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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Stephen Lynn Warren entitled "Consumer Materialism and Human Values Orientations." I have examined the final paper copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Human Ecology.

Ann Fairhurst, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
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CONSUMER MATERIALISM AND HUMAN VALUES ORIENTATIONS

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Stephen L. Warren
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my entire family. The family is, or should be, the foundation of all human values and mine is no exception. I am deeply grateful for every loving kindness shown to me by my wife Debbie, daughters Dee Dee and Leigh, grandchildren Matthew, Randee, Shelby, and Signe, and sons-in-law, Randy and Jeff. My parents, Glen and Kathleen, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and other family members are the guideposts and examples that served the formation of my personal values. My wife Deborah's parents, Roger and Donna, and her entire family are now also a close part of my family. There are others in my extended family too numerous to list by name. Some remain a part of my life, some are separated by time and distance, and others are no longer among the living. In all cases, I love each and every one of you who have touched me, helped to shape my life, and participated in forming my values.

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ABSTRACT

Why are some persons more materialistic than others? Consumer materialism researchers, Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 307), found some believe strongly "possession of things is the ultimate source of happiness" in life, leading to a "lifestyle" that makes a "religion...of things." Browne and Kaldenberg (1997, p. 32) described the underlying causes of materialism as "a cluster of related traits, attitudes, and values focusing on possessions and guiding" consumer behavior. One observer wrote "other cultures sometimes see" Americans "as obsessively materialistic or devoid of spiritual values" (Kleespie, 2002, p. 1). Researcher Shalom Schwartz (1994, p. 21), described human values as "desirable...goals...that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person." Can individual values orientations help to explain and predict levels of materialism in each consumer?

Building on the materialism research of Russell Belk (1985), Richins and Dawson (1992) developed a survey instrument, the Richins and Dawson Materialism Survey (RDMS), widely used to measure consumer materialism. Schwartz built on earlier values investigation by Milton Rokeach (1973), to develop the Schwartz (1992; 1994) Values Survey (SVS) to measure individual preferences in values found in most human cultures (Schwartz, et al, 2001).

Schwartz (1992; 1994) identified ten value types defined by 57 individual values. The value types, and individual values, can be visualized arrayed around a pie-shaped two-dimensional space, with adjoining values and types being related

and somewhat compatible. The value types on opposite sides of the pie may cause some conflict or ambivalence in an individual's goals, attitudes, or behaviors. The ten value types make up four value groups identified as self-enhancement opposite self-transcendence and conservation opposite openness to change.

It is hypothesized there is a cluster of materialism related values within and near the self-enhancement group, comprised of the power, achievement, and hedonism types. Conversely, it is hypothesized there is an opposing values cluster, primarily within the self-transcendence group, comprised of the universalism, tradition, and benevolence types, that is negatively associated with materialism.

Statistical analyses, of survey results taken from a sample of 97 American adults, provide some evidence of the existence of a materialistic values cluster. However, evidence of an opposing cluster of non-materialistic values is much less convincing. There is some indication, although not statistically significant, that the self-transcendence group of values has a negative correlation with materialistic attitudes and behavior, but among the 57 individual values only social justice, a universalism value, is significantly and negatively correlated with materialism.

It appears when individuals cherish a large cluster of values, within the power, hedonism, stimulation, and achievement value types that set of priorities may contribute significantly to materialistic attitudes and behaviors. However, persons who place more importance with the opposing values among the benevolence and universalism value types may not necessarily display non-materialistic attitudes and behaviors as a consequence of those values priorities.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Question: A Link Between Materialism and Values?

Human values researcher, Shalom Schwartz (1994, p. 21) defined values as "desirable...goals...that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person." Consumer materialism researchers, Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 307), found that some persons believe "possession of things is the ultimate source of happiness," causing them to create a "religion...of things," to the degree that materialism becomes a dominant "lifestyle." Browne and Kaldenberg (1997, p. 32) described materialism as "a cluster of related traits, attitudes, and values focusing on possessions and guiding" consumer behavior. Is there a particular values orientation, or a pattern or cluster of individual values or value types, closely associated with the materialistic behavior and attitudes of some consumers?

Materialism has long been connected with values. It is, in fact, defined as a values orientation—the belief that "worldly possessions constitute the greatest good and highest value in life" (Morris, 1981, p. 806). The major theological traditions treat materialism as an issue of human virtue, or in modern terms, a values orientation. Confucianism maintains that what the "superior man seeks is in himself...(but) what the inferior man seeks is without" (Van Voorst, R., 2000, p. 150). Judaism describes materiality as "vanity and striving after wind...what does it accomplish?" (Van Voorst, R., 2000, p. 232). And Christianity teaches converts

"do not store up for yourselves treasures on earth...for where your treasure is, there your heart will be also" (Van Voorst, R., 2000, p. 274).

Popular literature, especially in America, has also taken note of materialistic values. Writing about early twentieth century America, T.J. Jackson Lears (1983, p. 3), perceived a "new set of values" associated with a wave of "compulsive spending." Novelist Sherwood Anderson (1919, p. 42) described changing American "standards" associated with what he portrayed as the beginning of "the most materialistic age in the history of the world." In the 1920's, Robert S. Lynd's extensive *Middletown* research unearthed new, materialistic values that were displacing "old-fashioned values" (Lears, 1983, p. 130). Commenting on modern marketing techniques, one recent observer wrote "other cultures sometimes see us as obsessively materialistic or devoid of spiritual values" (Kleespie, 2002, p. 1).

By the 1950's, academic researchers had developed an interest in the American consumers' ever increasing desire for material goods and how that behavior might relate to values (Heilbroner, 1956; Allport, 1961). Russell Belk (1985) developed the first widely used instrument to measure materialism. He believed materialistic attitudes and behavior to be irreconcilable with spiritual or traditional values (Belk, 1985). Easterlin and Crimmins (1991, p. 499) cited changing "value orientations" as the primary factor in a societal shift toward materialistic pursuits and away from other life goals. Richins and Dawson (1992) designed and tested a materialism survey that has gained wide acceptance.

Although other researchers have disagreed, they saw "materialism (itself) as a value" (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 308; Holt, 1995).

Schneider (1917, p. 151) was the first to propose "establishing and relating types of values" when he identified six possible values categories. The Rokeach (1973) values survey eventually became the most widely used scale to measure human values orientations. Although the Rokeach (1973) instrument is still extensively utilized, Schwartz (1992; 1994), with an expanded values list, demonstrated considerable success in identifying a universal, cross-cultural, human values structure. The Schwartz (1994) values survey (SVS) instructs subjects to rank/rate 57 individual values found to be segmented into ten distinct value types. Values are conceived, in practice, to be treated cognitively as worthy, competing, but not necessarily exclusive, objectives. There is never an absence of values, but we "merely elevate (some) ways of behaving...in importance relative" to others (Mayton, Ball-Rokeach, and Loges, 1994, p. 3). The values, and value types, identified by Schwartz (1994), are arrayed in two-dimensional space defined by similarity structure analysis (SSA) statistical techniques.

The two-dimensional structure of the ten identified value types (Figure 1) is explained by the dynamic interrelationships among them (Schwartz, et al, 2001). The pursuit of goals associated with any value type "may conflict or may be congruent with the pursuit of" goals associated with other value types (Schwartz et al, 2001, p. 521). For example, the pursuit of goals consistent with the benevolence or universalism values, collectively described as the self-transcendence values, may

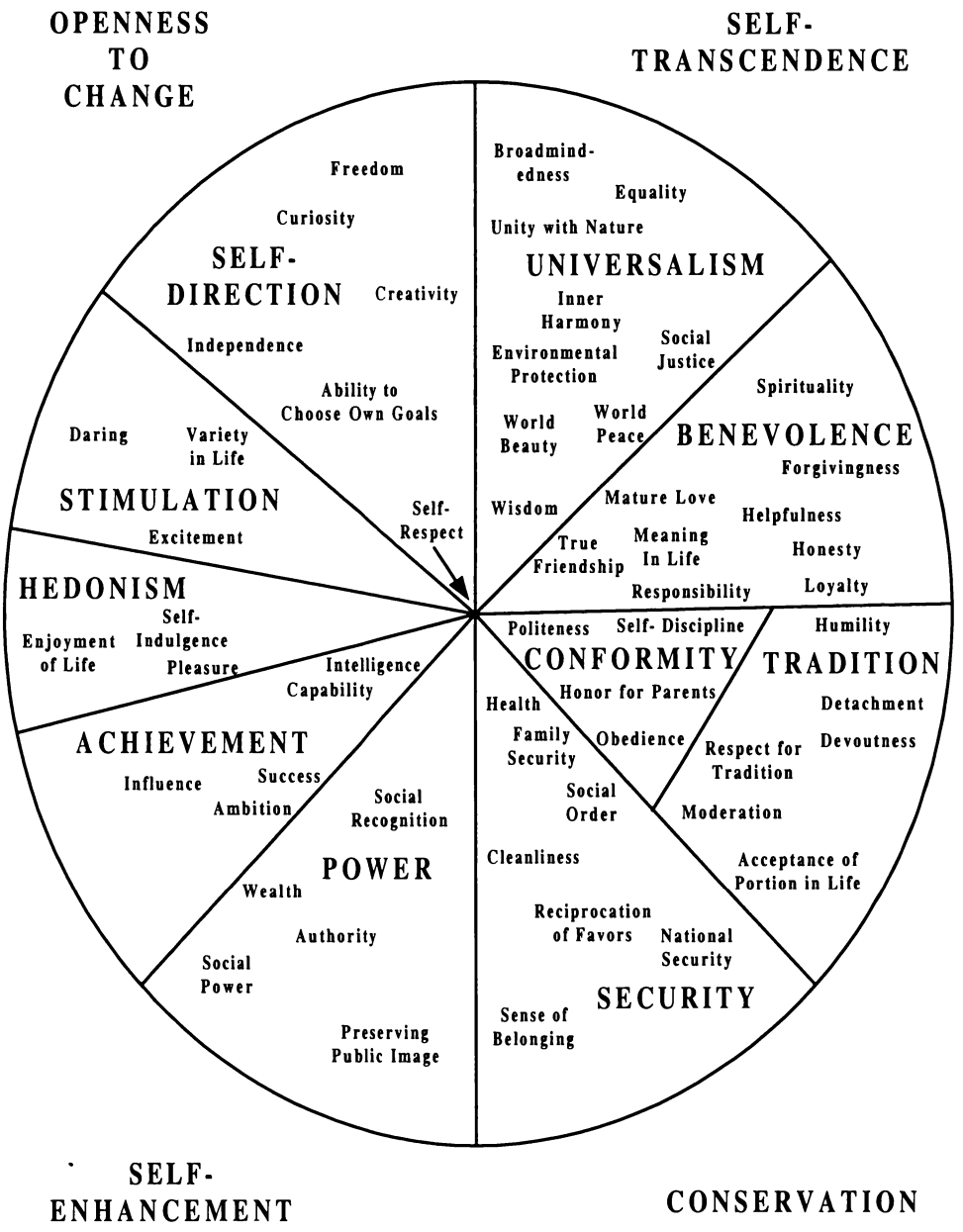


Figure 1: Theoretical model of relationships among human values.

conflict with contemporaneous efforts to achieve goals linked with the spatially opposed power, achievement, and hedonism value types, which are collectively labeled as the self-enhancement values. Conversely, goals and attitudes associated with values that are located in adjoining space in the circular pattern will generally be congruent or compatible with each other. For example, benevolence goals are likely not to conflict with universalism or tradition values and power-related values and the ends associated with them are likely not to conflict with achievement values.

Values Associated With Materialism

Many of the individual values, identified by Schwartz (1994) and others, have been associated with materialism. Anderson (1919, p. 43) described a "materialistic age" as a period when people's minds are "fixed upon fortunes to be made." Two of the related Schwartz (1994) values are wealth and ambition. Materialistic persons are known to be obsessed with their "success" as demonstrated by the "number and quality of possessions accumulated" (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 331). Success is another individual value identified by Schwartz (1994). Materialistic persons demonstrate an inordinate concern for the ways that purchased goods can contribute to an enhanced image (Campbell, 1987; Richins and Dawson, 1992). Social recognition and preserving public image may be values related to materialism that have been identified by Schwartz (1994).

Values Associated with Non-Materialism

Other specific values have either been associated with persons who are non-materialistic, or identified as goals and objectives that are not of great importance to materialistic persons. Heilbroner (1956) believed materialism crowded out other, more selfless, pursuits. Those selfless goals may embody one of the higher-order classifications of values, identified by Schwartz (1994), as self-transcendence. Belk (1985) supposed that materialism is inconsistent with spiritual or traditional values. One of Schwartz' (1994) value types is labeled tradition values, and several of the individual values (spiritual life, devout, and forgiving), located in the same two-dimensional region, are identified with a possible eleventh value type denoted as spirituality. Some non-materialistic persons have embraced a life-style of "voluntary simplicity," which involves "low consumption, ecological responsibility, and self-sufficiency" (Shama and Wisenblit, 1984, p. 231). Some of the individual values in the universal type, identified by Schwartz (1994), include protecting the environment, responsible, and unity with nature.

Hypotheses Related to Materialistic Values

It appears there may be a cluster of specific and related values, among the power, achievement, and hedonism types, and observable within the two-dimensional values structure defined by Schwartz (1994), that are commonly associated with materialistic attitudes and behavior. Conversely, there also appears there may be a competing or conflicting values cluster, among the Schwartz (1994)

value types of tradition, benevolence, and universalism, of certain interrelated values that are frequently linked with non-materialistic attitudes and behavior.

Belk, Dholakia, and Venkatesh (1996, p. 219) concluded various "people and cultures (hold) different combinations of material and nonmaterial values." Many of the values associated with materialistic behavior (Figure 2) are either directly identified, or are synonymous, with those that are clustered within the self-enhancement grouping, or the power, achievement, and hedonism value types, identified by Schwartz (1994). de Tocqueville (1965, p. 83) believed early nineteenth century Americans were notable by the pursuit of "their own welfare," the very definition of self-enhancement. Sherwood Anderson (1919, p. 43) saw the "materialistic age" of the early twentieth century as a period when "mind(s)" were "fixed upon fortunes to be made." Two of the defining self-enhancement values are ambition and wealth.

A survey conducted in the 1950's (Bredemeier and Toby, 1963, p. 72) found Americans reported their "most serious" goal in life was "trying to live as comfortably...as possible," an objective that might be equated to the achievement value of success and the hedonism values of pleasure and enjoying life. Du Bois (1955) and Weber (1958) had also noted the degree to which materialistic persons seem to equate the number and quality of material possessions with success in life. In another connection with the value of success, Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 331) observed that "materialists tend to judge their own and others' success by the

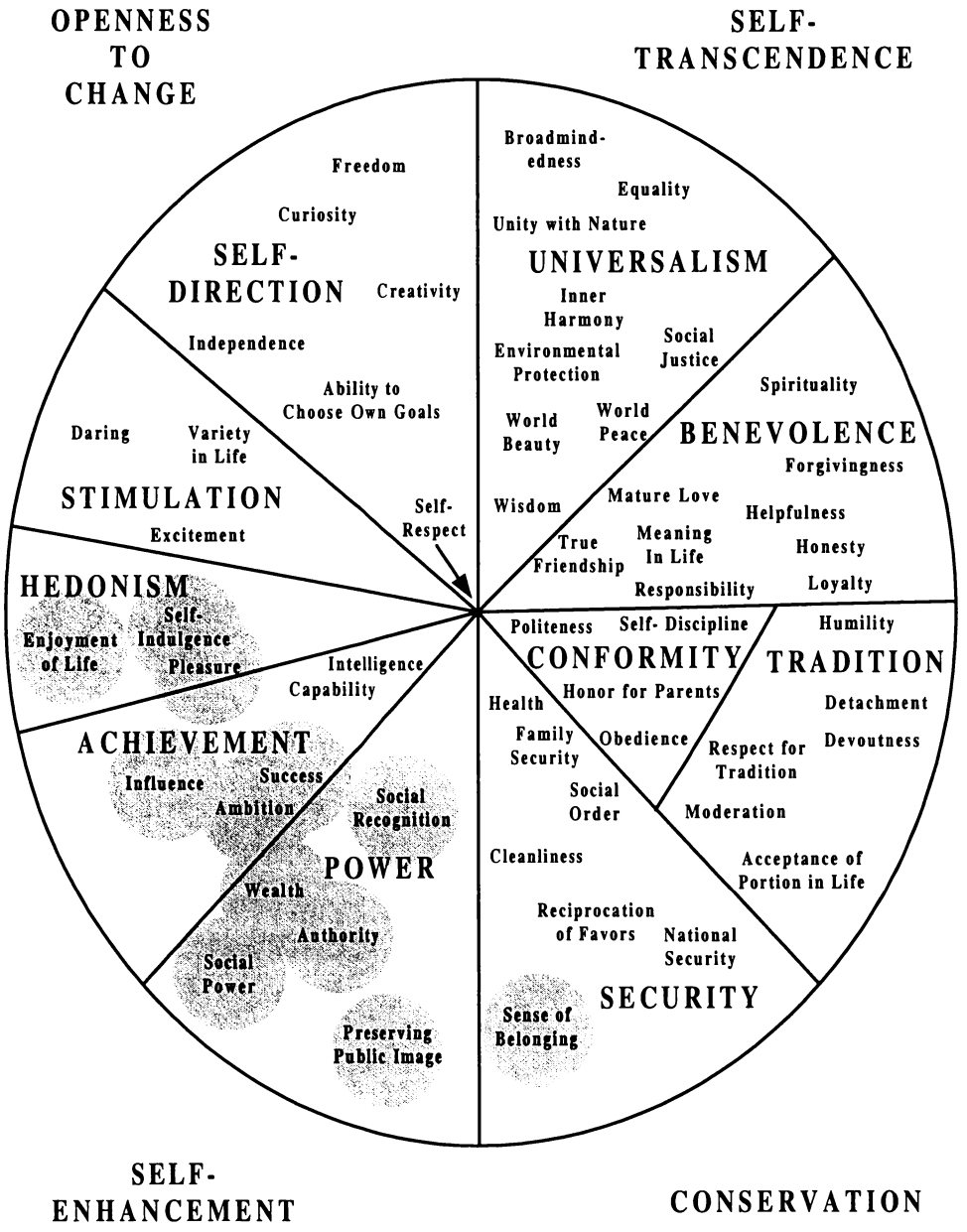


Figure 2: Hypothesis 1A ~ Cluster of values positively related to materialism.

number and quality of possessions accumulated." Concern for achievement, among materialists, is so strong they "consider material well-being as evidence of success" (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 304). Materialists are likely to "view their possessions as indicators of...success in life" (Richins and Rudman, 1994, p. 223). Although findings are not consistent, some have found that materialistic persons "can be expected to work more or strive for higher paying jobs" compared to persons with other values (Richins and Rudman, 1994, p. 224; Sirgy, 1998). One of the Schwartz (1994) achievement values is ambition.

Belk (1985, p. 268) developed an instrument to measure materialism, which incorporated "envy" as one of its' three primary constructs. Envy was defined as "displeasure and ill will at the superiority of (another person) in happiness, success, reputation, or the possession of anything desirable" (Belk, 1985, p. 268). Belk's (1985) envy construct appears to be closely related to the Schwartz (1994) power and achievement values of success, ambition, social recognition, preserving public image, and social power and the security value of sense of belonging. In the American consumer culture, material possessions have assumed particular importance in social comparison aimed to the determination of self worth (Belk, 1988; Dittmar, 1992). Cushman (1990), a social psychologist, joined cultural historians, such as Lears (1983) and Susman (1973), in identifying materialism as a phenomenon associated with individual, or self-enhancement, values. Materialism has been found to be strongly associated with several personal achievement

motivations, such as ambition, influence, and success (Netemeyer, Burton, and Lichtenstein, 1995).

Materialistic persons tend to develop an inordinate concern for the ways in which purchased goods or experiences can contribute to an enhanced image, either of themselves or their perceptions of others (Campbell, 1987; Richins and Dawson, 1992). Highly materialistic persons were found to value possessions for seeking social status (Richins, 1994). Materialists therefore tend to see possessions as ends in themselves and/or as means to enhance self-image or social standing (Holt, 1995). Self-monitoring is a measure of the extent to which people feel driven or motivated to scrutinize their own appearance and behavior for social acceptability. Two of the three materialism constructs found by Richins and Dawson (1992), were determined to be closely related to self-monitoring behavior (Chatterjee and Hunt, 1996). Browne and Kaldenberg (1997) also found significant correlations between self-monitoring scores and materialism. Excessive concern for image and self-monitoring behavior may be closely associated with the Schwartz (1994) values of preserving public image, social recognition, and sense of belonging.

Bredemeier and Toby (1963, p. 434) reported that materialistic Americans held a "vision that one more gadget, one more convenience, one more recent model of something, will be the thing to make life pleasant and worthwhile." That finding may be closely related to the hedonism values of pleasure and enjoying life. Dimma (1991, p. 8) linked materialism, hedonism, and the pursuit of wealth, as he reported American consumers have become more inclined to "materialism,

hedonism, and greed." In an analysis that relates to the power type values of social recognition, social power, and wealth, Ward and Wackman (1971, p. 426) describe materialism as "an orientation emphasizing possessions and money for personal happiness and social progress."

Despite a wealth of both ancient and modern anecdotal evidence, and fragmentary, or incomplete, quantitative substantiation, it appears no researcher has yet examined possible relationships between consumer orientations for the entire human values structure and those given to either materialistic or non-materialistic attitudes and behavior.

Hypothesis 1A: Each of the 12 values within the materialistic value cluster (Figure 2) comprised of sense of belonging, social power, authority, wealth, preserving public image, social recognition, ambitious, successful, influential, pleasure, self-indulgence, and enjoying life is positively associated with materialistic attitudes and behavior.

Hypothesis 1B: Each of the three Schwartz (1994) value types (power, achievement, and hedonism) that coincide closely with the cluster of 12 materialistic values is positively associated with materialistic attitudes and behavior (Figure 2).

Hypothesis 1C: The higher-order values category of self-enhancement, containing 11 of the 12 materialistic values, is positively associated with materialism.

Hypotheses Related to Non-Materialistic Values

French philosopher, de Tocqueville (1965, p. 110, p.68) also detected among Americans at least "momentary outbreaks" when they were controlled by the spiritual side of their natures and observed that "the great majority...were (not) exclusively" engaged in material pursuits. Sherwood Anderson (1919, p. 43) saw materialism as the opposing side of a coin where "men would forget God and...moral standards, when the will to power would replace the will to serve." T.J. Jackson Lears' (1983, p.3) Virginia Woolf observed "a new set of values" as she declared that, "on or about December 1910, human character changed." If there was a new set of values or, more probably, a different values orientation, that encouraged materialism, then there must have been an older values orientation that did not—one that was focused on non-materialistic goals.

Fox (1983, p. 109) concluded the Americans of the 1920's were "bothered by their own emergent form of (materialistic) behavior" due to their conflicted recollections of their earlier "alternative value system." Heilbroner (1956) concluded the quest for material goods tends to crowd out other, more selfless, pursuits. Bredemeier and Toby (1963) believed materialism could drive out other, competing, values and lead one to a state of religious and political apathy. Bengston and Lovejoy (1973) envisioned the concepts of humanism and materialism as opposing bipolar ends of a single factor value system. Kasser and Ryan (1993) concluded that if there are ranked categories or domains of values and that if materialism is a value or, is closely associated with certain values, then

materialism may eventuate, in the individual value hierarchy, to lessen, or even exclude altogether, other, opposing values.

Belk (1985) declared the major theological traditions have long rejected materialism and generally held it to be irreconcilable with the spiritual or traditional values. Cushman (1990) perceived materialists are torn by an internal conflict between societal and individual values. The political and economic interests of our form of democratic capitalism form social values that may oppose more altruistic, or traditional, internal values (Cushman, 1990). Dimma (1991, p. 8) proposed that the "spiritual values" were losing sway with materialistic Americans.

The values that oppose materialistic attitudes and behavior may be within the tradition, conformity, benevolence, and universalism value types (Schwartz, 1994). Schwartz (1994) reported sporadic identification of a spirituality value type that includes values such as spiritual life, devoutness, forgiving, and detachment that normally are within the tradition and benevolence value type segments. Whitcraft (1989, p. 192) believed that despite the "genetic predisposition of humans to make altruistic decisions," that the consumer culture of the 1980's was causing Americans to become addicted to "self-indulgent materialism." Altruistic values may coincide with Schwartz' (1984) higher-order self-transcendence grouping, which includes the benevolence and universalism value types.

Shama and Widenblit (1984, p. 231) examined the non-materialistic values of the "voluntary simplicity" lifestyle. They describe voluntary simplicity (perhaps

a near opposite of materialism) as a way of life involving "low consumption, ecological responsibility and self-sufficiency" (Shama and Wisenblit, 1984, p. 231). That orientation may be closely related to the Schwartz (1994) values of protecting environment, unity with nature, responsible, accepting portion in life, self-discipline, and moderation.

Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 331) conclude that it is "the pursuit of happiness through acquisition" to the exclusion of "other means (such as personal relationships, experiences, or achievements) that distinguishes materialism." If materialists tend to under-value personal relationships, then they may be less inclined toward the values of true friendship, loyal, helpful, forgiving, and mature love. Fox and Lears (1983, p. *x*) described America's nineteenth century "producer ethic," that gave way to consumer materialism, as a "value system based on work, sacrifice, and saving." Those non-materialistic attributes may coincide with the Schwartz (1994) values of self-discipline, responsible, acceptance of portion in life, social justice, and moderation. Persons, who are not particularly materialistic, tend not to gauge self-image by their possessions and will therefore be predisposed to be more content with their current standard of living (Richins, 1995). Non-materialists may place value in spiritual or intellectual experiences and in other persons (Holt, 1995). Those spiritual and intellectual values could include inner harmony, social justice, and wisdom.

Materialism has been associated with greed, covetousness, and lack of charitability (Browne and Kaldenberg, 1997). Those traits may oppose the values

of helpfulness, responsibility, humility, social justice, and forgivingness. It has been reported that those who are low in religiosity are more likely to be materialistic and suggested that "marketers might benefit from considering consumer religiosity as a segmentation" variable (La Barbera, 1997, p. 92). If religiosity describes a value cluster that is opposite the material values, it may be closely associated with the spirituality values included within the tradition, benevolence, and universalism value types described by Schwartz (1994). It has been observed that materialistic persons may display the negative emotions or traits of "envy, jealousy, feelings of inequity," and even "anger" (Sirgy, 1998, p. 229). If feelings of inequality and anger characterize the materialistic, then the values of equality, world peace, inner harmony, and social justice may typify those who are not materialistic.

Muncy and Eastman (1998, p. 141) found a "strong and consistent (negative) relationship between all of the dimensions of the materialism scale (Richins and Dawson, 1992) and all of the dimensions" of a consumer ethics scale. If ethical behavior is negatively associated with materialism, then many of the virtues (honesty, loyalty, responsibility, helpfulness, forgivingness, humility, moderation, respect for tradition, devoutness, social justice, environmental protection, wisdom, equality, and broadmindedness) found among the value types of tradition, benevolence, and universalism may also be negatively related to materialism. Some have also found religiosity to be positively related to higher standards of ethics (Du Bois, 1955; Belk, 1985, Fournier and Richins, 1991; La

Barbera and Gurhan, 1997). Religiosity and higher ethical standards are closely associated, and each of them may be negatively related to materialism (Flouri, 1999). The values associated with each non-materialistic construct, ethics and religiosity, are co-mingled within the tradition, benevolence, and universalism types.

Materialists have been found to be significantly "more neurotic and less extraverted, open, agreeable, and conscientious" than those with low materialism scores (Sharpe and Ramanaiah, 1999, p. 329). Less materialistic persons, who are more conscientious, may also value self-discipline and responsibility. Those who are more open may also hold to the values of broadmindedness, equality, and true friendship. Those who are more agreeable, may be more humble, moderate, accepting, and respectful for tradition. Post-materialism, or non-materialism, has been related to values such as the life "goals like democracy, love, or intellectual satisfaction" (Clark, 2000, p. 47). Those who are less materialistic could, therefore, hold wisdom, mature love, and equality to be higher values.

Hypothesis 2A: Each of the 24 values within the non-materialistic value cluster (Figure 3), comprised of acceptance of portion in life, moderation, devoutness, respect for tradition, humility, self-discipline, loyalty, responsibility, true friendship, meaning in life, honesty, spirituality, forgivingness, helpfulness, mature love, wisdom, world peace, social justice, inner harmony, world beauty, environmental protection, unity with nature, equality, and broadmindedness, is negatively associated with materialistic attitudes and behavior.

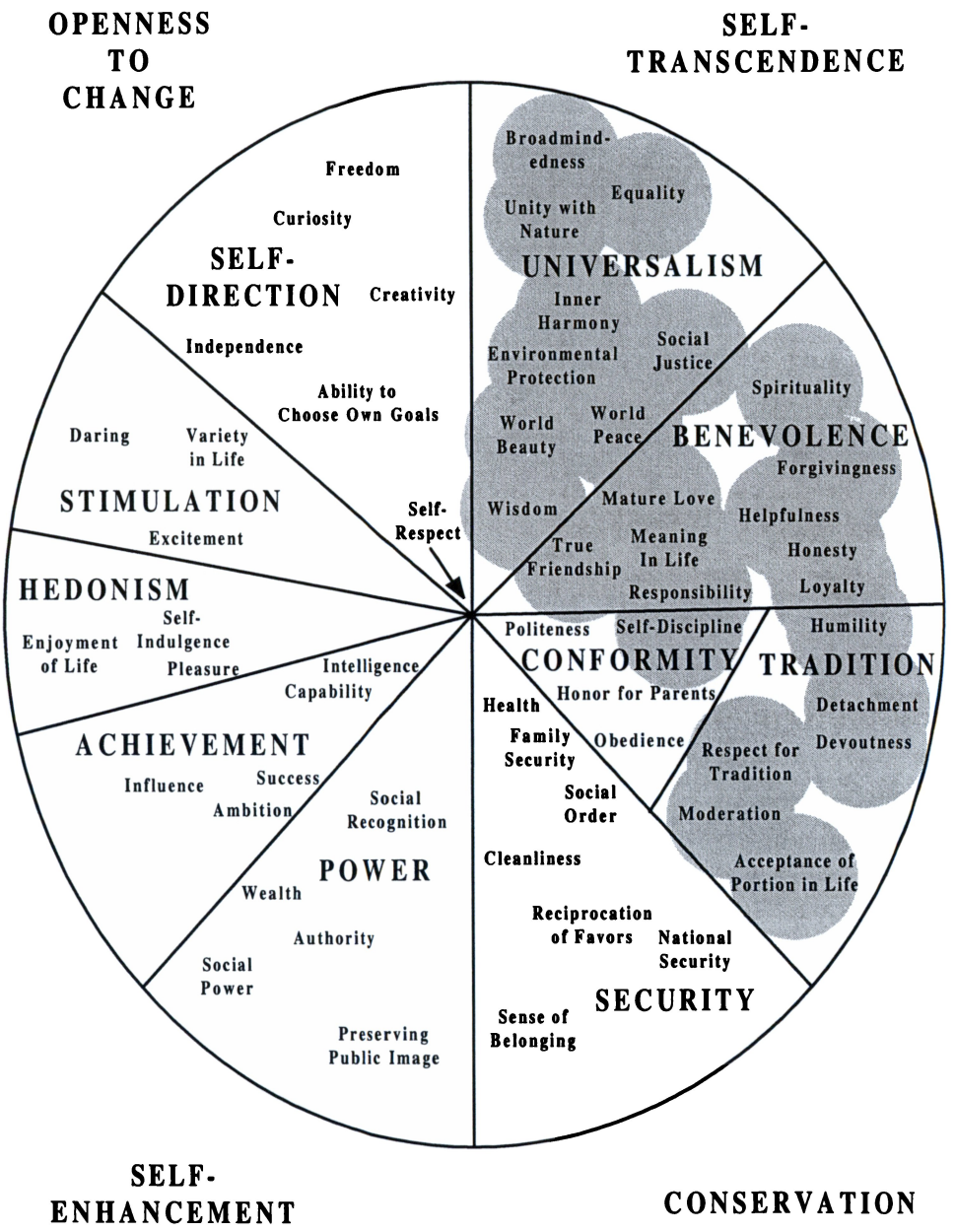


Figure 3: Hypothesis 2A ~ Cluster of values negatively related to materialism.

Hypothesis 2B: Each of the three value types (tradition, benevolence, and universalism) that coincide closely with the cluster of 25 non-materialistic values is negatively associated with materialistic attitudes and behavior (Figure 3).

Hypothesis 2C: The higher-order value category of self-transcendence (containing 18 of the 25 non-materialistic values) is negatively associated with materialistic attitudes and behavior (Figure 3).

Organization of the Study

Despite the long observed anecdotal evidence and more recent fragmentary empirical proof, it appears no researcher has yet examined possible relationships between consumer prioritizations of the entire system of human values and the behaviors and attitudes of those persons prone to materialism.

It is proposed that the Richins and Dawson (1992) materialism survey (RDMS) and the Schwartz (1994) value survey (SVS) be combined within a written questionnaire that also seeks basic demographic information. It is proposed that the resulting survey will be administered to a diverse sample of adult American consumers for the purpose of determining whether personal values orientations to two opposing clusters of values, one described as materialistic and one as non-materialistic, are related to the consumers levels of materialism.

Data gathered from the written survey sample will be analyzed utilizing statistical correlation and regression in search of supporting evidence related to the hypotheses concerning two possibly opposing or conflicting clusters of associated

values that may be related, either positively or negatively, to materialistic attitudes and behavior.

Summary of Chapter I

Is there a definable link between an individual's human values orientation or priorities and whether that person displays materialistic or non-materialistic attitudes and behaviors? A review of the literature seems to indicate there may be such a link and provides some clues as to which value priorities may be related to materialistic tendencies and which may be linked to non-materialistic inclinations. It is therefore hypothesized that a cluster of power, achievement, and hedonism type values are related to materialism and a competing cluster of benevolence, universalism, and tradition values are related to non-materialism. Previously developed and widely used instruments designed to measure both values orientations and materialism will be employed to gather data to be used to these propositions.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

There is a wealth of literature dealing with both materialism and with human values beginning with classical secular literature from the Greek and Roman cultures and also from the writings of each of the major theological traditions. Both have also been common themes within the popular literature of every major culture. Modern academic inquiry into both concepts dates from the late nineteenth century or early twentieth century with a wealth of research beginning by the middle of the twentieth century. While, there has been considerable investigation into each concept, materialism and human values, until this time there has been little or no research into the commonly assumed, and often mentioned, links between them.

Materialism Defined

One dictionary defines materialism as a "devotion to material needs and desires, to the neglect of spiritual matters: a way of life, opinion, or tendency based entirely upon material interests" (Simpson and Weiner, 1989, p. 743). Still another characterizes materialism as a "preoccupation with or emphasis on material objects, comforts, and considerations, as opposed to spiritual or intellectual values" (Costello, 1996, p. 836). A third dictionary similarly describes materialism as a

"tendency to prefer material possessions...to spiritual values" (Abate, 1999, p. 812). In each case a theory or doctrine identifies material possessions as a high or even the highest value or concern in life and the attitudes or behaviors associated with that doctrine are described as materialism. It should also be noted that either by inference, or directly, the formal definitions include the notion that materialistic behavior includes some sort of values tradeoff – "preoccupation with...material objects...as opposed to spiritual or intellectual values" (Costello, 1996, p. 836).

Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 307) found that materialistic consumers believe "possession of things is the ultimate source of happiness," and they create a "religion out of things," so that materialism becomes a dominant "lifestyle" (Belk, 1984; Bredemeier and Toby, 1960; Daune, 1983). Holt (1995, p.12) described materialism as either a "trait or value that measures the importance of possessions in one's life." Browne and Kaldenberg (1997, p. 32) described materialism as "a cluster of related traits, attitudes, and values focusing on possessions and guiding the selection of events and things."

Origins of the Concept of Materialism

Aristotle took note of the "essential interrelation of...ethics and economics" some 400 years B.C. (Seligman, 1901, p. 612). Although the term 'materialism' is more recent, the concept of materialism dates from antiquity. Plato propounded the notion that the desire for wealth and property is good only in moderation and that human virtue is achieved through other goods (or values)—"for I do nothing but go

about persuading you all, old and young alike, not to take thought for your persons and your properties, but first and chiefly to care about the greatest improvement of the soul. I tell you that virtue is not given by money...but...from...every other good of man" (Bartleby.com, n.d.). Plato apparently thought little of "the lovers of money," those who loved the "things of the world in general," and persons who are "lovers of power and honor" (Bartleby.com, n.d.). The Roman social historian Gaius Sallustius Crispus, in the first century B.C., noted an apparent tradeoff between material concerns and morality, when he observed "the glory that goes with wealth is fleeting and fragile; (while) virtue is a possession glorious and eternal" (Bartleby.com, n.d.). Pliny the Younger developed a "certain habitual contempt for...the slavery...(to) money" and observed that "mankind seem to be universally governed by an innate passion to accumulate wealth" (Bartleby.com, n.d.). The Phyrgian Stoic philosopher, Epictetus, wrote principally of his lack of concern for accumulated property and taught instead that true good or virtue is found within oneself—"remember not (to) love...power and wealth...but learning, it matters not what the outer thing may be..." (Bartelby.com, n.d.).

The ancient literature of many of the world's primary theological traditions echo similar ethical and moral concerns surrounding the undue preoccupation with wealth and material goods. The following exhortation is from an early Hindu text, "Those who are tranquil, wise and live on alms, depart free from passion...to where the immortal Person dwells, whose nature is imperishable. Let (each) acquire freedom from all desires. Nothing that is eternal can be gained by what is not

eternal" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 39). Similar observations are excerpted from an ancient Buddhist collection of moral wisdom, "Restraint is good in all things. Even the gods will praise one who, though he receives little, does not despise what he has received. He who lives looking for pleasures only, his senses uncontrolled, immoderate in his desires, the tempter will certainly overthrow him" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 89). "He who aims to be a man of virtue...does not seek always to gratify his appetites, nor in his dwelling place does he seek the appliances of ease. What the superior man seeks is in himself. What the inferior man seeks is (without)" is found in early Confucian writings (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 149).

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, Solomon, the ancient Hebrew writer, recounted his search to find meaning in life in all manner of material gain, "I built houses for myself, I planted vineyards, I made gardens and parks...and planted in them all kinds of fruit trees; I made ponds of water...from which to irrigate a forest of growing tree. I possessed flocks and herds larger than all who preceded me in Jerusalem. I collected for myself silver and gold" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 233). Later in life, Solomon concluded of his materiality, "all was vanity and striving after wind...it is madness...what does it accomplish" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 233). In the Christian writings of the first century A.D., Paul cautioned that both ethical fault and emotional heartache flowed from "the love of money. (It) is a root of all sorts of evil, and some by longing for it have...pierced themselves with many griefs" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 283). Christ himself advocated a life of voluntary simplicity among his early disciples, "Don't take along any money, or a traveler's

bag, or even an extra pair of sandals" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 258). One of the chroniclers of Christ's ministry wrote, "No one can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and wealth" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 281). And finally, the elder statesman of first-century Christianity, John, concluded, "Do not love the world or anything in the world. The world and its desires pass away" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 284).

Materialism in Early American Society

Although the concept of materialism is both ancient and worldwide, the modern manifestation of the phenomenon has reached its peak in the western world, and specifically in the system of democratic capitalism of America (Novak, 1996). In 1840, de Tocqueville (1965, p. 43) observed, "the desire of acquiring the good things of this world is the prevailing passion of the American people." He believed the people of America were more "bent upon the pursuit of material objects" than any other society in history (de Tocqueville, 1965, p. 59). During his tours of the new world, de Tocqueville (1965, p. 83) saw Americans "pursue their own welfare with feverish ardor" and remarked "a native of the United States clings to this world's goods as if he were certain never to die." And yet, despite the unprecedented preoccupation with material wealth, de Tocqueville (1965, p. 110, p.68) also hopefully detected among nineteenth century Americans at least "momentary outbreaks" when they were controlled by the spiritual side of their

natures and he could not bring himself to foresee a future where "the great majority of mankind were exclusively" engaged in material pursuits. Americans were perceived to be free to pursue, and to some extent balanced by, other more spiritual, intellectual, or social gratifications.

America's new capitalistic democracy gave the common man choices, more choices than ever before, to pursue happiness through whatever means he elected. While the phenomenon of materialism, or excessive valuing of wealth and material goods, was as old as society, the period from the late eighteenth through the nineteenth century in America saw an unprecedented expansion of the materialistic trend. By the time of the American Revolution, significant numbers of families purchased goods resulting from the inception of early mass production and commercial marketing efforts (Bauman, 1998; Horowitz, 1985). Laboring class households gained access to a wide range of commodities and, for perhaps the first time, sought household comforts and conveniences from an expanding marketplace. Commercially produced furniture and other household goods began to change domestic life (Horowitz, 1985). Horowitz (1985, p. *xxv*) believed the late eighteenth century became such a "convulsion of getting and spending, such an eruption of new prosperity, and such an explosion of new production and marketing techniques, that a greater proportion of the population than in any previous society in human history was able to enjoy the pleasures of buying consumer goods."

The pace of material consumption quickened at about the time de Tocqueville visited America. One historian noted that the demand for middle class

consumer goods expanded considerably between 1830 and the Civil War period (Horowitz, 1985). But despite the birth, and growth spurt, of a consumer society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, most Americans still lived an extremely modest existence by today's standards. Nearly all, early nineteenth century Americans spent the vast majority of their income on the basic necessities of life, food, clothing, and shelter. However, in the period after the Civil War up until the World War I, a true shift from a producer economy to a consumer economy took shape (Bauman, 1998). The industrialization of America brought a regular factory or office workweek along with a regular paycheck. The combination of more leisure time and more disposable income for consumers, together with a quickly expanding array of manufactured consumer goods, brought unprecedented change (Bauman, 1998; Horowitz, 1985).

Materialism in Twentieth Century America

Sherwood Anderson (1919), in the popular fiction of the early twentieth century, composed a frighteningly powerful image of society's heightening apprehensions about the rapidly unfolding, uniquely American, onslaught of pandemic materialism.

> ...Jesse hungered for...something else. He had grown into maturity in America in the years after the Civil War and he, like all men of his time, had been touched by the deep influences that were at work in the country during those years when modern industrialism was being born. Faintly he

> realized that the atmosphere of old times and places that he had always cultivated in his own mind was strange and foreign to the thing that was growing up in the minds of others. The beginning of the most materialistic age in the history of the world...without patriotism, when men would forget God and...moral standards, when the will to power would replace the will to serve and beauty would be well-nigh forgotten in the terrible headlong rush of mankind toward the acquiring of possessions, was telling its story to Jesse...as it was to the men about him. The greedy thing in him wanted to make money faster than it could be made by tilling the land. His eyes shone (as he said), "I am thinking about it all the time. Big things are going to be done in the country and there will be more money to be made than I ever dreamed of." Later...when night came on and the stars came out it was harder to get back the old feeling— Jesse's mind was fixed upon...things...and...on fortunes to be made almost without any effort... (Anderson, 1919, p. 42-43).

T.J. Jackson Lears (1983, p.3) writes there is a grain of truth to Virginia Woolf's declaration that, "on or about December 1910, human character changed." He notes that around the turn of the century a "new set of values" built on a wave of "compulsive spending" replaced an old ethos that had in the alternative valued the Victorian mores of "perpetual work, compulsive saving, civic responsibility, and...self denial" (Lears, 1983, p. 3). Changing economic conditions made more

goods available to more people prompting a shift in the ancient quest for life's' meaning from the spiritual realm to the material realm.

By the 1920's, the transition from a producer society to an American consumer society was unquestionably well underway (Bauman, 1985; Fox, 1983; Horowitz, 1985). The groundbreaking social analysis of *Middletown,* by Robert S. Lynd, led Fox (1983, p. 109) to conclude the citizens of Muncie, Indiana of the 1920's were "bothered by their own emergent form of (materialistic) behavior" due to their conflicted recollections of an earlier "alternative value system." Fox (1983, p. 120) finds Lynd "never gave up his distaste for the consumer culture (where) old-fashioned values" were replaced by the more materialistic ones of the twentieth century.

Even the wrenching economic disruption of the 'Great Depression' era of the 1930's did little, apparently, to impact the growing materialistic tendencies of many Americans. Horowitz (1985, p. 135) cites a federal study of the Great Depression to confirm that many families only modestly and temporarily "modified patterns of expenditures so that they could continue to live as they had in more prosperous times." Horowitz (1985, p. 150) observed that, by 1940, Americans were manifestly seeking meaning and "happiness through commercial goods and experiences." Some cynical observers even saw the beginning of American involvement in World War II as a draconian path to bring re-commitment of the country to the older, less materialistic, values (Horowitz, 1985). The early post-World War II period brought American "consumer society" into full bloom

(Bauman, 1998). By 1950, many Americans had fully evolved, or perhaps regressed, into materialistic consumers, "impatient, impetuous, and restive," in their quest for the good life (Bauman, 1998, p. 25).

Materialism Research in the Modern Era

Seligman's (1901) treatise on the relationships between man's economic and ethical concerns is one of the early formulations, dealing with doctrinal or historical materialism, in modern academic literature. There was very little published inquiry on materialism prior to mid-century that was other than philosophical and or observational in nature (Isaacs, 1935; Davis and Moore, 1945). The academy made no significant effort to define, or empirically measure, either on an individual or societal basis, the specific attitudes and behaviors of materialistic consumers until the latter half of the century. However, the phenomenon of materialism was in full flourish in America by the 1950's (Bauman, 1998; Wilson, 1993).

Heilbroner (1956, p. 239) evaluated both the positive and negative effects of materialism and described consumer behavior as a "gradual (economic) continuum shading from the disfiguration of the personality under grinding poverty to its disfiguration in opulence." He presumed there must be some "optimal point along that line where wealth and possessions could be enjoyed without being abused" (Heilbroner, 1956, p. 239). Why is more not always better? Because, Heilbroner (1956) concluded, the quest for material goods tends to crowd out other, more

selfless, pursuits and eventually poses a grave psychological threat to the individual.

A survey, conducted in the 1950's (Bredemeier and Toby, 1963, p. 72), found about eighty percent of Americans reported their "most serious" goal in life was "trying to live as comfortably...as possible." Bredemeier and Toby (1963, p. 77) portrayed fully developed American materialism as something akin to an idolatrous religion or "the worship of things." It was proposed that materialism could drive out other, competing, values and lead a person to a state of religious and political apathy. Bredemeier and Toby (1963, p. 434) defined modern, American materialism as "the vision that one more gadget, one more convenience, one more recent model of something, will be the thing to make life pleasant and worthwhile."

A stream of non-empirical or anecdotal materialism literature continued into the 1980's. Uusitalo (1983) observed the escalation of materialistic consumption patterns in Western industrial society. Materialism was thought to be a generally futile quest for meaning or purpose in life. Uusitalo (1983, p. 8) did contend, however, that for some persons "high individual material consumption...seems to be a way of giving some aim or direction to (their) everyday lives." He also recognized a connection between values and materialism when he alluded to the "values of materialism" (Uusitalo, 1983, p. 15). Mukerji (1983, p. 8) believed modern Western society underwent a value shift that "loosed material concerns from other constraints, producing the first truly materialistic culture." Capitalism

and materialism are inextricably linked through materialistic roots that pre-date the industrial revolution.

Wachtel (1983, p. 2) also supposed materialism is a wasted search for meaning when he warned that so long as society persists in "defining well-being predominantly in economic terms...(and as) our primary frame of reference for personal and societal policy decisions, we will remain unsatisfied." Following the persistent need for things, in a search for happiness, will inevitably lead to disappointment. Wachtel (1983) saw a correlation between encroaching materialism and a values shift away from more altruistic concerns. He maintained "the idea of more, of ever increasing wealth, has become the center of our identity and our security, and we are as caught up by it as the addict is by his drugs" (Wachtel, (1983, p. 71).

Early attempts at empirical investigation into the phenomenon of materialism began in the 1950's. The groundbreaking researchers endeavored to measure materialism with broadly inferential techniques. Dickins and Ferguson (1957) utilized questions about which particular toys or clothes children wish for and what vocations they intend to seek as adults to form an approximate measure of youthful materialism. Campbell (1969) formulated an early, but more precise, attempt to measure attitudes related to materialism with an eight-item, forced ranking format. Wackman, Reale, and Ward (1972) followed with a five-item, Likert-scale rating instrument designed around attitudes toward the consequences of the pursuit of money and possessions in a quest for happiness.

Reverting to inferential methods, others investigated implied materialism by utilizing various personality tests thought to measure materialism-related attributes (Burdsal, 1975; Justice and Birkman, 1972). Bengston and Lovejoy (1973) envisioned the concepts of humanism and materialism as opposing bipolar ends of a single factor value system and constructed a measure that asked subjects to rank-order sixteen individual values items. Other researchers developed a materialism-related "acquisitiveness" survey composed of six items for subjects to rate (Jackson, Ahmed, and Heapy, 1976). Moschis and Churchill (1978) followed with a slightly expanded adaptation of the Wackman, Reale, and Ward (1972) survey, which also focused on measuring youthful materialism.

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1978), cognizant of the ancient ethical or moral issues concerning materialism, proposed a dichotomous materialism construct. They defined "instrumental materialism" as the ethically harmless pursuit of wealth or objects to "further personal values and goals in life" and proposed the existence of a "terminal" or ethically dangerous form of materialism focused on possession itself Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1978, p. 8). Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton's (1978) concept of instrumental and terminal materialism may have derived from a strikingly similar concept in the values research. In any case, the notion was intuitively attractive. Greed for possessions themselves is held to be innately immoral or unethical, while desire to possess, for altruistic ends, is moral. While the work provoked added interest in the topic, the notion of ethical and unethical forms of materialism has not

withstood the scrutiny of continued research (Belk, 1985; Richins and Dawson, 1992). In fact, although Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1978) described terminal materialism as an end in itself, they also provided conflicting commentary by noting that the desire to be envied or to achieve social status is the actual goal of terminal materialism. In any case, it appears that the two-classification view of materialism is contingent on subjective value judgments about the end purposes of the consuming behavior.

Inglehart (1981) did considerable work with European samples that focused, not on individual, but societal levels of doctrinal materialism versus post-materialism. Responses were measured to twelve social goals designed to differentiate persons with materialistic values from those with post-materialistic, or more socially oriented, values. Although Inglehart (1981) contributed to the stream of doctrinal materialism research, his work is not apparently useful as a direct measure of individual materialistic consumer behavior and attitudes. Later researchers questioned whether the materialist/post-materialist research, at the societal level, offers any significant information about individual consumers and their "day-to-day consumption choices" (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 306).

Belk (1983, 1984, 1985) substantially advanced the stream of materialism-related research when he developed a multifactor 24-item Likert-scale rating type of instrument designed to assess three personality trait areas thought to collectively reveal materialistic attitudes and behavior. The first of the three trait domains is "possessiveness," defined as "the inclination and tendency to retain control or

ownership of one's possessions" (Belk, 1985, p. 267). The second trait area, identified and measured by Belk (1985, p. 268), is "nongenerosity," defined as "an unwillingness to give possessions or to share possessions with others." The final trait, measured by the Belk (1985, p. 268) instrument, is "envy," defined as "displeasure and ill will at the superiority of (another person) in happiness, success, reputation, or the possession of anything desirable."

Belk (1984, p. 291) characterized materialism as "the importance a consumer attaches to worldly possessions." He believed "at the highest levels of materialism, such possessions assume a central place in a person's life and are believed to provide the greatest sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction" (Belk, 1984, p. 291). Belk (1985) reviewed the history (both ancient and modern) of materialistic behavior and concluded its occurrence has assumed greater proportions in the modern Western world, specifically in twentieth century America. The rising incidence of materialism is attributed to increased societal affluence, which has allowed evermore people to aggregate and consume far beyond the basic necessities of life. Individual, rather than cultural or societal, differences in levels of materialism were of specific interest (Belk, 1985). Belk (1985) declared the major theological traditions have long rejected materialism and generally held it to be irreconcilable with the spiritual or traditional values. According to Belk (1985), secular commentators, as well, have generally disapproved of the observed and assumed detrimental impacts, both individual and communal, of materialistic behavior.

In a review of earlier efforts to measure materialism, Belk (1985, p. 267) found the methods developed by his predecessors to be either "limited or tangential." He judged the Campbell (1969) materialism scale to be a reasonable measure of attitudes toward materialism in others, or in society as a whole, but a poor gauge of attitudes and beliefs guiding personal materialistic behavior. Also, the Campbell (1969) scale had not been empirically tested. Yamauchi and Templer (1982) developed an instrument designed to measure acquisitive beliefs about money, but not specifically about material possessions. Moschis and Churchill (1978) proposed a somewhat more comprehensive instrument intended to measure viewpoints toward both wealth and belongings. It, however, was not widely adopted by other researchers (Belk, 1985).

Belk (1985) found other researchers had documented changes in personal levels of materialism over the human lifespan. Generally, those changes were attributed to altered life goals or motivations that come with increased age. He concluded, from the earlier studies and his own observations, materialistic attitudes and behavior typically increase throughout early adulthood into middle age, but then wane in the later stages of life (Belk, 1985).

Shama and Widenblit (1984, p. 231) examined the non-materialistic values of the "voluntary simplicity" lifestyle. They described voluntary simplicity (perhaps a near opposite of materialism) as a way of life involving "low consumption, ecological responsibility and self-sufficiency" (Shama and Wisenblit, 1984, p. 231). Small, but significant, relationships were identified between

behaviors associated with voluntary simplicity and various other values such as concern for the environment, personal growth, and independence (Shama and Wisenblit, 1984).

De Young (1985-1986) contributed a sparse, contrarious instrument, measuring non-materialism, by using only four items with a Likert-scale arrangement that he tested on a group of adult subjects. Richins (1987) then entered the picture with a six-item, Likert-scale format instrument, also using adult subjects, which again sought to measure materialism itself. Heslin, Johnson, and Blake (1989) followed with another six-item Likert-scale design that was more rigorously tested than any of the previous efforts.

Rassuli and Hollander (1986, p. 16) examined possible relationships between modern capitalism and the "culture of consumption" which they believed lead to an atmosphere of "acquisitiveness and materialism." They detailed several moral and ethical criticisms of high consumption levels, but also acknowledged the attendant economic benefits that may accrue to both the individual and society (Rassuli and Hollander, 1986). Richins (1987, p. 352) wrote of a possible link between materialism or, the consumer culture, and what she described as "bad values." Richins (1987, p. 353) also alludes to the "material values" as though there may be some particular group of negative traits, such as "possessiveness, non-generosity, (and) envy," identified earlier by Belk (1985), that are somehow associated with, or causational factors of, materialism.

Cushman (1990) joined earlier social psychologists and historians, such as Lears (1983) and Susman (1973), in examination of the materialism of modern American culture. That research stream focused on the quest for the underlying origins, or contributing forces, of materialistic behavior and attitudes. One explanation, the "empty self," that yearns to fill a psychological void by acquiring and consuming, is thought to be the product of a personal, internal conflict between societal and individual values (Cushman, 1990, p. 603). The political and economic forces of the American style of democratic capitalism encourage social values that may oppose more altruistic, or traditional, internal values (Cushman, 1990). The American combination of socioeconomic systems is apt to allow the forces of a relatively free marketplace to encourage widespread and "continual consumption of nonessential and quickly obsolete items and experiences" (Cushman, 1990, p. 600-601).

In the mid-1980's Rochberg-Halton (1986, p. 221) reported the "pursuit of money's possessions" had been elevated to the "status of an ultimate goal in modern life." Human values are thought to direct mankind's search for purpose in life. Humankind's quest for fundamental objectives will likely find fruition among the communal values, not the peculiarly self-seeking ones that might guide the modern materialistic age (Horowitz, 1985; Wilson, 1993). In an analysis of the phenomenon of increasing materialism, Easterlin and Crimmins (1991) noted a recent change in life goals for U.S. youth. They accepted the premise that changing "value orientations" are a primary cause in the shift toward materialistic pursuits

and away from other goals in life (Easterlin and Crimmins, 1991, p. 499). Dimma (1991, p. 8) observed that the "spiritual values" were losing sway with Americans as they became more inclined to favor "materialism, hedonism, and greed." Whitcraft (1989, p. 192) believed that despite the "genetic predisposition of humans to make altruistic decisions," that the consumer culture of the 1980's was causing Americans to become addicted to "self-indulgent materialism."

Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 305) stated they, as well as other researchers, rejected the idea that there may be "good and bad" forms of materialism. Earlier researchers had proposed that materialistic consumption, intended as "an essential means" to further some worthy "personal values" or life goals, is a rather benign type, or "instrumental" form, of materialism (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1978, p. 8). Consumption not intended to gain some other, more virtuous, end-state or result was labeled as "terminal" materialism (Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1978, p. 8). Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 305) cited "difficulties operationalizing" measurement of "instrumental (and) terminal forms" of materialism and their aversion to the inherent "value judgments" required by that concept. Richins (1990), and later Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 307), examined and reviewed the "nature of the (materialism) construct" as a prelude to ascertaining the "appropriate measurement approach."

Richins and Dawson (1992) recognized the intertwining nature of materialism research and the investigation of human values. They therefore examined Rokeach's (1973, p. 5) values research and his definition of a value as

"an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence." Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 307) also point to earlier descriptions of the nature of materialism where researchers found that materialistic consumers believe "possession of things is the ultimate source of happiness," or they create a "religion out of things," and that "materialism organizes" consumers very existence to the "extent" that it becomes a dominant "lifestyle" (Belk, 1984; Bredemeier and Toby, 1960; Daun, 1983). These various "descriptions" align well with the Rokeach (1973) "characterizations of values" and the conclusion that "defining materialism as a value" is consistent with the body of literature available at the time (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 308).

Richins and Dawson (1992) set aside many other researchable issues concerning materialism, such as associated personality characteristics, social or political causes and consequences, and personal or ethical implications (Belk, 1983; Fournier and Richins, 1991). They instead sought to outline consistent themes from the literature that may provide a comprehensive portrait of materialism itself. Three defining premises of materialism were identified in the theoretical literature:

1) *Acquisition Centrality* (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 304). Acquisition holds a central or defining position in the lives of materialistic consumers (Richins and Dawson, 1992). Daun (1983) described materialism as a way of life that is so critical to certain persons they are

almost obsessed with formulating strategies for elevated levels of consumption activity. Earlier researchers described a materialistic life-style as one that approached something akin to religious fervor for both purchasing activities and the objects themselves (Bredemeier and Toby, 1960). Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981, p. 231) observed that for some materialists become so devoted to their activities that "consumption for the sake of consumption becomes a fever that consumes all the potential energy it can get access to."

2) *Acquisition as the Pursuit of Happiness* (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 304). The human quest for happiness becomes largely focused on acquisition in those who are materialistic (Richins and Dawson, 1992). Belk (1984, p. 291) observed that "at the highest levels of materialism...possessions assume a central place in a person's life and are believed to provide the greatest sources of satisfaction and dissatisfaction." Ward and Wackman (1971, p. 426) recognize a similar pattern when they describe materialism as "an orientation emphasizing possessions and money for personal happiness and social progress." Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 331) conclude that it is "the pursuit of happiness through acquisition" to the exclusion of "other means (such as personal relationships, experiences, or achievements) that distinguishes materialism."

3) *Possession-defined Success* (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 304). "Materialists tend to judge their own and others' success by the number and quality of possessions accumulated" (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 331). Du Bois (1955) and Weber (1958) earlier noted the degree to which materialistic persons seem to equate the number and quality of material possessions with success in life. Another researcher observed that some tend to value possessions based on the price tag rather than the utility or gratification achieved (Heilbroner, 1956). Du Bois (1955) seemed to allude to a particular attitude or belief system orientation when he noted "that materialists consider material well-being as evidence of success and proof of right-mindedness" (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 304). Materialists tend to develop an inordinate concern for the ways in which purchased goods or experiences can contribute to an enhanced image, either of themselves or their perceptions of others (Campbell, 1987; Richins and Dawson, 1992).

Fournier and Richins (1991) found each of these three defining materialism themes of the theoretical literature to be supported by closely concomitant perceptions of materialism within the popular literature, as well as, and amongst "ordinary consumers" (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 304).

Human Values Defined

The term value is defined by one popular dictionary, in the sense most applicable here, as "a principle, standard, or quality considered worthwhile or desirable. To regard highly; prize; esteem" (Morris, 1981, p. 1415). Another dictionary defines a value as "a principal, standard, or quality considered worthwhile or desirable" (Costello, 1996, p. 1344). Common synonyms for values are ideals, standards, morals, and principles. Some particular values terminology, such as human value systems, is more recent, and might include reference to such principles, or life goals, as self-discipline, love, humility, wisdom, freedom, equality, health, security, and others. Yet a third dictionary defines value system as "a set of personal principles and standards" (Abate, 1999, 1388). Values researcher, Shalom Schwartz (1994, p. 21) defines values as "desirable trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity." Meglino and Ravlin (1998, p. 355) simplify the definition of a "value as a person's internalized belief about how he or she should or ought to behave."

Modern philosopher, James Q. Wilson (1997, p. *x*) contends the term "values" is a "code word for virtue or morality" made necessary by society's current desire to be nonjudgmental and to "find a way of speaking that will not offend anyone." Wilson (1997, p. *xii*) describes his proposition of the universal existence of "a moral sense," as the idea that there exists an "intuitive or directly felt belief about how one ought to act when one is free to act voluntarily." Given

this theory of a universal human "moral sense," Wilson (1997, p. 6) takes strong issue with those who would restrain all discussion of what is "good, right, or acceptable" about virtue, morality, and character, or their contemporary equivalent—values.

Origins of the Concept of Values

A cursory concordance search, in the basic literatures of the world's major religions (Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam), reveals theological references to most, if not all, of the 57 individual values identified by the Schwartz Value Survey (1992), within each stream of literature (Van Voorst, 2000). For example, the concept of love for mankind is advocated by each major religious tradition. "Hatred ceases by love; this is an old rule" is a Buddhist concept (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 89). Confucianism advocates "It is only the truly virtuous man who can love...others" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 153). "In whose heart love is planted, shall make this woman love me" is a Hindu belief (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 50). "Love (not) the evil-doers...love (only) the righteous" is an Islamic tenet (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 308). From the Psalms of Judaism comes "Only goodness and steadfast love shall pursue me all the days of my life" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 219). "Love is patient; love is kind; love is not envious or boastful or arrogant or rude" is a Christian belief (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 277).

The ancient secular, philosophical literature, dating from the early Greeks, is similarly replete with references to the common, widely identified values

(Rokeach, 1973; Wilson, 1997). Pliny the Younger frequently wrote of the "many and great virtues" such as "piety and reverence" (Bartleby.com, n.d.). Plutarch advocated upholding man's "virtues and good parts...especially (a) mild and upright temperament (Bartleby.com, n.d.). Cicero wrote of the ability "to bear bad fortune...well (as) only one of all the virtues" (Bartleby.com, n.d.). Marcus Aurelius Antoninus perceived the pursuit of certain virtues to be the "property of the rational soul, love of one's neighbor, and truth and modesty, and to value nothing more than itself" (Bartleby.com, n.d.). Antoninus saw justice as the guiding virtue—"in justice the other virtues have their foundation" (Bartelby.com, n.d.). The notion that there is a common human value system with individual values orientations is not new. "There is not the same opinion about all the things which in some way or other are considered by the majority to be good, but only about some certain things, that is, things which concern the common interest" (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Bartleby.com, n.d.). Antoninus (Bartleby.com, n.d.), when he alluded to the "things which concern the common interest," almost 1900 years ago, may have been referring to the same set of human values later identified by Schwartz (1994, p. 35) as the "self-transcendence" and "conservation" values. Among the "examples of the virtues" that Antoninus found worthy were "truth, justice, modesty, liberality" and "a benevolent disposition" (Bartleby.com, n.d.).

C.S. Lewis (1944, p. 16) reviewed both the ancient philosophical and theological traditions before concluding that values, or at least those recognized as virtues, are "the ordinate condition of the affections in which every object is

accorded that kind of degree of love which is appropriate to it." He believed that the same basic concept of "ordinate affections," "just sentiments," or a "doctrine of objective value" exists in various formulations common to the "Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, Christian, and Oriental" streams of literature (Lewis, 1944, p. 18).

Values Research in the Modern Era

A philosophical "theory of values" was reviewed and refined by Schneider (1917, p. 141) in the academic literature of the early twentieth century. He borrowed from, and built upon, thought aimed at "the determination of human goods" from the economic, ethical, theological, and psychological literature (Schneider, 1917, p. 142). Schneider (1917) rightly discerned that values seem to depend, at least to some extent, on each individual's unique perspective. That which is an important principle to one may not be to another, subject to each person's "value judgment" (Schneider, 1917, p. 141). He observed that value truths appear to vary by social group, nation, and over time—"everything seems to depend on individual standpoints, upon individual desires" (Schneider, 1917, p. 143). Conversely, Schneider (1917) also observed that many, if not all, people feel that certain values (either spiritual or secular or both) are absolute and eternal. After reflection on the question of whether human values are either subjective or objective, Schneider (1917, p. 147) noted, almost in passing, the "relative" nature of the "controlling and guiding factors of human experience." However, he

concluded, "of course values are objective" (Schneider, 1917, p. 147). Schneider (1917, p. 147) pondered whether one can experimentally measure judgments about relative preferences and "tabulate the results of these experiments and get certain correlations and agreements...(that) indicate anything significant about values." He also determined that values "must be studied in their functional relationships" (Schneider, 1917, p. 148).

Schneider (1917, p. 151) made an effort at "establishing and relating types of values" identifying six (6) possible types: "economic, ethical, esthetic, religious, logical, and biological," while offering that there are "perhaps one or two more." He, ultimately, decided that a ranking or empirical evaluation of values or value types is fraught with problems and beyond the scope of his analysis. Interestingly, Schneider (1917, p. 153) stated as "an empirical fact" that values are "standards (that) control our conduct."

Geiger (1944, p. 292) reviewed the state of "value theory" and defined values as "man's long-time preferences...in the central area encompassing his basic attitudes of life, his deep-rooted tastes and interests, his objects of respect and reverence." He referred to the everyday use of human value systems as a matter of "conflict (and) choices" either on a conscious or unconscious level (Geiger, 1944, p. 293). Geiger alluded to the phrases human "ethical system" and "hierarchy of values" and wondered whether there is a "right hierarchy of values" (Geiger, 1944, p. 293, 295). Interestingly, Geiger (1944) mentioned materialism as one example of the results of failure to strive for a higher ordering of human ethical values.

At mid-century Lovejoy (1950, p. 597) identified as "terminal" and "adjectival" values the two classifications that later researchers would label terminal and instrumental values (Schwartz, 1992). Terminal values are those, which could be called an end-state, in and of themselves, while instrumental values are those that cause actions leading to some desired end-state. Lovejoy (1950) also saw values as the ethical or preferential framework by which man makes everyday choices and judgments about the choices of others.

Catton (1954) explored the reasons that little had been accomplished in the scientific study of values and value systems. He attributed that failure to the attitude among philosophers and social scientists that values are "highly abstract" and therefore not "quantitatively" measurable (Catton, 1954, p. 49). He concluded, however, that "human values...(are) measurable relative to each other" and that it is incumbent on the researcher to devise appropriate methods of measuring subjects' relative "value judgments" (Catton, 1954, p. 55). Catton (1956, p. 357, 359) followed up his hypothesis with research indicating that "human values" are indeed "measurable relative to each other in the same manner as other verbal stimuli" and that "standard scaling procedures" are applicable even when some values are considered to be of "infinite worth." Catton (1959, p. 310) later envisioned what are now referred to as human value systems as "preferences (that) are not random, but patterned (and) relatively stable." He defined a value as "a conception of the desirable which is implied by a set of preferential responses to symbolic desiderata" (Catton, 1959, p. 312). Catton (1959, p. 315-316) further

hypothesized that "value-space...is probably multidimensional" and suggested further, empirically based, investigation of the value-space structure.

Allport, Vernon, and Lindsey (1961) published and periodically refined and republished *A Study of Values,* over a period three decades. They theorized that human values are measurable and might be categorized into six value types or domains:

1) The Theoretical – the principal value in this domain is truth or reason.
2) The Economic – persons who value consumption and wealth accumulation.
3) The Aesthetic – persons who value form and harmony.
4) The Social – altruism – the highest value in this domain is love.
5) The Political – one who is motivated primarily by power.
6) The Religious – the principal value of this type is unity.

Significant differences were found, between the sexes, in value systems among college students (Allport, Vernon, and Lindzey, 1960). Females tended to score higher in the aesthetic, religious, and social realms, while males tended to more highly value the theoretical, political, and economic domains (Allport, Vernon, and Lindzey, 1960).

Milton Rokeach (1960, p. 18) observed that the study of beliefs and attitudes had focused primarily on individual beliefs or attitudes and not on "belief systems" and "attitude systems." He thus began a lifetime of study "on the belief system as a whole" based on his proposition that human behavior could best be

interpreted by "relating such behavior to man's belief systems" (Rokeach, 1960, p. 18-19). Rokeach (1960) envisioned three primary dimensions in his theory of belief systems. The first was expressed as a belief-disbelief dimension with closely related individual beliefs or attitudes sharing space along a continuum in opposition to corresponding disbeliefs that would be relatively inconsistent with the beliefs. The second dimension was described as central-peripheral with three layers of beliefs with a central core of values bordered by intermediate and then peripheral beliefs. In this conception, central beliefs might be associated with the lower or physical human needs progressing to the peripheral beliefs that would be related to man's higher aesthetic or self-actualization needs. The third dimension Rokeach (1960) described involved a time-perspective factor with variation in the belief system dependent on whether the individual behavior or decision in question involved a past, present, or future context. The motivation for his early research in the field was to "develop a way of thinking" making it "possible to describe and to measure the organization of all belief systems, and to describe individual differences in such organization" (Rokeach, 1960, p. 389).

Fallding (1965) proposed that values might be arranged along either of two axes in two-dimensional space. The first is described as the "egoistic-collectivity" axis and the second as the "expansion-restriction" axis (Fallding, 1965, p. 228). Expansion means desirable ends are sought by an increase in breadth, while restriction means ends are attained by increased intensity. Using the perpendicular axes to divide values space, persons fall within one of four value orientations:

ownership (egoistic expansion), interest (egoistic restriction), membership (collectivity expansion), or partisanship (collectivity restriction) (Fallding, 1965).

Rokeach (1968-1969, p. 547) did public opinion polling and research, which led him from his earlier conceptual research in "belief system theory" to curiosity about the specific "values underlying public opinion." He determined there was no empirically reliable system to methodically determine those values (Rokeach, 1968-1969). Rokeach (1968-1969) believed it important to public opinion research to understand the values systems that feed those opinions and to honestly account for the value preferences of not only those being polled, but also of the clients and pollsters. Rokeach, 1968-1969, p. 550) began a review of the extant research on values by asking, "If a persons values form a value system, in what sense do they constitute a system and by what operations can such a system be revealed?" He noted that if a person "has a value (it) is to say that he has an enduring belief that a particular mode of conduct or that a particular end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence" (Rokeach, 1968-1969, p. 550). Among other attributes, Rokeach proposed that values direct our actions, desires, attitudes, behavior, moral judgments, and comparisons with others. One observation by Rokeach (1968-1969) is particularly interesting in the context of the current, politically correct, notion that everyone should avoid judging, or even attempting to influence, another persons values. He believed that "if you claim to have a value and you do not want

to influence anyone else...to have it too, the chances are it it's not a value" (Rokeach, 1968-1969, p. 550).

The end-state and mode-of-conduct values classifications were redefined by Rokeach (1968-1969, p. 551) as "instrumental and "terminal" values. He saw a value system simply as a "hierarchical arrangement of values...along a continuum of importance" (Rokeach, 1968-1969, p. 551). Rokeach (1968-1969, p. 552) enumerated "culture, social system, class, sex, occupation, education, religion, and political" affiliation among the many variables that are "likely to shape...the value systems of large numbers of people." He also believed that while attitudes and beliefs can number in the thousands, specific values are finite and few, perhaps more than 50, but certainly less than 100 (Rokeach, 1968-1969).

Rokeach (1968-1969) developed an instrument for the purpose of rank ordering 36 specific values, equally divided between categories he termed as terminal and instrumental. The terminal categories were: a comfortable life, an exciting life, a sense of accomplishment, a world at peace, a world of beauty, equality, family security, freedom, happiness, inner harmony, mature love, national security, pleasure, salvation, self-respect, social recognition, true friendship, and wisdom. The instrumental values were: ambitious, broadminded, capable, cheerful, clean, courageous, forgiving, helpful, honest, imaginative, independent, intellectual, logical, loving, obedient, polite, responsible, and self-controlled.

In the course of testing and validating the instrument, Rokeach (1968-1969) identified a number of value differences between certain demographic groups:

churchgoers and non-churchgoers, political liberals and conservatives, and between the black and white races.

In the early 1970's Rokeach (1973) authored *The Nature of Human Values*. He described a value as "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence" and a "value system (as) an enduring organization of beliefs...along a continuum of relative importance" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 5). Again values were classified as either terminal or instrumental in nature. Terminal values, in his view, were further divided into those with either personal or social motivations, while instrumental values were viewed as either related to morality or to competence. Competence, or self-actualization, values are the instrumental versions of personal values and moral values are the instrumental renditions of the social values. Rokeach (1973) takes great care not only to closely define values, but also to differentiate values from attitudes, social norms, needs, traits, interests, and other, somewhat related, concepts. He proposed that a value "transcends attitudes toward objects and toward situations: it is a standard that guides and determines action, attitudes toward objects and situations, ideology, presentations of self to others, evaluations, judgments, justifications, comparisons of self to others, and attempts to influence others" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 25). The value survey was described as "an ideal instrument" that is both a "reasonably reliable and valid" measure of the value "variables that are of central importance to the individual and to his society (Rokeach, 1973, p. 51). Rokeach (1973) quoted

Kaplan's (1964, p. 28) law of the instrument: "Give a small boy a hammer, and he will find that everything he encounters will need pounding" in predicting that his value survey would become widely used. Rokeach (1973, p. 52) saw almost unlimited application for a system of values measurement when he suggested, "the measurement of values is relevant to virtually any human problem one might be able to think of."

Kitwood and Smithers (1974, p. 175) described the Rokeach (1973) survey of values as the "latest and...most impressive" approach to measure "accurately the nature of human valuing." Despite that praise, they also concluded the Rokeach (1973) survey of values suffers from an "important weakness, (an) inadequate conception of human values" and that "methods for the study of values...are as yet poorly developed" (Kitwood and Smithers, 1974, p. 175). Rokeach is credited with advancing understanding of the "centrality of values in the understanding of human behavior" (Kitwood and Smithers, 1974, p. 176). Kitwood and Smithers (1974) find fault, principally, with Rokeach's (1973) reliance on a ranking system of 36 discrete values and cite research indicating that humans can typically only hold somewhere in the range of five to nine categories in mind simultaneously.

Bengston and Lovejoy (1973) explored antecedent links to certain values such as personality and social structure. They defined values as "conceptions of the desirable--self sufficient ends which can be (rank) ordered and which serve as orientations to action" and further described them as "the background assumptions used in making difficult decisions...throughout life" (Bengston and Lovejoy, 1973,

p. 883). It is supposed that "value (systems) arise from, and covary with, both...social (condition) and...personality" (Bengston and Lovejoy, 1973, p. 883). Values are seen as central to each person's system of beliefs and behaviors, and therefore important to the comprehension of human stimulation and resulting conduct.

Bengston and Lovejoy (1973) operationalized the paradigm that Fallding (1965) proposed with an instrument designed for the rank ordering of 16 discrete values: finances, possessions, appearance, respect, service, equality, peace, ethical life, skill, excitement, freedom, achievement, religious participation, loyalty, patriotism, and friendship. Factor analysis "resulted in two independent bipolar dimensions, providing corroboration for Fallding's typology" (Bengston and Lovejoy, 1973, p. 890). The first factor was labeled as "materialism/humanism" and the second as "individual/institutional orientation" (Bengston and Lovejoy, 1973, 892). The first eight values listed above are on the materialism/humanism axis and the final eight comprise the individual/institutional factor. Bengston and Lovejoy (1973 were quite surprised at the lack of evidence for values differences by social class, and gender. Age was a significant predictor of values shifts that occurred as persons moved from youth to middle age and then to old age (Bengston and Lovejoy, 1973).

Bengston (1975) later expanded his values research and re-stated his concept that values fall within one of four domains or types, defined as humanism, collectivism, materialism, and individualism. Bengston (1975) again used the same

sixteen specific values, identified by Bengston and Lovejoy (1973), choosing four to reflect each of the value types:

Humanism – equality, service, world peace, and ethical life.

Materialism – financial comfort, respect, possessions, and appearance.

Collectivism – religious participation, friendship, loyalty, and patriotism.

Individualism – exciting life, achievement, skill, and personal freedom.

Bengston's (1975) most interesting findings support the concept that materialistic values shift upward and then downward with age; parents are more materialistic than youths, but grandparent attitudes are more closely aligned with the youngest generation. There is also evidence that family, social, and peer groups influence values.

Rankin and Grube (1980) returned to the Rokeach (1973) value survey and tackled the issue of whether value rankings are empirically appropriate, when compared to a value rating system. An instrument was devised that allowed subjects to rate each of the 36 values on a scale of one to 99. Results from that instrument were compared with those from the Rokeach (1973) ranking system. The "general conclusion (was) that the two methods of collecting data on value systems differ to some extent, but not enough to warrant disuse of the...Rokeach (1973) value survey" (Rankin and Grube, 1980, p. 243). In fact, they found very little difference in convergent and discriminant validity, test-retest reliability, and only slightly more favorable multiple regression construct validity with the ranked data. Reynolds and Jolly (1980) conducted similar, but not identical, comparisons

of ranked versus rated data for the Rokeach Value Survey (1973) items. They utilized a seven-point Likert scale measure and concluded the "rating scale method proves to be significantly less reliable than...rank ordering" (Reynolds and Jolly, 1980, p. 535). Munson and McIntyre (1979) conducted similar research, but found ratings with a Likert scale were "not significantly less reliable" (Reynolds, and Jolly, 1980, p. 531).

Spates (1983, p. 42) thoroughly reviewed nearly a century of scholarly thought and research on values and concluded "the most significant advance has come from the work of Milton Rokeach" with his value survey resulting in "the most completed portrait yet of American values." The Rokeach (1973) value survey, since it's development, has been independently validated and used extensively by researchers in several other cultures. Spates (1983, p. 44) concluded his review of values research by posing two critical questions: "Do value-orientations (sets of linked values) exist?" and "Do values correlate with behavior?"

Braithwaite and Law (1985, p. 251) observed that Rokeach's (1973) "criteria for item selection have been criticized on the grounds of arbitrariness and subjectivity." Rokeach (1973, p. 30) had, however, acknowledged that his process for selecting the 36 specific values was "an intuitive one." Rokeach (1973, p. 27) argued only that his chosen 36 items provided a "reasonably comprehensive" sampling of all-important human values. Braithwaite and Law (1985, p. 252) reviewed the various other criticisms of the rank ordering system of the Rokeach

(1973) value survey, but noted that the "success with which (it) has been used vindicates the...measurement technique to some extent." Braithwaite and Law (1985) conducted extensive subject interviews to ascertain whether the inventory of values identified by Rokeach (1973) accurately reflected the true, entire array of human values. A number of added potential values were identified and many of the original Rokeach (1973) values were separated into components. A new, asymmetrical, seven-point rating scale, containing the additional values along with those identified by Rokeach (1973), was developed and tested (Braithwaite and Law, 1985). Braithwaite and Law (1985) identified additional values in the areas of physical development and well being, along with the concepts of security, privacy, and freedom that were not adequately represented in the Rokeach (1973) value survey. They reported empirical support for a total of 79 value scale items representing 14 value constructs or types (Braithwaite and Law, 1985).

Alwin and Krosnick (1985) also turned their attention to the issue of ratings versus rankings for the measurement of values. Alwin and Krosnick (1985) reviewed the pros and cons of each approach among those who have been proponents of rankings (Rokeach, 1973; Allport et al., 1960; Bengston, 1975) as well as those who have been critics of rankings and have proposed or argued instead for value ratings (Munson and McIntyre, 1979; Braithwaite and Law, 1985). They found that "past research suggests that rating techniques may be used just as effectively" as ranking methods (Alwin and Krosnick, 1985, p. 548). Alwin and Krosnick (1985, p. 549) did not, however, construe from the analysis of

comparative data that "ratings and rankings are interchangeable in the measurement of values" because "the ranking approach may create artificial contrasts among the ...content of the measures." Although ratings and rankings "measure somewhat different things" it still cannot be determined "that one (or the other) is the more valid approach" (Alwin and Krosnick, 1985, p. 550).

Kahle, Beatty, and Homer (1986) reviewed and empirically compared two methodologies that were developed for the measurement of consumer values. The first was values and life style (VALS) developed by SRI International and the second was the list of values (LOV) developed by Kahle (1983). Although both VALS and LOV draw from, and complement, values research, each is limited. The LOV survey is drawn from Rokeach's (1973) Values Survey. It is a smaller set of those values, thought to be, related to everyday life decisions. Neither VALS or LOV is intended to represent or measure the entirety of the human value system; only certain values that are consumer related.

Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, p. 550) entered values research with the goal of investigating or finding "a universal psychological structure of human values." Based on a review of the literature, Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, p. 551) defined values as "concepts or beliefs, about desirable end states or behaviors, that transcend specific situations, guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and are ordered by relative importance." They described the "structure of human values" as the "conceptual organization of values on the basis of their similarities and differences" (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987, p. 550). Schwartz and Bilsky (1987,

p. 551) initially identified seven categories, or "motivational domains," of values drawn primarily from a review of the specific values in the Rokeach (1973) Value Survey. The identified domains were enjoyment, security, achievement, self-direction, restrictive-conformity, prosocial, social power, and maturity. Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) hypothesized that smallest space analysis statistical methodology would allow mapping of the value points in a two-dimensional space resembling a pie shape. It was envisioned that each domain would occupy space approximating a slice of the pie and the collective domains identified as prosocial, restrictive-conformity, and perhaps security would stand opposite the individualistic domains of self-direction, achievement, and enjoyment. Maturity was viewed as a "mixed" domain, falling neither into the collectivist nor the individualistic category (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987, p. 553). Israeli teachers and German students served as subjects for translated versions of the Rokeach (1973) value survey (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987). Respondents were asked to rank order values and then to rate adjoining values on a seven-point scale. The ranking and rating data were then combined into a rating with a potential range of 120 points (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987).

It was concluded the "evidence clearly supports the existence of the seven basic motivational domains" but also found evidence for a few "additional...domains" such as ones that might be labeled "social power" and "tradition maintenance" (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987, p. 560). It was also noted that the security domain might be, more appropriately, divided into individual and

collective categories. In addition to the new data collected, Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, p. 561) also reanalyzed data from a number of previous value studies and concluded that smallest space analysis seemed to "reveal that the structure of values we have postulated might be present there as well" (Braithwaite and Law, 1985; Rokeach, 1973).

Crosby, Bitner, and Gill (1990, p. 126) hypothesized that values may be structurally arranged into each of seven "dimensions." Conformity, virtuous, self-direction, idealism, self-actualization, security, and hedonism were identified as the defining categories of human values. Respondents were asked to both rank order and rate (on a seven-point scale) the 36 values of the Rokeach (1973) values survey and the hypothesized structure was analyzed using LISREL techniques. The results confirmed that values are not independent, and the specific "organizational structures were as hypothesized," although it was suggested that the existence of additional values may be indicated (Crosby, Bitner, and Gill, 1990, p. 132).

Schwartz and Bilsky (1990) greatly expanded their cross-cultural values research database by adding samples from five additional countries. Again, they utilized the basic Rokeach (1973) values survey, but with four (4) values added to the original thirty-six (36) for most samples, and with a completely revised list of 57 values for others. One purpose for the continued research was to explore the issue of whether the distinction between instrumental and terminal values is valid. It was noted that people do "not distinguish clearly between" the two categories and that "the distinction between ends and means is not clear-cut" (Schwartz and

Bilsky, 1990, p. 882). Terminal values are generally expressed as nouns and instrumental values are phrased as adjectives, but either can easily be converted to the other without apparent effect on rankings or ratings.

The additional data collected by Schwartz and Bilsky (1990) confirmed the earlier observed distinction between individualistic and collective interest groupings of the value domains. The seven distinct regions or domains arrayed around a pie-shape identified earlier were confirmed and the "findings demonstrate that specific values fall into clearly defined motivational categories" (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990, p. 889). It was reported that preliminary analysis of the data collected with the 57-value survey might indicate the existence of "three or four new (value) domains" (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990, p. 890). Later that year, Schwartz (1990, p. 139) reported on further analysis of the data and proposed "the individualism-collectivism dichotomy" earlier hypothesized "overlooks values that inherently serve both individual and collective interests" and forms "the mistaken assumption that...individualist and collectivist values form opposing syndromes." It was suggested that further research might reveal additional and/or refined value categories (Schwartz, 1990).

Corfman, Lehman, and Narayanan (1991) reviewed and investigated possible links between various consumer behaviors and the underlying values orientations that may be associated with them. They described materialism as a "general value" and utilized the LOV instrument and a consumer survey to identify correlations between materialism and the self-oriented values of self-respect and

sense of accomplishment (Corfman, Lehman, and Narayanan, 1991, p. 186). Kamakura and Mazzon (1991) proposed a consumer-oriented model, more comprehensive than the LOV and VALS models, based on Rokeach's (1973) instrument. It, however, was still not intended as a complete values structure model. Kamakura and Novak (1992, p. 128) tested the model and found the "value-system segments we identified fitted clearly into the theoretical structure proposed by Schwartz and Bilsky" (1987, 1990).

Schwartz (1992, p. 1) described values as the "criteria people use to select and justify actions and to evaluate people and events." They are not qualities, nor or they totally analogous to the common conception of virtues, but are guides or touchstones by which we steer a path through life. Rokeach (1973, p. 3) believed that "the value concept, more than any other" could provide an explanatory view into "human behavior" for all the sciences. Schwartz (1992, p. 3) believed, further, that "identification of a universal value structure" was a critical step toward understanding of human behavior.

Schwartz (1992) hypothesized the existence of three additional motivational categories of values (tradition, stimulation, and power) and modified his conception of the contents and definitions of four others (enjoyment, maturity, prosocial, and security). An entirely new, "theory-based survey" was developed "to measure people's value priorities" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 16). Schwartz (1992) considered, and included, versions of values drawn from several other surveys, including the Rokeach (1973) value survey and that of Braithwaite and Law (1985). 57

individual values were incorporated. Respondents from 20 countries were asked to rate values on a nine-point asymmetrical scale, rather than rank, "as a guiding principle in my life" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 17). Again, smallest space analysis statistical techniques, yielding a two-dimensional solution, were utilized to ascertain locational patterns ascribed to various categories of motivational content for the 57 values (Schwartz, 1992).

One important new finding was that there was "little support for the terminal-instrumental distinction" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 37). People apparently do not mentally organize their individual values by any kind of ends-means criterion. Schwartz (1992, p. 49) suggested that "people usually think of values in noun form (wisdom rather than wise)" and therefore terminally stated values may be preferable for survey purposes. People from most of the studied cultures "distinguish ten types of values...as guiding principles in their lives" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 37). Of the 11 hypothesized value domains, only spirituality was not fully supported empirically by the data and no evidence was found for any other, unidentified, value category. The ten identified value types are universalism, benevolence, conformity, tradition, security, power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction. The ten value categories occupy nine wedge-shaped areas surrounding a central point and appear quite like a sliced pie; tradition and conformity share a single wedge space (Schwartz, 1992).

In a political values context, Braithwaite (1994) analyzed responses to value sets thought to correspond to liberal versus conservative or left versus right

political leanings. The value sets were drawn from Rokeach (1973) and Braithwaite and Law (1985). Factor analysis yielded some counterintuitive results, with values that are seemingly polar opposites indicating positive, not negative, correlations. Braithwaite's (1994) findings are, however, consistent with the Schwartz (1992) view that the entire human value system is generally perceived to be comprised of positive values. Some of the motivational categories of values may appear on first examination to embody conflicting goals, but it seems that in practice they are treated in a more complex fashion as worthy, competing, but not necessarily mutually exclusive, objectives. Mayton, Ball-Rokeach, and Loges (1994) contribute support for that view, observing that there is never an absence of values. "We never prefer dishonesty to honesty, we merely elevate other ways of behaving, such as ambitious or loyal, in importance relative to honesty" (Mayton, Ball-Rokeach, and Loges, 1994, p. 3).

The Schwartz (1994) theory of values continued to take shape with an expanded research base spanning 97 samples, drawn from 44 countries. He contended that while there is, "an almost infinite number of values," there are perhaps only five-dozen or so, arrayed into ten motivational types, that are necessary to adequately define a universal human value system (Schwartz, 1994, p. 20). Schwartz (1994, p. 21) presented a refined definition of values as "desirable trans-situational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity." It was further postulated that "implicit in this definition of values as goals is that (1) they serve the interests of some social

entity, (2) they can motivate action—giving it direction and emotional intensity, (3) they function as standards for judging and justifying action, and (4) they are acquired both through socialization to dominant group values and through the unique learning experiences of individuals" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 21). He viewed the "crucial" aspect of the ten motivational goals, or types, of values as the "content aspect that distinguishes among" them (Schwartz, 1994, p. 21) (Table 1).

When plotted in two-dimensional space (Figure 1), the ten value types, occupy nine slices of a pie-shape, with conformity and tradition occupying the inner and outer portions, respectively, of a single wedge (Schwartz, 1994). The arrangement, around the pie-shape, is in the order listed above with the final value type listed, security, being adjacent to the first, power. "The motivational differences between value types are continuous rather than discrete" according to Schwartz (1994, p. 25). Adjoining pairs of motivational types share purposeful emphases. Types that are represented graphically as polar opposites have sharp motivational, or higher order, contrasts, i.e., self-transcendence versus self-enhancement (Schwartz, 1994).

Schwartz (1994, p. 26) utilized a nine-point rating system, from negative one to positive seven, that was first "anchored" by asking respondents to read the entire values list and select the most important, "as a guiding principle in my life," and least important values. The subjects are asked to assign appropriately high or low ratings to the most and least important values. Again, Schwartz (1994) principally relied on smallest space analysis projections to identify clusters of

Table 1: Ten Value Types defined by Schwartz (1992; 1994).		
Value Types	**Definition**	**Exemplary Values**
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.	Social power, wealth, authority
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.	Successful, capable, ambitious
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.	Pleasure, enjoying life
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.	Daring, varied life, exciting life
Self-Direction	Independent thought and action—choosing, creating, exploring.	Creativity, curious, freedom
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, broad-minded, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.	Social justice, equality
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of welfare of frequently contacted people.	Helpful, honest, forgiving
Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide.	Humble, devout, accepting my portion in life
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset others and violate social expectations or norms	Politeness, obedient, honoring parents and elders
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.	National security, social order, and clean

values and assess the accuracy of the predicted motivational groupings. With the possible exception of a "spirituality" cluster, appearing between benevolence and tradition in 42 percent of the cultural groups, his analysis indicates, "no major motivational aspect of values is missing from the theory" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 32). Schwartz (1994, p. 39) again chose smallest space analysis techniques because "factors based on raw value ratings are rarely bipolar—individuals show a response tendency to rate values in general as more or less important." Smallest space analysis "structures can reveal conceptual oppositions obscured in factor analysis" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 39).

Schwartz (1994, p. 35) found "no evidence for (the) distinction" between "terminal and instrumental values" in the structure, either through smallest space analysis or factor analysis. It was concluded, "all types of motivational concerns can be expressed in both terminal and instrumental terms" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 35). It is speculated that earlier research evidence, indicating a terminal/instrumental distinction, may have resulted from shifting scale use caused by Schwartz (1994) and other researchers (Rokeach, 1973) utilizing separate lists for terminal and instrumental values. Schwartz (1994) also identified four higher order groupings of values (see Figure 1) that correspond to the axes of the identified two-dimensional value space. One bipolar axis is represented by "conservation" values (security, conformity, and tradition) opposed by "openness to change" (stimulation, self-direction, and a portion of the hedonism space). "Self-enhancement" (power, achievement, and part of hedonism) is at one pole of the orthogonal axis and "self-

transcendence" (benevolence and universalism) is located at the other (Schwartz, 1994, p. 38).

Johnston (1995) re-examined the Rokeach (1973) value survey searching for an underlying, but previously unreported, structure. He theorized a two-dimensional, four-quadrant structure for the terminal values, with the first dimension described as "mature love" opposed to "national security" and the second referred to as "exciting life" opposed by "self-respect" values (Johnston, 1995, p. 590). It was believed that the instrumental values assemble in a similar fashion with "self-control" opposing the "loving and giving" values and with "imaginative" values opposite those that are "achievement-oriented" (Johnston, 1995, p. 590). Although Johnston (1995) continued to deal with them separately, he reported no support for his supposition that the terminal and instrumental values align into separate underlying conceptual structures. In fact, Johnston (1995) reported, for both terminal and instrumental groupings, a two-dimensional, four-quadrant structure, that is strikingly similar to the higher order groupings of self-transcendence, conservation, openness to change, and self-transcendence found by Schwartz (1994).

In an examination of the relationships between gender and values, Beutel and Marini (1995) developed a three-factor measure of values orientation. They theorized that the three primary categories of values are (Beutel and Marini, 1995, p. 438):

1) Compassion – the concern and responsibility for the well-being of others,
2) Materialism – the emphasis on personal material benefit and competition,
3) Meaning – philosophical concern with finding meaning and purpose in life.

Materialism was defined as a measure of concern for material goods, that includes the competitive interests of "maximizing differences between oneself and others" (Beutel and Marini, 1995, p. 438). It was also theorized, that "those who attach importance to finding purpose and meaning in life also tend to attach importance to the public interest but not to materialism" (Beutel and Marini, 1995, p. 438). Religiosity was expected to be positively associated with both compassion and meaning, but not with materialism. Each of the anticipated correlations was supported by data gathered, over more than two decades, from samples comprised of U.S. college students. Females were found to value compassion and meaning more than materialism, while males reflected the opposite orientation Beutel and Marini, 1995). Over time, from the early 1970's until the mid-1990's, the gap between gender differences closed somewhat, as females became somewhat more competitively oriented (Beutel and Marini, 1995).

Isaac (1997, p. 563) argued for the inclusion or "recognition of a moral dimension to" the study of "consumer choice." He contended that the classical economic view of consumer action as derived from the search for economic utility,

or maximization, ignores motivations that are guided by value systems that are other than self-interested. Isaac (1997, p. 565) observed that on occasion, "self-interest may recommend actions that conflict with morality. In an acknowledgement of the existence of a human value system that obtains to "motivational plurality," Isaac (1997, p. 566) conceded consumer behavior may be the result of unresolved "motivational conflict" and therefore unexplainable within the "neoclassical paradigm" of morality. Nevertheless, Isaac (1997, p. 568) contended that theorists must "attend to motivation" and that "moral motivations" deserve to be incorporated into our models because "moral motivations and self-interest...are strictly incommensurable."

Roccas and Schwartz (1997, p. 357) examined the "relations between religiosity and values" and observed, "the primary aim of religion is to temper materialist tendencies and to encourage transcendence." Positive correlations were found between religiosity and the Schwartz (1994) values of conformity, security, benevolence, and tradition values and negative correlations between religiosity and the hedonism, stimulation and self-direction value types. Roccas and Schwartz (1997) also hypothesized that materialism may be closely associated with the non-religious value groupings and opposed to the religious values.

Kane (1998) proposed a four-dimensional cognitive view of human values. It was suggested that the first, or most basic, dimension is experiential, arising from whether our value experiences provoke either positive or negative emotions. An exciting experience that arouses joy might come to be valued, while if it inspired

fear then excitement might not be valued. The stream of experiences, called life, that encompasses purposeful activity directed toward life's goals, lead to a second cognitive value dimension based on the relative "success or failure of these undertakings" (Kane, 1998, p. 582). The degree to which aims are achieved and whether desires are satisfied by those pursuits is thought to form the second dimension of a personal value system. Kane's (1998) third dimension of values is found in how human self-definition is achieved. As values determine "one's role in society" then individuals become uniquely defined by "the quality of their desires and motivations" and whether they are "more or less decent or indecent, noble or base, or worthy or unworthy" (Kane, 1998, p. 584).

Kane's (1998) fourth dimension is designed to deconstruct the modern notion that values are entirely subjective or relative. It is contended that values, in the first three dimensions, are both subjective and objective in nature. They are objective because a person is or is not having some value experience and either does or does not hold one value above another. Values are also relative "to persons who have the experiences, pursue the purposes, or share the forms of life" (Kane, 1998, p. 585). Kane (1998, p. 586) sees fourth dimensional value as "non-relative or universal worth from all points of view, not merely from the point of view of this or that person (or) society." While acknowledging that to some "educated moderns, this appears naive," Kane (1998, p. 588, 593) proposed that some value orientations are "correct from every point of view" and "when put to the test in practice lead to the conclusion that some ways of life" are more worthy of respect

than others. He contended that the postulated fourth dimension of values makes the modern objective of "complete value neutrality...impossible" (Kane, 1998, p. 595).

Schultz and Zelensky (1998) and Stern, Dietz, and Guagnano (1998) utilized the Schwartz (1994) survey of values to measure correlations with environmental behavior. The latter group attempted, with some limited success, to develop a shortened value survey that would yield similar results (Stern, Dietz, and Guagnano, 1998). They concluded that as a "broad measure" that approximates the results of the full instrument, "an inventory consisting of three item measures of the four value clusters defined" by Schwartz (1994) "provides scores...both...reliable and useful as a predictor of relevant attitudes and behavior" (Stern, Dietz, and Guagnano, 1998, p. 994). It should be noted, however, that the subject research had a very limited focus associated with specific environmental behaviors, and the chosen values were those thought to be most relevant to that particular inquiry. Boehnke, Stromberg, Regmi, Richmond, and Chandra (1998, p. 230) relied on Schwartz's (1994) value theory to study the relationships between value systems and "worries and well-being." Interestingly, they found the most positive relationships with "personal and microsocial worries" to be with the Schwartz (1994) security and hedonism value groupings and that "macrosocial worries" were related to the universalism, benevolence, and self-direction value categories (Boehnke, 1998, p. 236).

Meglino and Ravlin (1998, p. 355) reviewed values research from the perspective of organizational behaviorists and proposed a somewhat simplified

definition – "we define a value as a person's internalized belief about how he or she should or ought to behave." In regard to the structure of values systems, they observed "situations inevitably present themselves where a person's values come into conflict" (Meglino and Ravlin, 1998, p. 359). The consensus opinion of recent researchers is that such conflicts are resolved by individual cognitive processes entailing "paired comparisons between...values" (Meglino and Ravlin, 1998, p. 359).

McCarty and Shrum (2000, p. 274) focused their attention on the issue of "ranking versus rating" of "personal values constructs." They acknowledge that "ratings are generally easier to administer and simpler for respondents to complete," but report that ease and simplicity are a tradeoff for "lack of differentiation (that) can weaken correlations among variables" (McCarty and Shrum, 2000, p. 275-276). The other commonly used survey methodology, ranking, has "significant drawbacks," sometimes forcing "distinctions between values when none exist," and generally "more difficult to administer" (McCarty and Shrum, 2000, p. 276). Based on research conducted with two sample groups, it was concluded that a "most-least rating procedure" is an attractive alternative to either ranking or rating (McCarty and Shrum, 2000, p. 277). Respondents are asked to first choose, from an entire list of values, their "most and least important values," and then are asked to rate each value on the list according to their view of it's importance (McCarty and Shrum, 2000, p. 277). Although easier to administer, and less time consuming, than a ranking procedure, the most-least rating procedure

yields "similar degrees of differentiation" (McCarty and Shrum, 2000, p. 278). Confirming the appropriateness of the rank, then rate, method utilized by the Schwartz (1994) value survey, McCarty and Shrum (2000, p. 297) conclude "the least-most measurement technique may increase the ability of researchers to detect relations between personal values and other variables of interest."

Kinnier, Kernes, and Dautheribes (2000, p. 4) developed a "short list" of "universal moral values" that finds substantial corroboration within the literature of seven major religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) and from the literature of major secular groups (atheists, humanists, and from United Nations reports). Although formatted differently, the findings are strikingly similar to the self-transcendence and conservation dimensions of the universal values structure identified by Schwartz (1994; Kinnier, Kernes, and Dautheribes, 2000). Of the 36 individual values, that comprise the two Schwartz (1994) higher-order value dimensions, there are direct matches or synonyms for 28 of them on the "short list" (Kinnier, Kernes, and Dautheribes, 2000). Except for self-respect, the value found at the center, or spatial intersection, of all ten Schwartz (1994) value types, there are no "short list" universal "moral values" found within Schwartz' (1994) two higher-order dimensions of self-enhancement and openness to change (Kinnier, Kernes, and Dautheribes, 2000). All of the "moral" values, identified on the "short list" are within the adjoining value types of tradition, benevolence, conformity, security, and universalism (Kinnier, Kernes, and Dautheribes, 2000, p. 4; Schwartz, 1994). None of the

"moral" values is found within the spatial boundaries of the neighboring power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction value types that lay opposite the other, apparently, moral value types (Kinnier, Kernes, and Dautheribes, 2000, p. 4; Schwartz, 1994).

Himmelfarb (2001), in an analysis of the cultural divide apparent within early twenty-first century America, noted that what we now commonly refer to as values were formerly called virtues (Wilson, 1997). She asked whether "moral progress" can march forward alongside "material progress" or whether, as it now appears, there may be some inverse relationship dictating moral decline (changing value orientation) as society advances economically (Himmelfarb, 2001, p. 26-27). Himmelfarb (2001, p. 37) decried the currently fashionable "ethical and cultural relativism that reduces all values (and) standards."

Some researchers (Claxton, Murray, and Janda, 1995; Rindfleisch, Burroughs, and Denton, 1997) have explored negative correlations between family stability and materialism and some (Bengston, 1975; Easterlin and Crimmins, 1991) have turned their attention to links between family structure and values orientations. Himmelfarb (2001, p. 45) described the family as "the seedbed of virtue" and speculated that the breakdown of the family in the twentieth-century western world may be closely associated, not only with rising materialism, but, with the concurrent values shifts of the 'Great Disruption' that marked the late 1960's and early 1970's.

As a result of recent research, testing a second instrument for measuring values priorities, Schwartz, et al (2001, p. 523) concluded "although people differ substantially in the importance they attribute to values—values are organized by a common structure of motivational oppositions and congruities for most literate adults across cultures." He has further found that "value priorities, measured with" the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS), "have shown systematic, meaningful, and predictable relations with numerous attitudes, personality traits, behaviors, and background variables" in all the various cultures and regions studied (Schwartz, et al, 2001, p.523).

Early Links Between Materialism and Values

The common definitions of materialism establish strong links between the concept and human values or value systems. Materialism is a "doctrine that only the highest values or objectives lie in material well-being" (Costello, 1996, p. 836). Materialism is a "theory or doctrine that...worldly possessions constitute the greatest good and highest value" (Abate, 1999, p. 812). Materialism is a "preoccupation with or stress upon material rather than spiritual or intellectual things" (Costello, 1996, p. 836).

The ancient religious traditions see materialistic behavior or attitudes within the context of human virtue or values orientation. "Restraint is good in all things. Even the gods will praise on who, though he receives little, does not despise what he has received. He who (is)...immoderate in his desires, the tempter will certainly

overthrow him" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 90). "What the superior man seeks is in himself. What the inferior man seeks is (without)" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 136). Materiality is "vanity and striving after wind...it is madness...what does it accomplish" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 233). "The love of money. (It) is a root of all sorts of evil, and some by longing for it have wandered away...and pierced themselves with many griefs" (Van Voorst, 2000, p. 282).

In the early 1800's, de Tocqueville, observed an early American trend toward materialistic pursuits, but perceived that it was balanced by other, competing and, more spiritual, intellectual, or political gratifications. T.J. Jackson Lears (1983, p. 3), writing about the America of the early 20th century, saw a "new set of values" built on a wave of "compulsive spending." He believed the new values were replacing an earlier, alternative value system built around Victorian mores. Lears (1983, p. 120) also believed that Robert S. Lynd, in his *Middletown* research, discovered materialistic values were displacing "old-fashioned values". David Horowitz (1985, p. 150) observed that by 1940, Americans were seeking meaning and "happiness through commercial goods and experiences."

Modern Era Research on Materialism and Values

A stream of academic research on consumer materialism began in the 1950's with the observation that the quest for material goods tends to crowd out other, more selfless, pursuits (Heilbroner, 1956). Schneider (1917, p. 151) proposed "establishing and relating types of values" when he identified six possible

categories including "economic" values. A very similar categorization of values was proposed by Allport, Vernon, and Lindzey (1960) when they described persons who value consumption and wealth accumulation as those with strong economic values. One paradigm for the classification of human values included two independent bipolar dimensions, one of which is described as "materialism/humanism" (Bengston and Lovejoy, 1973, p. 892). The specific materialism values were identified as "finances, possessions, appearance, and respect," while the humanism values were "service, equality, peace, and ethical life" (Bengston and Lovejoy, 1973, p. 890). Bredemeier and Toby (1963) suggested that consumer materialism could drive out other, competing, values and lead to a state of religious and political apathy in society. Bengston and Lovejoy (1973) theorized that the concepts of humanism and materialism were opposing, bipolar, ends of a single-factor value system. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1978) believed that the desire to be envied, or social status, is a life goal, or value, that engenders some materialistic behavior. Uusitalo (1980, p. 15) recognized a motivational connection, when he alluded to the "values of materialism." One researcher perceived a correlation between encroaching American materialism and the values shift away from more altruistic concerns (Wachtel, 1983). The concept of the "voluntary simplicity" lifestyle (perhaps a near opposite of materialism) was believed to be closely associated with environmental and personal growth values (Shama and Wisenblit, 1984).

Materialism has long been associated with values or even identified as a value or value system. Fox and Lears (1983, p. *x*) described America's nineteenth century "producer ethic" as a "value system based on work, sacrifice, and saving" and then asked whether that value system had given way to a 20th century one based on a "consumer ethic." Belk (1985), and others, associated conspicuous consumption with material values. A popular consumer behavior text (Engel, Blackwell, and Miniard, 1995) analyzed all consumer behavior, including materialism, within the motivational context of human values and value systems. While not all researchers share the Richins and Dawson (1992) view of materialism as a value, some perceive a close relationship between materialism and either individual values or value orientations.

Belk (1985) held that materialistic behavior is generally irreconcilable with spiritual or traditional values. Rochberg-Halton (1986) believed materialistic values are associated with other self-seeking ones and are in conflict with communal human values. Easterlin and Crimmins (1991, p. 499) cited changing "value orientations" as the primary cause of a shift toward materialistic pursuits and away from other goals in life. Richins and Dawson (1992) recognized the intertwining nature of materialistic behavior and human values orientations. They centered much of their research on the Rokeach (1973) conception of values and actually proposed, "defining materialism as a value" (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 308). "Materialists tend to judge their own and others' success by the number and quality of possessions accumulated" (Richins and Dawson, 1992, p. 331).

Materialists also develop an inordinate concern for the ways in which purchased goods can contribute to an enhanced self-image and social status (Campbell, 1987; Richins and Dawson, 1992; Richins, 1994).

Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 308) proposed that materialism is actually a value, within the notion of values put forth by Rokeach (1973), and set about to advance a measure of the "three belief domains described...acquisition centrality, the role of acquisition in happiness, and the role of possessions in defining success." In the end, they developed and tested a scale consisting of eighteen items, covering the three defining factors, and scored on a five-point Likert format (Richins and Dawson, 1992; Richins, 1994).

Kasser and Ryan (1993) ignored the Richins and Dawson (1992) concept, of materialism as a value, and subscribed instead to the earlier perception that identified materialistic behavior as a consequence of a set of attitudes or beliefs associated with particular life goals or values. They cited Deci and Ryan (1985) in noting that concern for wealth and material goods, at some level of moderation, may not be either positive or negative with regard to "adjustment and well-being," but that an excessive interest may exclude other, more well-adjusted, pursuits (Kasser and Ryan, 1993, p. 410). Studying the effects of materialism, and disproportionate concern for financial success, on healthy psychological adjustment, Kasser and Ryan (1993) pointed to research on values by Rokeach (1973), Braithwaite and Law (1985), and Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) that indicates each person has some individual hierarchy of importance of human value domains

or types. The Kasser and Ryan (1993) analysis points to the conclusion that if there are ranked categories or domains of values and that if materialism is a value, or is closely associated with certain values, then materialism may eventuate, in the individual value hierarchy, to lessen, or even exclude altogether, other, opposing values.

Attempts to find correlations between specific values or value types, through factor analysis, have generally been unproductive yielding conflicting, inconsistent results (Rokeach, 1973; Braithwaite and Law, 1985; Schwartz, 1992; Braithwaite, 1994). In many cases, values that are conceived to be polar opposites are found to have positive, not negative, correlations. Both Schwartz (1992) and Braithwaite (1994) agree that, in practice, values are treated cognitively in a much more complex fashion. They are seen as worthy, competing, but not necessarily mutually exclusive, objectives. Mayton, Ball-Rokeach, and Loges (1994, p. 3) concur with that view, observing that there is never an absence of values, but that we "merely elevate (certain) ways of behaving...in importance relative" to others. Schwartz (1992; 1994) was eventually successful in aggregating values into logical, related types or categories by using smallest space analysis techniques to form ten distinct two-dimensional groupings.

Two, or perhaps three, of the ten, value types identified by Schwartz (1994, p. 21), power, achievement, and possibly security, include several specific values, such as "successful," "social recognition," "ambitious," "preserving public image," and "wealth" that have been closely associated with materialism. Three of the

Schwartz (1994) value types, tradition, benevolence, and universalism, are opposite the power and achievement categories in two-dimensional space and are thought to have sharply contrasting, or competing, motivational roots. The value types of tradition, benevolence, universalism, and possibly the adjoining conformity, contain a number of specific values that have been associated with lack of materialism or non-materialism. Some of them are "acceptance of portion in life," "moderation," self-discipline," "spirituality," "friendship," "meaning in life," "world peace," "self-discipline" and "environmental protection" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 21).

Richins (1994, p. 523) examined the importance of material possessions to persons either low or high in materialism and found the "type of possessions valued" and the "private and public meanings of these possessions" to be aspects that are associated with levels of materialism. Counter-intuitively, less materialistic consumers were found to be more self-gratifying in their attitudes toward possessions than those who are highly materialistic (Richins, 1994). Richins (1994) also found those who are less materialistic were also found to cherish possessions more for their symbolic value when those articles are closely linked with personal relationships. Highly materialistic persons were found to value possessions more for reasons of social status as well as for their utility (Richins, 1994). Richins and Rudman (1994, p. 218) used the Richins and Dawson (1992) materialism scale to investigate possible relationships with a number of "specific economic variables." They reported materialists are more likely to "view

their possessions as indicators of...success in life," than are persons who are less materialistic (Richins and Rudman, 1994, p. 223). Interestingly, they also found that materialistic persons "can be expected to work more or strive for higher paying jobs" compared to persons with other values (Richins and Rudman, 1994, p. 224). It had been speculated that materialistic persons "value work only as a way for acquiring material goods," while those who value the "work ethic" find intrinsic worth in work itself and are sometimes "inspired to work more than is needed" (Mullin, 1988, p. 423). The Richins and Rudman (1994) finding appears to contradict earlier conventional wisdom.

Netemeyer, Burton, and Lichtenstein (1995) constructed an instrument intended to measure vanity-related traits associated with consumer behavior. Materialism was one of the chosen constructs, along with several others, believed to be related to consumer vanity. In testing the instrument, it was found that materialistic pursuits seem to be strongly associated with personal achievement motivations (Netemeyer, Burton, and Lichtenstein, 1995). That finding supported the earlier conclusion by Richins and Dawson (1992) that possessions, as symbols of success, are a defining characteristic of materialism.

Richins (1995) returned to the subject of materialism with a study of the impacts of advertising on social comparison. Social comparison theory posits that people make social choices in the context of comparisons with other people. Humans use social comparison with a peer group to determine whether they fit in, or are normal, and also to help establish hierarchical social standing. People

employ all manner of criteria for social comparison, but generally tend to favor objective rather than subjective standards (Richins, 1995). In the American consumer culture, material possessions have assumed particular importance in social comparison to determine self worth (Belk, 1988; Dittmar, 1992). Persons who are highly materialistic may make comparisons of their possessions or consumer experiences with those of others and consequently attempt to acquire more in an effort to elevate their self worth. Those who are not materialistic tend not to gauge self-image by their possessions and will therefore be predisposed to be more content with their current standard of living (Richins, 1995). Those, less materialistic, persons may be more inclined to accept life as it is.

Holt (1995, p.14) extended the investigation of consumers varied motivations and behaviors by asking "What do people do when they consume?" It was proposed that a particular object could be purchased and used in a multitude of varying ways depending on the motivations of the consumer. In any case Holt (1995) agreed with Richins (1995) that consumption could be seen as a social activity. Holt (1995, p.12) described materialism as either a "trait or value that measures the importance of possessions in one's life." Possessions are sometimes important, not just to those with much, but also, to those with relatively little of life's material goods. Consequently, the manner in which people consume may provide a better measure of materialism, than does the level of importance one places on belongings. Holt (1995) asked whether the measurement of perceived value in consumption itself might be more appropriate to the study of materialism

than the observation of attitudes about the importance of the objects. In some cases, persons of meager possessions place high value on the little they have. Holt (1995) also questioned the proposition, put forth earlier by Richins and Dawson (1992), that voluntary simplicity, or being content with little in the way of material goods, is the polar opposite of materialism. Non-materialists may place value in spiritual or intellectual experiences and in other persons, while materialists find value in physical possessions, without regard to the quantity or market value of those belongings. Those who are not materialistic may perceive objects as having only transactional value, i.e. means to find value elsewhere, either in experiences, relationships, or altruistic goals. Materialists therefore tend to see possessions as ends in themselves and/or as means to enhance self-image or social standing (Holt, 1995). Holt (1995), as is his custom, assumes a singularly unique perspective on the possible motivations for varying categories and degrees of materialistic behavior, but fails to obviate the concept that there is an association between materialism and values, or personal values orientation.

Another group of researchers found that materialistic pursuits are strongly associated with personal achievement motivations and that possessions are considered by materialists to be symbols of success (Netemeyer, Burton, and Lichtenstein, 1995). Others have also proposed that materialistic consumers use possessions for social comparison and to assess self-worth (Belk, 1988; Dittmar, 1992). Richins (1995) found, conversely, that less materialistic persons are more content with their current standard of living and tend to accept life as it is. Non-

materialists may place value in spiritual or intellectual experiences and in other persons (Holt, 1995). Belk, Dholakia, and Venkatesh (1996) proposed that there is some set of material values, or life goals, that lead some persons to seek fulfillment through possessions.

Chatterjee and Hunt (1996) searched for a connection between the trait of materialism and the personality dimension of self-monitoring. Self-monitoring is a measure of the extent to which people feel driven or motivated to scrutinize their own appearance and behavior for social acceptability. Persons who are strong self-monitors feel compelled to modify or adapt their presentation to fit their perception of the social norm. It was supposed there may be a correlation between materialism and self-monitoring (Chatterjee and Hunt, 1996). Utilizing the Richins and Dawson (1992) materialism survey and a self-monitoring scale developed by Snyder (1974), a "large association (between) scores on the success and centrality subscales" of the materialism survey and self-monitoring was found, while the "happiness" subscale "contributed little" to the model (Chatterjee and Hunt, 1996, p. 527). Two of the three materialism constructs found by Richins and Dawson (1992) are apparently closely related to self-monitoring behavior (Chatterjee and Hunt, 1996).

Belk, Dholakia, and Venkatesh (1996, p. 219) examined the phenomenon of voluntary simplicity and concluded various "people and cultures (hold) different combinations of material and nonmaterial values." This view of a materialistic values orientation is somewhat different than the earlier propositions of Holt

(1995), but more consistent with the wider body of research (Shama and Widenblit, 1984; Rassuli and Hollander, 1986; Cushman, 1990; Easterlin and Crimmins, 1991; Richins and Dawson, 1992; Kasser and Ryan, 1993). Those who choose to live with fewer material possessions may find life's satisfactions through the pursuit of some combination of non-materialistic values, while there is apparently some set of material values, or life goals, that lead others to seek fulfillment through possessions and wealth (Belk, Dholakia, and Venkatesh, 1996). Materialism is even sometimes referred to in the literature as one aspect of the "negative side, or dark side of consumer behavior" (Mick, 1996, p. 106). Belk (1983, p. 514) had discussed religious and ethical tradition and the implication that "humans feel a powerful attraction to acquisitiveness but a profound disenchantment with its results."

Browne and Kaldenberg (1997) also researched the links between materialism and self-monitoring along with the added factor of clothing involvement. Persons who are low self-monitors govern their public appearance and actions based on internal motivations or values rather than cues from others. Browne and Kaldenberg (1997, p. 32) described materialism as "a cluster of related traits, attitudes, and values focusing on possessions and guiding the selection of events and things." They also noted the negative connotations generally associated with materialism, i.e. greed, covetousness, and lack of charitability (Browne and Kaldenberg, 1997). Using the Richins and Dawson (1992) materialism survey, Browne and Kaldenberg (1997) found significant correlations between self-

monitoring scores and materialism. Unlike Chatterjee and Hunt (1996), Browne and Kaldenberg (1997) discovered positive relationships with all three materialism subscales of the Richins and Dawson (1992) formulation, success, centrality, and happiness. There also appears to be a gender gap, with men registering, in the Browne and Kaldenberg (1997) results, as somewhat more materialistic than women. As expected, they also found materialism to be positively related to the concept of product involvement (Browne and Kaldenberg, 1997).

La Barbera and Gurhan (1997, p. 72) investigated possible links between consumers' "materialistic attitudes" and "religiosity." The researchers identified materialism as a "secular value" and religiosity was defined as a "sacred value" (La Barbera, 1997, p. 74). It was reported that those who are low in religiosity are more likely to be materialistic and suggested that "marketers might benefit from considering consumer religiosity as a segmentation" variable (La Barbera, 1997, p. 92).

Mick (1996) attempted to replicate earlier research by Richins and Dawson (1992) concerning whether Socially Desirable Responding (SDR) significantly affects survey results for materialism as well as several other consumer behavior variables. Contrary to the earlier findings, in two distinct studies utilizing the Materialism Survey and two different measures of SDR he found "respondents appeared to underreport their materialism" to a significant extent (Mick, 1996, p. 116). Despite the established SDR effects, Mick (1996, p. 116) concluded "the impact of SDR on understanding relationships between materialism and its

consequences (on several other studied consumer and personality variables) was neither dramatic nor comprehensive."

Rindfleisch, Burroughs, and Denton (1997) investigated possible relationships between the related concepts of materialism and compulsive consumption and the demographic variable of family structure. The inquiry focused on whether a history of parental divorce or separation subsequently affected the materialistic or compulsive consumption tendencies of young adults. The compulsive consumption construct was adopted from O'Guinn and Faber (1989, p. 147) and defined as a "response to an uncontrollable drive or desire to obtain, use, or experience." Compulsive consumption is found among buyers who are looking for "increased self-esteem from their purchases (rather) than economic or utilitarian value" (Rindfleisch, Burroughs, and Denton, 1997, p. 314). Using the Richins and Dawson (1992) materialism survey, it was reported that subjects from broken families are significantly more materialistic and compulsive in their buying practices (Rindfleisch, Burroughs, and Denton, 1997).

Ger and Belk (1996) investigated possible cultural and demographic differences in materialism across samples of consumers from 12 countries, using the Belk (1985) materialism scales. Contrary to some earlier reports, they found no predictable pattern of cultural differences among the twelve countries and concluded that materialism is not "unique to the west nor directly related to affluence" (Ger and Belk, 1996, p. 72). Eastman, Fredenberger, Campbell, and Calvert (1997), however, found significant cultural and national differences in

materialism, across samples from three countries (USA, China, and Mexico), using the Richins and Dawson (1992) materialism scale. However, it was reported that there are no "significant differences in the level of status consumption" for the consumers surveyed in the three countries (Eastman, 1997, p. 61). Status consumption and materialism were found to be "significantly different constructs in all three countries" (Eastman, 1997, p. 63).

Sirgy (1998, p. 227) posited a "theory of materialism and quality of life" as he revisited the question of correlations between materialistic behavior or attitudes and social comparison. He observed that "quality of life" and "standard of living" expectations among the materialistic are set by social comparison and may lead to the negative emotions or traits of "envy, jealousy, feelings of inequity," and even "anger" (Sirgy, 1998, p. 229). One point of particular interest is Sirgy's (1998) observation that materialists not only have a proclivity to over-consume, but also to under-produce, which is contrary to the Richins and Rudman (1994) findings.

Muncy and Eastman (1998) investigated the question of whether materialistic consumers are burdened with diminished ethical standards relative to persons who are less consumption oriented. The psychological, moral, environmental, and social ills that have been charged to materialism might lead to the logical proposition that there is a link between materialism and ethical principles. It was found that, despite all the negative implications of materialism, the existing body of research provided "little empirical evidence that answers the following question: do people who are more materialistic have different ethical

standards than those who are less materialistic" (Muncy and Eastman, 1998, p. 139). Utilizing the Richins and Dawson (1992) Materialism Survey and the Muncy and Vitell (1992) consumer ethics scale they found a "strong and consistent relationship between all of the dimensions of the materialism scale and all of the dimensions of the ethics scale" (Muncy and Eastman, 1998, p. 141). The consumer ethics scale (Muncy and Vitell, 1992) measures four dimensions of unethical consumer activities described as either "proactively" or "passively benefiting" by taking unfair financial advantage to the detriment of the seller, engaging in "deceptive practices," and "no harm, no foul" which refers to unethical practices that are rationalized as being of inconsequential harm to the seller (Muncy and Eastman, 1998, p. 139). All of the unethical practices were strongly correlated to an elevated level of materialism. Causality of the correlation between the concepts of materialism and consumer ethics was not determined.

Earlier studies theorized a negative relationship between materialism and religiosity, and some have found religiosity to be positively related to higher standards of ethics (Du Bois, 1955; Belk, 1985, Fournier and Richins, 1991; La Barbera and Gurhan, 1997). However, the causational questions of whether diminished ethical standards may bring about materialism or vice versa or whether both may be triggered by other factors such as diminishing religiosity or broken family structure are posed, but not persuasively answered in the literature (Muncy and Eastman, 1998). Muncy and Eastman (1998, p. 142) noted their supposition that it is possible, or even likely, that there is "reciprocal causality" between

materialism and lower ethical standards. In keeping with other consumer research, Muncy and Eastman (1998, p. 138) propose that the "acquisition of material possessions is a natural, healthy part of one's life. However, beyond a certain point, the quest for material possessions may begin to interfere with other important aspects of life." When opposing values are in conflict, those that are less important to the individual give way to those that are obsessions, like materialism.

Beutel and Marini (1998, p. 438) proposed a three-factor measure of values orientation that defined one of the factors as "materialism—the emphasis on personal material benefit and competition." They also theorized "those who attach importance to finding purpose and meaning life also tend to attach importance to the public interest but not to materialism (Beutel and Marini, 1998, p. 438). Roccas and Schwartz (1997, p. 357) observed, "the primary aim of religion is to temper materialist tendencies and to encourage transcendence." They hypothesized that materialism may be closely associated with value groupings that conflict with religiosity and may be opposed to those that are associated with religious values (Roccas and Schwartz, 1997).

Muncy and Eastman (1998) investigated possible associations between ethical consumer behavior and materialistic tendencies. They found consistent correlation between unethical practices and elevated materialism (Muncy and Eastman, 1998). Earlier studies theorized negative relationships between religiosity and materialism and positive associations between religiosity and ethical behavior (Du Bois, 1955; Belk, 1985; Fournier and Richins, 1991; La Barbera and Gurhan, 1997). Flouri

(1999, pp. 719-720) confirmed, not only, that materialism is negatively related to religiosity, but also that it is also negatively related to "satisfying interpersonal relationships" and "feelings of self-worth."

Sharpe and Ramanaiah (1999) revisited the subject of possible correlations between various personality traits and materialism. Materialism has been demonstrated to be negatively associated with internal locus of control, the need for uniqueness, and subjective well-being (Hunt, Kernan, Chatterjee, and Florscheim, 1990; Schroeder and Dugal, 1995; La Barbera and Gurhan, 1997). Materialism has also been positively related to consumer susceptibility to interpersonal influence, public self-consciousness, and social anxiety (Schroeder and Dugal, 1995). Sharpe and Ramanaiah (1999) concluded there is a need to identify a comprehensive personality profile of the materialistic person. The Belk (1984) materialism scale and the NEO Five Factor Inventory of personality traits were used to measure the behaviors associated with neuroticism, extraversion, openness, agreeableness, and conscientiousness (Sharpe and Ramanaiah, 1999). Materialists were found to be significantly "more neurotic and less extraverted, open, agreeable, and conscientious" than those with low materialism scores (Sharpe and Ramanaiah, 1999, p. 329).

Twitchell (1999) reviewed nearly a century of popular and academic criticism of the negative consequences of the excesses of materialism before proffering an alternative, more positive, viewpoint. He believed it important to acknowledge the widespread, modern Western perspective that a high level of

societal consumption "is a vital source of meaning and happiness in the modern world" (Twitchell, 1999, p. 16). However, following a protracted peroration on the societal and personal benefits of the pursuit of material goods, Twitchell (1999, p. 21) conceded he had "glossed over" many of the ills, both for the individual and society, associated with materialism. He acknowledged that "getting and spending has eclipsed family, ethnicity, and even religion as a defining matrix" of the modern western world (Twitchell, 1999, p. 23).

Flouri (1999, p. 707) examined various possible factors, including "peer influence," "maternal materialism," parent-child relationships, and "religious service attendance" for their effects on materialism. Using Richins and Dawson's (1992) Materialism Scale, along with several other instruments and demographic data, the results showed positive correlations between adolescent materialism and maternal materialism and susceptibility to interpersonal influence (Flouri, 1999). Materialism is, however, negatively related to "religiosity," "parental guidance on money management," "satisfying interpersonal relationships," and "feelings of self-worth" Flouri (1999, pp. 719-720). No relationship between materialism and disadvantaged socio-economic circumstances was identified. Flouri (1999, p. 721, 722) utilized the Richins and Dawson (1992) materialism scale, but contended the issue of whether materialism is itself a value "has not been fully resolved." "Materialistic values" are referred to synonymously with the term materialism (Flouri, 1999, p. 722).

Another investigation centered on the possibility of using the individual "value system" as a method of typing or segmenting consumers (Kwon, 1999, p. 232). Based on a factor analysis of 45 "lifestyle and value items," six factors were discovered (Kwon, 1999, p. 239). The researcher labeled one of the identified value systems, or orientations, comprised of several clustered values items, as "materialism" (Kwon, 1999, p. 244).

Lundstrom and White (1999) investigated the possible generational and cultural differences in levels of consumer materialism. It was reported that materialism seems to "have become more prevalent as the means of acquisition" have increased (Lundstrom, 1999, p. 51). The two-country (USA and France) study confirmed earlier reported generational differences in materialism, with materialism rising through middle age, and then declining (Lundstrom, 1999). It was also reported that consumers from the United States are generally more materialistic than French consumers (Lundstrom, 1999).

Csikszentmihalyi (2000) recalled that Arendt (1958) concluded at mid-century that personal consumption had moved far beyond acquisition of the necessities of life and into a quest for extravagance. Some recent researchers have found that although materialistic behavior may be employed in the pursuit of happiness, it apparently makes no significant contribution to the desired consequence (Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Diener 2000; Myers, 2000). "Contrary to popular opinion, things that can be bought do not enhance happiness by much" (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, 270). In fact, quite to the contrary, it has been found that

"excessive concern with financial success and material values is associated with lower levels of life satisfaction and self-esteem" (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, p. 270). The disjuncture, between the pursuit of happiness through materialism and the lack of resulting happiness, is attributed to the unwarranted search for "contingent worth" (Kasser and Ryan, 1993, p. 416). Csikszentmihalyi (2000, p. 270) wrote that the concept of "contingent worth" is "predicated on having rather being." Materialistic behavior is expressed as indicative of the "vain hope that we can achieve happiness through consumption—regardless of the consequences" (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000, p. 272). Csikszentmihalyi (2000, p. 270) did not refer to materialism itself as a value, but rather to the "material values."

Clark (2000, p. 47) observed some apparent conflicts in the literature on materialism. Some researchers, such as Inglehart (1981) find that post-materialism, or non-materialistic, values, such as those related to life "goals like democracy, love, or intellectual satisfaction," are on the rise (Clark, 2000, p. 47). Other, more recent studies, such as Easterlin and Crimmins (1991), find that materialism continues to "rise sharply" and that the post-materialistic values "have either declined slightly or hardly changed" (Clark, 2000, p. 47). Inglehart (1981), as a political scientist, looked at public priorities on the theoretical materialism – post-materialism continuum, while Easterlin and Crimmins (1991) investigated private behavior in their review of levels of materialism. Both may be right; there is not necessarily a contradiction in the findings. "What we want individually is not always what we want collectively" (Clark, 2000, p. 48). It may be entirely correct

that young people in the economically advanced countries desire more personal wealth and material possessions while also favoring government programs targeted at post-materialistic social agendas. Individuals can hold to, and espouse or even attempt to actualize, opposing, or sometimes conflicting, goals or values (Schwartz, 1992).

Saunders (2001, p. 191) confirms the "twentieth century is arguably most notable for a global rise in consumerism." The remarkable swing toward materialism is "associated with a dramatic shift in values both within, and across, cultures" (Saunders, 2001, p. 191). The twin phenomena of materialism and shifting values is linked, by Saunders (2001, p. 192) to the search by contemporary consumers for "personal identity and (social) status" through the vehicle of "conspicuous possessions," rather than from goals founded on more "intrinsic characteristics." People apparently presume that possessions signify "success," but the resulting veil of success does not, in turn, result in "self-respect" (Saunders, 2001, p. 195). Despite the failure to find self-respect in material gain, people continue to "crave for...status and prestige. They yearn to move up the pecking order" (Bloom, 1995, p. 252).

Terry Nichols Clark (2000, p. 47) asks "is materialism rising in America?" He notes the evidence is contradictory. Inglehart has found, since the 1970's, that Americans, and citizens of other industrialized nations, are growing "more postmaterialistic (concerned with non-material goals like democracy, love, or intellectual satisfaction)" (Clark, 2000, p. 47). Conversely, Richard Easterlin and

Eileen Crimmins, analyzing data from surveys very similar to those used by Inglehart, find that "materialism has risen sharply since the 1960's among" young Americans (Clark, 2000, p. 47). They have found that non-materialistic concerns, such as "family life, personal self-fulfillment and serving the public interest" have either remained static or declined slightly since the late 1960's (Clark, 2000, p.47). Easterlin and Crimmins contend that a "consumer culture has grown, promoting demand for consumer luxuries and money to buy them" (Clark, 2000, p. 47).

Clark (2000) believes the apparent contradictions between the findings of Inglehart and those of Easterlin and Crimmins can be resolved. He contends that the younger generations of industrialized nations are becoming more materialistic at a personal level, aspiring to own "at least two cars," "clothes in the latest style," Major labor-saving appliances," "a high-quality stereo," and a "vacation house," while also becoming increasingly postmaterialistic in their social goals (Clark, 2000, p. 48). Inglehart may be correct that younger generations are more concerned with social goals such as gender equality, more government regulation of environmental affairs, and greater workplace democracy (Clark, 2000).

One researcher has begun exploring possible "relationships between human values and consumer" purchase preferences (Allen, 2001, p. 102). Michael W. Allen (2001, p. 107) constructed a consumer survey "using the Schwartz value domains as a guide" to measure correlations between value subscale scores and consumer preferences for various attributes associated with automobiles. Most of the Allen findings were relatively predictable. For example, consumers who highly

value Universalism, or individual values such as "protecting the environment," "unity with nature," "world beauty," and "social justice" tend not prefer "large automobiles" with "fast engines" (Allen, 2001, p. 117). And persons who highly value Security, a domain that includes specific values such as "family security," "healthiness," and "social order" tend to prefer automobiles that have perceived "safety" and "reliability" attributes (Allen, 2001, p. 117).

Summary of Chapter II

Both the concept of materialism and the concept of unique human values orientations have been popular themes of both secular and theological literature throughout the last few thousand years. Modern researchers, particularly over the last century, have also found reason to increasingly investigate each concept.

Marsha Richins (1987; 1990; 1994; Richins and Dawson, 1992) followed the groundbreaking research of Russell Belk (1983, 1984, 1985) to become the leading researcher in the field of consumer materialism over the last decade or more. The Materialism Survey she developed together with Dawson (Richins and Dawson, 1992) quickly became the most widely accepted instrument in social science research for the measurement of materialistic attitudes and behavior (Richins, 1994; Richins and Rudman, 1994).

Almost concurrently, Shalom Schwartz followed the earlier seminal values research of Milton Rokeach (1960, 1968-69, 1973) to become the foremost investigator in the field of human values (Roccas and Schwartz, 1997; Schwartz,

1990, 1992, 1994; Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987; Schwartz and Huismans, 1995; Schwatz, Melech, Lehman, Burgess, Harris, and Owens, 2001). Schwartz ' conception and definition of the relationships between various human values and value types within a two-dimensional space is a truly groundbreaking development and may eventually be viewed as a very early and critical step in the understanding human values.

Possible links between certain values orientations and materialistic or non-materialistic attitudes and behaviors have also long been common notions in the popular literature and, although not specifically researched, have been frequently mentioned in the academic literature of the last century. The developments of accepted measures of both materialism (Richins and Dawson, 1992) and human values orientations (Schwartz, 1992, 1994) have made investigation of potential associations between the two concepts achievable.

CHAPTER III

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Introduction

Widely tested and utilized written survey instruments, designed to measure both materialism and values orientations have been developed over the last thirty years (Rokeach, 1973; Belk, 1984). In each case there has been a widely accepted instrument established within the research community and each of them has been supplanted by a successor instrument within the last decade (Schwartz, 1990; 1992; 1994; Richins and Dawson, 1992). Both established instruments will be combined in a single survey to gather data to statistically test the propositions that clusters of values are related to individual levels of materialism.

Values Survey Instruments

The two most widely accepted instruments used for values measurement are the Rokeach (1973) values survey and it's direct descendant, the Schwartz (1990; 1992; 1994) values survey (SVS). Although the Rokeach (1973) instrument is still utilized (Johnston, 1995; McCarty and Shrum, 2000), the Schwartz (1994) instrument has quickly gained widespread academic recognition and use (Braithwaite, 1994; Schwartz and Huismans, 1995; Roccas and Schwartz, 1997; Schultz and Zelensky, 1998; Stern, Dietz, and Guagnano, 1998; Boehnke, Stromberg, Regmi, Richmond, and Chandra, 1998; Schwartz, et al, 2001).

Extensive research conducted with the Schwartz (1990; 1992; 1994) survey of values has yielded a repeatedly tested, broadly acknowledged, and relatively complete model of the universal, cross-cultural, structure of the human value system (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990; Schwartz, 1990; 1992; 1994; Schwartz and Huismans, 1995; Roccas and Schwartz, 1997; Schwartz, et al, 2001). The Schwartz (1994) values survey (SVS) be incorporated and used to measure subject's values orientations.

Materialism Survey Instruments

The Belk (1984; 1985) materialism survey was the first widely utilized and accepted measure of consumer materialism, and it is still employed by some researchers (Richins, 1987; Richins and Dawson, 1992; Sharpe and Ramanaiah, 1999). However, the generally accepted successor to the Belk instrument is the Richins and Dawson (1992) materialism survey (Muncy and Vitell, 1992; Chatterjee and Hunt, 1996; Flouri, 1999). Although there is not universal agreement, with Richins and Dawson's (1992) premise, that materialism is a value (Kasser and Ryan, 1993; Schwartz, 1994; Holt, 1995), the Richins and Dawson (1992) materialism survey is, nevertheless, an apparently reliable measure of the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors generally thought to characterize the consumer materialism construct (Richins, 1994; 1995; Holt, 1995; Mick, 1996; Rindfleisch, Burroughs, and Denton, 1997; Muncy and Eastman, 1998). The Richins and

Dawson (1992) materialism survey (RDMS) will be incorporated and utilized to measure each subjects' level of materialism.

Recent researchers, in the field of materialism, using either the Belk (1973) or Richins and Dawson (1992) instruments, have employed very similar statistical analysis methodologies to establish patterns in relationships between materialism, and other factors of interest. Chatterjee and Hunt (1996) used simple linear regression to establish relationships between materialism, as measured by the RDMS, and various personality traits. Sharpe and Ramanaiah (1999, p. 329) conducted "univariate analyses of variance" to establish any relationship between materialism and personality characteristics. Similar techniques have been employed to assess relationships between RDMS scores and socially desirable responding measures (Mick, 1996). Regression analysis has been utilized to evaluate links between product involvement, self-monitoring behavior and RDMS materialism scores (Browne and Kaldenberg, 1997). Rindfleisch, Burroughs, and Denton (1997) also used simple correlations to assess relationships between materialism, compulsive consumption, and family structure. Flouri (1999, 715) also used "simple standard regressions" to study connections between family structure and materialism. A "simple bivariate correlational analysis between the three dimensions" of RDMS and the "four dimensions of (a) consumer ethics scale," was conducted by Muncy and Eastman (1998, p. 141) to determine if "specific relationships" existed.

In some cases, values research has followed the Schwartz (1994) pattern of using similarity structure analysis (SSA), formerly called smallest space analysis, to evaluate relationships between values and other variables (Bilsky and Schwartz, 1994). Bilsky and Schwartz (1994) had some success employing SSA to establish relationships between personality traits and values. In other instances, simple linear regression has been utilized to evaluate relationships between religiosity and SVS orientations (Schwartz and Huismans, 1995; Roccas and Schwartz, 1997). Schultz and Zelezny (1998, p. 551) used a "series of multiple regression analyses" to evaluate pro-environmental behavior compared to SVS values orientations.

Questionnaire and Sample

Although no demographic variables are critical to testing the proposed hypotheses, there are many that could be of general interest and might aid in the interpretation of the data. The comprehensive questionnaire administered to subjects, including the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) and the Richins and Dawson Materialism Survey (RDMS), also solicited basic demographic information, such as gender, age, marital status, frequency of religious service attendance, education, political affiliation, and place of residence. For the purpose of testing the propositions stated by the six hypotheses, the questionnaire was administered to a convenience sample of more than 100 adult subjects, age 18 and over, comprised of adult college students and staff, and private sector business employees. The sample includes 40 subjects residing in southeast Tennessee, but to provide for some

regional diversity the balance of the sample was drawn randomly from throughout the United States and from a few Americans residing in other countries, primarily comprised of adult college students and their work associates. Those drawn from Tennessee are primarily adult community college students and, in some cases, their work associates or family members, and the balance were solicited primarily from adult online university students located throughout the U.S. and a few working outside the country. All those sampled were students in management and leadership classes being taught by the researcher, or associates or family members of those students. After discarding survey forms that were incomplete, data from the remaining 97 fully completed questionnaires were included in the final statistical analysis.

Proposed Statistical Analyses

The data collected for this study will be analyzed with typical statistical calculations of means, averages, and range limitations. Principally the demographic data, the materialism responses, and the rankings/ratings of the values orientation responses will be analyzed with correlation calculations and with regression analyses to search for correlations between various values, value types, and value groups and levels of materialism and for models that may represent combinations of values and value type rankings/ratings that may be predictive of levels of materialism. Consultation with University of Tennessee-Knoxville faculty members in the Statistics Department indicate that Similarity Space

Analysis (SSA) techniques will not be helpful in assessing the hypotheses of this study.

Summary of Chapter III

The Richins and Dawson Materialism Survey (RDMS) was combined with the Schwartz Values Survey (SVS) and with questions soliciting various items of demographic information to form a comprehensive questionnaire to collect written survey responses. The questionnaire was designed to provide data for analyses intended to test the propositions that there are two opposing clusters of human values, one that is related to materialistic attitudes and behaviors, and another that is related to non-materialistic tendencies (Richins and Dawson, 1992; Schwartz, 1992; 1994). Data was drawn from a convenience sample of adult college students and their families and acquaintances. Surveyed students were enrolled in leadership and management classes taught by the researcher at a small community college in southeast Tennessee and at an online university with nationwide enrollment.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Introduction

Both correlation calculations and regression analyses provide statistical evidence there is a cluster of values or value types, as hypothesized, that, when given priority among the universe of human values, are associated with materialism or materialistic attitudes and behavior. The companion proposition that there is an opposing or competing cluster of values or value types, related to non-materialism, is not strongly supported by the correlation calculations, but has some support from the regression analyses of the data from this study. Taken collectively, there are some inconclusive indications that there is an opposing cluster of non-materialistic values, with weak correlations to materialism, which may warrant further research.

This seeming anomaly of competing, or opposing, values clusters that are not negatively correlated may be explained by Schwartz' (1992; 1994) earlier finding that there essentially are no "negative" values. His research indicated that all values, over all major human cultures, are essentially perceived as positive, with varying degrees of preference. The Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) asks respondents to rank/rate values on a nine-point scale of –1 to 7 indicating that values are mostly perceived as "positives" with an occasional value sometimes seen as mildly negative.

Statistical Analyses Performed

Correlation coefficients and the associated *p*-values were computed for the 57 individual values, the ten value types, and the four value groupings, all as measured by the Schwartz (1992; 1994) Values Survey (SVS), and for each of the demographic variables versus materialism as measured by the Richins and Dawson (1992) Materialism Survey (RDMS). Reliability calculations were also conducted for all the aforementioned correlation computations. Calculations of means, minimums, maximums, standard deviations, and frequencies were conducted for each of the variables. Regression analyses, using principally the stepwise procedure, were conducted for the 57 values, ten value types, and the four value groups versus the factor of materialism.

Demographic Data

Corresponding roughly to the current college enrollment of adult students, slightly more than 60 percent of the convenience sample was female. The average age of the sampled group was between 36 and 37 years of age, with the youngest being 18 and the oldest aged 79. The level of formal education of the sample varied from the ninth grade to graduate students (Table 2). Nearly 25 percent of those surveyed had achieved either a high school education or less, with most of those just beginning college. About 60 percent had completed from one to three years of college. The remaining fifteen (15) percent of those surveyed were college graduates or had completed some graduate school education.

Table 2: Years of Formal Education for Sample.				
Years of Education	**Sample Frequency**	**Percent**	**Cumulative Frequency**	**Cumulative Percent**
9	1	1.03	1	1.03
11	1	1.03	2	2.06
12	22	22.68	24	24.74
13	18	18.56	42	43.30
14	27	27.84	69	71.13
15	13	13.40	82	84.54
16	6	6.19	88	90.72
17	1	1.03	89	91.75
18	4	4.12	93	95.88
20	3	3.09	96	98.97
21	1	1.03	97	100.00

The median educational level for the entire sample was 14 years, or the sophomore year of college. Just under 60 percent of the surveyed persons were married, less than 23 percent were single, just over ten percent divorced, and slightly more than seven percent reported cohabiting. More than 80 percent of those sampled reported being Protestants, about ten percent were Catholic, about three percent were Jewish, and the balance reported "other" or "no" religious affiliation.

Of the demographic variables measured, only age was found to be significantly correlated to materialism. Consistent with prior research (Belk, 1973; Richins and Dawson, 1992; Richins, 1994; 1995; Chatterjee and Hunt, 1996; Muncy and Eastman, 1998) materialism was found to be negatively correlated to age (Pearson correlation coefficient = -0.20822, $p = 0.0407$). Some other demographic variables have been found, in earlier research, to be correlated to materialism, but probably due to the relatively small size of the current sample no meaningful results were identified relating materialism to the various measured demographic variables, with the exception of age (Richins, 1994; 1995). Earlier researchers have also identified some correlations between various demographic variables and certain individual values, but no effort was made to extend or verify those areas of research (Schwartz and Huismans, 1995; Schwartz, et al, 2001).

Results of Correlations

In general, the group of propositions designated as Hypotheses 1A, 1B, and 1C, outlining the concept that a group or cluster of materialistic values is positively

associated with materialistic attitudes and behavior was substantiated by the analysis of the data. It was hypothesized (1A) that 12 individual values—sense of belonging, social power, authority, wealth, preserving public image, social recognition, ambition, success, influence, pleasure, self-indulgence, and enjoyment of life—form a materialistic cluster and are each positively associated with materialism. In fact, a cluster of 14 materialistic values, including 11 of the 12 designated values, was identified, each with a positive correlation to the factor of materialism. The lists designated as Table 3 and Table 4 list all 15 individual values that include the hypothesized materialistic cluster (Table 3) and the actual materialism cluster (Table 4) identified by the analysis.

Of the 12 individual values hypothesized to be positively correlated to materialism, 11 were demonstrated by the data from this sample to lie within a cluster of materialistic values. The lone exception is "sense of belonging," the sole value from the security value type hypothesized to be related to materialism. Sense of belonging was found to have no correlation to materialism, but cleanliness, another adjoining security value was demonstrated to have a positive correlation to materialism.

In addition, two of the three stimulation type values were also found to be positively correlated to materialism. Excitement and daring are adjacent in the two-dimensional values circle to the hedonism type and are contiguous with the other identified materialism values, forming a related cluster (Figure 4).

Table 3: Correlation Results for Hypothesized Materialism Cluster.		
Value	**Pearson Correlation Coefficient**	***p***
Sense of Belonging	-0.01299	0.8995
Social Power	0.45483	<.0001
Authority	0.36436	0.0003
Wealth	0.49817	<.0001
Preserving Public Image	0.31468	0.0017
Social Recognition	0.45570	<.0001
Ambition	0.24073	0.0175
Success	0.24861	0.0141
Influence	0.22462	0.0270
Pleasure	0.31279	0.0018
Self-Indulgence	0.29335	0.0035
Enjoyment of Life	0.31047	0.0020

Table 4: Ranked Correlation Results for Identified Materialism Cluster.		
Value	**Pearson Correlation Coefficient**	***p***
Wealth	0.49817	<.0001
Social Recognition	0.45570	<.0001
Social Power	0.45483	<.0001
Daring	0.38736	<.0001
Authority	0.36436	0.0003
Excitement	0.33074	0.0009
Preserving Public Image	0.31468	0.0017
Pleasure	0.31279	0.0018
Enjoyment of Life	0.31047	0.0020
Self-Indulgence	0.29335	0.0035
Cleanliness	0.27736	0.0060
Success	0.24861	0.0141
Ambition	0.24073	0.0175
Influence	0.22462	0.0270

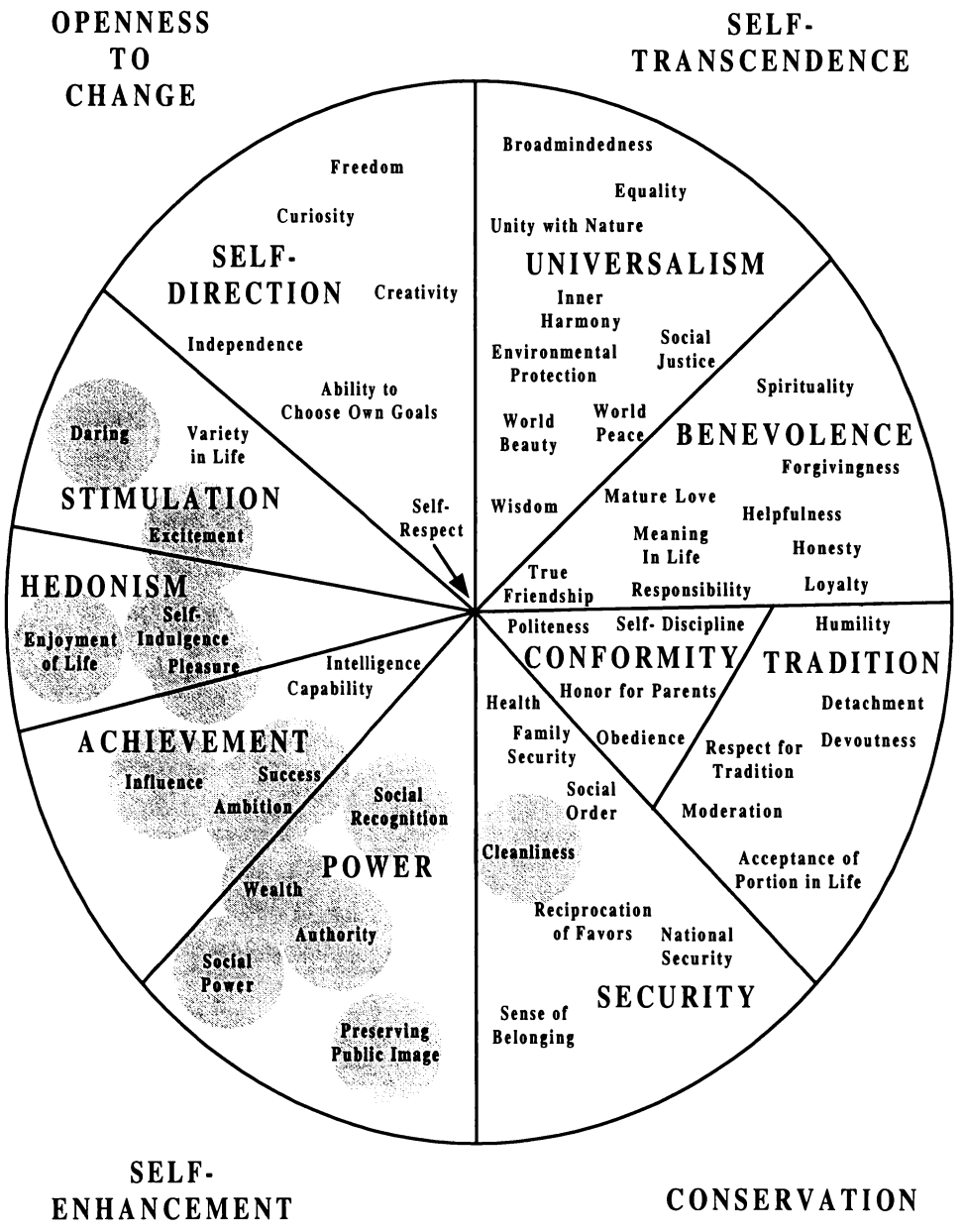


Figure 4: Values significantly and positively correlated to materialism.

The 14 contiguous values demonstrated by the data from this sample to be positively correlated to the factor of materialism and identified as the materialism cluster are highlighted in Figure 4. They include all of the individual values found within the power and hedonism value types, three of the five values found within the achievement value type, two of the three values within the stimulation value type, and one adjacent value, cleanliness, found within the security value type.

Hypothesis 1B proposed that the value types of power, achievement, and hedonism are positively correlated with the phenomenon of materialism. The data (Table 5) provide statistical support for that hypothesis and provide evidence that the adjoining value type of stimulation is also positively correlated to materialism. The first four value types listed in Table 4, power, stimulation, hedonism, and achievement form an adjoining segment of value types (Figure 4) that appear to be related to materialistic attitudes and behavior. Security and self-direction, the value types that adjoin either side of the materialistic segment, may be weakly and positively correlated to materialism, although the associated *p*-values are not within a 0.05 standard.

Hypothesis 1C posited that the higher-order value grouping of self-enhancement, containing 11 of the 12 value types hypothesized to be within a materialism cluster, is positively correlated to materialism. The research findings, based on this sample, support Hypothesis 1C, but also support the conclusion that the adjoining higher-order grouping of openness to change, containing five individual values found within the actual 14 value materialism cluster, is also

Table 5: Correlation results for Value Types and Materialism.		
Value Type	**Pearson Correlation Coefficient**	***p***
Power	0.56420	<.0001
Stimulation	0.36513	0.0002
Hedonism	0.35982	0.0003
Achievement	0.22251	0.0285
Security	0.17252	0.0911
Self-Direction	0.13019	0.2037
Conformity	-0.00471	0.9635
Tradition	-0.05865	0.5683
Universalism	-0.13073	0.2018
Benevolence	-0.19299	0.0582

positively correlated to materialism. The results of the correlation analyses for the four value groupings are shown in Table 6.

The group of Hypotheses labeled 1A, 1B, and 1C, dealing with the various levels of identification of a cluster of values thought to be related to materialism, was generally supported by the analyses of correlations between materialism and the 57 individual values, the ten value types, and the four value groupings.

The second group of Hypotheses (2A, 2B, and 2C), dealing with a proposed group of non-materialistic values, is not generally supported by the data (Table 6). Based on anecdotal and propositional evidence in the literature, 24 of the 57 individual values were hypothesized to be negatively related to materialism.

Table 6: Correlation results for Value Groupings and Materialism.		
Value Groupings	**Pearson Correlation Coefficient**	***p***
Self-Enhancement	0.51892	<.0001
Openness to Change	0.36352	0.0003
Conservation	0.03140	0.7601
Self-Transcendence	-0.18467	0.0702

In fact, only one of those 24 values garnered significant statistical evidence to support that hypothesis (Table 7). Social justice, one of the universalism type values near the border with the benevolence type (Figure 5), appears from analysis of the sample data to be negatively related to materialism. There are several additional values found the in the same general region of the two-dimensional values circle, beginning with honesty, helpfulness, and moderation, that indicate some evidence of weak negative correlations with materialism but the associated *p*-values do not fall within a 0.05 standard. However, in general, the notion that there is an identifiable non-materialistic cluster of values, diametrically opposite the cluster of materialistic values is not supported by the statistical analysis of correlations from this sample.

Hypothesis 2B proposed that the value types of universalism, benevolence, and tradition are negatively correlated with materialism. Results of the data analyses dealing with this hypothesis are shown in Table 5. The benevolence and universalism types show weak indication of negative correlation to materialism with coefficients of –0.193 and –0.131, respectively, but only benevolence approaches the *p*-value standard of 0.05 with a 0.058. The correlation calculation results for the tradition type show no indication of support for the hypothesis.

Table 7: Correlation Results for Hypothesized Non-Materialism Cluster.		
Values	**Pearson Correlation Coefficient**	***p***
Social Justice	-0.24682	0.0148
Honesty	-0.18374	0.0716
Helpfulness	-0.18369	0.0717
Moderation	-0.18243	0.0737
Inner Harmony	-0.16369	0.1091
Loyalty	-0.15972	0.1181
World Peace	-0.14389	0.1597
Forgiving Nature	-0.12943	0.2064
Spirituality	-0.11856	0.2681
World Beauty	-0.10559	0.3033
Protected Environment	-0.09866	0.3363
Broadmindedness	-0.09198	0.3702
Mature Love	-0.09035	0.3788
True Friendship	-0.07609	0.4588
Meaning in Life	-0.06365	0.5357
Devoutness	-0.06317	0.5387
Responsibility	-0.06015	0.5584
Self-Discipline	-0.05788	0.5733
Unity with Nature	-0.03381	0.7423
Respect for Tradition	-0.02399	0.8156
Humility	-0.01948	0.8498
Wisdom	-0.01690	0.8695
Accept Portion in Life	0.10080	0.3259
Equality	0.12468	0.2237

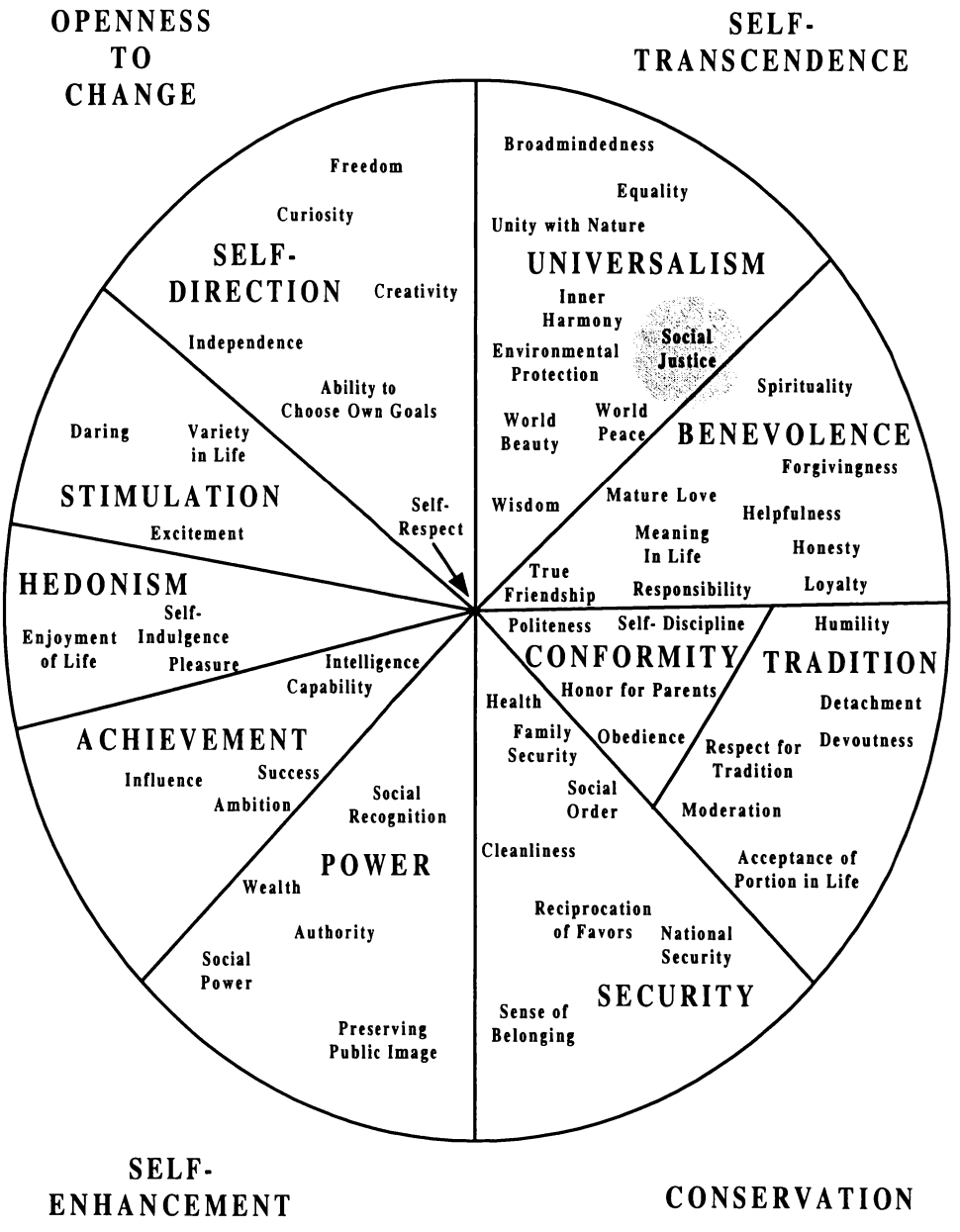


Figure 5: Value significantly and negatively correlated to materialism.

Hypothesis 2C dealt with the higher-order group of values, self-transcendence, that lies opposite the materialistic self-enhancement group, within the two-dimensional pie-shaped model of human values, which, based on the data (Table 6), indicates a possible weak negative correlation to materialism (-0.18467). However, with a *p*-value (0.0702) that is again greater than the 0.05 standard, the evidence is far from conclusive. The data indicate no relationship between the fourth value category, conservation, and materialism.

The standardized Cronbach coefficient alpha calculations of reliability, for all the various constructs pertinent to the correlation analyses testing the hypotheses and for conclusions concerning related value types and groups, generally yielded results above, or very near, the accepted 0.70 standard, with the exception of the tradition value type (Table 8).

Results of Regression Analyses

Despite the lack of statistical confirmation of a cluster of values with even a weak negative correlation with materialism, the regression analyses of the sample data provide strong evidence that the self-transcendence group of values, which is wholly comprised of the benevolence and universalism value types, does, in conjunction with the positive effects of the self-enhancement group, have a significant negative relationship with an individual's level of materialism (Figure 6) (Table 9).

Table 8: Cronbach Coefficient Alphas for Various Constructs.	
Construct	**Standardized Cronbach Coefficient Alpha**
Materialism	0.829973
Power	0.777967
Achievement	0.690488
Hedonism	0.664994
Stimulation	0.672433
Self-Enhancement	0.814265
Openness to Change	0.789298
Universalism	0.827131
Benevolence	0.777849
Self-Transcendence	0.850460
Tradition	0.558921

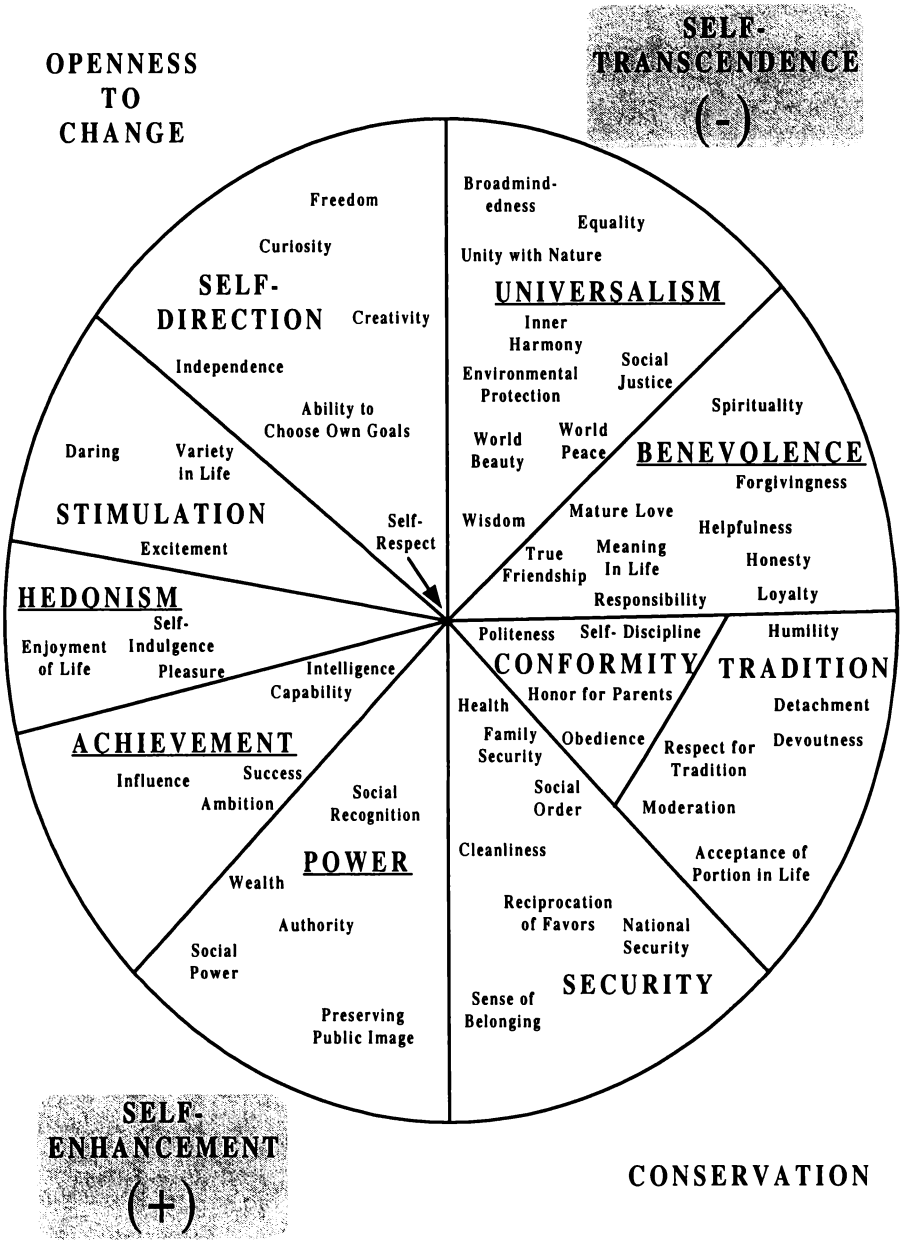


Figure 6: Materialism regression model at value group level.

Table 9: Regression Model of Value Groups versus Materialism Variable.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr > |t|
Intercept	2.16776	0	0.25246	8.59	<0.0001
Self-Enhancement	0.44426	0.73934	0.04978	8.93	<0.0001
Self-Transcendence	-0.32561	-0.50644	0.05326	-6.11	<0.0001
R-Square = 0.4772, Adjusted R-Square = 0.4661					

Within the model, although the positive effects of the self-enhancement values group is greater than the counterbalancing negative effects of the self-transcendence values group, the two factors collectively create a robust model defining the impacts of values group orientations on levels of materialism.

At the value type level, the stepwise procedure of regression analyses of the data yields an almost equally robust model of the relationships of values types and materialism with three of the ten value types (Figure 7) (Table 10). In this model, power and hedonism, are the two value types with a positive relationship with materialism, while the negative factor universalism, rather than benevolence, joins the other two types to form a robust model of value types defining levels of materialism. Again, although correlation calculations failed to yield convincing evidence of a cluster of non-materialistic values, the regression models appear to lend some credence to the notion of a materialism-related values model comprised of two opposing clusters of values, one with positive relationships with materialism and the other with negative, and somewhat less effectual, impacts. A five-factor model including benevolence, as a negative factor, and the security value type, as a positive factor, yields a slightly better adjusted R-square of 0.4796, but with one t-value, 0.0647 for security, that is somewhat beyond the 0.05 standard.

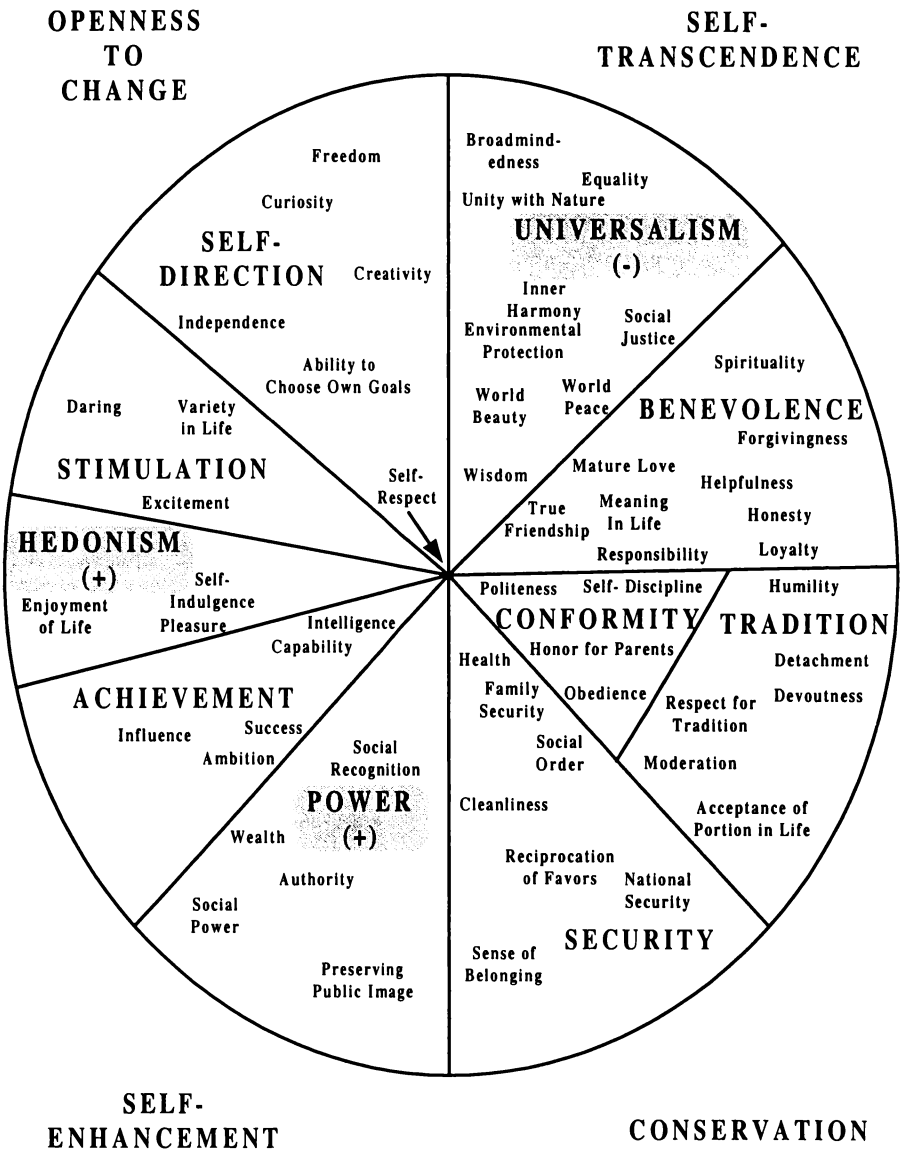


Figure 7: Materialism regression model at the value type level.

Table 10: Regression Model of Value Types versus Materialism Variable.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr > |t|
Intercept	1.94963	0	0.18126	10.76	<0.0001
Power	0.20688	0.50548	0.03284	6.30	<0.0001
Hedonism	0.15793	0.37998	0.03750	4.21	<0.0001
Universalism	-0.19458	-0.40788	0.04099	-4.75	<0.0001

R-Square = 0.4752, Adjusted R-Square = 0.4583

Regression analyses, at the individual value level, indicate that either five or six values comprise a reasonably robust model explaining variation in the dependent variable materialism (Table 11, Table 12). In a model including only the five most influential values (Table 11), three of them—wealth, social recognition, and enjoyment of life, affect levels of materialism positively, while two values, social justice and world peace, have a negative effect. In a somewhat more robust model comprised of the six most influential values (Figure 8) (Table 12), based on regression analyses—social power, is added to the first five values. In the larger value model, social power has a positive effect on materialism, adding somewhat to the overall predictive power of the model, increasing the adjusted R-Square from 0.4665 to 0.4855.

Summary of Chapter IV

Statistical data based on analyses of the data drawn from the convenience sample for this study of 97 adult students and associates provides convincing evidence of the existence of a cluster of values and value types that are related to materialistic attitudes and behaviors. There is, however, only mixed statistical support for the proposition that there is a contending or conflicting group of values that moderate materialistic tendencies. The stepwise regression models for materialism include both positive and negative values and value types, but correlation calculations identified only a single negative value related to materialism.

Table 11: Regression Model of Five Values versus Materialism Variable.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr > |t|
Intercept	1.87483	0	0.18649	10.05	<0.0001
Wealth	0.11871	0.34567	0.02841	4.18	<0.0001
Social Justice	-0.08184	-0.24188	0.02970	-2.76	0.0071
Social Recognition	0.10416	0.33056	0.02670	3.90	0.0002
Enjoyment of Life	0.09988	0.25644	0.03167	3.15	0.0022
World Peace	-0.06821	-0.22296	0.02824	-2.42	0.0177
R-Square = 0.4942, Adjusted R-Square = 0.4665					

Table 12: Regression Model of Six Values versus Materialism Variable.

Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr > |t|
Intercept	1.86527	0	0.18319	10.18	<0.0001
Wealth	0.09253	0.26942	0.03058	3.03	0.0032
Social Justice	-0.08194	-0.24216	0.02917	-2.81	0.0061
Social Recognition	0.09498	0.30144	0.02658	3.57	0.0006
Enjoyment of Life	0.09648	0.24772	0.03114	3.10	0.0026
World Peace	-0.05915	-0.19335	0.02807	-2.11	0.0378
Social Power	0.05575	0.17940	0.02666	2.09	0.0393
R-Square = 0.5177, Adjusted R-Square = 0.4855					

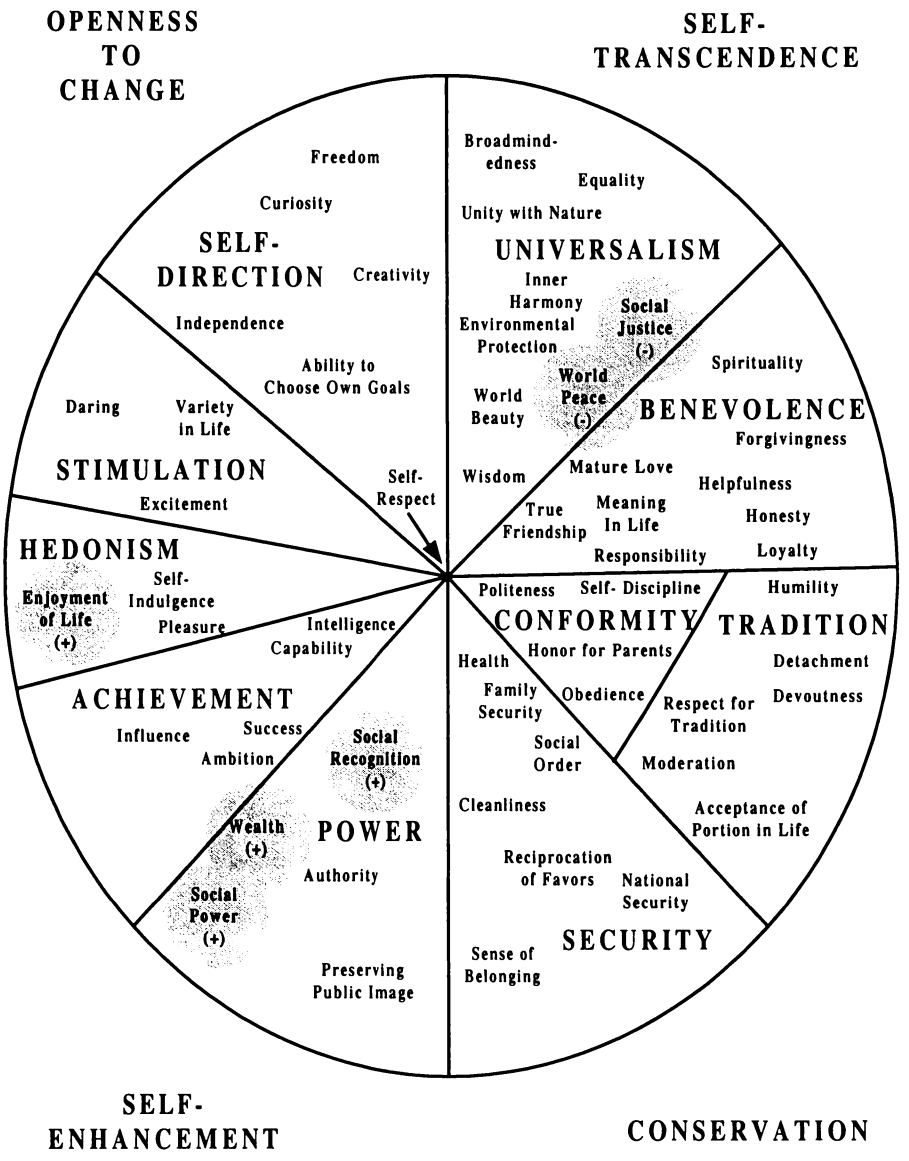


Figure 8: Materialism regression model at the individual value level.

This seemingly anomalous situation can be explained by returning to the Schwartz (1992; 1994) research on the relationships between human values. His findings indicate that the field of 57 human values and the ten value types they define are basically all viewed as "positives" by most human beings within all major cultures of the world. The two-dimensional value pie, defined by Schwartz (1992; 1994), was created by Similar Space Analysis (SSA), a non-metric multi-dimensional scaling model, specifically because correlation calculations failed to identify significant negative correlations within the universe of human values. Review of the Schwartz research confirms that it was unlikely that a single factor, such as materialism, could have been found to be positively correlated to certain values, while being negatively and significantly correlated to competing values.

Since all human values are basically seen as positive goals or attributes, each human being has a unique ranking or personal prioritization of specific values and value types. There appears to be a cluster of values that are positively correlated with materialism and there is an opposing cluster of values that compete with those values, but the two clusters are not negatively correlated and the "nonmaterialistic" cluster is not significantly and negatively correlated to materialism. It simply "competes" with the materialistic values, and with materialism, for human attention to less materialistic concerns.

Successful identification of several regression models that are predictive of materialism does not conflict with the results of correlation analysis. The robust regression models, with factors that are both "positive" and "negative" in relation

to materialism, does not mean those factors are negatively correlated to each other or to materialism. They simply indicate that there are values that are positively correlated with materialism and other competing of opposing factors that tend to detract from materialism when combined within a model specifically designed to predict levels of materialism.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

In the Broadway play, A Raisin in The Sun, one character yells out, "I want so many things, it drives me crazy...money is life" (Hansberry, 1995, p. 16). "The task of the motivation man character was to carefully sort out what drove this young man crazy and package the solutions into bottles and boxes" (Altchuler and Regush, 1975, p. 39). Shalom Schwartz (1994, p. 21) defined values as "desirable...goals...that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person." Richins and Dawson (1992, p. 307), found that some persons believe "possession of things is the ultimate source of happiness," causing them to create a "religion...of things," to the degree that materialism becomes a dominant "lifestyle." Browne and Kaldenberg (1997, p. 32) described materialism as "a cluster of related traits, attitudes, and values focusing on possessions and guiding" consumer behavior. Is there a particular values orientation, or a pattern or cluster of individual values or value types, closely associated with the materialistic behavior and attitudes of some consumers?

The literature on materialism and human values indicates the unique orientation of a person's values may be related to, and may even be causative of, that person's attitudes and behaviors with regard to consumer materialism. Modern

consumers have been bombarded with ads designed to alter their values priorities and to provide "incentives to work harder and harder in order to buy more and more goods" (Altchuler and Regush, 1975, p. 33).

Correlation and regression analyses, based on the data collected for this study, indicate there is some validity to the propositions drawn from the literature. First, and most clearly, there appears to be a cluster of values that are closely related to materialism. The cluster consists of 14 specific, individual values, mostly within the power, hedonism, and achievement value types, and also largely within the self-enhancement quadrant of the two-dimensional values space defined by the Schwartz (1990, 1992, 1994) stream of values research. Wealth, social recognition, and social power, within the power type, and enjoying life, within the hedonism type, appear to be the leading values defining and contributing to a more materialistic attitude. Opposite that cluster, in the two-dimensional sphere defined by Schwartz (1992; 1994), concern for social justice and perhaps world peace and equality; values found in the universalism type and near the boundary with the benevolence type, appear to perhaps contribute negatively, but with much less impact, to materialistic attitudes and behaviors.

The power value type and, to a lesser extent, the hedonism value type, appear, based on the correlations and the regression analyses to comprise two powerful nodes within the cluster of materialistic values. Adjoining portions of the stimulation and security value types, lying on either side of the power-hedonism duality, and portions of the achievement type, which lies between power and

hedonism, make up the balance of the values domain, or cluster, which is associated positively with materialism. In conformance with values theory, diametrically opposite the wealth, social power, social recognition values apex of materialism, is the location of social justice, the sole individual value, demonstrated to be negatively associated by correlation calculations, with materialistic attitudes and behaviors.

Analysis of the data gathered for this study clearly supports the conclusion that the self-enhancement values grouping, and particularly, the power and hedonism types within that domain are positively associated with materialism. To a lesser extent, there is some indication, although much less convincing, that the competing self- transcendence group of values, comprised of the universalism and benevolence types, may be negatively associated, although with less influence, with materialistic attitudes and behaviors.

Both correlation calculations and regression analyses support the finding of a large materialistic values cluster led by wealth, social power, enjoying life, and social recognition. There is much more limited statistical support for only a small and perhaps somewhat non-materialistic values cluster led by social justice and possibly including world peace, world beauty, and a handful of the benevolence and tradition values, such as mature love, honesty, forgiving nature, and devoutness. The materialistic values cluster, which is clearly evidenced and is definable, appears to have a considerably more powerful impact on levels of materialism than does the principally hypothetical non-materialistic cluster. Only

at the higher order values grouping level of self-transcendence, do non-materialistic values appear to have nearly as much impact as do the materialistic values. It may be that due to the large number of individual values used to define the self-transcendence grouping versus the smaller number used to define the self-enhancement group, the evidence of influence is not as apparent on the non-materialistic side of the values spectrum until it is consolidated into the higher-order grouping level.

It should also be recalled that Schwartz (1992; 1994) failed to identify significant patterns of negative correlations between values and value types on opposing sides of the two-dimensional values model. In fact, the two-dimensional values model was defined by non-metric Similarity Space Analysis (SSA) techniques and not correlation calculations or regression analyses (Schwartz, 1992; 1994). Results of this study may coincide with the Schwartz (1992; 1994) findings in confirming that perhaps most humans manage, through internal conflict and frequent misdirection, to hold to complex and sometimes conflicting values orientations. In other words, many of us highly regard values that are on opposing sides of the Schwartz (1992; 1994) values chart. And most humans see all, or nearly all of the entire spectrum of defined values, as positive, desirable virtues. For that reason, although the values on opposite sides sometimes involve competing, conflicting goals, they may not be clearly distinguishable into contrasting groupings through parametric techniques, such as correlation or regression analyses.

Conclusions and Implications

It has been pointed out, in recent years, that "marketing efforts encourage materialism" which may, in turn, "have negative societal effects" (Muncy and Eastman, 1998, p. 137). The materialistic value types of power, hedonism, stimulation, and achievement and the specific values of wealth, social recognition, social power, enjoyment of life, pleasure, self-indulgence, daring, excitement, success, ambition, authority, preserving public image, cleanliness, and influence all have come to be equated with happiness. Those of us, in the western world, who have bought into the corporate world's "dominant message...(of) BUY, BUY, BUY" are now "channeling all our energies into the marketplace" (Atchuler and Regush, 1975, p. 45). Marketers who wish to cause consumers to be more interested in the accumulation of goods, can clearly do so by selling greater acceptance of the particular values and value types that are closely related to materialism. Will we see the day when marketers of consumer goods feel pressure to refrain from pushing their wares to those who are prone to materialism just as producers of alcoholic spirits spend ad dollars promoting responsible drinking?

In addition to academic researchers, corporate marketers, consumer activists, government consumer agencies, legislative bodies, and others may have an interest in continued research into the connections between human values orientations and materialism. Just as public pressure has been brought to bear on the producers and marketers of alcohol and tobacco products, society may develop more interest in controlling the message of marketers with respect to values

orientations and their potential impact on materialistic consumer behavior. Society has long assumed that economic growth is imperative and that high-pressure marketing is an important adjunct to that growth. However, when one examines the values associated with materialism and the values that may be neglected or ignored by highly materialistic consumers, there may be resulting consumer behaviors that are not in society's overall best interests. Society may not benefit from marketers promoting the drive for social power and wealth if those who hear the message ignore the competing values of social justice and world peace. What if the Madison Avenue message of success and social recognition causes consumers to fail to recognize the worth in the competing values of mature love and responsibility? Will one of the consequences of acceptance of the materialistic values be higher divorce rates or more fatherless children? Is it "socially irresponsible for marketers to encourage materialism" without a clear "understanding of the effects...on individuals, families, society, etc." (Muncy and Eastman, 1998, p. 137). One recent researcher quoted earlier studies in speculating "that young adults reared in disrupted families exhibit higher levels of materialism" than those from stable, two-parent, home environments (Flouri, 1999, p. 709). Another study found "considerable evidence that family structure is related to both materialism and compulsive consumption" (Rindfleisch, Burroughs, and Denton, 1997, p. 320). However, the Flouri (1999, p. 720) study did not support his earlier supposition; he found "family structure did not have either a direct or a moderating

effect on materialism." The question of family structure and its effects on materialism, if any, is unresolved.

Also, some investigators contend "a never ending quest for more material possessions is harming the environment" (Muncy and Eastman, 1998, p. 137). At least one researcher has also proposed that "materialism is negatively associated with satisfying interpersonal relationships and feelings of self-worth" (Flouri, 1999, p. 720). These are some of the many additional possible areas of values-materialism related research.

While this study provides evidence of the existence of a cluster of values and value types that are related to materialism, it fails to provide convincing evidence for an opposing cluster of non-materialistic values. Again, the two clusters of values, on opposite sides of the two-dimensional space defined by Schwartz (1992; 1994), may not be identifiable by correlation calculations. In the Schwartz (1992; 1994) stream of research, Similarity Space Analysis (SSA) was utilized, a non-parametric statistical technique widely used in Europe but not well known in the United States. Future researchers may find additional information by use of SSA, or other, non-parametric types of analysis. There are two competing clusters of values, on opposite sides of the two-dimensional values space. One appears to be positively correlated with materialism. The other, opposing cluster of values, simply competes for human attention, but does not significantly and negatively impact materialism.

The questionnaire used for this research was somewhat lengthy and very time-consuming, typically 45 minutes to an hour, for those who agreed to participate in the sample. Some of the time consumed with the survey was due to the Schwartz Value Survey's rank/rate method required for values. Because there are 57 values on the survey, each of which must be considered an assigned a value, respondents are asked to survey the entire list and then identify the few values that are most important to them and assign an appropriate value. They are then asked to perform a similar review to identify the few values that are least important to them and assign an appropriate value to those. Respondents are instructed to read through the entire list once again to rate each of the remaining values consistently with their anchor ratings of those that are most and least important to them. This process is described as a rank/rate procedure by Schwartz and is most time consuming for certain respondents. The Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) portion of the questionnaire is a particularly lengthy component. The completion time factor contributed to a smaller sample size than was originally envisioned. While the numbers seemed to be statistically adequate to lend support to the conclusions, added information might be evidenced by larger samples. Schwartz, et al (2001) recently investigated the validity of a much more brief, newly developed, instrument for the measurement of values orientations that focuses only on the ten value types and not on individual values. While the new instrument has some demonstrated limitations, it could prove useful for any future values-materialism research by allowing for the practical, convenient sampling of larger groups.

This research was intended to provide a clearer understanding of any relationships between human values orientations and levels of consumer materialism. It does provide evidence for two significant points. First, there is a cluster of values, centered around the power and hedonism value types, that is significantly and positively correlated with higher levels of materialism. Persons who place a high priority on these values will tend to be more materialistic in their attitudes and behaviors than persons who don't.

Secondly, while it is not a negatively correlated cluster of values, since all values tend to be viewed as positives, there is a "conflicting" cluster of values centered in the universalism and benevolence types that compete with the materialism values for priority. This competing cluster of values is associated with attitudes and behaviors that could be defined as non-materialistic, but is probably more properly defined as being concerned with more universal, benevolent, or selfless endeavors rather than materialistic ones.

Recommendations for Further Research

As previously mentioned, use of the new, more brief, values instrument recently developed by Schwartz, et al (2001) could be helpful in garnering enlarged sample sizes in any future research.

One area of possible interest to consumer groups, such as credit counselors, could be investigation of successful advertising or training techniques intended to moderate excessively materialistic tendencies among consumers by altering values

orientations. Consumers themselves might be interested in self-testing for values orientations to determine if any particular consumer training or education would be useful to them. Many groups may be interested in further investigation into the two groups of competing values and various behaviors or attitudes that may be associated with either group. If more materialistic persons tend to place less value on universalism, benevolence, and tradition values, then are they more prone to family break-up, or to divorce? Are those who are more materialistic more inclined to have credit or money management difficulties? Which group, those who are more or less materialistic, tends to make better employees? Do those who are less obsessed with material goods miss less work and have better overall work records? There are many possible questions or lines of inquiry that could provide answers useful to society through more research into human values orientations and materialism.

One researcher has suggested that further investigation into materialism and values should look more closely at "other factors that contribute to the development of values, such as schools, peer groups, churches, and the media," particularly advertising, along with family structure (Flouri, 1999, p. 723). Others have preliminarily investigated whether marketing efforts aimed at "causing one to become more materialistic may also cause him or her to have lower ethical standards" (Muncy and Eastman, 1998, p. 144). One recent researcher found evidence that materialistic persons are not satisfied with their standard of living, which causes "dissatisfaction with life in general" (Sirgy, 1998, p. 43).

Over a century ago, researcher Edwin Seligman (1901, p. 612-613) observed that the "existence of man...the framework of the social structure" depends upon what Aristotle described as "the essential interrelation of politics, ethics, and economics." Ethics or virtues, which are closely related to human values orientations, and materialism, which is a particular economic focus, are factors that invite a wide array of interest and continued study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Survey Instrument

Research Survey

Stephen L. Warren
Consumer & Industry Service Management
University of Tennessee – Knoxville
(423) 478-6245

This survey is designed to collect information for a doctoral dissertation research project involving certain aspects of consumer behavior or attitudes of adults and how those may be related to human values. **Your participation in this survey is entirely voluntary.**

If you choose to participate by answering the attached questions, **please do not add your name or any other identification to the form**. Your responses should be completely anonymous. No one, other than a faculty advisor, and myself will have access to your individual responses and you will not be identified in any way. Thank you for your participation.

Sex (circle):

1. Male Female

Your age: _____ Years

What state do you reside in (circle)?

1. CO
2. IL
3. TN
4. WI
5. Other_____

Years of education each person has completed (since 1st grade)? Estimate if not certain.

Yourself_____ Your Father_____ Your Mother_____

Marital Status (circle):

1. Single
2. Married
3. Cohabiting
4. Widowed
5. Divorced

With which religious group do you identify (circle)?

1. Protestant
2. Catholic
3. Jewish
4. Other_____
5. None

How frequently, on the average, do you attend religious services (circle)?

1. Twice, or more, a week
2. Once a week
3. Once or twice a month
4. Several times a year
5. At least once a year
6. Never

Which of the following political parties comes closest to representing your views (circle)?

1. Democratic
2. Republican
3. Other_____

What best describes your political philosophy (circle)?

1. Conservative
2. Liberal
3. Moderate

What best describes your religious viewpoint (circle)?

1. Traditional
2. Progressive
3. Middle of the Road
4. None or Does not Apply

In what kind of place did you grow up (circle)?

1. Large City (500,000+)
2. Medium City (100,000+)
3. Town (2000+)
4. Rural Area

In the following section you are to ask yourself: "What values are important to ME as guiding principles in MY life, and what values are less important to me?" In the parentheses following each value is an explanation that may help you understand its meaning. Your task is to rate how important each value is to you as a guiding principle in your life. Use the rating scale below:

0 – means the value is not at all important, it is not relevant as a guiding principle for you.
3 – means the value is important.
6 – means the value is very important.

The higher the number, the more important the value is as a guiding principle in YOUR life.
-1 – is for rating any values that are opposed to the principles that guide you.
7 – is for rating a value that is of supreme importance as a guiding value in your life; ordinarily there are no more than two or three such values.

In the space before each value, write the number (-1,0,1,2,3,4,5,6,7) that indicates the importance of that value for you, personally. Try to distinguish as much as possible between the values by using all the numbers. You will, of course, need to use numbers more than once. **IMPORTANT**: Before you begin, read the entire list of values, choose the one or two that are most important to you and rate their importance. Next, choose the value(s) that is most opposed to your values and rate it –1. If there is no such value, choose the value(s) that are least important to you and rate them 0 or 1, according to their importance. Then rate the all the rest of the values.

AS A GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN MY LIFE, this value is (assign a number rating to each value according to it's importance to you):

opposed to	-1
not important	0
	1
	2
important	3
	4
	5
very important	6
of supreme importance	7

1_____EQUALITY (equal opportunity for all)

2_____INNER HARMONY (at peace with myself)

3_____SOCIAL POWER (control or dominance)

4_____PLEASURE (gratification of desires)

5_____FREEDOM (of action and thought)

6_____SPIRITUALITY (emphasis on spiritual, not material matters)

7_____BELONGING (others care about me)

8_____SOCIAL ORDER (stability of society)

9_____EXCITEMENT (stimulating experiences)

10_____MEANINGFULNESS (a purpose in life)

11_____POLITENESS (courtesy, good manners)

12_____WEALTH (material possessions, money)

13_____NATIONAL SECURITY (protection of my nation from enemies)

14_____SELF RESPECT (belief in own worth)

15_____RECIPROCATION OF FAVORS (avoidance of indebtedness)

16_____CREATIVITY (unique, imaginative)

17_____WORLD PEACE (free of war, conflict)

18_____RESPECT TRADITION (preservation of time honored customs)

19_____MATURE LOVE (emotional intimacy)

20_____SELF DISCIPLINE (self-restraint, resistance to temptation)

21_____PRIVACY (right to a private sphere)

22_____FAMILY SECURITY (safety of family)

23_____SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, approval by others)

24_____UNITY WITH NATURE (fitting into nature)

25_____VARIETY (challenge, novelty, change)

26_____WISDOM (a mature grasp of life)

27_____AUTHORITY (right to lead, command)

28_____TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close friends)

29_____WORLD BEAUTY (nature & the arts)

30_____SOCIAL JUSTICE (care for the weak)

31_____INDEPENDENCE (self sufficient)

32_____MODERATION (avoiding extremes)

33_____LOYALTY (true to friends, family)

34_____AMBITION (hard-working, aspiring)

35_____BROADMINDEDNESS (tolerant of different ideas and beliefs)

36_____HUMILITY (modest, self-effacing)

37_____DARING (seeking adventure, risk)

38_____PROTECTED ENVIRONMENT (save nature)

39_____INFLUENCE (impact people & events)

40_____HONOR FOR PARENTS AND ELDERS (showing respect)

41_____ABILITY TO CHOOSE OWN GOALS (selecting own purposes)

42_____HEALTHINESS (not being ill, frail)

43_____CAPABILITY (competent, efficient)

44_____ACCEPTANCE OF PORTION IN LIFE (submitting to life's circumstances)

45_____HONESTY (genuine, sincerity)

46_____PUBLIC IMAGE (saving face, respect)

47_____OBEDIENCE (meet obligations, duty)

48_____INTELLIGENCE (logical, thinking)

49_____HELPFULNESS (work to help others)

50_____ENJOYABLE LIFE (food, sex, leisure)

51_____DEVOUTNESS (holding to religious faith and belief)

52_____RESPONSIBILITY (dependable, reliable)

53_____CURIOSITY (interested in everything, exploring)

54_____FORGIVING NATURE (willing to pardon others)

55_____SUCCESS (achieving one's goals)

56_____CLEANLINESS (neatness, tidiness)

57_____SELF-INDULGENCE (doing pleasant things)

Write in the number of the response that best describes your reaction to each of the following statements.

Strongly Disagree	1
Disagree	2
No opinion	3
Agree	4
Strongly Agree	5

1. _____ I admire people who own expensive homes, cars, and clothes.

2. _____ I usually buy only the things I need.

3. _____ I have all the things I really need to enjoy life.

4. _____ It sometimes bothers me quite a bit that I can't afford to buy all the things I'd like.

5. _____ I put less emphasis on material things than most people I know.

6. _____ Buying things gives me a lot of pleasure.

7. _____ I try to keep my life simple, as far as possessions are concerned.

8. _____ My life would be better if I owned certain things I don't have.

9. _____ I like a lot of luxury in my life.

10. _____ Some of the most important achievements in life include acquiring material possessions.

11. _____ The things I own aren't all that important to me.

12. _____ I like to own things that impress people.

13. _____ I enjoy spending money on things that aren't practical.

14. _____ I wouldn't be any happier if I owned nicer things.

15. _____ I don't place much emphasis on how many material objects people own as a sign of success.

16. _____ I'd be happier if I could afford to buy more things.

17. _____ I don't pay much attention to the material objects other people own.

18. _____ The things I own say a lot about how well I'm doing in life.

APPENDIX B

Survey Data

sex	age	edu	fed	med	mar	rel	att	pol	ide	rev	hto
1	36	14	12	12	2	2	5	2	3	3	2
1	50	14	8	8	2	1	4	1	2	3	3
1	40	13	12	12	2	1	6	1	3	3	2
1	34	14	22	14	1	1	5	2	3	2	3
2	28	13	16	18	2	2	2	2	2	1	3
2	33	16	16	18	5	1	2	3	3	3	2
2	32	14	13	16	2	1	6	1	3	2	4
1	39	15	10	12	2	1	4	1	3	1	4
2	37	15	12	16	5	1	3	1	2	3	2
2	39	16	18	12	2	1	1	2	1	3	2
1	20	12	12	12	1	1	3	2	1	1	3
1	22	14	12	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
2	27	15	12	12	2	1	6	2	2	4	4
2	20	15	12	12	1	1	3	3	3	3	4
2	20	14	11	8	2	1	4	2	1	1	3
1	36	15	11	13	2	3	5	1	1	2	3
1	19	13	12	12	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
1	18	12	16	12	1	5	5	1	2	4	4
1	19	13	9	9	1	1	1	3	3	1	4
1	18	13	17	18	1	1	3	2	2	3	3
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2	34	12	18	12	2	1	1	2	1	1	3
1	23	14	12	12	1	1	3	1	3	1	4
1	22	13	16	16	1	1	4	2	1	1	3
2	32	12	18	12	2	1	3	2	1	1	3
2	26	15	9	14	1	1	5	1	3	4	3
2	39	14	12	12	2	1	1	2	3	1	4
2	46	12	5	12	2	5	6	1	3	4	4
2	28	12	12	12	2	2	5	1	3	3	4
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1	18	12	16	16	1	1	1	3	3	2	2
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1	18	13	24	18	1	4	1	2	3	1	3
2	41	15	11	16	3	1	1	1	3	2	4
1	23	15	14	13	1	1	1	3	3	4	1
2	27	14	13	12	3	2	6	3	2	1	1
2	43	14	16	15	2	1	1	2	1	1	3
2	31	14	12	12	2	1	2	2	1	1	3
2	24	12	14	12	2	2	2	1	3	1	3
2	58	14	8	12	2	1	2	1	1	1	3
1	59	20	11	12	2	1	2	2	3	2	1
2	32	13	12	12	2	2	4	2	1	1	3

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2	27	12	8	12	3	1	2	1	3	3	2
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equ	inh	sop	ple	fre	spi	bel	soo	exc	mea	pol	wea
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nas	ser	ref	cre	wop	ret	mal	sed	pri	fas	sor	unn
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6	4	5	3	0	4	6	5	3	6	3	-1
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6	5	3	5	4	4	3	1	7	6	2	5
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3	6	4	5	5	6	5	6	6	6	6	4
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6	2	6	2	3	6	5	3	5	7	3	2
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VITA

Stephen L. Warren was born May 12, 1947 in Bowling Green, Kentucky. He grew up in several communities throughout western Kentucky and southern Indiana and graduated from Hartford High School, in Hartford, Kentucky, in 1965.

Mr. Warren worked briefly as a surveying and engineering technician on several highway construction projects for the Kentucky Department of Highways before joining Peabody Coal Company, in a similar capacity, working in the western Kentucky coalfields, near Greenville, Kentucky, in late 1966. After progressing to a special projects engineering role and managing some early computerized aerial photogrammetry engineering activities, in 1974 Mr. Warren was promoted to an engineering management position near Terre Haute, Indiana. In 1977 he was transferred to Evansville, Indiana as Director of Engineering and Environmental Affairs for a multi-state division. In 1981, Mr. Warren asked to be transferred into operations management and moved through several operations superintendent positions over the next several years in southern Indiana and in Texas. In late 1985 he was promoted to a multi-site General Superintendent position and soon afterward to Director of Operations for a large operating division covering sites in Kentucky, Alabama, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas. Meanwhile, in the early 1980's, Mr. Warren had attended the University of Evansville, on a part-time basis, and earned a Bachelor of Liberal Studies degree.

Mr. Warren accepted an offer from a competing mining firm in 1990 and became President of the Roaring Creek Coal Company subsidiary of Amax Coal Industries, Inc. In early 1991, Amax acquired Cannelton Industries, Inc. and Mr. Warren became President and CEO of the combined subsidiaries, headquartered in Charleston, West Virginia. Cannelton had mining operations in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee and corporate marketing responsibilities for the eastern U.S., Canada, Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. At the end of 1996, Mr. Warren elected to retire from the mining industry, after 30 years, and to complete his Executive Master of Business Administration degree from the University of Charleston.

In late 1997 Mr. Warren accepted a position at Cleveland State Community College in Cleveland, Tennessee. He began doctoral studies at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville early the next year. Presently, Mr. Warren is Director of the Business and Industry Institute at Cleveland State Community College. He also teaches management courses at both the community college and as a faculty member for the University of Phoenix Online.

Mr. Warren resides, with his wife Debbie, in Ooltewah, Tennessee, near Chattanooga. In addition to his work, he and his wife are active in church, neighborhood, and social activities and travel frequently.