$), but was not significant for the non-hourly workers (slope b = .880, SE = .741, z = 1.19, p = .235).

Differences in enjoyment. Another possibility is that higher-income hourly workers choose to spend more time socializing with colleagues because they enjoyed it more. We analyzed the Well-Being (WB) sub-module that was administered to a large subset of respondents in ATUS (waves 2010, 2012, and 2013), where three activities from the diary were randomly selected, and questions related to the respondents' subjective experience were asked about each activity (see the ATUS website for full documentation of the module). Because the WB module provides information not just on how people spend their time but also on their affective experiences while spending time on different activities, we can evaluate whether or not there were differences in enjoyment and if these differences might provide an alternative explanation for the behavioral results we observed. Specifically, we analyzed respondent's reported happiness at the time of all socializing activities using the multilevel analysis to account for the possible interdependence among responses (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002).

We used a random coefficient model with a single level-1 predictor for whether colleagues were present or not during the socializing activities. As expected, respondents reporting on socializing activities with colleagues present were significantly less happy, controlling for individual differences in the propensity to experience happiness while socializing (γ_{10} = -.225, *SE* = .046, *z* = -4.84, *p* < .001).[7] To explore whether the unpleasantness resulting from socializing in the presence of colleagues varied as a function of the respondent's income, hourly status, or their joint effects, we entered these level-2 predictors. The results revealed no systematic differences by income (γ_{01} = -.048, *SE* =.031, *z* = -1.54, *p* = .123), hourly status (γ_{02} = -.417, *SE* = .464, *z* = -.090, *p* = .368*)*, nor their interaction (γ_{03} = .045, *SE* = .041, *z* = 1.09, *p* = .274).[8]

These results indicated that people who were socializing with colleagues reported being significantly less happy compared to when they were engaged in other socializing activities that did not include colleagues, and the experience of socializing with colleagues did not significantly vary as a function of income or hourly status.

[7] The variance of the slope (τ_{11}) was not significant, χ^2 =137.64, *ns*. However, the deviance test indicated better fit with random coefficients model $\chi^2_{(2)}$ = 51.77, *p* < .001; thus, we let the slope of colleague presence on happiness vary by respondents. Fixed slope does not change the conclusion reported in the paper.

[8] We also compared the reported happiness with other interactants. We dummy coded the presence of other interaction partners (i.e., family, friends, and others) and entered them into the model with the presence of colleagues as the baseline. Socializing in the presence of friend (*b* = .534, *SE* = .061, *z* = 8.83, *p* < .001) and family (*b* = .439, *SE* = .051, *z* = 8.63, *p* < .001) were significantly more enjoyable than the baseline (i.e., socializing in the presence of colleagues). Yet, socializing with colleagues were significantly more enjoyable than socializing with others (e.g., neighbors/acquaintances).

Discussion

Using multiple waves of a nationally representative survey of time use, we observed a positive relationship between income and time spent socializing with colleagues that was stronger for people paid by the hour, who had the hourly value of their time chronically salient. This interaction was significant in predicting both the absolute amount of time spent socializing with work colleagues and also the percentage of total off-the-job socializing time spent with work colleagues.

In addition to testing for differences in work requirements to socializing on the job and differences in occupational characteristics that might explain the interactive effects of income and hourly status, we were also able to examine the affective experiences of socializing off the job as an alternative mechanism. Consistent with Kahneman et al.'s (2004) findings of affective experiences, socializing with colleagues outside of work was reported as less enjoyable than socializing with non-colleagues. Critically, this difference in affective experiences held true for both hourly and non-hourly workers regardless of income level, which suggests that differences in affective experiences were not driving the results of the interactions. Thus, it appears that economic evaluation is pushing people to make decisions about socializing with colleagues based upon professional usefulness criteria rather than enjoyment.

While we were able to explore several alternative explanations for our

results, there are other possibilities that limit our ability to draw causal inferences about the effects of income and the economic evaluation of time on socializing decisions. If what is behind the results from the ATUS analyses is the joint effects of income and the economic evaluation of time, we should be able to make the economic value of time salient and see how that affects people's preferences about with whom to socialize off the job. Therefore, in our next study, we experimentally manipulated the salience of economic evaluation.

Study 3

If thinking of one's time in terms of money increases the reliance on the economic value of time for decisions of whether to socialize with colleagues, we should be able to conceptually replicate this greater reliance on the economic value of time among non-hourly paid workers simply by having them calculate their approximately hourly wage rate. Such experimental evidence, by randomly assigning people to conditions, permits us to have greater confidence about the posited causal mechanism and also provides more direct evidence for the underlying psychological process of economic evaluation. Moreover, in Study 3, we explored the relative importance of professional usefulness (compared to enjoyment) as a decision criterion respondents used for their intentions to socialize with colleagues, as a way of examining the mediating effects of economic evaluation on the preference to socialize more with colleagues off the job.

Much of the research on the effects of economic evaluation on decisions about time use has shown that having people calculate their hourly wage makes the economic value of time temporarily salient (DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2009; Whillans & Dunn, 2015). Thus, people who perform this "calculate hourly" activity should respond similarly to hourly-paid workers, whose value of time is chronically salient because of how they are paid. Randomly assigning people to calculate, or not, their hourly wage rate provides a basis for stronger causal inferences that differences in decisions about time use are due to the economic evaluation of time and not because of other, unobserved factors. In the present research, we hypothesized the interaction between income and pay practices to be present only for economic evaluators of time. In Study 3, we predicted this interaction to be moderated by an experimental treatment condition ("calculated hourly"), thereby expecting a significant three-way interaction among income, hourly status, and calculated hourly condition such that the positive association between income and socializing with colleagues will be stronger with the presence economic evaluation lens (i.e., paid by the hour or calculated hourly wage rate) than without economic evaluation lens (i.e., paid by salary and do not calculate hourly wage rate).

Method and Measures

Participants were recruited by Qualtrics to be representative of all employed workers in the United States on the demographic dimensions of gender, age,

ethnicity, and income. We included two filter questions that excused unemployed or self-employed participants from participating. As we sought to test a three-way interaction, we provided Qualtrics with a minimum sample target size of 1,500 respondents and ended up with 1,503.

After reading a consent form, participants were told that the researchers were conducting a survey on how Americans think about their time and that participants would respond to demographic questions about their jobs so that comparisons could be made with national survey estimates. This introduction provided a rationale for asking participants to respond to detailed questions concerning their earnings and work hours that comprised the experimental manipulation. Participants provided responses to the online questionnaire and were compensated in a variety of ways (e.g., cash, free content downloads, or reward points) according to their panel membership.

Dependent Variable

Change in time spent socializing with colleagues. To test whether making the economic value of time temporarily salient shifts respondents' decisions to engage in more socializing with colleagues, we asked about the participant's intention to spend more or less time in socializing activities. To be consistent with Study 1, we used the same socializing activities ("socializing," "attending social events," and "eating and drinking") and varied with whom each activity will be

done ("with coworkers and supervisors," "with family," and "with friends"). Participants were asked to suppose they could change the way they spend their time and rated how much time they would spend on the nine activities (e.g., "socializing with coworkers and supervisors," "socializing with family," "socializing with friends,") using a 1 (*Spend much less*) to 7 (*Spend much more*), with 4 (*Spend the same amount of time*) as the midpoint (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$). This question holds constant current socializing patterns in asking for preferences to increase or decrease socializing from the current baseline. Confirmatory factor analysis showed that these nine activities load on three factors according to with whom the three socializing activities were done, $\chi^2_{(24)} = 607.97$, $p < .001$, SRMR = .032, CFI = .931.[9] The Cronbach's alphas for socializing activities were as follows: with coworkers and supervisors ($\alpha = .87$), with family ($\alpha = .88$), and with friends ($\alpha = .86$).

Consistent with our operationalization from Study 1, we used the decision about socializing activities with coworkers and supervisors as our dependent measure. An intention to increase time spent socializing with colleagues elicits respondents' intentions to change the current amount of time spent socializing with colleagues, which will aid in our ability to detect differences induced by the

[9] Two-index presentation model suggest acceptable fit with the sample size of 1,503 (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Socializing activities with family and socializing activities with friends did not change as a function of the proposed interaction between hourly status, manipulation, and income ($b = -.157$, $SE = .134$, $t(1,480) = -1.17$, $p = .242$ for family; $b = -.178$, $SE = .124$, $t(1,480) = -1.44$, $p = .151$ for friends).

experimental treatment as we would not expect it to influence prior time spent socializing with colleagues. While this measure makes the interpretation of means for hourly status and income difficult, because of the variation in raw time use we have already established in Study 1, the relationships between income and hourly status on such intentions to change are more clearly interpreted, especially as they relate to whether the responses vary as a function of the experimental treatment relative to the control condition.

Independent Variables

Calculate hourly manipulation. We used the paradigm employed by DeVoe and Pfeffer (2007b, 2009) to experimentally manipulate the salience of the economic value of time by randomly assigning some participants to calculate their approximate hourly wage rate. After reading the introduction to the survey, *all* participants responded to three questions asking their yearly earnings, average number of hours worked per week, and the number of weeks worked per year.

Then, participants assigned to the "calculate hourly" condition were asked to use this information to calculate their approximate hourly wages. They were first asked to multiply the number of weeks worked in the prior year by the average number of hours worked per week in the prior year; they were then asked to take their yearly salary in the prior year and divide it by the total number of hours they worked during the year. Participants were told that this number was their

"approximate hourly wage (i.e., the amount of money you earn per hour)." We created a dummy variable based on the condition to which individuals were assigned and coded individuals in the control condition as "0" and individuals in the calculate hourly condition as "1". It is important to note that *everyone* in the study is asked about their income (and work hours) so that money is equally salient in all conditions, and the only difference is if people actually make the calculation of their hourly wage.

Income. We used participants' responses to the question, "How much did you earn before taxes or other deductions?" as the measure of income. The initial target quota from Qualtrics was as follows: less than $10,000 (3%); $10,000 to $24,999 (9%); $25,000 to $49,999 (21%); $50,000 to $74,999 (21%); $75,000 to $99,999 (16%); $100,000 to $149,999 (18%); more than $150,000 (12%). Because of difficulties collecting data from high-income participants, we adjusted the income quota slightly during the data collection. We nonetheless achieved a wide distribution of income among study participants: less than $10,000 (3.2%); $10,000 to $24,999 (9.9%); $25,000 to $49,999 (23.5%); $50,000 to $74,999 (24.2%); $75,000 to $99,999 (16.2%); $100,000 to $149,999 (13.5%); more than $150,000 (9.4%).

Hourly status. Toward the end of the survey, participants were asked how they are paid in their main job. Just as in Study 1, participants who were paid by

the hour were coded as "1" (N = 633), and participants who were paid by salary or other methods were coded as "0" (N = 870).

Control Variables

Although we randomly assigned participants to either the control or calculate hourly wage conditions, we also statistically controlled for the quota sampling characteristics of gender, age, and ethnicity. We ended up with the following distribution: male (53.9%); female (46.1%); 18 to 24 years old (10.5%); 25 to 34 years old (22.6%); 35 to 44 years old (21.8%); 45 to 54 years old (22.7%); 55 to 64 years old (16.7%); 65 or older (5.7%); Caucasian (65.7%); African-American (11.3%); Hispanic (13.6%); Asian (4.9%); Other (4.5%). [10] In addition, as we are interested in people's use of discretionary time off the job, we controlled for different working hours, which can affect participants' decision to change their time use.

Decision criteria. We have theorized that it is the focus on professional usefulness over enjoyment in decision making that is a psychological mechanism through which economic evaluation affects decisions about time use. In addition to manipulating the salience of situational economic evaluation, in this study, we

[10] Eleven participants refused to indicate their ages, thus were excluded in the full model. Excluding control variables (age, gender, and ethnicity) from the analyses led to identical conclusions as the model reported here. The three-way interaction between income, hourly status, and manipulation condition was significant without control variables, b = -.310, SE = .139, $t(1,495)$ = -2.22, p = .027. However, to be conservative, we controlled for quota criteria as covariates as it was part of the survey design.

also explored the decision criteria associated with the economic evaluation as indirect evidence supplementing economic evaluation as the underlying mechanism. While the causality of this decision criteria as a mediator is limited by its concurrent temporal measurement with the dependent variable, to gain insight into the criteria respondents used to make their decisions we directly asked whether participants focused on professional usefulness over enjoyment in their decision making about socializing activities with colleagues as a means of conducting an exploratory test of mediation. Participants were asked the question, "When I decided to spend time with coworkers and supervisors, I place more weight on:" with the scale 1 (*how enjoyable the time is*) to 7 (*how professionally useful the time is*) with 4 (*equal weight on both*) as the midpoint. Although participants may rate the two criteria as equally important, using this format increases the likelihood that they will make a difficult choice between endorsing two favorable characteristics (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). Higher scores reflect a greater weight on professional usefulness than on enjoyability as participants' decision criteria.

Results

Table 3 reports the means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations among the study variables. We predicted that the economic evaluation of time would cause non-hourly workers to behave like their hourly paid counterparts such that

non-hourly workers who calculated their hourly wage rate will rely more on income (economic value of time) in their decision to spend time socializing with colleagues. We first examined the correlation between income and socializing with colleagues among non-hourly workers. We found that the association between income and socializing with colleagues was entirely absent for non-hourly workers in the control condition, r = -.028, p = *.560*, but was significantly positive for non-hourly workers who calculated their hourly wages, r = .128, p = .009. In fact, the correlation coefficient between income and socializing with colleagues for the non-hourly people who calculated their hourly wages was not statistically different from people actually paid by the hour, z = 0.92, p = .358.

Insert Table 3 here

We predicted there would be a positive association between income and intention to increase socializing with colleagues for conditions in which the economic evaluation of time was made salient, either by being paid by the hour as part of one's job or by having people calculate their approximate hourly wage rates. Thus, our prediction was for a three-way interaction between income, hourly status, and experimental condition in predicting people's intention to increase socializing with colleagues. As in Study 1, we predicted that hourly-paid workers would evidence a stronger positive relationship between income and socializing with colleagues than non-hourly paid workers. Furthermore, we also predicted that

among non-hourly workers, those who calculated their hourly wages would show a stronger positive relationship between income and socializing with colleagues than would those who did not calculate their hourly wages.

As with previous studies, we log-transformed income and standardized it to control for the skewed distribution of raw income and multicollinearity. We regressed standardized logged income, hourly status, a dummy variable for the calculate hourly manipulation, three two-way interaction terms, and one three-way interaction term along with the demographic variables of age, gender, ethnicity, and the number of hours worked per week on the question assessing whether the respondents wanted to increase or decrease their socializing with colleagues. The results of the full model are reported in Table 4.

Insert Table 4 here

As predicted, there was a statistically significant three-way interaction between income, hourly status, and experimental condition, b = -.302, SE = .133, $t(1,480) = -2.27$, $p = .023$. In order to explore the nature of the three-way interaction, we conducted simple slope tests for the significance of income slopes for the different subpopulations.

We first examined whether we conceptually replicate the pattern of results observed in Study 2 with hourly status among participants in the control condition. Consistent with the prior findings, non-hourly workers in the control condition

exhibited a non-significant income slope, slope b = -.097, SE = .065, z = -1.49, p = .137 (dotted line, Figure 3a); whereas, workers paid by the hour showed a significant positive income slope, slope b = .184, SE = .060, z = 3.08, p = .002 (solid line, Figure 3a). Replicating the pattern of results of Study 2, the test for the difference between the two slopes was statistically significant, z = 3.22, p = .001, 95% CI [.101, .452]. It is worth noting that values above the mid-point on this outcome variable indicate intentions to spend more time socializing with colleagues. Based upon the raw means for time spent socializing identified in Study 2, it is a reasonable inference that the high income hourly workers will increase their time spent socializing with colleagues more so than the amount low income hourly workers increase theirs, which would directly translate to an upward sloped line, similar to the dotted line in Figure 1 and 2. In contrast, high income non-hourly workers will increase theirs as much as the amount low income non-hourly increase theirs, which would directly translate to a flat line similar to the solid line in Figure 1 and 2.

Insert Figure 3 here

Given all the ways that hourly and non-hourly workers can differ, the most internally valid evidence for the causal role of economic evaluation can be assessed from comparing non-hourly workers in the control condition versus the treatment condition where the economic evaluation of time was experimentally

made more salient. Consistent with our hypothesis, we found a significant positive association between income and socializing with colleagues for non-hourly workers who calculated their hourly wage, slope b = .147, SE = .071, z = 2.06, p = .039 (dotted line, Figure 3b). Central to our hypothesis, the test for the difference between the slopes for non-hourly paid respondents who did and did not calculate their hourly wages was statistically significant, z = 2.55, p = .011, 95% CI [.057, .431]. Furthermore, the income slope for non-hourly workers in the calculate hourly condition did not differ from the income slope for hourly workers in the control condition, z = .41, p = .685, 95% CI [-.142, .216]. Thus, non-hourly paid workers who calculated their hourly wages evinced a positive association between income and a desire to socialize more with colleagues that were similar to their counterparts who were paid by the hour in their main job.

This is an important result, as one might assume that present socializing arrangements were, on the whole, in some reasonable equilibrium as we directly sought to measure respondents' desire to change the current amount of time spent socializing in the future. Thus, having a relatively high income, non-hourly workers who think about their hourly wage *increased* their intentions to spend more time socializing with people from work. Put another way, when the economic value of time was made salient, the economic value of that time, as measured by income, was more strongly related to making trade-offs in favor of

professional instrumentality as people decide about socializing activities.

Exploratory analysis of mediation

To explore whether decision criteria helped explain our results, we employed the *moderated moderated mediation* algorithm for STATA (Hayes, 2018: equation 14) to assess the mediation effect of professional usefulness (versus enjoyment) as the decision criteria with 95 percent bias-corrected, bootstrapped CIs, with 1,000 replications (UCLA Statistical Consulting Group, 2018). We specified the model with a single mediator (decision criteria) and two moderators (income and experimental condition). We tested whether the indirect effect of hourly status on socializing with colleagues through decision criteria varied as a function of income (1st moderator) and experimental condition (2nd moderator).

We expected the significant mediation to occur only in the control condition since our treatment of calculating an hourly wage rate is designed to mitigate differences between hourly and non-hourly workers because they were both economically evaluating time. To be consistent with the previous analyses, we included age, gender, ethnicity, and number of hours worked as covariates. Results show that for hourly compared to non-hourly paid respondents, income was more significantly associated with socializing with colleagues, through the decision criteria, in the control [.007, .063] but not in the experimental condition [-.034, .015]. Thus, we found a significant indirect effect on the control condition,

such that income was significantly associated with the intent to socialize more with colleagues through decision criteria of professional usefulness among hourly compared to non-hourly workers. Such differential use of income was not present when the economic evaluation of time was made salient among the non-hourly workers.

Discussion

Using a nationally representative sample of employed workers, we experimentally manipulated the salience of people's hourly wage rates to see whether economic evaluation affected the relationship between income and the intent to spend more time socializing with colleagues. In the control condition, we replicated the findings for hourly status, where there was a positive association between income and a greater intent to socialize with colleagues for people paid by the hour. Critically, we found that randomly assigning participants to a condition that made their hourly wage salient also increased their reliance on income in the decision to spend more time socializing with colleagues. This resulted in a statistically significant three-way interaction where non-hourly paid respondents who calculated their approximate hourly wages just prior to reporting on their socializing intentions exhibited a positive association between income and intent to socialize more with colleagues. Moreover, we found that the decision criteria of professional usefulness over enjoyment mediated the intention to increase time

spent socializing with colleagues for high-income hourly workers compared to their non-hourly counterparts. Since the measurement of decision criteria came immediately after measuring respondents' intention to socialize with colleagues, the causal chain remains ambiguous. In our next studies, we address this issue by assessing evaluations of professional usefulness before the manipulation in order to see whether calculating an hourly wage rate for time increases respondents' focus on that dimension when making decisions to spend time surfing professional networking sites where actual behavior can be examined.

Study 4a

The exploratory analysis of mediation in the previous study suggested that one's decision to spend time with colleagues is based on the dimension of professional usefulness compared to the dimension of enjoyability. In this study, we aimed to directly test the mechanism of how the economic evaluation of time increases the focus on the dimension of professional usefulness as it relates to the behavioral choice of how to spend time among those who are high income. If economic evaluation increases the focus on the dimension of professional usefulness, we expect participants to spend more time on social network activity they perceive to be professionally useful. In order to examine behavior, we drew upon Casciaro et al.'s (2014) experimental paradigm, comparing a social networking site that is primarily professional (LinkedIn) to one that is primarily

personal (Facebook), in order to create a real experimental task in which participants behaviorally allocated their time between each of these activities. Prior to the decision, we had participants rate each site on its professional usefulness and enjoyment. While we expected respondents to see LinkedIn as more professionally useful and Facebook more enjoyable, individual pre-treatment evaluations on these dimensions will vary among participants in ways that will drive their choices of how much time to allocate to each.

Specifically, we expected that the more professionally useful participants rated LinkedIn, the more time they would choose to spend on LinkedIn. By contrast, we expected that the more enjoyable participants rated Facebook, the less time they would choose to spend on LinkedIn. Critically, we hypothesize that participants prompted to economically evaluate time would focus more on the professional usefulness of LinkedIn and not on the enjoyment of Facebook in their decision to allocate time on LinkedIn. Using the differential strength in the association of two contrasting dimensions within a simultaneous regression has been employed as a method for inferring the degree to which one attribute is weighted over another in evaluation (DeVoe & Iyengar, 2004). In order to directly focus our test of the underlying process, we sought to conduct our experiment on a sample of respondents who we a priori classified as high on income. Thus, this study focused on the effect of economic evaluation among individuals with high

income on the behavior of spending more time on LinkedIn as a function of how professionally useful it was evaluated to be.

Method and Measures

We used panel selection function from Prolific Academic to invite participants who indicated in a prescreening session that they currently have a LinkedIn account and those whose personal income was above £60,000. In order to focus our study on the high economic value of time, we used the one standard deviation above the mean for income from Study 2, which, when converted from dollars into pounds, is approximately £61,616. Thus, we invited only participants who self-reported to Prolific Academic that they earn more than £60,000. Finally, we sought to conduct the experiment on respondents who were currently paid by salary to directly observe how calculating one's hourly wage rate influences the dimension of professional usefulness and enjoyment in behaviorally making decisions to allocate time. Unfortunately, Prolific Academic does not have a pre-screening function to invite only salaried workers. Thus, we targeted the recruitment of 500 respondents who were pre-screened to have a full-time job (not self-employed) with the goal of having a minimum of 200 observations to analyze the data. Successful invitations were sent out to 495 Prolific Academic members on the above prescreens; however, 163 participants reported their current income

below the £60,000 prescreen (i.e., their reported income had changed since the prescreen was completed) and 75 participants were paid by the hour. Thus, there were 299 participants that met our a priori criteria for analysis (M_{age} = 39.00 years, SD_{age} = 9.54 years; 71.6% male).

Once participants accepted the invitation to a study for 15 minutes in exchange for £1.3 (approximately $1.70) and indicated their consent, they were directed immediately to login to both their LinkedIn and Facebook accounts and uploaded a screenshot of each to validate they were engaged in the task. Then, participants rated the likelihood that spending time on each site would be professionally useful ("To what extent would spending time on the following Social Networking Sites be professionally useful to you?") on a 1 (*not likely*) to 7 (*very likely*) scale. On the same scale, participants also rated the likelihood that spending time on each site would be enjoyable ("To what extent would spending time on the following Social Networking Sites be enjoyable to you?"). Indeed, LinkedIn was rated as significantly more useful than the midpoint (M = 5.05, SD = 1.69, $t(298) = 10.78$, $p < .001$), and Facebook was rated as significantly less useful than the midpoint (M = 3.21, SD = 1.99, $t(298) = -6.83$, $p < .001$). Moreover, Facebook was rated as significantly more enjoyable than the midpoint (M = 4.55, SD = 1.73, $t(298) = 5.37$, $p < .001$), and LinkedIn was rated as significantly less enjoyable than the midpoint (M = 3.66, SD = 1.71, $t(323) = -3.48$, $p = .001$). Given

that LinkedIn was viewed as more professionally useful and Facebook was viewed as more enjoyable, we used those distinct items to test for whether the variation in these respective dimensions was more focal in their behavioral decision about how to allocate their time between these two social networking sites. We centered these variables and tested for their interaction with the condition to observe whether the manipulation influences the focus people place on either dimension.

After rating these two social networking sites, participants were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions as in Study 3: control versus calculate hourly wage. In the control condition (n = 152), participants reported their income earned last year, weeks worked per year, and the average number of hours worked per week. In the hourly calculation condition (n = 147), participants reported the same information as the control condition; but were then shown how much 11 minutes of their time was worth based on the information provided. Importantly, the economic evaluation condition facilitated a clear economic value for each minute that respondents would be asked to allocate in the final experimental task.

With both social networking sites open in the participants' web browser, immediately after the manipulation, participants were told that their task was to spend 11 minutes browsing both pages. We instructed that they will first browse LinkedIn for the amount of time they specify out of the 11 minutes and once it times out, they would be able to spend the rest of the time on Facebook. The

participants entered in the number of minutes for each networking site in 1-minute increments, where the total across the two sites was forced to add up to 11. The dependent variable was the number of minutes out of the 11 that respondents entered they would spend on LinkedIn.

Results and Discussions

In Model 1 of Table 5 (see left four columns for Study 4a), we see the expected relationship of respondents' ratings of the social networking sites predicting the number of minutes on LinkedIn. Specifically, the more respondents viewed time on LinkedIn as likely to be professionally useful, the more minutes they allocated to spending time on LinkedIn, b = .649, SE = .080, $t(296) = 8.15$, $p < .001$. By contrast, the more likely respondents viewed time on the alternative (Facebook) to be enjoyable, the less time they allocated to spending time on LinkedIn, b = -.592, SE = .076, $t(296) = -7.74$, $p < .001$. Model 2 shows that when the condition is added in to the model, there is no main effect, b = .028, SE = .264, $t(295) = .10$, $p = .917$. Model 3 shows that when the interaction of condition by professional usefulness is entered, we see that manipulation significantly increases the association between ratings of professional usefulness and the number of minutes allocated to surfing LinkedIn, b = .348, SE = .157, $t(294) = 2.21$, $p = .028$. When we replace the interaction of professional usefulness with the interaction of enjoyment by condition, we see no significant interaction with the condition, b =

-.005, *SE* = .153, *t*(294) = -.03, *p* = .974. Model 4 shows the when both interactions are entered in simultaneously to the regression, the interaction of professional usefulness by the condition remains significant, *b* = .363, *SE* = .161, *t*(293) = 2.26, *p* = .025, and the interaction of enjoyment by condition continues to be non-significant *b* = -.075, *SE* = .155, *t*(293) = -.49, *p* = .628. These findings provide evidence that people thinking about their time in terms of money are more likely to focus on whether LinkedIn is a professional useful activity and has no detectable impact on the extent to which people focus on the enjoyment of the alternative use of time. By sampling respondents whose economic value of time is relatively high, we were able to more directly observe the mechanism of professional usefulness in the decision as an interactive effect.

Insert Table 5 here

Study 4b

In Study 4b, we sought to conceptually replicate the findings of the previous study using the same behavioral elicitation paradigm but employing a modified version of the experimental treatment, utilizing the vignette in Study 1a. While Study 4a sampled a priori respondents with above average income, here, we employed the vignette methodology to hold high income constant across conditions while varying how this information was framed. As with the previous experiment, we predicted that individuals would focus more on professional

usefulness in allocating time to LinkedIn when one's high income was framed in a manner that facilitates economic evaluation.

Method and Measures

Two hundred and seven respondents who indicated they had both LinkedIn and Facebook accounts were recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk (M_{age} = 35.71 years, SD_{age} = 11.19 years; 35.3% male). As with the previous study, we had participants log into both of these accounts and upload photos to verify their participation. Then, participants rated the professional usefulness and enjoyableness of each site. Similar to Study 4a, LinkedIn was rated as significantly more useful than the midpoint (M = 5.08, SD = 1.73, $t(206) = 8.97$, $p < .001$), and Facebook was rated as significantly less useful than the midpoint (M = 3.35, SD = 1.91, $t(206) = -4.92$, $p < .001$). Facebook was rated as significantly more enjoyable than the midpoint (M = 5.27, SD = 1.50, $t(206) = 12.08$, $p < .001$), and LinkedIn in was rated as significantly less enjoyable than the midpoint (M = 3.21, SD = 1.72, $t(206) = -6.60$, $p < .001$).

After rating the social networking sites, participants were randomly assigned to one of the two vignette conditions we introduced in Study 1a. In this experiment, income was equated with being at a relatively high level based upon the same standard number of hours worked per year as in Study 1a (2,080 hours), and we varied the framing as either a salary or an hourly wage. Specifically,

participants were instructed to imagine their income being "$60 per hour ($1 per minute)" or "$124,800 per year" and wrote how they would think and feel with the given income. Importantly, the economic value of the hourly wage condition facilitated a clear economic value for each minute that respondents would have to allocate in the experimental task. Finally, participants reported how many minutes out of the next 11 they would spend on LinkedIn and Facebook. As with the previous study, the dependent variable was the number of minutes allocated to LinkedIn.

Results and Discussions

We see an identical pattern to what was observed in Study 4a. In model 1 of Table 5 (see right four columns for Study 4b), the more respondents viewed time on LinkedIn as likely to be professionally useful, the more minutes they allocated to spending time on LinkedIn, $b = .441$, $SE = .085$, $t(204) = 5.19$, $p < .001$. By contrast, the more likely respondents viewed time on the alternative (Facebook) to be enjoyable, the less time they allocated to spending time on LinkedIn, $b = -.356$, $SE = .097$, $t(204) = -3.66$, $p < .001$. Model 2 shows that when the condition is added in the model, there is no main effect, $b = .346$, $SE = .289$, $t(203) = 1.20$, $p = .233$. Model 3 shows that when the interaction of condition by professional usefulness is entered, we see that the manipulation significantly increased the association between ratings of professional usefulness and the number of minutes

allocated to surfing LinkedIn, b = .366, SE = .167, t(202) = 2.19, p = .029. When we replace the interaction of professional usefulness with the interaction of enjoyment by condition, we saw no significant interaction with condition, b = -.141, SE = .193, t(202) = -.73, p = .466. Model 4 shows that when both interactions are entered in simultaneously to the regression, the interaction of professional usefulness by condition remained significant, b = .397, SE = .169, t(201) = 2.34, p = .020, and the interaction of enjoyment by condition continued to be non-significant, b = -.214, SE = .193, t(201) = -1.11, p = .270.

When the economic value of time was held constant at a high level, the economic evaluation of time focused people on the dimension of professional usefulness and did not appear to change the focus on the dimension of enjoyability of the alternative use of time in the behavioral decision about how to allocate time. Combined with other studies, the findings suggest that economic evaluation increases the focus on the dimension of professional usefulness and thus induces economic evaluators to spend more time on social network activities that are perceived as instrumental for professional advancement.

General Discussion

Using a multimethod approach, we examined the manner in which income and the economic evaluation of time jointly predicted how people economically value and make discretionary decisions about instrumental socializing. In Study 1a

and 1b, we demonstrated that the activity of spending time with colleagues was assigned a higher monetary value among high income-hourly paid people as compared to high income-salary payment or low income-hourly payment. Using a nationally representative time use survey, Study 2 provided evidence that high income hourly workers report spending more time socializing with colleagues off the job compared to their salaried or low income counterparts, controlling for a variety of job and personal characteristics. In order to provide more direct causal evidence, Study 3 used a large representative panel of employed individuals and had them calculate (or not) their approximate hourly wage. We replicated the interaction pattern between income and the economic evaluation of time in predicting the intention to spend more time socializing with colleagues among those with salient economic evaluation (i.e., hourly paid workers or salaried workers who calculated their hourly wage). Finally, Study 4a and 4b directly examined the underlying mechanism at relatively high levels of economic value (income) for how the economic evaluation of time increases the focus on the dimension of professional usefulness as it relates to the behavioral choice of how to spend time.

Theoretical Contributions

The reported results make several important theoretical contributions to the existing literature. Scholars have pointed out the need to reconcile the empirical

findings that greater wealth is associated with less social behavior with the observation that wealthy people appear to be very engaged in networking (Côté, 2011). As we have noted, previous research has somewhat equivocal findings on whether higher income should lead to more networking behaviors. For instance, high socioeconomic status and higher managerial position have been shown to be significant predictors of networking behavior (e.g., Campbell, Marsden, & Hurlbert, 1986; Forret & Dougherty, 2001; Lin, Vaughn, & Ensel, 1981), suggesting the possibility that higher income individuals engage in more networking. Wolff and Moser (2009) have also shown the causal chain from networking to income and its growth rate such that individuals who exhibit more networking behaviors earn more income than those who engage less in networking. Such findings would predict a positive relationship between income and socializing with colleagues outside of work—an important component of professional networking. In contrast, other research has indicated that greater income permits people to do more of what they enjoy, and empirical evidence suggests people generally like interacting with non-work others, suggesting a negative relationship between income and socializing with colleagues off the job. We help to resolve this contradiction in the literature by noting that organizational practices that commodify time and encourage economic evaluation can strengthen the relationship people exhibit between income and instrumental networking.

While prior research on hourly pay practices has examined its effects on time use, it has been limited to the impact on preferences to work more hours to earn more money or the decreased propensity to work without pay (e.g., volunteering; DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2010). Given that time is more directly linked with earnings for those paid by the hour, it could be that the spillover effects of economic evaluation would be limited to the presence or absence of direct payment for the activity. Thus, someone might be more likely to attend the office holiday party as long as they were still on the "clock" but less likely if they were not. As informal socializing with colleagues is not directly compensated, it is even more theoretically compelling to see spillover occur, primarily when the economic value of time is high but not low. These studies are the first demonstration in this literature that economic evaluation influences behaviors that have a prospective economic value through their professional usefulness.

The larger question of whether material wealth facilitates happiness through how people spend their time is of particular relevance here (Dunn & Norton, 2014). Our findings suggest that thinking about time in terms of money can lead those with greater material wealth to constrain the pursuit of immediate happiness in making choices about how to spend time, which may help to elucidate the modest correlations observed between the log of income and experienced happiness. For instance, Kahneman and Deaton (2010) have observed that income

is associated with greater experienced happiness up until an income level of $75,000, where a greater income fails to be associated with the higher day-to-day experience of happiness. One of the mechanisms proposed for this observation is that higher income may be associated with choosing to spend time on less enjoyable activities. Given the importance of socializing activities to subjective well-being (Rath, 2006), the present finding that high income-hourly workers spend more discretionary time socializing with colleagues would likely be associated with less enjoyable use of time and thus work to attenuate the relationship between income and the daily experience of happiness.

Lastly, while recent research has taken an important step in examining various sub-categories of whom people socialize with as a function of income, this research focuses attention on an overlooked sub-category that implicates professionally useful considerations. Because socializing with work colleagues is a clear behavioral manifestation of greater integration between professional and personal life (Rothbard & Dumas, 2006), the findings here highlight a potentially novel determinant of employees' tendencies towards integration over segmentation. While previous research on integration-segmentation has focused on more affective determinants (e.g., demographic similarities; Dumas et al., 2013), our research elucidates the instrumental determinants of income and hourly status.

Limitations

There are several limitations to the present work that are worth discussing in the context of future research. First, the effect sizes we observed across studies were small. This was especially true in Study 2, where we only had data at the individual level for a randomly selected day. Nonetheless, the convergence of evidence across different samples and methodologies, however, gives us confidence in the reliability of the findings we have detected. Also, while we found that high income hourly workers spent significantly more time socializing with colleagues, we were unable to detect whether this time was drawn from spending less time in another specific domain. We did not find a significant decrease in time spent socializing with friends or family among high income hourly workers, but it is entirely possible that people with a high economic value of their time may choose to decrease the time spent on other activities in a non-systematic fashion that makes it difficult to detect. It was only in our final studies where using an experimental paradigm allowed us to know exactly the activity participants were giving up when they allocated more time to one social networking site over another. More elaborate experimental paradigms may offer a more precise look into the tradeoffs people make when economically evaluating their time.

Furthermore, our examination of the discretionary choice to spend more time socializing with colleagues outside of work is a clear example of greater

integration between professional and personal life (Rothbard & Dumas, 2006). However, its relationship to the wider set of informal/formal professional networking behavior needs to be explored. Future research should explore whether the same decision-making process applies to different facets of networking behaviors when the contact is internal versus external to one's organization (Michael & Yukl, 1993). Indeed, the same predictions may or may not hold for more formal professional networking behaviors that are perceived to be less discretionary and more of professional duty or even necessity.

Lastly, the tension between instrumental and socio-emotional goals is likely to vary not just as a function of cultural context but also as a result of relationship quality. While we were able to study socializing at a general level, we do not have data on the individual ties that can provide a direct measurement of the instrumental and socio-emotional content inherent to each tie. There is good reason to believe that in cases where socio-emotional goals dominate instrumental concerns, such as in the case of a "best friend" at work (Pillemer & Rothbard, 2018), we may not precisely replicate the empirical results we observed among the broader category of colleagues. Indeed, Gallup surveys have highlighted the importance of a "best friend" at work for performance and wellbeing in cross-sectional surveys (Rath, 2006); but the predictive power of this question is lost when it references "close" or "good" friends instead of "best" friend (Gallup,

1999). Future research will benefit from directly measuring the strength of these collegial ties as to whether this moderates any of the present findings.

Implications for Individuals, Organizations, and Societies

Our findings on the role of organizational practices (such as paying by the hour) in making the economic evaluation of time salient, and our consideration of the tensions and trade-offs between doing what is professionally useful versus enjoyable, has numerous implications for individuals, organizations, and society. Most importantly, the empirical results demonstrate the "long arm of the job" in influencing whom people socialize with in their discretionary time.

If socializing with colleagues is not enjoyable, there may be critical psychological costs for employee burnout as socializing loses some of its potentials to rejuvenate workers (Sonnentag, 2003). Previous research has suggested that switching off thoughts about work-related issues during off-job time is essential in order to recover from stress encountered at the job (Sonnentag & Kruel, 2006; Westman & Etzion, 2001). However, socializing with work colleagues may interfere with the ability to detach oneself from work, taking away the necessary time and cognitive resources for recovery. This effect may have especially negative consequences for individuals who have a strong desire for segmentation between their personal and professional life (Rothbard, Phillips, & Dumas, 2005).

It has been proposed that the experience of burnout mediates the link

between organizational context and work-related outcomes (Maslach & Leiter, 2008). Our research adds one possible dimension to this link in that the hourly pay practices that shift someone's decision criteria for time use may induce burnout from increasing people's tendency to engage in the unpleasant experience of professional networking. Further examination of the mediating role of burnout between hourly pay practices and other job-related outcomes, such as stress, ill-health, and turnover, might increase our understanding of the impact of economic evaluation in organizations.

Our results also suggest one possible way to increase employees' intentions to engage in informal networking with colleagues, if that is something organizations want to encourage. For instance, the Society for Human Resource Management (Society for Human Resource Management, 2012) reported that a person's networking ability is key to successful relationship management throughout people's careers. In an attempt to increase information sharing and to induce innovation, organizations often encourage employees to engage in professional networking. Various organizational practices such as formal mentoring and establishing affinity groups reflect the emphasis companies can place on employees' participation in networking activities. The present results suggest that making the economic value of people's time salient might increase interest in and attendance at professional networking activities for those whose

time is economically valuable. Emphasizing the economic value of people's time could be one way to overcome the sense that networking is "dirty" and thereby increase people's interest in and time spent networking.

Finally, at the societal level, there has been research and public interest in observed trends toward increasing social isolation (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Brashears, 2006), in part because of the strong connection between relationships and happiness and other indicators of well-being. In 2017, 58.3 percent of all workers 16 years of age or older in the United States were paid by the hour (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017), and some salaried workers account for their time on timesheets, another organizational practice that fosters the economic evaluation of time (DeVoe et al., 2010). Our study examined the effect of an economic evaluation of time on the allocation of socializing time with colleagues, *not* on the absolute number or closeness of social relationships. Nevertheless, one important and logical extension of this research, with implications for well-being on the macro-societal level, would be to explore the effects of organizational practices on the number and closeness of social relationships outside of work. It is quite possible that organizational practices, including pay practices, influence the density and nature of social relationships, with consequent effects on people's well-being, because there should be effects of the time spent on different types of relationships and interactions on their numbers and closeness. To the extent that

an economic evaluation of time promotes more emphasis on instrumental ties, one might expect an effect on the number of close ties in ways that could implicate well-being.

Conclusion

People in organizations sometimes have to choose between engaging in socializing activities that are more professionally useful or that are more enjoyable. Such choices have consequences for people's careers as well as their happiness. The studies reported here highlight the effects of organizational pay practices on people's decisions to socialize with colleagues—activities key to professional networking but not always enjoyable. Much of our lives are embedded in organizations, and organizations convey and legitimate decision logics, including logics about how to allocate time. Therefore, understanding the effect organizational practices have on how people think about their time offers an interesting and important avenue for additional research on the effect of organizational context in shaping social relationships off the job.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and correlations for Study 2

Variables	Mean	s.d	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1. Income earned per week ($)	879.39	657.65																						
2. Hourly status (1=Hourly)	0.55	0.50	-.44**																					
3. Day of diary (1=Weekend)	0.51	0.50	.00	.00																				
4. Number of hours worked per week	40.00	12.39	.44**	-.27**	.00																			
5. Full-time status (1=Full-time)	0.81	0.39	.39**	-.22**	.01	.74**																		
6. Government sector	0.19	0.39	.04**	-.12**	.00	.02**	.06**																	
7. Private nonprofit sector	0.08	0.28	-.02**	-.02**	.00	-.05**	-.05**	-.15**																
8. Manageme	0.43	0.49	.41**	-.40**	.00	.14**	.13**	.17**	.15**															

nt & professional																		
9. Sales & office	0.23	0.42	-.16**	.08**	.01	-.08**	-.07**	-.09**	-.05**	-.48**								
10. Natural resources	0.01	0.08	-.05**	.02**	.00	.02**	.00	-.03**	-.02**	-.07**	-.05**							
11. Construction & maintenance	0.07	0.26	-.01	.13**	-.01	.07**	.09**	-.07**	-.07**	-.24**	-.15**	-.02**						
12. Production, transportation, & material moving	0.11	0.31	-.11**	.19**	.00	.05**	.05**	-.12**	-.09**	-.31**	-.19**	-.03**	-.10**					
13. High school graduate	0.23	0.42	-.21**	.21**	.00	-.02**	.00	-.09**	-.07**	-.31**	.07**	.01**	.12**	.19**				
14. Some college	0.28	0.45	-.13**	.15**	-.01	-.02**	-.02**	-.04**	-.01**	-.13**	.12**	-.03**	.03**	-.01**	-.35**			
15. College degree	0.24	0.43	.22**	-.22**	.00	.08**	.08**	.05**	.04**	.28**	-.03**	-.04**	-.12**	-.14**	-.31**	-.36**		
16. Postgraduate degree	0.15	0.35	.35**	-.32**	.00	.11**	.07**	.18**	.09**	.40**	-.16**	-.03**	-.11**	-.13**	-.23**	-.26**	-.24**	
17. Age	41.50	12.80	.17**	-.11**	-.01*	.07**	.08**	.10**	.05**	.07**	-.01*	-.03**	-.02**	.02**	.06**	-.02**	.00	.09**
18. Gender	1.5	0.5	.25	-.0	-.0	.26	.21	-.0	-.1	-.0	-.1	.04	.27	.18	.02	-.0	.00	.00	.00

(1=Female)	3	0	**	8**	1	**	**	8**	0**	6**	7**	**	**	**	**	4**						
19. Marital status (1=Married)	0.60	0.49	.21**	-.16**	.00	.11**	.10**	.04**	.01**	.13**	-.06**	-.01**	.03**	-.01**	-.03**	-.05**	.09**	.10**	.19**	.12**		
20. Number of children under 18	1.06	1.14	.02**	.00	.00	-.02**	-.05**	-.03**	-.01**	.00	-.04**	.02**	.02**	-.01*	-.03**	-.03**	-.01**	.00	-.29**	.02**	.24**	
21. Socializing time with colleague (min)	8.98	24.54	.01**	.02**	-.23**	.07**	.08**	-.01†	-.01**	-.03**	-.02**	.02**	.05**	.04**	.02**	.00	-.01**	-.02**	.01†	-.05**	-.04**	-.05**
22. Total socializing time (min)	112.88	107.39	.02**	-.03**	.26**	-.02**	-.01**	.00	.01**	.03**	-.01**	.00	-.01*	-.02†	-.03**	-.01†	.02**	.03**	-.04**	.01	-.01**	-.03**	.02**
23. Percentage of socializing time spent with colleague (%)	0.13	0.29	-.01**	.06**	-.30**	.09**	.10**	-.01*	-.01**	-.06**	-.03**	.02**	.06**	.07**	.04**	.01**	-.03**	-.04**	.03**	-.05**	-.10**	-.08**	.71**	-.18**

Note. Total number of observations is 83,997.

† $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 2. Results of (a) Tobit Regression Analyses Predicting the Raw Time Spent Socializing with Colleagues (Model 1) and (b) GLM Regression Analyses Predicting Percentage of Socializing Time Spent with Colleagues (Model 2) for Study 2

Predictors	**Model 1**		**Model2**	
Income	.256	(0.720)	.014	(0.023)
Hourly status	10.665**	(0.853)	.286**	(0.027)
Hourly x Income	5.224**	(0.887)	.134**	(0.029)
Day of diary	-71.227**	(0.842)	-1.874**	(0.027)
Number of hours worked per week	.367**	(0.043)	.010**	(0.001)
Full-time status	19.606**	(1.419)	.653**	(0.047)
[Sector (relative to private profit)]				
Government sector	.719	(0.951)	.040	(0.030)
Private nonprofit sector	1.523	(1.146)	.055	(0.043)
[Occupation category (relative to Service jobs)]				
Management & professional	-8.531**	(1.246)	-.197**	(0.039)
Sales & office	-7.481**	(1.201)	-.193**	(0.038)
Natural resources	13.445**	(3.896)	.398**	(0.116)
Construction & maintenance	7.278**	(1.583)	.196**	(0.048)
Production, transportation, & material moving	5.430**	(1.371)	.181**	(0.042)
[Education (relative to high school dropout)]				
High school graduate	-6.184**	(1.377)	-.179**	(0.043)
Some college	-8.286**	(1.398)	-.234**	(0.043)

College degree	-9.632**	(1.580)	-.290**	(0.049)
Postgraduate degree holders	-12.374**	(1.828)	-.377**	(0.058)
Age	-.036	(0.031)	.005**	(0.001)
Gender	-2.458**	(0.792)	.066*	(0.025)
Marital status	-10.393**	(0.781)	-.547**	(0.024)
Number of children under 18	-3.499**	(0.344)	-.129**	(0.011)
Constant	-39.187**	(2.989)	-1.737**	(0.093)
Log-likelihood	-120649.55		-25601.40	

Note. Standard errors are in parentheses. Income is log-transformed and standardized. The number of uncensored observations in model 1 is 17,602.
† $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics and correlations, Study 3

Variables	Mean	s.d	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.Income	88,026.7	236,124.4								
2.Hourly status (1=Hourly)	0.42	0.49	-.13**							
3.Condition (1=Calculate hourly)	0.48	0.50	.00	.01						
4.Age	42.46	13.64	.04†	-.11**	-.02					
5.Gender (1=Female)	0.46	0.50	-.02	.14**	-.01	-.15**				
6.Ethnicity (1=Caucasian)	0.66	0.48	.08**	-.10**	-.01	.12**	-.02			
7.Number of hours worked per week	40.15	17.06	.07**	-.11**	-.03	-.02	-.10**	.02		
8.Changes in time spent socializing with colleagues	4.28	1.22	.04	-.02	.03	-.29**	-.01	-.07**	-.04†	
9.Decision Criteria	4.30	1.59	.02	.02	-.03	.03	.05 †	.06*	-.02	.10**

Note: Total number of observations is 1,492.
† $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 4. Results of OLS Regression Analyses Predicting the Changes in Time Spent Socializing with Colleagues, Study 3

Predictors	**Model 1**	
Income (X)	-.097	(.065)
Hourly status (W)	-.112	(.091)
Calculated hourly condition (Z)	-.052	(.086)
X × W	.281**	(.087)
X × Z	.244*	(.095)
W × Z	.089	(.133)
X × W × Z	-.302*	(.133)
Age	-.027**	(.002)
Gender	-.108†	(.062)
Ethnicity	-.121†	(.065)
Number of hours worked	-.006**	(.002)
Constant	5.874*	(.151)
R_2	.10**	

Note. Standard errors are in parentheses.
† p <.10, * p <.05, ** p <.01

Table 5. Results of OLS Regression Analyses Predicting the Time Spent on LinkedIn, Study 4

	Study 4a				**Study 4b**			
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Professional Usefulness of LinkedIn	.65**(.08)	.65**(.08)	.49**(.11)	.49**(.11)	.44**(.09)	.44**(.08)	.27*(.11)	.26*(.11)
Enjoyability of Facebook	-.59**(.08)	-.59**(.08)	-.61**(.08)	-.57**(.12)	-.36**(.10)	-.35**(.10)	-.37**(.10)	-.26† (.14)
Condition (1=hourly frame)		.03(.26)	-1.74*(.84)	-1.47(1.00)		.34(.29)	-1.52† (.90)	-.54(1.26)
Condition x Professional Usefulness LinkedIn			.35**16)	.36*(.16)			.37*(.17)	.40*(.17)
Condition x Enjoyability of Facebook				-.06(.16)				-.21(.19)
R^2	.26	.26	.27	.27	.14	.14	.16	.16

Note. Standard errors are in parentheses.
† p <.10, * p <.05, ** p <.01

Figure 1. Income predicted how much an hour is worth socializing with colleagues only for hourly workers (Study 1b)

›

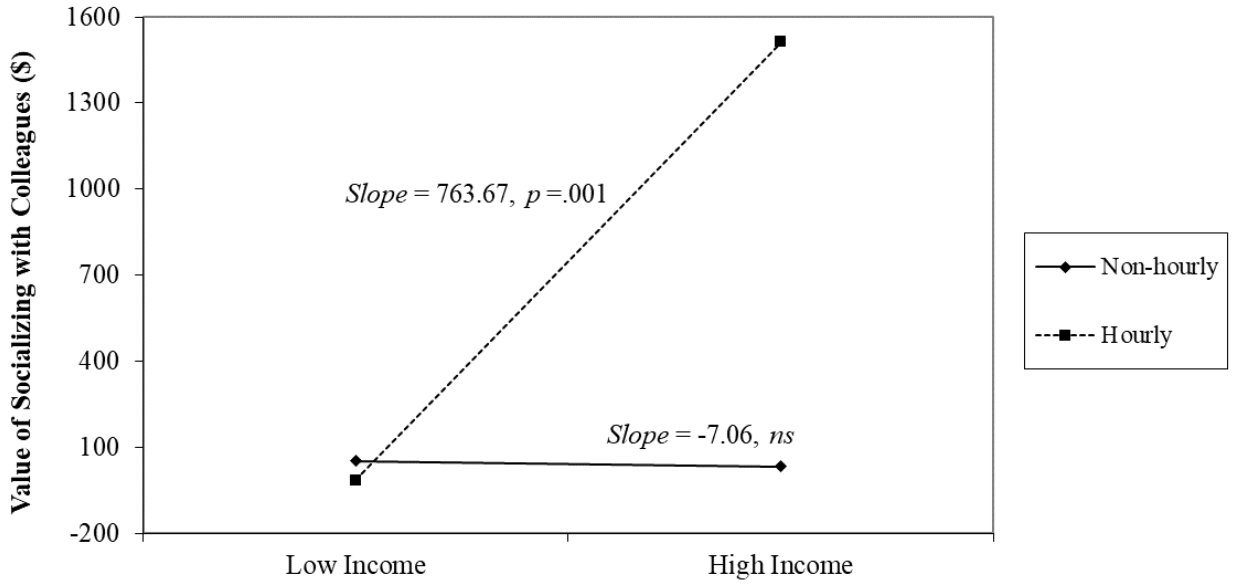


Figure 2. Income predicted the percentage of total socializing time spent in the presence of colleagues only for hourly workers (Study 2).

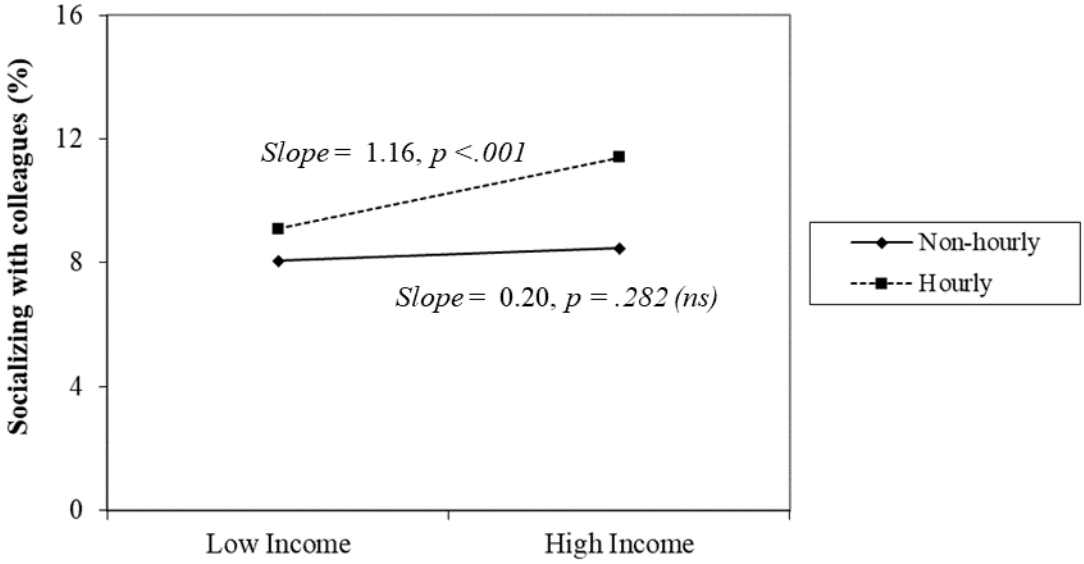
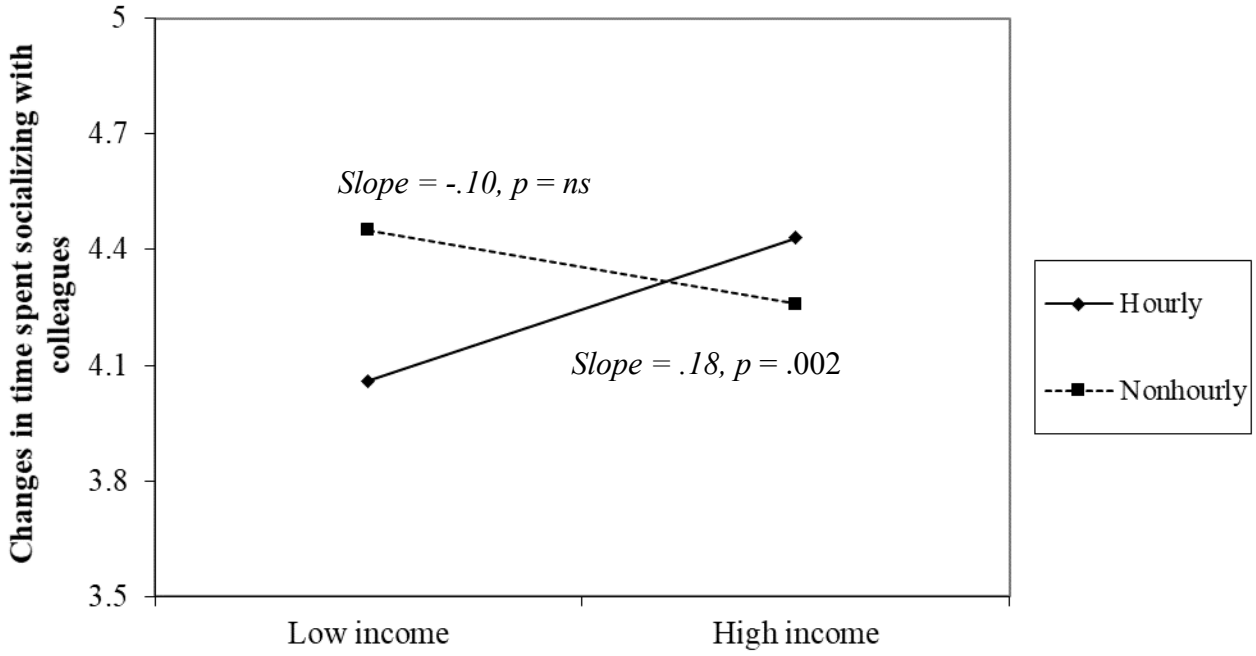


Figure 3. Income predicted changes in time spent socializing with colleagues for those whose economic evaluation of time is salient (Study 3)

(a) Control



(b) Calculated