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*Value Priorities and Consumer Behavior in a
Transitional Economy: The Case of South Africa*

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VALUE PRIORITIES AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOR IN A TRANSITIONAL ECONOMY: THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA

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VALUE PRIORITIES AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOR IN A TRANSITIONAL ECONOMY: THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA

ABSTRACT

We examine consumer value priorities in Africa's most important transitional economy, viz., The Republic of South Africa. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first extensive study of value priorities with a large, representative sample of consumers in a transitional economy. We study the structure of the value priorities, their antecedents, and their relations with optimum stimulation level, lifestyle interests, brand purchase behavior, and consumption of innovative products. A number of hypotheses concerning the effects of various value domains are developed, using Schwartz's (1992, 1994) value theory. Value priorities are measured with a new measurement instrument, the Portraits Questionnaire (Schwartz, Lehmann, and Roccas 1997). This instrument is specifically developed for use in generally less-educated populations often found in less-advanced transitional economies.

We find strong evidence on the validity of the structure of value priorities in South Africa and on the relation of the value priorities with other constructs. The results emphasize the importance of gender, age, and the ethnic cultural group or subculture to which the person belongs as antecedents of value priorities. Other relevant antecedents include household income, degree of urbanization, and being member of a religion or not. Systematic and predictable relations with optimum stimulation level are observed. Systematic effects of value priorities on lifestyle interests, brand switching behavior, and consumption of innovative financial products are also found. The results are generally consistent with our hypotheses.

Little consumer research has been conducted in transitional economies, and even less with broad representative groups of consumers. That is unfortunate from a *practical* point of view as the economic importance of these countries is rapidly growing. Transitional economies are increasingly moving from a product(ion)-oriented focus to a market-oriented focus in which consumer desires become paramount. However, there is still a long way to go, one reason being that a consumer orientation is new to most transitional economies. In most transitional economies, the economic system was geared toward fulfilling the needs of the state and of a privileged minority of its population.

The lack of knowledge and insight in consumer behavior in transitional economies is also unfortunate from an *academic* point of view. Transitional economies are undergoing rapid changes that are quite unique in history. This allows for a "natural experiment" in which the effects of radical changes in society on consumer behavior can be studied in a real world setting. Moreover, it is not at all clear that the concepts and theories developed for western countries are equally relevant and applicable to transitional economies. Cunningham and Green (1984, p. 9) argued that there is "a need for more fundamental research in international marketing in order to adapt established marketing concepts to the realities of the international marketing place." In similar vein, Monroe (1993) stated that: "In this age of globalization, we need to move beyond the relative security of our own backyards and investigate issues relative to consumption on an international basis." We attempt to contribute to rectifying this situation by studying *value priorities* of consumers in the most important African transitional economy, viz., the *Republic of South Africa*.

South Africa entered this decade as the world's most isolated country; politically, economically, and socially. In the years since Mandela's election, the extensive web of international anti-Apartheid laws has been repealed and South Africa has become a full partner in the world economic and political

system again. These external transitions hide the extent of internal change South Africa must undergo before the transition to a market-based economy can be said to be a true success. South Africa is essentially a two-tier society in that most Whites live and work in a modern economy while the majority of Black population often interact with that economy only superficially and experience a living standard comparable to the rest of Africa (United Nations 1996). These two worlds in which South Africans live are the legacy of an Apartheid state that effectively excluded 80% of the population from free economic and political participation. The ambitious reforms of the new South African government share a fundamental goal of using the full potential of South Africa's human capital to build a stable, free, and market-based economy. Economic reforms are beginning to spread ownership of companies more widely in an economy where 80% of Johannesburg Stock Exchange shares are owned by a handful of companies. Para-state companies in numerous industries are being privatized.

There are clear parallels to the situation in Eastern Europe. In the former communist countries was also a clear distinction between the elite (i.e., Communist Party members) and the majority of the population. In Eastern Europe, economic and political freedom of the majority of the population was also severely restricted. Moreover, the concentration in South Africa of economic power in a few hands is in important respects similar to (pre-transition) Eastern Europe.

In this study, we will examine the *value priorities* of South African consumers, their antecedents, and their relevance for understanding key aspects of consumer behavior. Values underlie a large and important part of human cognition and behavior (Schwartz 1992). They transcend specific objects, in contrast to attitudes, which must be examined in relation to specific and carefully defined objects (Rokeach 1973). An examination of values provides both an overall picture of a central cognitive structure of the

individual, as well as a means of linking central beliefs to specific attitudes. Values provide potentially powerful explanations of human behavior because they serve as standards of conduct, tend to be limited in number, universal across cultures, and temporally remarkably stable (Kamakura and Mazzon 1991, Rokeach 1973, Schwartz 1992). Consequently, it is not surprising that values have been found to be valuable in explaining a variety of attitudes and behaviors in the consumer context (see Burgess 1992, Homer and Kahle 1988, and Kamakura and Mazzon 1991 for overviews).

In the following sections, we will first discuss the construct of personal values and its role in consumer behavior. Following a discussion of the research methodology, we present our empirical findings. We close with a discussion of the results, and provide suggestions for future research.

THE SCHWARTZ VALUE THEORY

Values may be defined as beliefs pertaining to desirable end states or modes of conduct that transcend specific situations (e.g., consumer-related contexts), guide selection or evaluation of behavior, and are ordered by importance vis-a-vis each other to form a system of value priorities (Rokeach 1973, Schwartz and Bilsky 1990). Building on and extending Rokeach's (1973) work, Schwartz and his colleagues (e.g., Schwartz 1992, 1994, Schwartz and Bilsky 1987, 1990, Schwartz and Sagiv 1995) have conducted the most important programmatic stream of research on personal values in the last decade.

Schwartz derived a typology of values in which ten motivationally distinct *value types* are distinguished. Table 1 outlines Schwartz's value types and the individual values typically included in the content of each type. The value types reflect a continuum of related motivations. This continuum gives rise to a circular structure (see Figure 1) that captures the notion that the pursuit of different value types can be compatible or in conflict, depending on the proximity of the value types (Schwartz 1992). Each value type in the typology

is distinguished by the motivational goal it expresses. For example, stimulation and self-direction are adjacent in the typology. The simultaneous pursuit of these value types is compatible as both involve intrinsic motivation for mastery and openness to change. On the other hand, stimulation is located opposite to conformity and tradition, as the former emphasizes challenge, risk, and change while the latter favor self-restriction and preservation of the status-quo. Simultaneous pursuit of both groups of value types would give rise to psychological and social conflict (Schwartz 1992).

--- Table 1 and Figure 1 about here ---

The ten value types are organized in four higher order *value domains* viz., openness to change, self-transcendence, conservation, and self-enhancement. Openness to change emphasizes own independent thought, exploration, creativity, and action, and favors novelty, variety, and stimulation through change from established patterns. The domain of self-transcendence captures values emphasizing acceptance of others as equals and concern for their welfare. Conservation emphasizes submissive self-restriction, preservation of traditional practices, and the protection of stability. Finally, self-enhancement emphasizes the pursuit of one's own relative success and dominance over others.

The structure and content of Schwartz's value system (see Figure 1) has received impressive empirical support in research in more than 200 samples from 60 countries from every continent, involving over 100,000 persons (Schwartz 1992, Schwartz and Sagiv 1995, Schwartz et al. 1997). Despite the impressive empirical support for Schwartz's theory and its sound conceptual basis, it has received little attention in the marketing and consumer behavior literature (see Steenkamp, ter Hofstede, and Wedel 1999 for an exception). In this study, we will use the Schwartz value system to study value priorities of South Africans and their relations with other aspects of consumer behavior.

PERSONAL VALUES AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOR

Figure 2 presents the conceptual framework that underlies the present study. It specifies sociodemographic and cultural factors as antecedents of value priorities, lifestyle and consumption behavior as two key consequences of value priorities, and optimum stimulation level as an important, related personality characteristic. Below, we will discuss how these concepts are related to values.

--- Figure 2 about here ---

Antecedents of Values

Values are the consequence of encounters with cultural, institutional, and personal forces that act upon, and are internalized by, the individual during life. The value priorities of people are shaped by such sociodemographic and cultural factors as gender, age, income, cultural ethnic group, marital and working status, religion, education, and urbanization, among others (Rokeach 1973, Pitts and Woodside 1984). Several studies have examined the effects of certain antecedents on specific values. The importance of self-direction increases and the importance of conformity decreases with a person's level of education (Rokeach 1973). Individual religiosity has a positive effect on the priority given to conformity and tradition values and is related negatively to the importance attached to hedonism, self-direction, and stimulation (Schwartz and Huisman 1995). Schwartz et al. (1997) found that females give more importance to benevolence values than males while males tended to give more importance to power. Inglehart (1991) theorized that higher income brings more security and more opportunities to live one's own life independently. This suggests that people with higher incomes attach more importance to openness to change values and less importance to conservation values. However, previous empirical findings are often contradictory. Not much systematic, comprehensive evidence is available on the effects of antecedents on value

priorities (see Schwartz et al. 1997). Hence, our study will examine the effects of value antecedents in an exploratory fashion.

Values and Personality

Values and personality traits may be regarded as *distinct but related* constructs (Bilsky and Schwartz 1994). Personality traits vary in terms of how much of a characteristic individuals exhibit, whereas values vary in terms of the importance individuals attribute to particular motivational goals. Personality traits describe actions presumed to flow from 'what people are like' regardless of their intentions, whereas values refer to the individual's intentional goals that are available to consciousness (Bilsky and Schwartz 1994). Values are more closely related to behavior than personality traits.

Personality traits define the individual from an external perspective. For example, according to a trait psychologist, an authoritarian trait may dominate an individual's behavior. Value theory (Rokeach 1973, Schwartz 1992) suggests that the same individual is one who places relatively high importance on values like ambition, social power, wealth, and being influential, while placing relatively low importance on being broad-minded or equality. This approach has major benefits:

"A major advantage gained in thinking about a person as a system of values rather than as a cluster of traits is that it becomes possible to conceive of his undergoing change as a result of changes in social condition. In contrast, the trait concept has built into it a characterological bias that forecloses such possibilities for change in advance" (Rokeach 1973, p. 21).

Further insight into the role of values in consumer behavior can be obtained by relating value priorities to relevant personality traits (Burgess 1992). One trait that has received considerable attention in consumer behavior is a person's *optimum stimulation level*. People tend to prefer intermediate levels of stimulation in their lives, referred to as the optimal stimulation level (OSL) in the literature (Steenkamp and Baumgartner 1992). To attain a satisfactory

level of stimulation, a person may engage in exploration of the environment. Psychologists have studied exploratory tendencies extensively, and the general finding has been that people with higher OSLs engage in stimulating behaviors to a greater extent than do people with lower OSLs. Research has found that OSL is related to such consumer responses and behaviors as variety seeking and brand switching, willingness to purchase new products, cognitive and affective responses to ads, ad repetition, risk taking, information search, and retail patronage behavior (e.g., Baumgartner and Steenkamp 1994, 1996, Joachimsthaler and Lastovicka 1984, Mittelstaedt et al. 1976, Raju 1980, Steenkamp and Baumgartner 1992, Steenkamp, Baumgartner, and Van der Wulp 1996, Zuckerman, 1979, 1994).

OSL is most closely related to Schwartz's value domain of stimulation. As Schwartz (1992, p. 7) notes: "Stimulation values derive from the presumed organismic need for variety and stimulation in order to maintain an optimal level of activation." OSL also has elements of self-direction, hedonism, achievement, and power (Zuckerman 1979, 1994). Thus, we would expect that high OSLs attach more importance to these value types than low OSLs. However, the difference should be largest for the importance attached to stimulation. Stimulation and self-direction together constitute the higher-order value domain of openness to change while achievement and power constitute the higher-order domain of self-enhancement (See Figure 1). Thus, we further hypothesize that high OSLs attach more importance to openness to change and self-enhancement than low OSLs.

Schwartz's theory allows one to derive additional hypotheses, concerning other value types, based on the structure of the value system as depicted in Figure 1. The value types universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security, are positioned opposite to stimulation, self-direction, hedonism, achievement, and power. Hence, we expect that high OSLs will attach less importance to these value types than low OSLs. The same would apply to the

overarching value domains of self-transcendence and conservation.

Values, Lifestyle, and Behavior

Several authors have distinguished between central and secondary dispositions (Lastovicka 1982, Vinson et al. 1977). Central dispositions are dispositions that are not limited to a particular behavioral domain such as consumer behavior, but instead apply to a wide range of situations, contexts, and behaviors. On the other hand, secondary dispositions are context specific, in this case specific to the consumer context. Central dispositions are hypothesized to affect secondary dispositions (Lastovicka 1982, Vinson et al. 1977). Values are important central dispositions (Homer and Kahle 1988) while *lifestyle* traits are important dispositions in the consumer context (Lastovicka 1982). In line with previous theorizing, we hypothesize that a person's value priorities affects his/her lifestyle.

Moreover, because of their centrality to the individual's cognitive structure, personal values provide a powerful basis for understanding purchase and consumption *behavior* (Burgess 1992). In this study, we examined two types of consumer behavior, viz., the number of different brands the respondent had ever used across a large number of consumer product categories and the consumption of innovative financial products. Although brand switching and consumption of innovative products will be affected by a number of factors, both types of behavior have in common that they have an exploratory component (Baumgartner and Steenkamp 1996). They have the capacity to lead to exciting and novel consumption experiences, to offer a change of pace and relief from boredom, and to satisfy one's desire for knowledge and the urge of curiosity.

Openness to change emphasizes exploration and favors novelty, variety, and stimulation through change from established patterns. Thus, one may expect that the importance attached to this value domain will have a positive

effect on the number of brands used and consumption of innovative products. Conservation emphasizes submissive self-restriction, preservation of traditional practices, and the protection of stability. The importance given to conservation values should have a negative effect on these two types of behavior (Steenkamp, ter Hofstede, and Wedel 1999). The value domains of self-enhancement and self-transcendence appear less relevant for predicting brand switching and consumption of innovative products. They deal with the pursuit of one's own relative success and dominance over others versus emphasizing acceptance of others as equals and concern for their welfare. Thus, we hypothesize that these value domains will be less important for explaining brand switching and consumption of innovative products (cf. Steenkamp, ter Hofstede, and Wedel 1999).

METHOD

Data

Data were collected by a leading professional marketing research among a representative national sample of 3,493 South Africans. The questionnaire was developed in English and translated into Xhosa, Afrikaans, North Sotho, South Sotho, Tswana, Venda, and Zulu using back-translation techniques (Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike 1973). People were personally interviewed in their homes. All interviewers were from the ethnic group of the respondents and were chosen and trained to fit into the respondent's social class. Data were collected on the respondents' value priorities, OSL (see below for details), and sociodemographic characteristics. Respondents further indicated their interest in 37 lifestyle activities and products, covering a broad range of topics and interests.

Questions were also asked about brand purchase behavior for seven categories (alcoholic beverages, cigarettes, soft drinks, major food chains, major clothing retailers, gas stations, and food products). For each category, up to 12

brands were shown, and respondents were asked to indicate which of these brands they had ever used. Other brands not listed could be added.

Consumption of innovative products was measured within the context of financial services products. South Africa has a large segment of the population that has no existing commercial relationship with a bank or insurance company and informal sector savings schemes are prevalent. (Interestingly, this even applies to more advanced transitional economies such as the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland; Business Week 1998.) As people enter the formal employment sector, they increasingly turn to the formal sector products.

Products included were whole life policy, endowment policy, retirement annuity, medical insurance, short-term casualty insurance, cheque account, savings account, transmission account, investment account, credit card, gas/garage card, ATM card, and a loan from a bank. For each product, respondents indicated whether they had ever used it. The study also included political questions that are not the focus of this study.

Operationalizing Values and OSL in Transitional Economies

There is a wide variation in the level of education and human development in general between different transitional economies (United Nations 1996).

Whereas some countries are relatively close to the level of Western countries (e.g., Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland), other transitional economies are in a less favorable position (e.g., China, India, South Africa, Uzbekistan). Limited literacy and numeric skills are among the special threats to reliability and validity in research in less developed economies (Lonner and Berry 1986). Brief scales reduce cognitive demands on respondents, shorten interview completion time and open less-advanced transitional economies to OSL and values research that would previously have been precluded. These can be important benefits in any environment when the demands of longer scales might threaten the broader reliability and validity of a research project (such as in syndicated

marketing research projects or in research with adolescent or elderly target populations), when respondents have limited human development (especially limited literacy and numeric skills), or when budgetary constraints preclude the use of longer scales (McDaniel, Verille, and Madden 1985).

Measuring value priorities

Research using the Schwartz value system has typically used the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS; Schwartz 1992). The SVS presents 57 values selected a priori to represent the ten motivationally distinct value types. Respondents rate the importance of all 57 values as "a guiding principle in my life," on a 9-point scale labeled ranging from -1 = opposed to my values, 0 = not important, 3 = important, 6 = very important, and 7 = of supreme importance; the other categories are unlabeled. This judgment task requires thinking about and evaluating abstract concepts. It provides no specific life contexts within which to weigh one's application of values. Because people rarely spend time thinking about the guiding principles in their life, this task is novel and intellectually demanding for most respondents. Completion of the SVS requires an average of about 15 minutes in student and 25 minutes in adult samples, with a range from 10-60 minutes (Schwartz et al. 1997). Problems with completing the SVS are most serious among the less educated, the elderly, and in samples from sub-Saharan Africa, India, and rural areas of less-developed nations (Schwartz et al. 1997).

In response to these limitations of SVS in less-advanced research contexts, Schwartz, Lehmann, and Roccas (1997) recently developed a new instrument, called the Portraits Questionnaire (PQ), to assess the value priorities of populations for which the SVS is less suitable. This permits extension of values research to important groups not studied effectively in the past. The PQ includes short, textual portraits of 29 different people (see Appendix). In the PQ, value importances are measured indirectly as they are

inferred from the self-reported similarity to people holding a particular value to be important (Schwartz et al. 1997). Each portrait describes a person to whom certain goals, aspirations and wishes - all expressive of the same single value type - are important. For example (the PQ has a male and a female form): "He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in his life." describes a person for whom stimulation values are important. "Being very successful is important to him. He likes to stand out and to impress other people" describes a person who considers achievement values important. By emphasizing what is important to each person - the goals and wishes he or she pursues - the portraits describe the person's values rather than his or her behavior or other traits. For each portrait, respondents answer: "How much like you is this person?" They check one of six boxes labeled: very much like me, like me, somewhat like me, a little like me, not like me, and not like me at all. In the current research, we added a 7th box labeled "do not know" in order to lessen the incidence of "I-can-answer-any-question" bias and courtesy bias (cf., Brislin, Lonner, and Thorndike 1973) and to encourage respondents who found a particular scale item too challenging to respond accurately. Prior to analyses, scores were reversed so that high ratings indicated high value importance.

Schwartz et al. (1997) extensively tested the validity of the PQ. They found good convergent validity between ratings on the SVS and the PQ. Moreover, SVS and PQ exhibited a similar pattern of correlations with other constructs. Further, the correlation between the mean importance scores for the ten value types as measured by the two instruments was .95. Thus, there is substantial evidence that the PQ and the SVS measure the same motivational value types. However, the PQ takes much less time to complete (usually less than 10 minutes), and is cognitively less demanding.

Measuring OSL

Of the four major scales used most often in measuring OSL, Steenkamp and Baumgartner (1992) proposed that Garlington and Shimota's (1964) 95-item Change Seeker Index (CSI) is the preferred instrument. Their recommendation was based on both the magnitude of factor loadings of the summated scale scores on the underlying construct of OSL, and significant relationships with related constructs across a series of seven consumer behavior experiments. Steenkamp and Baumgartner (1995) recently developed a new shortened 7-item form of the CSI and validated it cross-culturally in Belgium, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and the U.S.A. (Baumgartner and Steenkamp 1998, Steenkamp and Baumgartner 1995). Their findings indicated that, compared to the original scale, the shortened scale not only reduces the data collection burden for the respondent but also has improved nomological validity and psychometric properties. CSI is typically rated on a 5-point Likert scale. However, in the present study, we use the same 6-point scale as used for the PQ to reduce potential respondent confusion. Prior to analyses, scores were reversed so that high ratings indicate high OSL.

Respondents who failed to respond or responded "don't know" to a stimulus item on either the PQ or CSI scale (320, 9.2%), provided the same response for every item in the 7-item scale CSI including the negatively scored items (46, 1.3%), or consecutively provided the same response for 15 or more items on the PQ scale (13, 0.3%) were deemed to have failed to respond to the survey either because of failure to understand the entire scale or because of response set and were not included in the analyses.

According to these criteria, 370 (10.6%) respondents were dropped. When compared to the overall sample, the dropped respondents were somewhat more likely to be Black (68.4% of the dropped respondents were Black while 57.3% of the total sample were Black) and to have not completed

high school (71.9% vs. 64.3%) but the association between being dropped and race or education was not strong in either instance (Cramer's $V \leq .080$).

RESULTS

Measurement validation of PQ and CSI-short form

The current research provides a particularly rigorous and realistic test for the PQ and CSI-short form scales in a less advanced research environment. Both scales were administered within a large, syndicated survey questionnaire and respondents had already been responding to the survey about twenty minutes on average when they encountered the two scales. Nevertheless, with two exceptions, the theoretical structure of the instruments was supported.

Smallest Space Analysis (Guttman 1968) revealed the theoretical value structure as shown in Figure 1 emerged, with the exception that security values emerged with benevolence and universalism. Thus, security seems to be serving self-transcendence goals rather than conservation goals. This finding appears to be unique to sub-Saharan populations (Schwartz et al. 1997). Importance ratings were mean-centered within respondents across all 29 values to control for differences in scale use in rating values (Bass and Wilkie 1973). An index of the importance of a value type was obtained by averaging the ratings for the values within the value type in question. Similarly, the importance of a value domain was obtained by averaging the importances attributed to the value types within each domain.¹¹ This procedure ensures equal weighting of all values (value types) in the construction of a particular value type (value domain) (Schwartz 1992).

Confirmatory factor analysis applied to the 7 items of the CSI-short form

¹¹ The position of hedonism in Schwartz's theory is ambiguous. Schwartz (1992) argues that it is related both to openness to change and to self-enhancement. Hence, we excluded hedonism from the computation of the importance attached to value domains. Further, consistent with the results of the Smallest Space Analysis, security was included in the self-transcendence domain.

scale revealed that the two negatively worded items exhibited very low loadings on the underlying construct. Once these items were deleted, the fit of the model was very good: $\chi^2(5) = 27.18$ ($p < .001$), CFI = .997, TLI = .993, RMSEA = .037. Moreover, the factor loadings were highly significant (minimum t-value above 34.0) and substantial (the smallest standardized factor loading was .66). These findings support the unidimensionality of the CSI scale in South Africa (Steenkamp and Van Trijp 1991). Cronbach's alpha was .850. A respondent's OSL was computed as the average on the five CSI items that were retained.

Antecedents of Values

The importance attached to a value domain was regressed on the following antecedents (categories in parentheses): gender (female, male), age (in years), monthly household income (in Rands), education (lower, higher), urbanization (major metropolitan areas, urban areas [i.e., cities and larger towns], rural), marital status (single, married/cohabiting, ex-married [i.e., divorced, widowed, separated]), working status (not working, working), religion (Westernized Christian, Afro-Christian, Hindu, Muslim, other, adherence to no particular religion), and cultural ethnic group (English White, Afrikaner White, Coloureds, Zulu, Xhosa, North Sotho, South Sotho, Tswana, other).⁹ The results are reported in Table 2.⁹

--- Table 2 about here ---

People that gave more importance to openness to change tended to be male, younger, single, and had higher incomes. This value domain was relatively less important for people living in rural areas, and for the Xhosa.

⁹ Zulu, Xhosa, North Sotho, South Sotho, and Tswana are the main Black cultural ethnic groups in South Africa.

⁹ Unless indicated otherwise, we will use $p = .01$ as cutoff for statistical significance throughout the paper because of the large sample size.

Females, older people, and Coloureds attached more importance to self-transcendence, while various Black cultural ethnic groups and Muslims gave less importance to this value domain. Conservation was relatively more important for females, older people, people with lower incomes and less education, and people living in rural areas. It was relatively less important for people who do not identify themselves with any religious group and for English Whites.⁴ Self-enhancement was more important among younger people, males, people with no religious adherence, and for the various Black cultural ethnic groups, while it was less important among Coloureds and Afrikaner Whites.

The negative effect of age on openness to change is in line with research on OSL in which it has been consistently found that a person's OSL declines with age (e.g., Zuckerman 1979). The positive effect of income on openness to change and the negative effect on conservation are in line with Inglehart's (1991) theorizing. The finding that females attach more importance to self-transcendence and males to self-enhancement is consistent with Schwartz et al. (1997). The weak effects of education observed in this study contrast with Rokeach's (1973) finding of strong differences between subjects on 25 of his 36 values. The low level of education in the current research - 17.3% have not completed primary school and 63.4% have not graduated from high school - and the uneven quality of education for different racial groups in the Apartheid era, even when formally it was the same level (e.g., high school) may be important factors influencing this result. The finding that people who do not identify themselves with any religious group attach less importance to conservation has strong validity. Respect and acceptance of religion is an important element of the conservation domain. On the other hand, most religions do not promote values related to self-enhancement, and we indeed found that people who adhere to a particular religion give less importance to

⁴ Note that the coefficients for all cultural ethnic groups were positive and mostly significant.

self-enhancement than people who do not adhere to a religion. The finding that people living in rural areas attach less importance to openness to change and more importance to tradition and conformity is consistent with the literature on diffusion of innovations (Rogers 1983). When we take the total picture of antecedent effects into account, it is found that gender, age, and cultural ethnic group had the largest and most consistent influence on people's value priorities.

Schwartz's specific structure of the value domains allows for an even more fine-grained examination of the associations of values with their antecedents. Associations with a particular antecedent should decrease monotonically as one goes around the circular structure of value domains in both directions from the most positively associated value domain to the most negatively associated value domain (Schwartz 1992). This creates a sinusoid curve of associations from most positive to most negative, and back. Thus, a further validation of the role of values and of the validity of Schwartz's value structure in South Africa is obtained by examining the total pattern of regression coefficients for any antecedent.⁹⁾

Taking the most positive effect of an antecedent on a value domain as point of departure, we see that the expected sinusoid pattern is strongly supported. For example, the largest positive effect for gender was observed for openness to change. The effect decreases if we move around the circle via self-transcendence to conservation for which the largest negative effect was found. It increases again if we move from conservation via self-enhancement to openness to change. A similar pattern can be observed for income, rural areas, and the various Black ethnic cultural groups.

The monotonic relation predicted by the Schwartz framework can also be observed for age, education, ex-married people, Muslims, people with no

⁹⁾ We will only consider antecedents that showed a significant effect on at least one value domain.

particular religious adherence, Coloureds, and Afrikaner Whites. For example, for age, the largest positive effect was observed for conservation, and this effect decreases if we move around the circle in both directions to self-enhancement for which the largest negative effect is found. However, the structure is somewhat different, in that for all these antecedents the most positive and most negative effect were found for adjacent value domains. Thus, the pattern of effects across value domains provides strong support for the validity of the Schwartz value system in Sub-Saharan countries.

Values and OSL

The first column of Table 3 presents the mean importance of each value type and value domain (after mean centering) for the total sample. Given the representativeness of the sample, it provides an overall picture of the value priorities in South Africa. The self-transcendence related values were on average the most important to South Africans. Stimulation, hedonism, power, and achievement were relatively less important, while the conservation values were of more average importance.

These mean importances obscure large differences between people. The average standard deviation in importance ratings across value types was .699. The heterogeneity in respondent importances was especially large for the two value types that were on average the least important, viz., stimulation (SD = .994) and hedonism (SD = .953). As discussed earlier in the paper, it is hypothesized that a person's optimum stimulation level may be an important factor in explaining the large heterogeneity in value importances. Respondents were classified according to their summated score on the CSI scale. The bottom 25% were classified as low OSLs, the top 25% as high OSLs, and the middle 50% as medium OSL. The value priorities of low, medium, and high OSL respondents were compared for each value type and each value domain. The results are reported in Table 3.

The findings indicate significance value differences between different OSL groups. Consistent with our theorizing, the importance attached to stimulation, self-direction, achievement, and hedonism increases with a person's OSL. For power, the difference between OSL groups was in the expected direction but was weak ($p = .040$, $\eta^2 = .002$). On the other hand, as expected, the importance attached to universalism, benevolence, security, conformity, and tradition decreases with a person's OSL. These conclusions are reinforced when the importances attached to the value domains are examined. High OSLs attached more importance to openness to change and self-enhancement than low OSLs, while the reverse was true for self-transcendence and conservation.

We further expected that the differences between low, medium, and high OSLs in value importances should be the largest for the value type of stimulation, and for the value domain of openness to change. Both hypotheses were supported. Of all value types, the effect size for stimulation was the largest of all effect sizes ($\eta^2 = .191$). The mean difference between low and high OSLs in importance attached to stimulation was a large 1.220 on a 6-point scale. The effect size for openness to change was also larger than the effect size of any of the other value domains ($\eta^2 = .219$).

--- Table 3 about here ---

Values and Lifestyle Interests

For 37 lifestyle activities and products, respondents indicated whether or not they were interested in each item. These 0-1 ratings were factor analyzed. Based on the scree test, two factors explaining 27.4% of the variance were extracted. The factors could be interpreted as "masculine" lifestyle interests and "feminine" lifestyle interests. Examples of items loading high on the first factor include car purchasing, investment opportunities, sport and outdoor activities, insurance, and car maintenance, accessories and information.

Women's clothing, children's clothing, furniture and home furnishing, cosmetics and toiletries, and interior decorating were some of the items loading high on the feminine lifestyle interests dimension. Summated scores were computed for each lifestyle factor based on all items loading at least .4 on that factor. There were no items with salient loadings on both factors. These summated lifestyle scores were regressed on the four value domains. Given the nature of the two lifestyle dimensions identified, gender of the respondent was added as covariate in the regression analyses. The results are reported in Table 4.

Masculine lifestyle interests were positively affected by the importance attached to openness to change, and negatively affected by conservation and self-enhancement. Further, self-transcendence and conservation had a moderately negative effect ($p < .025$) on feminine lifestyle interests. The covariate gender exhibited the expected effects. As expected, males rated higher on masculine lifestyle interests while females exhibited more interest in feminine lifestyle products and activities. It is interesting to note that while the effect of gender clearly dominated the effects of the value dimensions for feminine lifestyle interests, this was much less the case for masculine lifestyle interests. This was caused by asymmetry in lifestyle interests by gender. Of the male respondents 39.2% had the lowest possible score on the feminine lifestyle interest factor versus only 4.7% of the females; a ratio of 8.3:1. On the other hand, only 23.1% of the females and 9.3% of the males had the lowest possible score on the masculine lifestyle interest factor; a ratio of 2.5:1. Thus, males expressed much less interest in "feminine" items than females expressed in "masculine" items. Two reasons for this asymmetry in interests are: (a) South African women enjoy a degree of economic and political empowerment that surpasses many industrialized nations and ranks in the top 20 nations (gender empowerment measure; United Nations Development Program 1996) and (b) many females are single heads of households, and hence have full

responsibility for both masculine and feminine lifestyle activities and products.

--- Table 4 about here ---

Values and Behavior

Although the link between value priorities and most forms of consumer behavior is well-established (Burgess 1992, Pitts and Woodside 1984), few studies have explored the link between values and innovativeness or brand-switching behavior. However, there is support in the literature for such links (McQuarrie and Munson 1985, Steenkamp, ter Hofstede, and Wedel 1999). We hypothesize that values will be related to brand-switching behavior and to the consumption of innovative financial products.

The number of different brands the respondent had ever used was measured for seven categories (see above). The responses were summed into a multiple-category behavioral index (Epstein 1979) of brand switching behavior. It is a measure of the generalized tendency to use different brands across a wide range of categories. A behavioral index of consumption of innovative financial services products was constructed by summing the number of innovative financial services products a household used, based on the list of such products included in this survey (see above).

These measures were regressed on the value domains. Household income, age, and cultural ethnic group of the respondent were added as covariates to provide for a more precise test of the value effects. It was expected that a higher income increases the possibilities of a person to buy different brands and financial services products. Age captures experience effects, as older people have had more time to use multiple brands and to consume innovative products. Given the legacy of separate development under the Apartheid system, a person's cultural ethnic group is likely to have a great impact on actual consumer behavior. The results are reported in Table 5.

Income and cultural ethnic group had the greatest effect, and these effects were consistent across the two behavioral measures. People with higher

incomes and Afrikaner Whites have used more brands and consumed more innovative financial products. On the other hand, all Black cultural ethnic groups scored significantly lower on both measures. Further, age had a positive effect on the consumption of financial products while Coloureds had consumed fewer financial products. Compared to these sociodemographic effects, the effects of the value domains were modest. As expected, conservation had a negative effect on both behavioral measures. Further, in line with our hypothesis, openness to change had a positive effect on the number of brands ever used, but contrary to expectations, no effect was found on consumption of innovative financial products. As hypothesized, the effects of self-transcendence and self-enhancement tended to be of minor importance, with only one out of four effects reaching statistical significance. Thus, the findings suggest support for our basic hypothesis that openness to change and conservation are more relevant for explaining these behaviors than self-transcendence and self-enhancement.

The relatively weak effects for the value domains compared to the covariates indicates that in South Africa, "external" constraints limit the possibility of consumers to express one's value priorities in behavior. The classic "budget constraint" of economics is more important in markets where incomes are on average much lower. Moreover, the legacy of the Apartheid system can still be felt in contemporary South Africa. Even when we control for income, we can note that all Black ethnic groups rate lower on both behavioral measures. This is a direct consequence of their impoverished living and consumption environment. However, it is important to note that even in environments imposing such significant constraints on behavioral expressions, significant effects of values priorities were found.

--- Table 5 about here ---

DISCUSSION

In this paper, we examined value priorities in South Africa – Africa's most important transitional economy. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first extensive study of value priorities with a representative sample in a transitional economy. We examined the structure of the value priorities, their antecedents, and their relations with OSL, lifestyle interests, brand purchase behavior, and consumption of innovative products.

We find strong evidence on the validity of the structure of value priorities in South Africa and on the relation of the value priorities with other constructs. The role of a large number of sociodemographic/cultural antecedents of value priorities was examined. The results emphasize the generalized importance of gender, age, and the ethnic cultural group or subculture to which the person belongs. Other relevant antecedents include household income, degree of urbanization, and being member of a religion or not. The observed sinusoid pattern of effects for most antecedents across the four value dimensions is consistent with the predictions made by Schwartz's theory and further validates this theory and its conceptual usefulness and applicability in South Africa.

Systematic and predictable relations with OSL could be observed. OSL has been shown to be an important predictor of various types of exploratory consumer behavior (e.g., Steenkamp and Baumgartner 1992, 1996, Zuckerman 1994). Hence, the present findings indirectly support the usefulness of value priorities for understanding exploratory types of consumer behavior that have received little attention in value research. In this study we provide additional evidence on this by examining the effects of value priorities on brand purchase behavior and consumption of innovative financial products. The effects found were mostly consistent with our hypotheses: openness to change (positive) and conservation (negative) taken together were more important than self-enhancement and self-transcendence.

Income and ethnic cultural group were found to be more important than

value priorities in explaining actual behavior, at least for the behaviors examined in this study. It appears they act as powerful constraints on the potential of consumers to express their value priorities in actual behavior. We expect that the relatively weaker link between values and behavior also occurs in other countries where there are significant constraints on full participation of consumers in the marketplace. We conjecture that this may apply, for example, to other less affluent transitional economies (e.g., Central Asian Republics of the former Soviet Union, China, India, Vietnam). However, it is important to note that even in environments imposing such significant constraints on consumer behavior expressions, significant effects of values were found. This attests to the robustness and power of value priorities in understanding consumer behavior, also in transitional economies. Their conceptual power for understanding consumer behavior in transitional economies will further increase the less severe the external constraints will become due to increased wealth and general liberalization of the economy.

People often adapt their value priorities to be compatible with the reinforcement contingencies that their life circumstances allow (Schwartz and Bardi 1997). Kohak (1992) argued that people adjust in a manner analogous to the adaptation of long-term prisoners to jail: They develop a set of skills and attitudes that enable them to live reasonably under the circumstances. The results of our study suggest that on average, South Africans have shown remarkable resistance to adapt their value priorities to the life circumstances created by the Apartheid system. For example, it was found that South Africans on average attach relatively high importance to universalism and benevolence. These values capture the notion of acceptance of others as equals and concern for their welfare. These values are in contradiction to the Apartheid system with a legacy of stimulating divisions in society. If anything, Apartheid should have been detrimental to fostering such values. As another example, people in jobs that afford little freedom of choice increase the

importance of conformity values and decrease the importance of self-direction values (Kohn and Schooler 1983). Seriously limited job options were typical for the large majority of South Africans. Nevertheless, the mean importance of self-direction values (.182) was greater than the mean importance of conformity values (.003) when the sample is limited to those who are working. Moreover, the analysis of the value antecedents does not indicate that conformity or conservation values (to which conformity belongs) are systematically more important to those people who had systematically fewer economic options (e.g., for non-Whites).

The apparent lack of adaptation of the value priorities of South Africans to their prevailing life circumstances stands in stark and encouraging contrast to the findings of Schwartz and Bardi (1997) for Eastern Europe. In their research among students and teachers, they found strong evidence of adaptation of people's value priorities to the Communist system.⁶ Numerous factors may contribute to this difference between the transitional economies of Eastern Europe and South Africa. To our opinion, one factor that plays an important role is the perceived acceptance of the system. In case of South Africa, it was not accepted by the non-Whites (as well as by many Whites), and by the international community. However, the Communist system was accepted by at least part of the population (without sharp division along racial lines), and was regarded as legitimate by the international community, as exemplified by the Helsinki Accords of 1975, among others (Kissinger 1994).

On the negative side, the aggregate value structure of South Africa indicates that values that are the basis for the system of free enterprise are not

⁶ Note that both in Schwartz and Bardi (1997) and in our study, data were collected after the collapse of Communist and Apartheid regime, respectively. However, value priorities are highly stable and only change gradually over time, even when the reinforcement contingencies have changed dramatically. Thus, the past will have a large influence on value priorities long after the environment has changed (Rokeach 1973). This was shown in detail by Schwartz and Bardi (1997).

well-established. On average, achievement values are not considered to be important and self-direction is only marginally more important than tradition. This suggests a reluctance to develop own thoughts and take own action, be independent and ambitious, and to apply one's own talents and achieve one's own goals. This may present a serious barrier to the spread of the market-based free-enterprise system among the entire population of South Africa. On the positive side, a large proportion of the South African population is under 25 years old. For young people, value priorities are less crystallized and less anchored in a large number of past experiences (Inglehart 1991, Schwartz and Bardi 1997). Younger people may hence adapt more quickly to the changed reinforcement contingencies of post-Apartheid South Africa. Moreover, openness to change and self-enhancement (conservation) values are already more (less) important to young South Africans than to older South Africans (see Table 3). Thus, we may expect that in the future, the value structure of South Africans may become more favorable to the growth of free enterprises.

In sum, this research has contributed to the emerging body of knowledge on consumer behavior in transitional economies. Future research should extend this work to other transitional economies, including countries like China and Vietnam. In terms of human development, numeric skills, literacy, etc., these markets are more similar to South Africa than to the transitional economies of Eastern Europe. Instruments like the PQ may also be of great value in these markets. Another issue for future research is to study the change in value importance over time. As an economy moves along the path of transition to a free, market economy, the value structure of its population may gradually change as well. Value structures that were instrumental in the old days will be less "suitable" in the new economic and social environment. By monitoring value changes over time, we deepen our understanding of the role of values in shaping consumer behavior. That will allow companies to increase their marketing effectiveness in transitional economies.

APPENDIX

Portraits Questionnaire Instructions and Items (Male Form)

Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and think about how much each person is or is not like you. Put an X in the box to the right that shows how much the person in the description is like you.¹⁾

-
1. It is important to him to be polite to other people all the time. He believes he should always show respect to his parents and to older people. (Conformity)
 2. Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way. (Self-Direction)
 3. Being very successful is important to him. He likes to stand out and to impress other people. (Achievement)
 4. He thinks it is important to do things the way he learned from his family. He wants to follow their customs and traditions. (Tradition)
 5. He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He wants justice for everybody, even for people he doesn't know. (Universalism)
 6. He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in his life. (Stimulation)
 7. The safety of his country is very important to him. He wants his country to be safe from its enemies. (Security)
 8. He always wants to help the people who are close to him. It's very important to him to care for the people he knows and likes. (Benevolence)
 9. He likes to be in charge and tell others what to do. He wants people to do what he says. (Power)
 10. He really wants to enjoy life. Having a good time is very important to him. (Hedonism)
 11. He likes to make his own decisions about what he does. It is important to him to be free to plan and to choose his activities for himself. (Self-Direction)
 12. He thinks it's important not to ask for more than what you have. He believes that people should be satisfied with what they have. (Tradition)
 13. It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things. (Power)
 14. He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life. (Stimulation)
 15. Honesty is very important to him. He believes he must be honest in any situation and always tell the truth. (Benevolence)
 16. It's important to him that everything is clean and in order. He really doesn't want things to be a mess. (Security)
 17. He looks for every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure. (Hedonism)
 18. He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him. (Universalism)
 19. He believes that people should do what they're told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching. (Conformity)
 20. He likes people to know that he can do well. He is ambitious and ready to work hard to get ahead. (Achievement)
 21. His family's safety is extremely important to him. He would do anything to make sure his family is always safe. (Security)

22. It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them and to get along with them. (Universalism)
23. He doesn't like to boast or draw attention to the things he does. He wants to be modest. (Tradition)
24. He thinks it's important to be interested in things. He is curious and tries to understand everything. (Self-Direction)
25. It is important to him to fit in and do things the way other people do. He thinks he should do what others expect of him. (Conformity)
26. He thinks everyone should work to get people in the world to live together peacefully. Peace everywhere in the world is important to him. (Universalism)
27. It's very important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does. (Achievement)
28. It is important to him that his friends can always trust him. He wants to be loyal to them and always to look out for their interests. (Benevolence)
29. Being religious is important to him. He tries hard to follow his religious beliefs. (Tradition)

¹⁾ Shown in parentheses is the value type to which the portrait refers. This is not shown in the questionnaire.

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Table 1: Value Types in Schwartz's Value Theory

Value type	Definition	Exemplary values
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.	Social power, authority, wealth
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, an exciting life
Self-direction	Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring.	Creativity, curious, freedom
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and nature.	Broadminded, social justice, equality, protecting the environment
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact.	Helpful, honest, forgiving
Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that culture or religion provide.	Humble, devout, accepting my portion in life
Conformity	Restraints of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.	Politeness, obedient, honoring one's parents or elders
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.	Social order, clean

Source: Excerpted from Schwartz (1994)

Table 2: Antecedents of Values¹⁾

Predictor variables ²⁾	Criterion variables			
	Openness to change	Self-transcendence	Conservation	Self-enhancement
<i>Gender</i>				
Male	.098 ^b	-.089 ^b	-.135 ^b	.081 ^b
<i>Age</i>				
Age	-.147 ^b	.149 ^b	.214 ^b	-.171 ^b
<i>Household Income</i>				
Income (SA Rand)	.104 ^b	-.010	-.121 ^b	.036
<i>Education</i>				
High school grad	.037	.047	-.085 ^b	-.015
<i>Urbanization</i>				
Urban	.004	-.005	.022	-.003
Rural	-.102 ^b	.034	.095 ^b	-.028
<i>Marital status</i>				
Married or Cohabiting	-.067 ^a	.042	.001	.019
Ex-married	-.072 ^a	.051	.002	.001
<i>Working status</i>				
Working	.033	-.026	-.033	.027
<i>Religion</i>				
Afro-Christians	.013	-.036	.011	.014
Hindu	-.011	.015	-.009	.001
Muslims	.041	-.052 ^a	-.014	.018
Other religions	.021	-.019	-.029	.037
No religion	.026	.005	-.097 ^b	.053 ^a
<i>Ethnic cultural group</i>				
Afrikaner Whites	-.025	.000	.164 ^b	-.129 ^b
Coloureds	-.049	.073 ^a	.080 ^a	-.102 ^b
Zulu	-.033	-.234 ^b	.096 ^a	.182 ^b
Xhosa	-.087 ^a	-.241 ^b	.074 ^a	.176 ^b
N Sotho	.024	-.239 ^b	.030	.136 ^b
S Sotho	-.006	-.124 ^b	.021	.087 ^b
Tswana	.020	-.230 ^b	.070 ^a	.090 ^b
Other	-.019	-.111 ^b	.032	.089 ^b
R ²	.111 ^b	.211 ^b	.159 ^b	.160 ^b

¹⁾ Reported are standardized regression coefficients

²⁾ Except for age and income, all antecedents are coded as dummies. Baseline is for gender: female; education: lower; urbanization: major metropolitan areas; marital status: single; working status: not working; religion: Westernized Christian; cultural ethnic group: English White

^a p < .01

^b p < .001

Table 3: Values and Optimum Stimulation Level

	Total Sample	Optimum Stimulation Level ¹⁾			p	Δ_{H-L} ²⁾	η^2
		Low	Medium	High			
<i>Value types</i>							
Stimulation	-.747	-1.465	-.649	-.246	<.001	1.220	.191
Self-direction	.113	-.102	.149	.250	<.001	.352	.050
Universalism	.368	.577	.327	.249	<.001	-.328	.056
Benevolence	.514	.854	.440	.337	<.001	-.517	.111
Security	.651	1.023	.589	.414	<.001	-.609	.154
Conformity	-.073	.273	-.134	-.285	<.001	-.557	.062
Tradition	.061	.317	.035	-.139	<.001	-.456	.092
Power	-.257	-.320	-.238	-.236	.040	.084	.002
Achievement	-.222	-.592	-.135	-.041	<.001	.550	.082
Hedonism	-.341	-.943	-.238	.034	<.001	.977	.138
<i>Value domains</i>							
Openness to change	-.317	-.784	-.250	.002	<.001	.786	.219
Self-transcendence	.511	.818	.452	.334	<.001	-.485	.193
Conservation	-.006	.295	-.050	-.212	<.001	-.507	.129
Self-enhancement	-.239	-.456	-.187	-.139	<.001	.317	.050

¹⁾ All means significantly different at $p < .01$ (Tukey HSD test) except for power.

²⁾ Δ_{H-L} = difference between mean rating for high OSLs and low OSLs.

Table 4 : Effect of Value Priorities on Lifestyle Interests¹⁾

Predictor variables	Criterion variables	
	"Masculine" lifestyle interests	"Feminine" lifestyle interests
<i>Value domains</i>		
Openness to change	.129 ^b	.056
Self-transcendence	-.004	-.053
Conservation	-.152 ^b	-.061
Self-enhancement	-.068 ^a	-.019
<i>Covariate</i>		
Gender (male)	.196 ^b	-.481 ^b
R ²	.110 ^b	.227 ^b

¹⁾ Reported are standardized regression coefficients

^a p < .01

^b p < .001

Table 5: Effect of Value Priorities on Consumer Behavior¹⁾

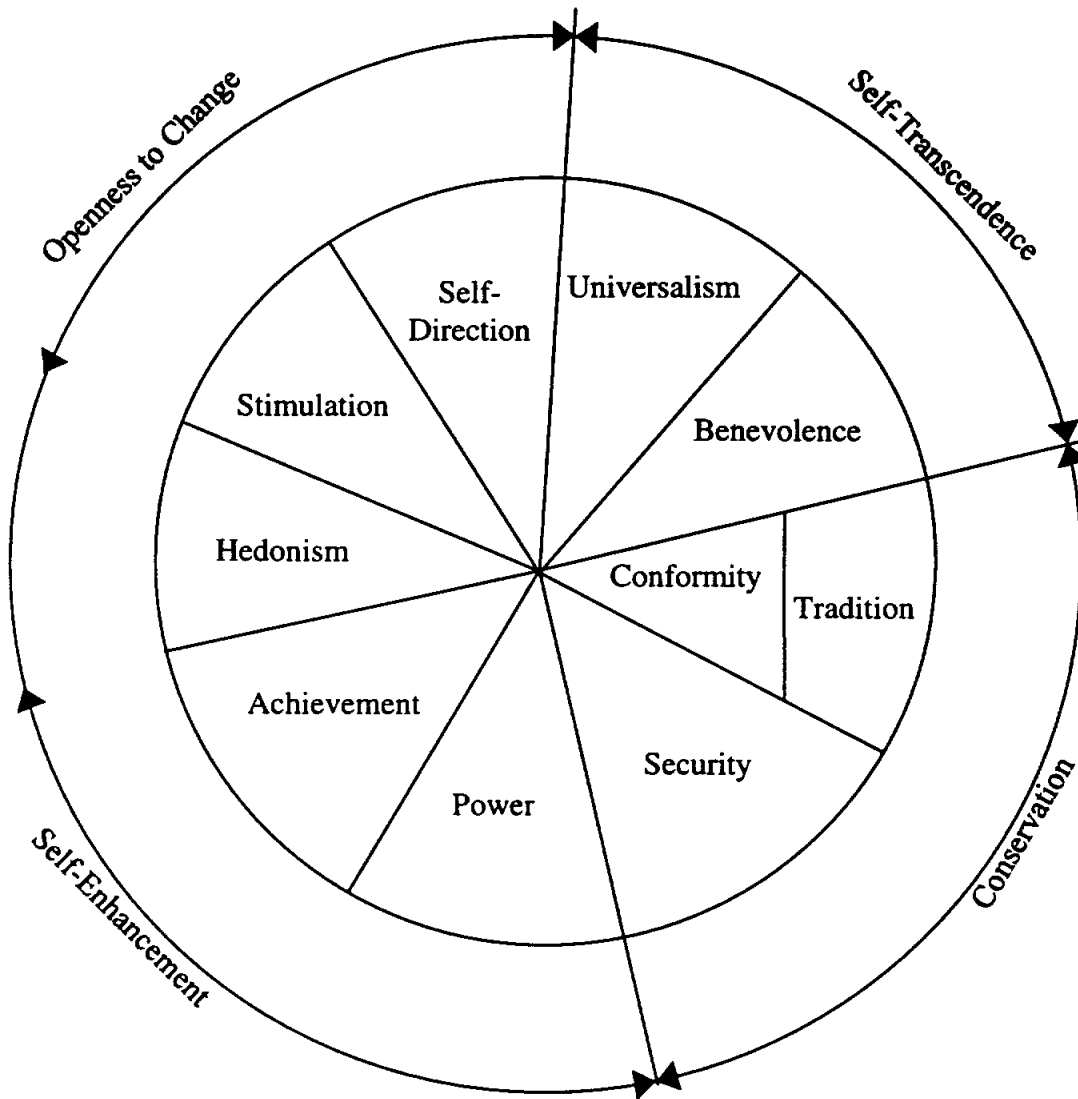
Predictor variables	Criterion Variables	
	Number of brands ever used	Consumption of innovative financial services products
<i>Value domains</i>		
Openness to change	.068 ^a	-.002
Self-transcendence	.070 ^a	.029
Conservation	-.109 ^b	-.086 ^b
Self-enhancement	.007	-.008
<i>Covariates</i>		
Age	-.028	.148 ^b
Income	.176 ^b	.436 ^b
Africaner White	.138 ^b	.118 ^b
Coloureds	.002	-.146 ^b
Zulu	-.276 ^b	-.259 ^b
Xhosa	-.257 ^b	-.219 ^b
North Sotho	-.166 ^b	-.149 ^b
South Sotho	-.119 ^b	-.131 ^b
Tswana	-.159 ^b	-.123 ^b
Other	-.093 ^b	-.095 ^b
R ²	.352 ^b	.569 ^b

¹⁾ Reported are standardized regression coefficients

^a p < .01

^b p < .001

Figure 1
Schwartz's Model of Relations Among Motivational Types of Values and Higher-Order Value Types



Source: Adapted from Schwartz (1994)

Figure 2
Conceptual Framework of the Study

