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심리학석사학위논문

The High Price of Korean Materialism on
Chronic and Momentary Happiness

한국인의 물질주의 성향이 행복에 미치는 영향 :
만성적 행복수준과 순간 경험되는 행복감

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서울대학교 대학원
심리학과 사회심리 전공
홍 경 화

The High Price of Korean Materialism on Chronic and Momentary Happiness

지도교수 최 인 철

이 논문을 심리학석사 학위논문으로 제출함.

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서울대학교 대학원

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홍 경 화

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Abstract

The present study aims to replicate and extend previous findings on the aversive effects of materialism on wellbeing. In numerous past studies, sufficient amount of information about psychological and social traits about materialists that are related to diminished happiness have been provided. However, they have neglected to examine materialists in daily life. This study overcomes such limitation by assessing materialists' happiness at both chronic and momentary levels. At the chronic level, participants' happiness was assessed from their retrospective evaluation on life satisfaction. At the momentary level, participants' instant pleasure, meaningfulness, and engagement were used as an indicator of their happiness. Moreover, Study 1 addressed two psychological processes to understand the negative relationship between materialism and happiness. Mediation analysis showed that materialism begets a lay belief about happiness and consumer behaviors which in turn reduce happiness. Materialism also acted as a moderator to attenuate the positive impact of income on happiness. In Study 2, materialists' momentary happiness and life style were examined in an everyday life setting using the experience sampling method. The results showed that materialists do feel unhappier in daily life. Interestingly, materialists showed a unique life style that reduces their happiness. Upon investigating their lifestyle

further, results found that materialists engaged in happiness-enhancing activities less frequently, but surprisingly they felt more pleasure, meaningfulness, and engagement during those activities. Specifically, they engaged in self-enhancing activities, social events, leisure activities, and self-transcendent activities, but felt less happy while engaging in materialistic activities and asocial activities. The findings all together suggest the possibility that the life style of materialists begets reduced chronic and momentary happiness. Theoretical contribution, practical implication, and limitation of the study are discussed.

Keywords: materialism, happiness, daily activity, momentary experience, experiential sampling method

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“We are living in a material world and I am a material girl”

Madonna

The lyric of the song “Material girl” identifies with some characteristics of materialists (1984). For instance, the material girl in the song looks for true love from wealth and asks for happiness from affluence. Moreover, scenes of a comedy-drama film *Devil Wears Prada* (2006) directly exhibits what living in a materialistic world looks like: addicted to luxury goods, obsessed with body-image, engaged in shallow interpersonal relationships, faced with high competition, and filled with frustration. Indeed, messages from advertisements also perpetuates materialistic values by promoting social comparison, aspiration, and social recognition: “you will be happier if you buy our product that your friend does not have” or “you will be unhappier if you do not buy our product that your friend has.” As evidenced from the above, it is evident that materialism is embedded in every aspect of our life.

The High Price of Materialism

What do psychologists say about this materialistic world and people living in it? Literature initially showed that the American society is turning into a materialistic one and transforming its people into materialists who are insecurely attached to material possessions (Rahn & Transue, 1998; Twenge & Kasser, 2013). Despite the true nature of the national ethos “American dream” which

initially encouraged equal opportunity of wealth and success across social classes, people rather became obsessed with ever increasing prosperity. Kasser noted this phenomenon as “the dark side of the American Dream” (1993), proposing that people’s aspiration for financial success distracts from fulfilling other psychological needs, and further decreases their wellbeing and mental health. The initial alarm of negative effects of materialism on our wellbeing was raised by Belk who defined materialism as “the importance the consumer attaches to worldly possessions” (Belk, 1984, 1985). With rapidly growing concerns of its aversive effects on wellbeing, further studies examined various psychological, social, and environmental costs that materialism produces. Past research revealed that materialism is psychologically destructive by means of distracting positive psychological outcomes such as happiness, vitality, self-actualization, and overall satisfaction (Ahuvia & Wong, 1995; Diener & Oishi, 2000; Keng et al., 2000; Mick, 1996; Saunders & Muro, 2000; Sirgy et al., 1995; Swinyard et al., 2001) and attracting negative psychological outcomes such as anxiety, depression, social maladaptation, and behavioral disorders (Cohen & Cohen, 1996; Schroeder & Dugal, 1995; Wachtel & Blatt, 1990). Moreover, materialists’ anti-social behaviors, competitive attitude, and lack of empathy yield various social costs (Abramson & Inglehart, 1995; Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995). Lastly, ignorant about the environment and the

community, materialists are less likely to participate in pro-environmental activities and leaves higher ecological footprints by continuously engaging in material consumption (Schwartz 1992, 1994, 1996; Winokur, 1996; Ruskin, 1999). As reflected in our life, media, society, and literature, everyone from laypeople to scholars cannot doubt the prevalence and danger of materialism on our self, relationship, and environment.

Unhappy Koreans' Wealth and Materialism

Then, is a materialistic culture only apparent in America, or is it also found on the other side of the world, in Korea? Numerous literature continuously demonstrated that Korea has been economically and socially developed at an unprecedented speed (Arestis & Demetriades, 1997; Balassa, 1978; Easterly, Ritzen, & Woolcock, 2006; Nelson & Pack, 1999). Moreover, behavioral economic studies which revealed the positive relationship between wealth and happiness predicted that Korean people should have become happier with the rapid economic growth of the country (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2002; Kahneman et al., 2006). Ironically Koreans did not feel any happier compared to the past (Diener, Sandvik, & Diener, 1993). Past research using data from the Gallup World Poll also supported that Korea became wealthier but surprisingly unhappier. For instance, the emotion balance of Korean respondents was 3.71 and the GDP per capita was 23,315 won from 2005 to 2007, but ironically their

emotion balance decreased to 2.35 in spite of 15% GDP per capita from 2010 to 2012 (Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2013). This surprising data is incompatible to the proven effect of wealth on enhancing happiness. Among many, Diener and Oishi stated that income has the profound effect on subjective well-being only up to which inherent needs of humans are met (2002). In other words, once income fulfills our basic needs, the impact of wealth becomes negligible compared to the degree to which other factors influence our happiness.

It follows that Korean economic growth should have made Korean people's life better by affording superior quality of food, shelter, and clothing. If so, what is it that exceeds the substantial impact of higher quality of life on happiness? The positive psychologist, Ed Diener (2010) accounted high materialism for Korean people's unhappiness, along with high competition, low trust, and low social security, all of which are highly correlated with materialism itself (Belk, 1985; Christopher & et al., 2004; Kasser, 2002; Park, Choi, & Suh, 2012). In support of Diener's speculation, several cross-cultural surveys have revealed that Koreans have relatively high materialistic values. In 2005, a survey conducted by Gallup found that Koreans reported higher than the average ratings of materialism ($M = 7.24$) on a 9-point scale, compared to other economically flourishing countries (e.g., $M = 4.45$ for U.S.; $M = 6.01$ for Japan). In the following year, the World Values Survey found that 24.7% (somewhat like me =

14.2%, like me = 8.1%, very much like me = 2.4%) of Koreans (n = 1200) identified them as a person who believes that “being rich is important” (i.e., to have a lot of money and expensive things) and 62% (somewhat like me = 26%, like me = 23%, very much like me = 13%) indicated that “being successful is important” (i.e., to have people recognize one’s achievements). In comparison, only 19.3% of Americans said it is critical to be rich and 47.9% of them found success important (n = 2231). In addition, a survey conducted by Ipsos revealed that 52% of 500 Koreans agreed that “feel under a lot of pressure to be successful and make money” and 45% of them agreed that they “measure their success by the things they own” (2013). Based on worldwide data and literature, Korean economic growth may have made the life styles of its citizens more abundant and affluent, but it surely did not improve Korean’s happiness.

Materialism Research in Korea

In respect to prevalence of materialism in Korea, it is not surprising that numerous literature has examined, replicated, and extended findings on materialism with Korean participants. For example, consistent with findings of studies conducted on American samples (Rose, 2007; Yurchisin & Johnson, 2004), Korean materialists were more prone to unhealthy spending such as conspicuous consumption and impulsive spending (Nam, 2013; Shin, 1994). Moreover, similar to findings of Richins (1987) and Yoon (1995), greater

exposures to materialistic values such as watching TV was associated with more materialistic consumption, but less social participation and satisfaction with life and community (Keum, 2006; Yang, 2006). Extending on the previous research on materialists' interpersonal relationships, a recent study conducted on a Korean sample found that materialists were less likely to have trust in others, thus belittling the importance of interpersonal relations (Kasser, 2002; Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Park, Choi, & Suh, 2012; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995). These materialism studies on a Korean sample have two implications. First, materialism and its detrimental impacts are prevalent in Korea. Second and more importantly, the consistent results found in Korean samples confirm that samples have much potential for further research to enlighten the understanding of materialism.

Present Study

The present study attempts to reveal some of the underlying psychological processes under which materialism reduces happiness. Individuals' level of happiness was observed in two ways. Study 1 examined happiness at a chronic level, and then Study 2 observed momentary happiness at the point of experience. More importantly, mediation analysis, moderation analysis, and the experience sampling method were used to understand why materialists are unhappy.

Is materialism inviting third variables to reduce happiness?

Previous studies have either directly or indirectly demonstrated the process through which materialism generates reduced happiness. For instance, materialism reduces happiness particularly by increasing avoidance of experiences, decreasing experiential consumption, deteriorating interpersonal relationships, and worsening quality of family relations (Cohen & Cohen, 1996; Kashdan & Breen, 2007; Rindfleisch, Burroughs, & Denton, 1997; Van Boven, 2005). In the current study, I tested some of the potential underlying processes in the relationship between materialism and happiness. Particularly, I examined mediating roles of psychological variables that are important but undiscovered in understanding the mechanism under which materialism reduces happiness: the lay belief about happiness and consumer behaviors.

First, past research revealed that achieving a state of happiness is an important and common personal goal (Diener, 2000; Diener, Suh, Smith, & Shao, 1995; Myers, 2000). However, research indicated that individuals differ in their conceptualizations and definitions of happiness (Oishi, 2010), suggesting that people may understand and pursue happiness in fundamentally different ways depending their lay belief about happiness. However, previous research have not revealed whether materialists and nonmaterialists differ in terms of their approach to happiness. Therefore, in this research, I examined whether

materialists' lay beliefs about the nature of happiness ultimately influenced their level of happiness.

Second, the most representative trait of materialism is their consumer behavior. Belk initially defined materialism as “the importance of consumer attaches to worldly possessions” (Belk, 1984) and further studies found various spending habits of materialists. Beyond obsession with material possessions, materialists are prone to unhealthy spending habits such as conspicuous consumption, material purchases, and lacking social spending (Howell, Pchelin, & Iyer, 2012; Rose, 2007; Yurchisin & Johnson, 2004). In spite of the concerns of spending habits of materialists, not enough research has revealed the mediating process of how materialists' consumer behaviors deteriorate their happiness. Thus, I examined two particular spending habits of materialists: experiential consumption and charitable donation.

Materialists' Orientation to Happiness and Life Satisfaction

The lay belief about happiness is the first candidate as a mediator that is presumed to play a significant role in the relationship between materialism and happiness. According to previous research on orientation to happiness, people can pursue happiness through three distinctive strategies (i.e., meaning, pleasure, and engagement) and each of the three can uniquely predict happiness (Peterson, Park, & Seligman, 2005; Seligman, 2002; Shueller & Seligman,

2010). Particularly, meaningful and engaging oriented activities are stronger predictors of happiness than pleasure seeking activities because the former increase social and psychological resources (Baumeister & Vohs, 2002; Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Shueller & Seligman, 2010). Then, do materialists have a distinguishable lay belief about happiness from nonmaterialists? Interestingly enough, few studies examined this possibility. Therefore, in this study, I examined whether that materialists pursue pleasure as a way to happiness rather than meaning, and their misplaced concept of happiness further lead to reduced happiness.

Materialists' Consuming Behaviors and Life Satisfaction

Consumer behavior also has a potential to mediate the relationship between materialism and happiness. Past research consistently showed that materialists possess unhealthy consuming habits, for example, materialists makes conspicuous consumption to show their social status (Podoshen, Li, & Zhang, 2011). Moreover, their lacking self-control and depression make them more vulnerable to compulsive spending (Rose, 2007; Yurchisin & Johnson, 2004). Studies on materialism conducted in Korea indeed replicated the relationship between materialism and those unhealthy spending behaviors (Nam, 2013; Shin, 1994). However, only a few research directly addressed the mediating roles of consumer behavior in the relationship between materialism and happiness (e.g.,

Frank, 2005; Kasser & Kanner, 2004). Therefore, in this study, I addressed two spending behaviors of materialists that may exert a significant influence on their wellbeing: experiential consumption and charitable donation.

Several studies previously demonstrated that experiential goods make people happier than material goods because the hedonic experience of experiential goods lasts longer than material purchases (e.g., Nicolao et al., 2009; Van Boven, 2005). In addition, researchers interested in consuming behaviors of materialists showed that materialists prefer material consumptions to experiential purchases (Howell, Pchelin, & Iyer, 2012). In their study, materialists preferred material goods (e.g., a new outfit) to experiential goods (e.g., dinner at a nice restaurant) and were more likely to spend money on material items over life experiences when they “have extra money” and “want to be happy.” As a previous study found materialists have a less willingness to spend on experiential goods, I tested whether materialists actually engage in less experiential spending and if their consumer behaviors further reduce their happiness.

Moreover, past research has shown that social giving is rewarding and makes people happier. According to previous research, charitable donation and prosocial spending promote general life satisfaction and mood. Moreover, spending on others results in greater satisfaction than spending on oneself (e.g., Abdel-Khalek, 2006; Dunn, Aknin, & Norton, 2008; Harbaugh, Mayr, &

Burghart, 2007). In spite of substantial benefits of spending on others, materialists who are ignorant about social relations and communities spend little on social consumptions (Fitzmaurice & Comegys, 2006; Graham, 1999). Thus, I hypothesized that materialists are less happy because they do not prioritize social and relational spending, particularly charitable donations.

Is materialism intervening in between income and happiness?

The study first examined whether mediating roles of a particular value and consumer behaviors can explain the underlying mechanism by which materialism is detrimental to happiness. Another possible psychological process under which materialism exerts the negative influence on happiness is through moderation. In present study, I examined whether materialism attenuates or accelerates the positive influence of income on happiness. Numerous studies found that income is one of the promising predictors of happiness. That is, wealth at an individual level (e.g., personal income) and/or at the national level (e.g., GDP) is related to greater life satisfaction (Diener & Biswas-Diener, 2002; Kahneman et al., 2006). Although some researchers doubted the overestimated impact of monetary effect on happiness (DeNeve and Cooper, 1999; Diener and Biswas-Diener, 2002; Layard, 2005; Myers 1992; Nettle, 2005), they still agree on the positive relationship between wealth and happiness. The debate about strength of the correlation is beyond the scope of this study, thus will not be

discussed further. Moreover, numerous studies have found individual difference that moderate the relationship between income and happiness, for instance, relativity of income (Clark & Oswald, 1996; Ferrer-i-Carbonell, 2005; McBride, 2001), representation of payment (DeVoe & Pfeffer, 2009), and orientation to work (Malka & Chatman, 2003). Moreover, although not empirically tested, researchers posited potentially significant moderating role of materialism (e.g., Diener, Sandvik, & Diener, 1993; Diener et.al, 2010). In this study, I tested if materialistic culture actually accounts for the dissonance of the rapidly grown Korean economy and unhappy Koreans. Particularly, I hypothesized that materialistic Koreans do not benefit enough from financial gains, at least not as much as non-materialists.

Momentary Happiness and Life Styles of Materialists

Previous research suggested the unique psychological traits, values, and behaviors of materialists that diminish their level of happiness. However, those studies have two limitations in common. First, most of the responses of participants were based on retrospective evaluations or predictors of future behaviors which do not always reflect actual experiences (Gilbert et al., 1998; Kahneman & Riis, 2005; Robinson & Clore, 2002; Schwarz, 2007). For example, if materialists report higher frequency of shopping, does it imply that they really shop more or they simply have more memory accessible about shopping?

Moreover, if materialists indicated that they are happy while shopping, did they really feel pleasurable while shopping or thinking about it made them happy to report greater life satisfaction? For this reason, it is critical to observe participants' psychological outcomes at the time of experience. Moreover, previous research posited that it is critical to examine happiness across life events as happiness is sensitive to environmental circumstances (Kahneman et al., 2004; Killingsworth & Gilbert, 2010; Kruger et al., 2009; White & Dolan, 2009). Second, previous studies focused on particular attitudes or behaviors of materialism, most of them being consumption or social relationships. Although those two aspects represent materialism, previous literature left the question unanswered: "Do materialists have a distinguishable life style?" Therefore, Study 2 examined whether materialists are less happy than nonmaterialists in daily life, and whether their life styles are uniquely different from nonmaterialists.

Study 1

In the current study, I replicated and extended the results of a previous study demonstrating the reverse relationship between materialism and happiness. First, I speculated several mediators (a lay belief about happiness and consumer behaviors) in attempt to reveal psychological mechanisms under which materialism deteriorates wellbeing. Second, I examined how materialism reduces happiness by moderating the positive impact of income on happiness.

Method

Participants

Eight hundred and thirty four Koreans (51% females) were recruited and participated. Participants' age ranged from 21 to 59 ($M = 39.38$, $SD = 10.58$) with distribution of 20s (25.4%), 30s (24.5%), 40s (24.5 %), and 50s (25.7%). Participants received 2,000 won in exchange for their participation.

Measures

All participants reported their sociodemographic information including gender, age, marital status, and their objective and subjective social status (i.e., monthly household income and perceived socioeconomic status). Then, they completed questionnaires of scales measuring their materialism tendency, a lay belief about happiness, consumer behaviors, and happiness.

Materialism

Participants' materialism scores were obtained from the 18-item version of the Material Values Scale (Richins & Dawn, 1992). I particularly chose scales developed by Richins and Dawn because it reflects characteristics of materialists beyond aspiring more money to buy things and being obsessed with possessions; it contains items that reflects social comparison (e.g., "I don't pay much attention to the material objects other people own," reverse question) and social recognition (e.g. "I like to own things that impress people") which are both found to be unhealthy for our psychological wellbeing (Brickman & Janoff-Bulman, 1977; Kasser, 2002; Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Sheldon & Kasser, 1998 ; Wheeler & Miyake, 1992). Participants indicated how much they agree with each of the 18 statements on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Examples of eight reverse scored items are "I don't place much emphasis on the amount of material objects people own as a sign of success" and "I put less emphasis on material things than most people I know." Two items of the questionnaires (i.e. "The things I own aren't all that important to me" and "I have all the things I really need to enjoy life") were excluded from analysis. When those two items were translated into Korean, the meanings of sentences do not validly reflect the original statements, and were not consistent with other items. The inter-item correlation between the two items and other items were

unsatisfactory ($-.26 < \alpha < .23$, $-.13 < \alpha < .28$, respectively). The scale was internally consistent after removing the two items, $\alpha = .80$. The results held the same pattern with or whether these two items were included or not. Higher score indicates greater materialistic tendency.

Orientation to Happiness

Participants' lay belief of happiness was assessed using Orientation to Happiness Scale (OHS; Peterson, Park, & Seligman, 2005). The scale measures the extent to which people take three different strategies in pursuing happiness. I took two subsets of OHS which measures individual's approach to meaning (e.g., "I have a responsibility to make the world a better place") and pleasure (e.g., "Life is too short to postpone the pleasures it can provide"). Participants rated their endorsement to happiness on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). Indexes of pleasure orientation and meaning orientation were formed by averaging the respective items. Internal consistencies of the two subscales were satisfactory ($\alpha = .81$ for pleasure; $\alpha = .79$ for meaning). Higher scores indicate greater endorsement on each strategy to happiness. Then, to examine the relative endorsement of one another, I subtracted the pleasure index by the meaning index. A score greater than 1 indicates greater pleasure endorsement relative to meaning endorsement, 1 indicates the equal endorsement of both strategies, and a score smaller than 1 indicates greater meaning

endorsement relative to pleasure endorsement.

Charitable Donation

Participants reported their actual consumption on charitable donations. They reported in percentile (i.e., out of 100), how much they are currently spending on charitable donations. The greater percentile indicates greater amount of charitable donations they are making.

Experiential Consumption

Participants were asked to recall and report their experiential spending for last one month as accurate as possible. For participants who may not be familiar with the concept of an experiential purchase, its definition of experiential consumption (i.e., “spending money with the primary intention of acquiring a life experience” (Van Boven & Gilovich, 2003). The total amount of experiential purchases that participants indicated was summed and mean-centered by subtracting the mean.

Happiness Measurement

I used participants’ satisfaction with life (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) as an indicator of their happiness level. The scale is comprised of 5 items that reflects personal evaluation of satisfaction with life in general (e.g., “I am satisfied with my life”). Participants rated how much they agree on each statement given on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*disagree*) to 5

(*agree*). The scale showed satisfactory reliability, $\alpha = .86$. Higher score indicates greater life satisfaction. Higher score indicates greater life satisfaction.

Social Class Measurement

Participants' monthly household income was used as an indicator of their objective social class. They reported their household income in an open-ended question. Participants also completed the MacArthur Scale of subjective SES often used to measure individuals' subjective social class (e.g., Adler et al., 2000; Kraus et al., 2009). They reported where they think they stand at the time of survey, relative to other people in Korea. The top of the ladder (i.e. 1) indicates the people who are the best off (e.g., those who have the most money, the most education and the most respected jobs) and the bottom (i.e., 10) indicates the people who are the worst off (e.g., who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job). The lower the number, the closer people perceive themselves as at the very top.

Results

What is the underlying mechanism of which materialism reduces happiness?

I predicted that materialistic people are unhappier because of their lay beliefs of happiness and consuming behaviors. Specifically, I hypothesized that materialists who endorse pleasure approach over meaning to happiness, are less

willing to spend on experiential purchases and charitable donation. As a preliminary analysis, I examined relationships of independent, mediating, and dependent variables. As shown in Table 1, results indicated that materialism tendency was related to greater endorsement of pleasure over meaning, $r(832) = .13, p < .01$, less consumption of experiential goods, $r(748) = -.09, p < .01$, less charitable donation, $r(832) = -.19, p < .01$. The correlation matrix also revealed that higher life satisfaction was inversely associated with materialism, $r(832) = -.21, p < .01$, the endorsement of pleasure over meaning, $r(832) = -.17, p < .01$, and showed a positive relationship with the experiential purchases, $r(748) = .16, p < .01$ and charitable donation, $r(832) = .15, p < .01$.

Table 1 *Correlation table for materialism, mediators, and life satisfaction*

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Materialism	-				
2. Ratio of pleasure to meaning orientation	.13**	-			
3. Experiential consumption	-.09*	0.00	-		
4. Charitable donation	-.19**	-.18**	.06†	-	
5. Life satisfaction	-.21**	-.17**	.16**	.15**	-
<i>M</i>	3.98	1.26	4.24	0.00	3.39
<i>SD</i>	0.72	3.21	11.60	1.00	1.16

Note. N = 834 for all variables except for Ratio of material to experiential purchase (n = 709). Participants who reported 0 for purchase amount for experiential purchases were excluded from the analysis.

† $p < .1$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

To further examine whether the effect of materialism on happiness is

mediated by a lay belief about happiness and consuming behaviors, I followed the criteria of Baron and Kenny (1986). First, I found that materialism significantly decreases happiness ($b = -.21, t = -6.25, p < .001$). Then, regression analysis was performed for three models to examine the relationship between materialism and mediators and effects of predictors on life satisfaction (see Table 2 and Figure 1).

Orientation to Happiness

I demonstrated that the lay belief of happiness had a significant effect on participants' life satisfaction, indicating that pleasure orientation led to reduced life satisfaction. I then showed that materialism had a significant effect on pleasure orientation ($b = .13, t = 3.63, p < .001$). Finally, when the regression analyses were performed on life satisfaction, with materialism and the pleasure orientation as the predictors, pleasure orientation was found to have a significant negative effect on life satisfaction ($b = -.14, t = -4.27, p < .05$), whereas the previously significant effect of materialism decreased ($b = -.19, t = -5.73, p < .001$), indicating a partial mediation effect of pleasure orientation. The negative coefficient on the ratio of pleasure orientation to meaning orientation indicates that relatively greater endorsement of pleasure results in reduced happiness. The results of Sobel test (Sobel, 1982) further confirmed that pleasure orientation was a significant mediator for happiness, $Z = -2.77, p < .01$.

Experiential Consumption

The ratio of material versus experiential purchases also had a significant effect on participants' life satisfaction, indicating that greater experiential consumption increased life satisfaction. Then, I demonstrated that materialism had a significant effect on experiential consumption ($b = -.09$; $t = 2.35$, $p < .05$). Consequently, the regression analyses on life satisfaction with materialism and the experiential consumption as the predictors revealed that experiential consumption had a significant negative effect on life satisfaction ($b = .14$, $t = 3.95$, $p < .001$), and materialism also significantly reduced life satisfaction ($b = -.21$, $t = -5.75$, $p < .001$). The negative coefficient on the ratio of experiential consumption indicates that the greater experiential consumption results in higher life satisfaction. The results of Sobel test further confirmed that purchasing more experiential goods significantly mediates the relationship between materialism and life satisfaction, $Z = -2.03$, $p < .05$.

Charitable Donation

The third model of mediators shows that spending on charitable donations significantly yielded a positive effect on participants' life satisfaction, indicating that the charitable donations enhanced life satisfaction. I then showed that materialism had a significant negative effect on the charitable donation ($b =$

$-0.19, t = -5.52, p < .001$). Finally, when the regression analyses were performed on life satisfaction, with materialism and the charitable donations set as the predictors, a significant positive effect of charitable donations was found on life satisfaction ($b = .12, t = 3.45, p < .001$), whereas the previously significant effect of materialism decreased ($b = -0.19, t = -5.53, p < .001$), indicating a partial mediation effect of charitable donations. The positive coefficient on the charitable donations indicates that the greater spending on charitable donations results in higher life satisfaction. The results of Sobel test confirmed that skimping on charitable donations reduced life satisfaction of materialists, $Z = -2.91, p < .01$.

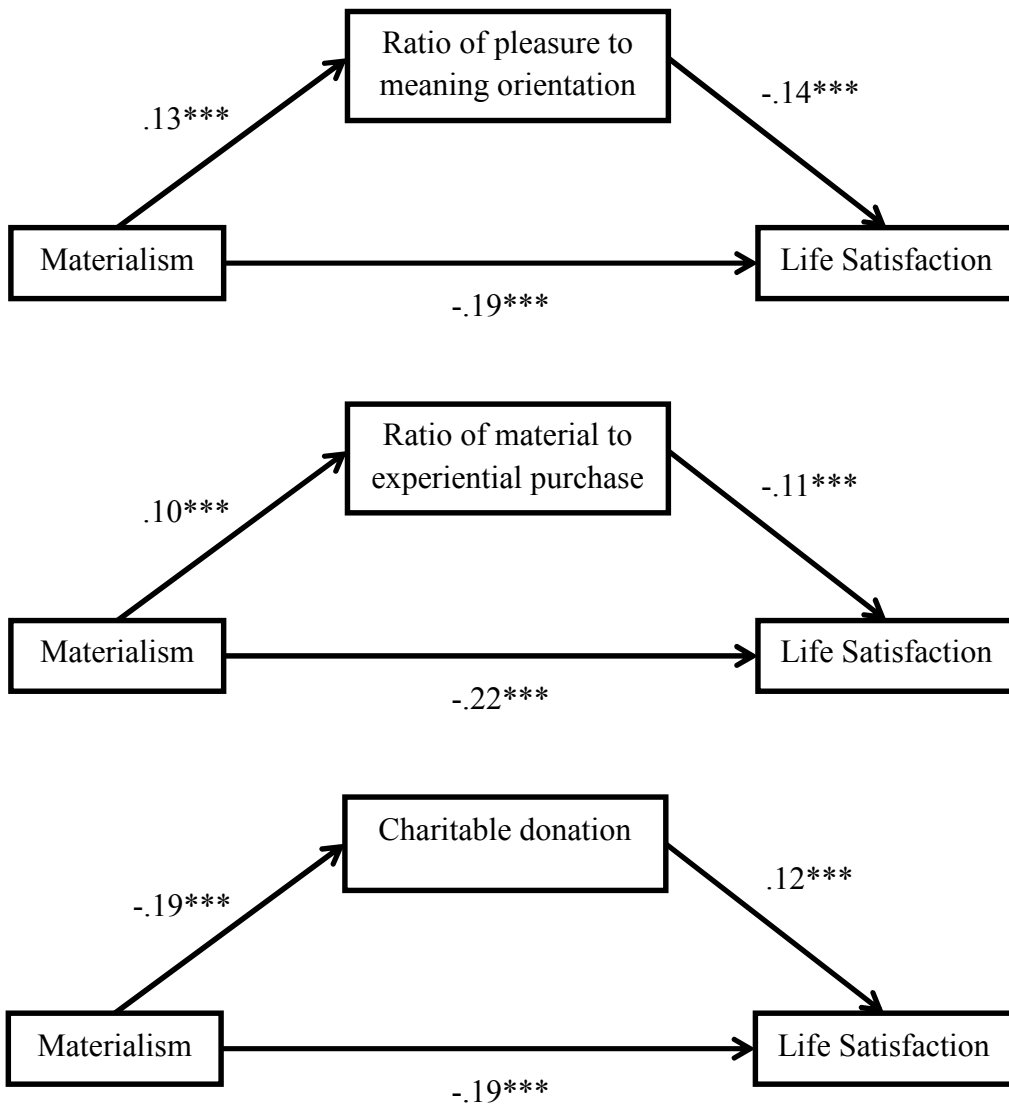


Figure 1 *Mediation models*

Note. Mediation analysis indicates that three mediators partially account for the influence of materialism on life satisfaction.

*** $p < .001$.

What moderating role does materialism play to reduce happiness?

In this analysis, I investigated whether materialism as a moderator attenuates the positive impact of income on happiness. Initially, I examined whether income and materialism are related to life satisfaction, controlling for demographic variables. Further, I tested a model of which the relationship between social status and life satisfaction was varied by individual level of materialism.

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to examine the predicting role of social status on life satisfaction and the moderating role of materialism on social status and life satisfaction. Specifically, I tested whether the interactions of income with materialism accounted for a significant amount of variance above and beyond the main effects alone, after controlling for demographic characteristics such as gender, age, and marital status. I entered variables in blocks into the regression equation, computed the incremental F test of the difference in R^2 between the blocks of variables, and examined whether there was a significant change in the total R^2 after each new set of predictors was added to the model, following the steps provided by Cohen and Cohen (1983). At step 1, the demographic variables were entered into the model. At step 2, the main effects of income and materialism were entered. At step 3, the

interactions of Income \times Materialism were added. In all, scores of materialism and subjective wellbeing were centered by subtracting the mean as recommended by Jaccard, Turrisi, and Wan (1990).

Table 2 Summary of hierarchical regression analyses for variables predicting SWLS

Variable	Objective social status			Subjective social status				
	B	SE B	β	Total R^2	B	SE B	β	Total R^2
Step 1				.01				.01
Gender	-.00	.40	.00		.00	.08	.00	
Age	-.05	.03	-.09		-.01	.01	-.09*	
Marital status	1.78	.56	.15**		.36	.11	.15**	
Step 2				.11				.30
Social status	1.35	.19	.23***		.59	.03	.51***	
Materialism	-1.25	.20	-		-.19	.04	-.16***	
			.22***					
Step 3				.13				.31
Social status \times Materialism	.72	.19	.12***		.08	.03	.07*	

Note. For objective social status, $R^2 = .01$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .10$ for Step 2; $\Delta R^2 = .02$ for Step 3 ($ps < .05$ for Step 1; $ps < .001$ for Steps 2 and 3). For subjective social status, $R^2 = .01$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .30$ for Step 2; $\Delta R^2 = .01$ for Step 3 ($ps < .05$ for Steps 1 and 3; $p < .001$ for Step 2). * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Initially, I expected the main effects of income and materialism on happiness. The results of hierarchical multiple regression analysis revealed significant main effects; higher subjective wellbeing is related to higher actual income ($b = .23, p < .001$ for objective social status; $b = .59, p < .001$ for

subjective social status) and lower materialism ($b = -.22, p < .001$ for objective social status; $b = -.16, p < .001$ for subjective social status) at the second step (see Table 2). Second, I predicted that the interactions of income with materialism accounted for a significant amount of variance above and beyond the main effects alone. At Step 3, a significant Income \times Materialism interaction was found ($b = .12, p < .001$ for objective social status; $b = .07, p < .01$ for subjective social status). The results imply that materialism attenuates positive influence of income on happiness; materialists with high income are as unhappy as non-materialists with low income (see Figure 2a and b).

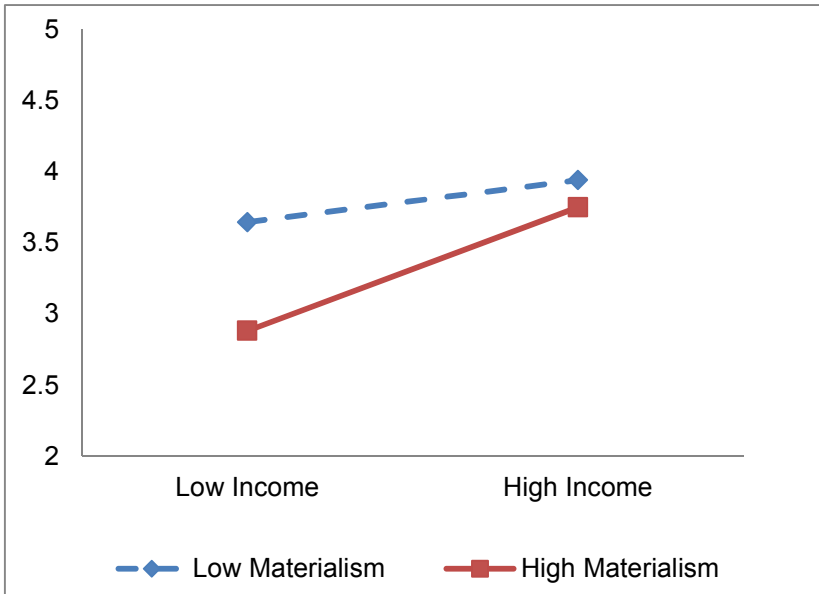


Figure 2a *Predicted regression lines for SWLS (Objective socioeconomic status)*
 Note. Predicted regression lines demonstrate the moderating role of materialism between income and life satisfaction.

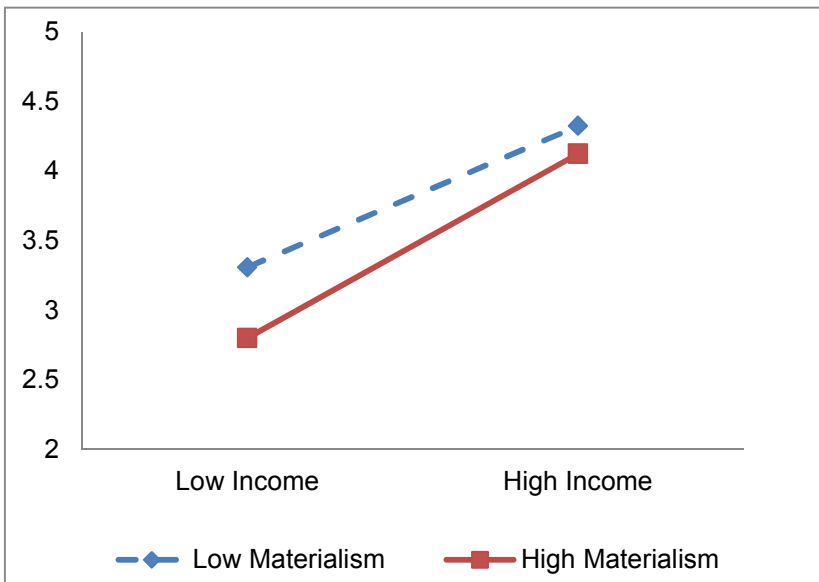


Figure 2b *Predicted regression lines for SWLS (Subjective socioeconomic status)*
 Note. Predicted regression lines demonstrate the moderating role of materialism between income and life satisfaction.

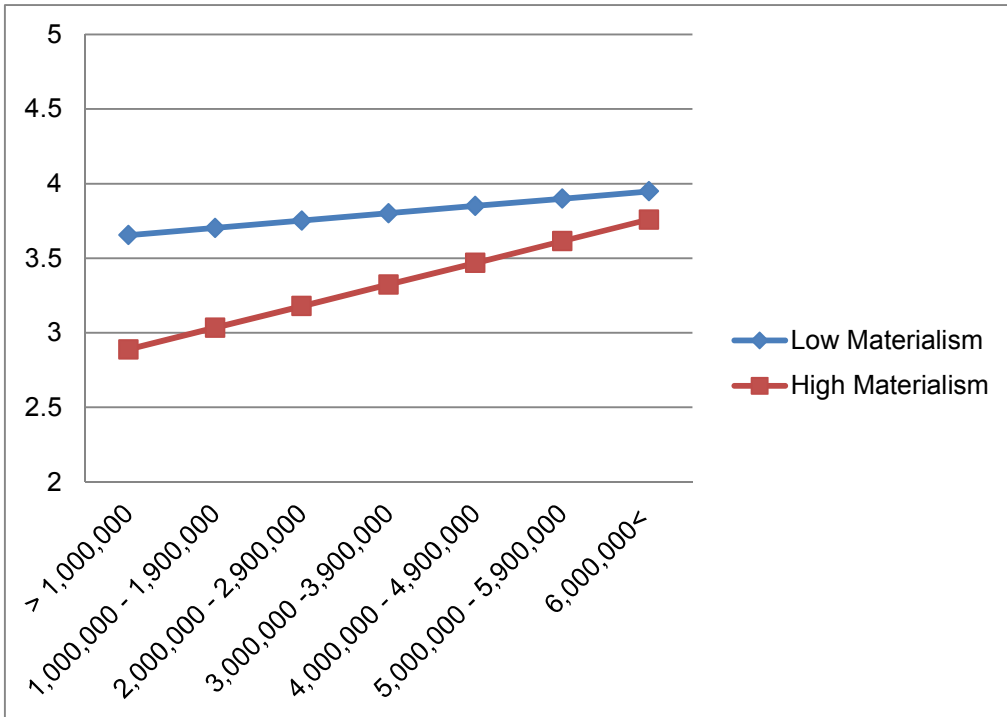


Figure 3 *Life satisfaction of high materialists and low materialists by income level*

Note. Predicted regression lines demonstrate the moderating role of materialism on life satisfaction in each income interval.

To quantify the amount of which materialists are paying off, I grouped participants into high materialists (participants with materialism score is 1 standard deviation above from the mean) and low materialist (participants with materialism score is 1 standard deviation below the mean) and categorized their income levels by 1,000,000 won augmentation (e.g., 1 = less than 990000 won; 2 = 1000000 won to 1990000 won; 7 = more than 6000000 won). Surprisingly, high materialism group with higher income were less happy than low materialist

with lower income. For example, high materialist group with income of 4,000,000 won were unhappier than the low materialists earning 3,000,000 won. The similar pattern was found in most income intervals (see Figure 3).

The findings of the current study demonstrated beyond the negative influence of materialism on happiness. First, the findings of mediation analysis provided some evidence that endorsement of a particular value and consumer behaviors may be useful in understanding the underlying mechanism of which materialism reduces happiness. Specifically, materialists took pleasure approach to happiness than meaning approach and that a lay belief of happiness in turn decreased their happiness. Moreover, materialists reported to spend more on experiential purchases in comparison to experiential purchases and less on charitable donations, which further reduced their life satisfaction. The partial mediation effect of a lay belief about happiness and consumer behaviors on the relationship between materialism and happiness shed some light on understanding why materialists are unhappy.

Second, I also found that materialism moderated the relationship between income and happiness. Results of moderation analysis showed that for all income groups, higher life satisfaction is related to higher household income and higher perceived social class. However, materialism played a moderating role; participants with low income and high materialism showed lowest level of

life satisfaction comparable with the higher income participants. The results provided some evidence that materialism reduces happiness by attenuating the positive influence of income on happiness.

However, Study 1 has two limitations in examining the inverse relationship between materialism and happiness. First, participants reported their life satisfaction in a retrospective manner. Previous research found that scales of retrospective evaluation of life satisfaction do not fully reflect individuals' actual level of happiness (Gilbert et al., 1998; Kahneman & Riis, 2005; Robinson & Clore, 2002). Thus, it is critical to have participants report their happiness at the point of experience. Moreover, Study 1 examined only a facet of materialism: a lay belief about happiness and consuming behaviors. Although they are representative characteristics of materialists, it does not grasp the life of materialists in a broader scope. Therefore, more accurate measurement of individual level of happiness and closer examination of materialists' life style are needed.

Study 2

In Study 1, I examined and found the psychological process under which materialism reduced happiness. Particularly, materialism increased pleasure orientation but decreased experiential purchases and charitable donation, which in turn diminished life satisfaction. Moreover, materialism also attenuated the positive influence of income on happiness. However, Study 1 only focused on particular values and behaviors and all of the reports were retrospective evaluations, it could only provide partial understanding of materialists. Therefore, Study 2 was conducted with two main purposes; to measure happiness at the point of experience and, observe materialists' daily activities. First, I examined whether materialists are unhappier than nonmaterialists in day-to-day life, beyond their general evaluation of life satisfaction. Second, I observed life styles of materialists in attempt to find some answer to what part of their life causes unhappiness. To test above possibilities, I applied Experience Sampling Method (ESM).

Method

Participants

Two hundred and fifty seven adults (74.7% females) were recruited and participated in this study. Participants' age ranged from 18 to 62 ($M = 33.18$, SD

= 11.46) with distribution of 10s (17%), 20s (40.1%), 30s (24.5%), 40s (16.7%), 50s (109%) and 60s (1.2%). Most of them (79.4%) had education higher than college level. More than half of the participants (56.4%) were residents of Seoul or Gyeonggi Province. More than half of them (56.8%) were unmarried, less than half of them (41.2%) were married, and 1.9% of them were either divorced or widowed. Participants with response rate higher than 70% received 30,000won and participants with response rate higher than 50% but lower than 70% received 20,000won in exchange for their participation.

Procedure

Before participating in the ESM study, all participants reported their sociodemographic information as well as materialism scores (Richins & Dawn, 1992). Once they completed the pre-questionnaire survey, they were guided to participate in one week experience-sampling method study using their own smart phone. Each day, they received seven signals asking them for information about their momentary happiness and activities they were engaged in every 2 hours (from 9 a.m. to 11 p.m.). Times for the signaling message were randomized for each participant at every interval of time. The signaling message contained the website address of which participants went into to complete surveys. Participants were informed and agreed about confidentiality and criterion for full compensation, which was established as showing response rate higher than 70%

for the instant reports. Those who completed both questionnaires but showed compliance rate in between 50 to 70% were partially compensated (200,000 won). On average, participants responded to 83.7% of the signals, which implies that they participated about 5 to 6 times per day over the course of the week. The data included for analysis were from those participants who completed at least 25 responses over the course of the week. The procedures were adopted from recent studies using ESM (e.g., Choi, 2013; Hofmann, Vohs, & Baumeister, 2012).

Experience-Sampling Measures

Upon receiving the signal, participants completed a survey containing questions addressing their happiness and activities associated with that moment. At each signal, participants reported their momentary happiness in three different ways. They reported the level of pleasure, meaning, engagement that they felt at the moment (i.e., “How are you feeling right now?”; “How meaningful is the event or activity that you are engaged in?”; “How engaged are you with the event or activity?”) on a continuous sliding scale with anchors labeled from “very bad,” “very meaningless,” and “not at all engaged” to “very good,” “very meaningful,” and “very much engaged”. The order of these questions was randomized for each signal. For analysis, I made an index of authentic happiness by averaging participants’ pleasure, meaning, and engagement scores (Seligman,

2002). Once they reported their happiness at the point of response, they indicated activities they were engaged in at the moment of response. The 39 activities they were given to choose included a wide span of daily activities, for instance working, eating or drinking, watching TV, studying, talking, child-caring, sleeping or napping, listening to music, dating, shopping, religious activity, and volunteering (see Table 6 for the list of activities). They were asked to choose all activities they were engaged in or had just engaged in. For instance, if a participant was texting, listening to music, and eating simultaneously, they had to report all three of the activities. The minimum number of activities reported by participants was one and the maximum number selected was five.

Results

Multilevel modeling was used for analysis (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). The repeated responses that the participants provided seven times a day throughout a week of the study period were nested (observed within a person). All analysis was done through multilevel modeling software, HLM (Version 6.02; Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) other than calculations of the descriptive statistics (analyzed with the SPSS version 21). In hierarchical linear modeling, the predictors in level 1 (e.g., materialism and income) were mean-centered and gender and marital status were dummy coded, and age was mean-centered in level 2. Moreover, to estimate the effect of materialism on happiness (i.e.,

meaning, pleasure, engagement, and emotion) in each activity, I included materialism, activity and their interaction. For analysis, authentic happiness will be used as an indicator of happiness (results on meaning, pleasure, and engagement are referred in Tables 3-5)

Are materialists unhappy in everyday life?

Previous research continuously found that materialism is reversely related to chronic level of happiness and so did my data in Study 1. Beyond the retrospective evaluation on life satisfaction, I tested whether materialists actually feel unhappier than non-materialists in daily life. This was indeed the case. Table 3 shows that the more materialistic participants were, the less happy they felt at the time of response for all types of happiness ($b = -2.30, p < .01$ for authentic happiness; $b = -2.75, p < .01$ for meaning; $b = -2.55, p < .01$ for pleasure; $b = -1.58, p < .01$ for engagement). The results held the same pattern even after controlling activities they were engaged in, suggesting that it is not particular activities that they engage in that makes their life unhappy but they are generally unhappier in everyday life.

Table 3 *Materialism as a predictor of momentary happiness*

Momentary happiness	Coefficient	SE
Authentic happiness	-2.30**	0.71
Meaning	-2.75**	0.82
Pleasure	-2.55**	0.70
Engagement	-1.58†	0.84

† $p < .1$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Do materialists have a unique life style that causes unhappiness?

Then, do materialists have a unique life style? To test this possibility, I observed activity frequencies of participants engage in for the one week period of the study. For all participants, the most frequent activities were working (17.6%), eating (11.1%), watching TV (11%), commuting, (11%), studying (8.8%), talking (7.1%), and computer (5.6%), respectively (see Table 4 for frequencies of all activities). These results were consistent with previous findings which examined daily activities of Americans and Koreans (e.g., Killingsworth & Gilbert, 2010; Choi, 2013). In Gilbert’s study, the top seven activities in light of their frequency were working, exercising, home computer, commuting and travelling, watching television, relaxing, and eating. In Choi’s study, working was the most frequent activity followed by commuting, eating, talking, watching TV, caring for child, and resting.

Then, it is questionable whether materialists engage in particular types of activities more or less. Suggested by past research, materialists should be

more exposed to materialistic atmospheres (e.g., shopping and watching TV) which reinforces their materialistic values and make them spend more time in conspicuous activities (e.g., dressing up and shopping) (Belk, 1985; Pollner, 1989; Richins 1987; Turner, 1969). In contrast, materialists should be less likely to engage in activities that are helpful to our wellbeing. Previous literature has demonstrated numerous environmental variables that account for enhancing subjective well-being. Engaging in social activities (Becchetti, Pelloni, & Rossetti, 2008) are uttermost predictors of happiness including socializing, dating, and talking as they strengthen interpersonal relationships and provide a sense of belonging and relatedness (Argyle & Lu 1990; Larson 1990; Okun et al., 1984). Furthermore, prosocial activities and volunteer participation enhance happiness (Borgonovi, 2008). Indeed, causal effect of leisure activities on happiness are also found in several studies (Hills & Argyle, 1998; Lu & Hu, 2005). Especially, leisure activities that involve physical exercising and learning are found to increase happiness by enhancing and challenging the self (Csikszentmihalyi & Csikszentmihalyi, 1988; Yeung & Hemsley, 1997). Ritual and religious activities also enhance physical and psychological wellbeing by feeling spiritually connected and engaging in healthier behaviors recommended by religious groups (Holder, Coleman, & Wallace, 2010; Jarvis & Northcott, 1987; Pollner, 1989).

As expected, the more materialistic individuals were, the less likely they were to participate in happiness-enhancing activities: volunteering ($b = -.55, p < .05$), talking ($b = -.23, p < .05$), socializing ($b = -.26, p < .05$), and religious activity ($b = -.55, p < .05$). Moreover, they were more likely to get involved in activities that reinforced materialistic values such as watching TV ($b = .21, p < .05$) and shopping ($b = .19, p < .05$). The results showed that materialists do engage in happiness-enhancing activities less frequently and participate more in activities that reinforce their materialistic values. Figure 4 illustrates the frequency and materialism scores of each activity.

Table 4 *Frequency and materialism score for activities*

Activity type	Frequency	Percent (%)	coefficient	SE
Working	1792	17.6	0.09	0.10
Eating/drinking	1130	11.1	0.04	0.06
Commuting	1120	11.0	-0.05	0.06
Watching TV	1124	11.0	0.21*	0.09
Studying	891	8.8	-0.29*	0.12
Talking	723	7.1	-0.23*	0.09
Computer	568	5.6	0.14	0.15
Child-caring	431	4.8	-0.09	0.24
Texting	484	4.8	-0.14	0.12
House chore	455	4.5	-0.09	0.09
Sleeping/napping	385	3.8	0.10	0.09
Socializing	367	3.6	-0.26*	0.11
Resting	341	3.4	-0.02	0.10
Dressing	326	3.2	-0.07	0.08
Listening to music	300	2.9	-0.08	0.15
Dating	287	2.8	0.20	0.18
Taking class	279	2.7	0.10	0.15
Leisure	260	2.6	-0.18	0.13
Playing games	256	2.5	0.14	0.15
SNS	258	2.5	-0.13	0.14
Shopping	208	2.0	0.19†	0.10
Phoning	196	1.9	-0.10	0.11
Cooking	192	1.9	0.05	0.11
Exercising	161	1.6	-0.16	0.13
Reading	124	1.2	-0.23	0.15
Watching movies	107	1.1	0.00	0.15
Attending family events	109	1.1	-0.07	0.17
Drinking (alcohol)	96	0.9	0.17	0.17
Travelling	95	0.9	-0.11	0.21
Taking a walk	82	0.8	-0.09	0.15
Religious activity	71	0.7	-0.33†	0.18
Hospital	58	0.6	0.27	0.22
Smoking	54	0.5	0.34	0.40
Petting	48	0.5	0.28	0.29
Listening to radio	45	0.4	0.11	0.21

Activity type	Frequency	Percent (%)	coefficient	SE
Volunteering	29	0.3	-0.55†	0.30
social events	25	0.2	-0.02	0.28
Business dining	18	0.2	0.23	0.34

Note. Positive coefficients indicate the positive relationship between materialism and activity frequency, with increase in materialism being associated with increases in frequency. Negative coefficients indicate the negative relationship between materialism and frequency.

† $p < .1$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

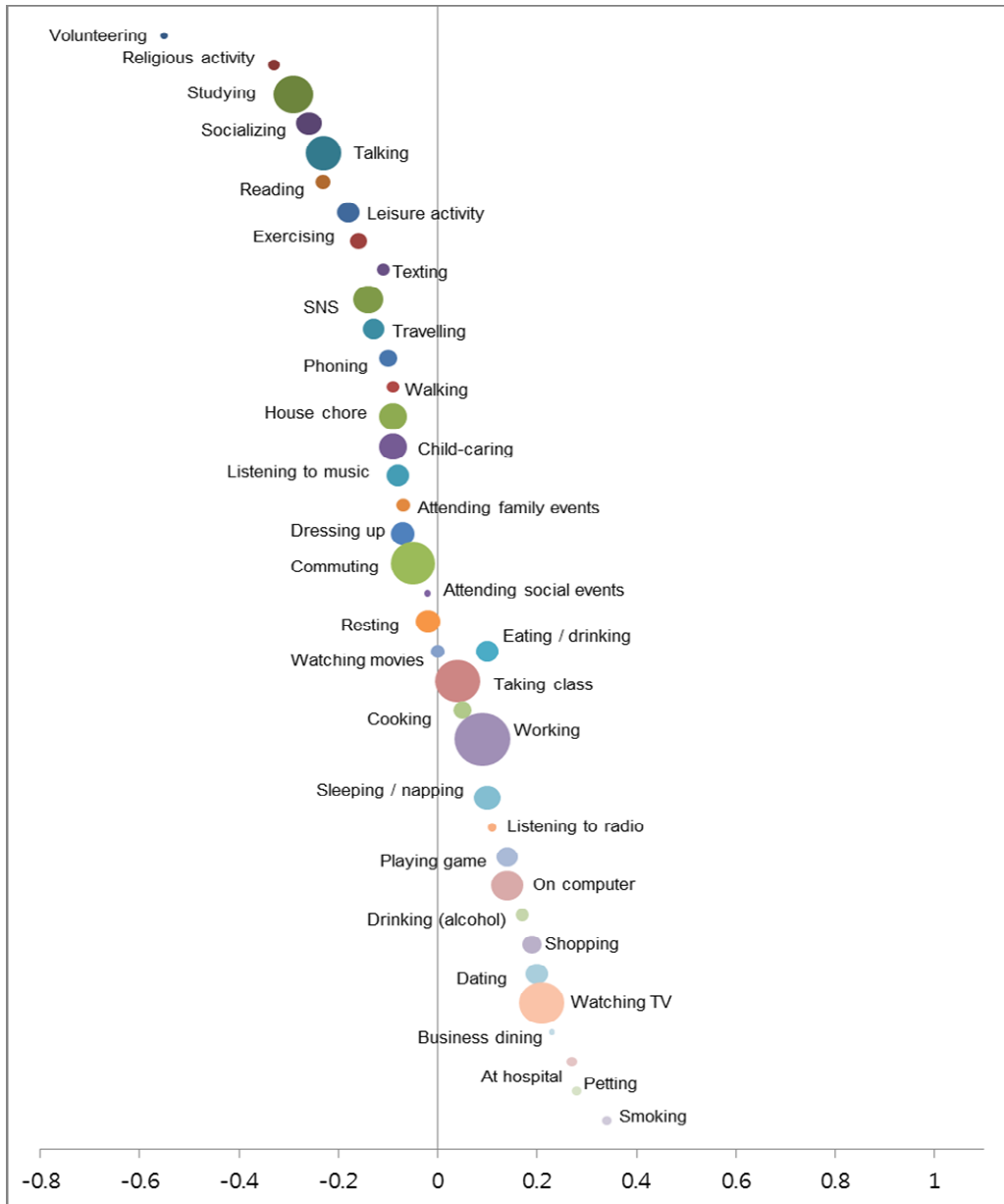


Figure 4 *Activity frequency*

Note. The coefficient of materialism on life satisfaction (x-axis). Bubble area indicates the frequency of occurrence. The largest bubble was 17.6% of all activities reported and the smallest bubble corresponds to 0.2% of all activities reported.

Do materialists feel less happy during happiness-enhancing activities?

Then, do materialists engage in happiness enhancing activities less frequently because they do not experience happiness in the meanwhile? For instance, do they shop more because they feel more pleasurable while shopping? Or do they engage less in religious events because they do not find it meaningful? Surprisingly, neither of them were the cases. Materialists did not feel any happier when shopping and dressing up, and unhappier when talking and attending social events ($-.25 < b < .13$, *ns*). More surprisingly, materialists actually felt more pleasure, meaningfulness, and engagement during self-enhancing activities ($b = 12.35$, $p < .001$ for exercising; $b = 6.39$, $p < .001$ for studying), social events ($b = 7.52$, $p < .001$ for socializing; $b = 12.51$, $p < .001$ for dating; $b = 12.51$, $p < .001$ for; $b = 6.77$, $p < .001$ for family events), and leisure activities ($b = 6.60$, $p < .001$ for leisure activities; $b = 9.86$, $p < .001$ for travelling; $b = 5.41$, $p < .01$ for taking a walk; $b = 7.45$, $p < .001$ for watching movie), and self-transcendent activities ($b = 5.52$, $p < .01$ for religious activities; $b = 7.64$, $p < .05$ for volunteering). Moreover, they felt less happy while watching TV ($b = -6.52$, $p < .001$), on computer ($b = -5.92$, $p < .01$), playing games ($b = -5.29$, $p < .01$), and using SNS ($b = -6.74$, $p < .01$), all of which isolate them from social interactions. The results were consistent for meaning,

pleasure, and engagement (see Table 5).

Table 5 *Materialism predicting happiness by activity type*

Activity type	Authentic happiness			Meaning			Pleasure			Engagement			
		coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE
Working	Intercept	2.09***	0.45	6.68***	0.60	-6.06***	0.50	5.58***	0.60	5.58***	0.60	5.58***	0.60
	materialism	-1.37**	0.48	-0.42	0.65	-2.32	0.55	-1.35*	0.65	-1.35*	0.65	-1.35*	0.65
Eating / drinking	Intercept	2.09***	0.51	2.32**	0.70	2.32**	0.70	4.41***	0.58	4.41***	0.58	4.41***	0.58
	materialism	1.17*	0.55	0.51	0.75	0.51	0.75	1.53*	0.63	1.53*	0.63	1.53*	0.63
Commuting	Intercept	-3.07***	0.6	-2.04*	0.89	-0.14	0.62	-6.94***	0.82	-6.94***	0.82	-6.94***	0.82
	materialism	-0.40	0.64	-0.83	0.95	0.27	0.65	-0.62	0.88	-0.62	0.88	-0.62	0.88
Watching TV	Intercept	-6.52***	0.77	-14.49***	1.20	0.53	0.75	-5.69***	0.97	-5.69***	0.97	-5.69***	0.97
	materialism	1.65*	0.84	0.71	1.30	2.17**	0.83	2.11*	1.06	2.11*	1.06	2.11*	1.06
Studying	Intercept	6.39***	0.78	13.31***	1.07	-1.17	0.86	7.40***	1.12	7.40***	1.12	7.40***	1.12
	materialism	-2.63**	0.80	-1.40	1.10	-3.22*	0.87	-3.30**	1.14	-3.30**	1.14	-3.30**	1.14
Talking	Intercept	1.70	0.64	1.35	0.87	5.11***	0.73	-1.30	0.86	-1.30	0.86	-1.30	0.86
	materialism	0.26	0.66	0.68	0.89	-0.12	0.74	0.13	0.88	0.13	0.88	0.13	0.88
Computer	Intercept	-5.92***	0.74	-11.33*	1.00	-2.60**	0.85	-3.88***	1.00	-3.88***	1.00	-3.88***	1.00
	materialism	0.82	0.82	1.04	1.10	1.12	0.93	0.36	1.10	0.36	1.10	0.36	1.10
Child-caring	Intercept	-0.11	0.94	2.51*	1.26	0.05	1.06	-3.03*	1.26	-3.03*	1.26	-3.03*	1.26
	materialism	0.38	0.98	0.94	1.31	1.54	1.11	-1.50	1.31	-1.50	1.31	-1.50	1.31

Activity type	Authentic happiness			Meaning			Pleasure			Engagement			
		coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE
Texting	Intercept	-4.14***	0.85	-4.16*	1.16	-2.00*	0.99	-6.26***	1.06				
	materialism	-0.65	1.00	-0.16	1.37	-0.45	1.17	-1.30	1.27				
House chore	Intercept	-1.75*	0.82	0.15	1.10	-3.54***	0.93	-1.96†	1.10				
	materialism	1.61†	0.84	1.52	1.13	1.24	0.95	1.97†	1.13				
Sleeping / napping	Intercept	-5.25***	0.86	-8.25***	1.38	-5.67***	1.00	-2.68†	1.58				
	materialism	-0.26	1.01	-8.25	1.38	0.27	1.06	-1.35	1.87				
socializing	Intercept	7.52***	0.88	5.97***	1.19	11.16***	1.00	5.40***	1.19				
	materialism	1.51	0.95	1.97	1.29	1.69	1.08	0.87	1.28				
Resting	Intercept	-10.46***	1.04	-14.02*	1.43	-4.09	1.09	-13.34***	1.25				
	materialism	-0.26	1.14	-0.34	1.56	-1.04	1.20	0.57	1.38				
Dressing up	Intercept	-0.25	0.91	-0.29	1.22	1.26	1.03	-1.69	1.22				
	materialism	2.41*	1.04	4.26*	1.40	1.19	1.18	1.75	1.39				
Listening to music	Intercept	0.11	1.00	0.57	1.34	1.38	1.13	-1.61	1.34				
	materialism	2.29*	1.12	4.06*	1.51	-0.47	1.27	3.31*	1.50				
Dating	Intercept	12.51***	1.15	12.07***	1.56	15.04***	1.31	10.44***	1.55				
	materialism	0.92	1.41	1.37	1.91	1.16	1.60	0.41	1.90				
Taking class	Intercept	0.56	1.58	9.88***	1.45	-4.94	1.22	-3.26*	1.44				
	materialism	-2.14	2.3	-3.27*	1.58	0.08	1.33	-3.25*	1.57				

Activity type	Authentic happiness			Meaning			Pleasure			Engagement			
		coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE
Leisure activity	Intercept	6.60***	1.26	1.82	1.58	8.67***	1.50	8.86***	1.46				
	materialism	-0.31	1.51	-2.52	1.91	1.06	1.78	0.72	1.77				
Playing game	Intercept	-5.29***	1.10	-18.04*	1.48	0.35	1.25	1.74	1.48				
	materialism	1.157	1.20	-0.07	1.61	2.76*	1.37	0.91	1.62				
SNS	Intercept	-6.74***	1.26	-12.67*	1.95	-1.35	1.29	-6.21***	1.48				
	materialism	-1.58	1.62	-1.53	2.67	-2.82	1.81	-0.20	2.09				
Shopping	Intercept	1.37	1.18	-0.67	1.57	4.53*	1.31	0.13	1.60				
	materialism	2.35†	1.25	3.06*	1.63	1.10	1.37	2.76†	1.67				
Phoning	Intercept	-1.09	1.22	0.15	1.62	-4.48**	1.57	1.10	1.67				
	materialism	-0.61	1.26	-0.01	1.67	-1.80	1.64	0.33	1.72				
Cooking	Intercept	3.13**	1.19	4.77**	1.6	2.20	1.35	2.36	1.59				
	materialism	2.32†	1.26	3.63*	1.7	2.09	1.44	1.23	1.70				
Exercising	Intercept	12.35***	1.35	13.99***	1.78	10.04***	1.52	1.67***	2.05				
	materialism	2.48†	1.39	3.57	1.84	0.70	1.58	2.63	1.85				
Reading	Intercept	0.97	1.49	-4.33*	2.00	2.48	1.69	4.79*	2.00				
	materialism	-0.86	1.53	-4.95*	2.06	0.68	1.74	1.67	2.05				
Watching movies	Intercept	7.45***	1.56	1.63	2.11	8.94***	1.78	11.72***	2.10				
	materialism	3.67*	1.63	4.79*	2.21	2.43	1.85	3.76†	2.19				

Activity type	Authentic happiness			Meaning			Pleasure			Engagement		
	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE
Attending family events	Intercept	6.77***	1.64	10.23*	2.21	7.97***	1.86	2.15	2.20			
	materialism	1.17	1.69	0.83	2.28	1.34	1.92	1.18	2.27			
Drinking (alcohol)	Intercept	7.42***	1.72	3.14	2.34	12.62***	1.93	6.29**	2.32			
	materialism	1.48	1.91	-2.34	2.59	4.33*	2.13	2.54	2.57			
Travelling	Intercept	9.86***	1.76	9.46***	2.38	15.29***	2.00	4.80*	2.37			
	materialism	-1.21	1.83	-5.41*	2.47	2.01	2.08	-0.16	2.47			
Taking a walk	Intercept	5.41**	1.91	5.19*	2.60	9.55	2.16	1.82	2.56			
	materialism	-0.99	2.16	-1.88	2.94	2.40	2.45	-2.76	2.90			
Religious activity	Intercept	5.52**	2.10	16.07***	2.92	4.60†	2.48	6.67*	3.01			
	materialism	6.90*	3.39	4.97†	2.98	2.70	2.53	1.53	3.07			
Hospital	Intercept	-6.16**	2.19	1.21	2.96	-10.59***	2.49	-9.04**	2.94			
	materialism	8.11**	2.70	10.21**	3.65	5.55†	3.07	8.50*	3.63			
Smoking	Intercept	3.74	2.99	3.31	6.65	3.72	3.39	4.38	4.01			
	materialism	-5.30	4.27	-5.74	6.74	-1.50	4.84	-10.44†	5.73			
Petting	Intercept	2.93	2.57	3.31	3.41	7.61	2.98	-2.90	3.57			
	materialism	-4.50	2.87	-6.16	3.83	-3.82	3.30	-2.70	3.93			
Listening to radio	Intercept	-1.09	2.47	-0.90	3.38	-1.06	2.80	-0.51	3.35			
	materialism	2.00	2.70	-0.25	3.72	4.69	3.06	2.00	3.70			

Activity type	Authentic happiness			Meaning			Pleasure			Engagement						
	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE	coefficient	SE				
Volunteering	7.64*	3.23	12.11**	4.27	5.88†	3.55	2.91	4.32	1.44	3.09	-1.79	4.09	5.17	3.39	1.41	4.14
Attending social events	-0.27	3.30	8.12†	4.46	-5.50	3.75	-3.26	4.44	3.53	3.63	2.97	4.90	2.79	4.12	4.83	4.88
Business dining	6.12	3.85	10.22***	5.19	5.67	4.37	2.40	5.17	-0.43	4.73	3.88	6.39	-0.31	5.38	-4.81	0.47

Note. The positive coefficient indicates that the more materialistic participants were, the greater happiness (authentic happiness, meaning, pleasure, and engagement) they felt during each activity. The negative coefficient indicates that the more materialistic participants were, the less happiness (authentic happiness, meaning, pleasure, and engagement) they felt during each activity.

† $p < .1$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Other activities materialists found happy.

Materialists reported greater happiness while working ($b = 2.09, p < .001$), eating or drinking ($b = 2.09, p < .001$), cooking ($b = 3.13, p < .01$), drinking (alcohol) ($b = 7.42, p < .001$), taking a walk ($b = 5.41, p < .01$), and travelling ($b = 9.86, p < .001$) and were less happy while commuting ($b = -3.07, p < .001$), texting ($b = -4.14, p < .001$), sleeping or napping ($b = -5.25, p < .001$), doing house chore ($b = -1.75, p < .05$), resting ($b = -10.46, p < .001$), and at hospital ($b = -6.16, p < .01$).

Conclusively, the results suggest that materialists do feel happy during self-enhancing activities, social interactions, leisure activities, and self-transcendent activities, all of which are found to promote our happiness. They are just not doing it!

General Discussion

Globally, it is now a kernel of truth that materialism is bad for our happiness. Numerous studies found the price that materialist pay includes psychological, social, and environmental costs. Particularly, materialism distracts vitality, self-actualization, and overall satisfaction (Ahuvia & Wong, 1995; Mick, 1996; Keng et al., 2000; Saunders & Muro, 2000; Sirgy et al., 1995; Swinyard et al., 2001; Diener & Oishi, 2000) and attracts anxiety, depression, social maladaptation, and behavioral disorders (Schroeder & Dugal, 1995; Wachtel & Blatt, 1990). Moreover, materialists' anti-social behaviors, competitive attitude, and lack of empathy yield various social costs (Abramson & Inglehart, 1995; Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995). Lastly, their ignorance about environment and the community leads to less in pro-environmental activities, and leaves higher ecological footprints (Schwartz 1992, 1994, 1996; Ruskin, 1999; Winokur, 1996). As evidenced in our life, media, society, and literature, materialism is a concern for all of us.

For replication and extension of previous findings, the two studies were conducted to examine the negative relationship between materialism and happiness. Particularly the present study aimed to investigate the negative effects of materialism on happiness in a Korean population, assess the underlying

mechanism of which materialism reduces happiness, and observe momentary happiness and life styles of materialists.

First, the study attempted to advance materialism research in Korea. Global data continuously provide evidence that Korea is one of the most materialistic cultures. Researchers noted that examining materialism in Korea is necessary as it may explain the discrepancy between Korea's better economy and Korean people's unhappiness (Diener et al., 2010). Although money is found to enhance our wellbeing by increasing quality of life, Koreans did not get any happier. Researchers accounted that the materialistic tendency of Korean people is the number one reason why Koreans are unhappy (Diener et al.). Several studies have been conducted on Korean materialism and replicated what previous research in the global population found. In line with previous research, Korean materialists were found to be unhappy, and had unhealthy behaviors and attitudes such as impulsive spending, conspicuous consumption, and low trust in others (Park, Choi, & Suh, 2012; Shin, 1994; Yang, 2006). These studies examining Korean people correspond to prevalence of materialism in Korea and raises concerns for its negative impact on Koreans. However, materialism research in Korea so far is still at a preliminary stage. Thus, the current study attempted to advance Korean research on materialism and approach research questions raised by recent materialism literature.

Second, the recent materialism literature calls for demonstrations of psychological mechanism on the inverse relationship between materialism and happiness, and the present research responds to it. Study 1 examined whether two important psychological variables (i.e., a lay belief about happiness and purchasing behaviors) significantly mediates the process under which materialism diminished happiness. In spite of their relevance to individuals' level of happiness, their potential mediating role between materialism and happiness has not been assessed directly in the previous research. In Study 1, I examined and found that materialists' pleasure-oriented strategy to happiness and lacking experiential consumption and charitable donation led to decrease in life satisfaction. Particularly for donation, when participants' materialism distribution was median-split, 300 of materialistic people (i.e., top half) said they do not make any charitable donations while only 276 non-materialistic people (i.e., bottom half) did so. The underlying mechanism revealed in Study 1 enhanced our understanding of why materialists are unhappy.

Moreover, as another means to reduce happiness, the present study examined whether materialism moderates the positive impact of income on happiness. Results from Study 1 showed that materialism attenuated the strength of which income increases life satisfaction. That is, the positive impact of income on life satisfaction for materialists was not as strong as for

nonmaterialists. To quantify the amount of which materialists are paying off, the participants were grouped into high materialists (those whose materialism score is 1 standard deviation above from the mean) and low materialist (those whose materialism score is 1 standard deviation below the mean), and their income was categorized into 7 levels. Strikingly, high materialist group with higher income (e.g., 4,000,000 won) were unhappier than the low materialists with lower income (e.g., 3,000,000 won). Although not statistically tested, the price materialists are paying for their happiness is approximately 1,000,000 won!

Third, the present research is the first attempt to examine the relationship between materialism and happiness at momentary base. Particularly, Study 2 used Experience Sampling Method (ESM) to address two limitations of previous research: a reporting bias and a narrow scope of research. Experience sampling measures are used in the current study as such method enables examining daily life of individuals in question, receiving instant reports of experiences, and allowing observation of psychological (e.g., happiness) and situational (e.g., activity type) factors simultaneously. In previous research, participants' behaviors (e.g., consumer behaviors) and emotions (e.g., retrospective evaluations on life satisfaction) were mostly predicted or recalled. However, recent research revealed that such evaluations do not always reflect actual behaviors or emotional status; thus it is critical to have participants report

their experiences at the point of incident (Gilbert et al., 1998; Kahneman & Riis, 2005; Robinson & Clore, 2002). Moreover, most materialism studies have been excessively focusing on consumer behaviors or interpersonal relationships (Kasser, 2002). Besides those characteristics of materialists, what else do we know about other than “materialists are big shoppers and not good friends?”

Therefore, Study 2 was conducted to examine materialists in everyday life. The results of Study 2 showed that materialists were indeed unhappier in daily life. More interestingly, they possessed a unique life style that reduced their happiness. Particularly, they engaged in happiness enhancing activities (e.g., volunteering, talking, socializing, religious activity, and studying) less frequently, and sought activities that reinforced materialistic values (e.g., watching TV and shopping) more often. However, surprisingly it was not because they did not feel any happier during materialistic activities (e.g., shopping and dressing up), and unhappier during post-materialistic activities (e.g., talking, attending social events). Ironically, they actually felt more pleasure, meaning, and engagement during self-enhancing activities (e.g., exercising and studying), social events (e.g., socializing, dating, and family events), leisure activities (e.g., leisure activities, travelling, and watching movie), and self-transcendent activities (e.g., religious activities and volunteering). Moreover, they felt less happy while watching TV, on computer, playing games, and doing SNS all of which are

isolating them from social networks. The results from Study 2 suggest that materialists are not different from non-materialists in terms of feeling happy during social interaction, self-enhancing activities, and self-transcendent activities. They are just not doing it!

Study 2 leaves some research questions for further investigation. The results suggested that materialists benefit from happiness-enhancing activities, and what reduces their happiness is the frequency of participation. However, the present study did not reveal what is holding them back from participating in those activities. One possible answer is the discrepancy in experiencing and remembering self (Kahneman, 2000; Kahneman & Riis, 2005). In other words, although they feel pleasurable and meaningful during happiness-inducing activities, their materialistic values may influence their retrospective evaluation on activities. This may further make them remember that those activities are not as enjoyable. For future studies, discovering why materialists possess different a life style will enlighten deeper understanding of materialists' unhappiness.

Lastly, the findings of Study 2 have an intriguing practical implication. Past research, including the present study, has revealed 'what materialism is,' 'how bad materialism is,' and 'why materialism is bad.' However, only a few of them gave the answer to how to save materialists from unhappiness and enhance their wellbeing. Based on what research suggested, do materialists just have to

live unhappy forever? The current study has partially provided some hope that materialists do have a potential to benefit from happiness-enhancing activities. Particularly, they showed greater meaning, pleasure, and engagement when participating in self-enhancing activities, social events, leisure activities, and self-transcendent activities of which all were found to promote happiness. Thus, it is worthwhile to further examine whether participation in particular activities or tasks enhance the overall life satisfaction in the long-term. If it is difficult to abandon their materialistic value over night as materialism is treated as chronic psychological trait, they may start small by increasing the frequency of healthy activities. Dear materialists, start volunteering, socializing, and travelling. Would they not only feel happier during activities, but eventually increase their chronic level of happiness! For future studies, researchers should focus more on ways to improve materialists' well-being, beyond replicating what has been repeatedly found already.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Materialism

다음의 문장들을 읽고 당신이 동의하는 정도를 표시하여 주십시오.

문 항	내 용	전혀 동의하지 않는다		보 통 이 다		매우 동의 한다
1	나는 고급스러운 집, 자동차, 옷을 소유한 사람들이 부럽다.	1	2	3	4	5 6
2	인생에서 가장 중요한 성취 중의 하나는 물질을 소유하는 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5 6
3	물질을 많이 가졌다고 해서 성공한 삶이라고 할 수 없다.	1	2	3	4	5 6
4	내가 가진 재산은 내가 인생을 얼마나 잘 살고 있는지를 말해 준다.	1	2	3	4	5 6
5	나는 다른 사람들에게 잘 보이기 위한 물건을 갖는 것을 좋아한다.	1	2	3	4	5 6
6	나는 다른 사람들이 소유한 물건에 크게 관심을 두지 않는다.	1	2	3	4	5 6
7	나는 대체로 나에게 필요한 물건만 산다.	1	2	3	4	5 6
8	나는 소유와 관련해서는 적게 가짐으로써 삶을 단순하게 살려고 노력한다.	1	2	3	4	5 6
9	내가 소유한 물건들이 나에게 중요한 전부는 아니다.	1	2	3	4	5 6
10	나는 실제로 이용하지도 않는 상품을 구입하는 것을 즐긴다.	1	2	3	4	5 6
11	물건을 구매하는 것은 나에게 큰 즐거움을 준다.	1	2	3	4	5 6
12	나는 내 인생에서 많은 명품을 갖는 것을 좋아한다.	1	2	3	4	5 6

13	나는 내가 아는 대부분의 사람들에 비해 물질에 관심을 덜 둔다.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	나는 인생을 즐기는데 필요한 물건을 충분하게 가지고 있다.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15	내가 갖지 못한 물건을 가지면 내 삶은 더욱 나아질 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	나는 아주 좋은 물건을 가진다고 하더라도 지금보다 더 행복해지지 않을 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17	내가 더 많은 물건을 살 수 있다면 더 행복해질 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	내가 원하는 물건을 지불할 수 있는 여유가 없으면 나는 때때로 기분이 좋지 않다.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix 2: Life Satisfaction

아래의 글을 읽고, 평소에 여러분이 스스로의 삶에 대해 생각하는 것과 일치하는 정도에 가장 가까운 곳에 표시해 주십시오.

문 항	내 용	전혀 그렇지 않 다				매우 많이 그렇다		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	전반적으로 나의 삶은 내가 생각하는 이상적인 삶에 가깝다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	나의 삶의 조건은 매우 훌륭하다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	나는 나의 삶에 만족한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	지금까지 살아오면서 나는 원했던 것들을 모두 얻었다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	만약 다시 태어난다면, 지금 그대로 아무것도 변하지 않았으면 좋겠다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix 3: Happiness Measurements in Korean for Study 2

Pleasure

지금 기분이 어떻습니까?

(매우 기분 나쁜 / 매우 기분 좋은)

Meaningfulness

지금 하고 있던 일/행동이 얼마나 의미있는 것이라 생각하십니까?

(전혀 의미 없는 / 매우 의미 있는)

Engagement

지금 하고 있던 일/행동에 얼마나 몰입하고 있었습니까? (전혀

몰입하지 않은 / 매우 몰입한)

Appendix 4: Activity List in Study 2

이동중 / 운전중
데이트
봉사 활동
일 / 업무 / 사업
전화통화
가족 모임 / 행사
육아 / 자녀 돌보기
업무 이외의 컴퓨터 하기 (웹서핑, 이메일 확인 등)
경조사 참석
쇼핑 / 장보기
게임 (PC/온라인/핸드폰/콘솔)
취미 / 여가 활동
공부 / 자기계발
SNS (블로그, 트위터, 페이스북 등)
여행 / 캠핑
집안일 (빨래, 청소 등)
문자 / 카카오톡
병원 진료
먹기 (식사/간식류 포함)
흡연
애완 동물 돌보기
종교활동 / 기도 / 명상
음주
산책 / 등산
수면 / 낮잠
몸단장 (세면, 목욕, 화장등)
요리 / 식사 준비
티비시청
휴식 / 아무일 안하기
회사 혹은 사업적 회식
독서 (소설책, 만화책 등)
대화 / 수다 / 답소
라디오 청취
운동
음악 감상 / 노래 듣기
수업듣기 (학생일 경우)
사교 모임 / 사교 활동 (친구 혹은 지인들과 어울리는 것)
영화 보기

국문 초록

한국인의 물질주의 성향이 행복에 미치는 영향: 만성적 행복수준과 순간 경험되는 행복감

서울대학교 사회과학 대학원

심리학과 사회심리 전공

홍 경 화

본 연구는 물질주의 성향이 행복에 미치는 부정적인 영향을 조사하는 것을 목적으로 하였다. 물질주의 성향이 높은 사람들의 다양한 심리적 및 사회적 특징과 그들의 낮은 행복감에 관한 연구는 매우 활발하게 다루어져 왔다. 하지만, 물질주의 성향이 높은 사람들의 일상생활에서 느끼는 행복감에 대해서는 간과되어왔다. 본 연구는 기존 연구들의 한계점을 극복하고자 물질주의 성향이 높은 사람들의 행복을 만성적인 수준과 순간적인 수준에서 측정하였다. 만성적인 수준에서는, 실험 참가자들의 삶의 만족도를 회고 평가하게 하였다. 순간적인 행복감을

살펴보기 위하여, 실험참가자들이 순간적으로 느끼는 즐거움, 의미, 몰입을 측정하였다. 더 나아가, 실험 1에서는 물질주의 성향과 행복간의 부적 관계성을 보여주기 위하여 두 가지의 심리적 과정을 보여주었다. 매계 분석 결과, 물질주의 성향이 개개인의 행복에 대한 믿음과 소비 성향을 자아냄으로써 낮은 행복감을 초래하는 것을 보여주었다. 또한, 물질주의 성향은 수입이 행복에 미치는 긍정적인 영향을 약화시키는 것으로 나타났다. 연구 2에서는 경험 표집법을 사용하여 물질주의 성향이 높은 사람들의 순간적인 행복감과 일상생활을 살펴보았다. 그 결과, 물질주의 성향이 높은 사람들은 실제로 일상생활에서 낮은 행복감을 느끼는 것으로 나타났다. 또한 흥미롭게도, 물질주의 성향이 높은 사람들은 독특한 생활방식을 가지고 있는 것으로 관찰되었다. 그들의 생활방식을 관찰 한 결과, 물질주의 성향이 높은 사람들은 행복을 증진시키는 활동에 덜 참여하였지만, 놀랍게도 행복에 긍정적인 영향을 미치는 활동을 하는 동안에는 더 많은 즐거움, 의미, 그리고 몰입을 느끼는 것을 발견하였다. 그들은 자기 고양 활동, 사교 활동, 취미 활동, 자기 초월 활동에 더 많이 참여하며, 물질주의적 활동과 비사회적 활동에는 덜 참여하는 것으로 보여졌다. 본 연구의 결과들은 물질주의 성향이 높은 사람들의 생활방식이 그들의 행복을 떨어뜨리는 가능성을 제시하고 있다. 종합논의에서는 본 연구가 갖는 함의와 한계점에 관해 논의하였다.

주요어: 물질주의, 행복, 일상 사건, 즉각적 경험, 경험 표집법

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